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Estimating the Determinants of Food Inflation in Nigeria

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Abstract

This study investigates the determinants of food inflation in Nigeria, with a specific focus the impact of interest rates, exchange rates, and crude oil prices. Utilizing an Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) model, the research captures both immediate and lagged effects of these macroeconomic variables on the food inflation rate from 1991 to 2023. The results reveal that interest rates have a significant negative impact on food inflation, indicating that higher interest rates tend to reduce inflation by curbing consumer spending and investment. The exchange rate demonstrates a mixed impact: while a weaker Naira initially raises food prices, the long-term effect shows a significant reduction in inflation, suggesting economic adjustments over time. Crude oil price was also found to have a positive and significant impact on food inflation rate in Nigeria. These findings underscore the need for a comprehensive approach to macroeconomic policy, integrating interest rate adjustments, exchange rate stabilization, and measures to mitigate the impact of crude oil price fluctuations. The study provides empirical evidence to guide policymakers in formulating strategies to achieve price stability, economic growth, and sustainable development in Nigeria, emphasizing the critical role of coordinated policy interventions in managing food inflation.

Keywords: Food, inflation, consumer spending, interest rate

Introduction

Food is one of the most important basic needs for survival. Its availability and accessibility are crucial for any nation, as its unavailability can lead to civil unrest, untimely deaths, malnourishment, and other severe consequences. In Nigeria, unfortunately, the prices of food items in the markets have increased exponentially. This surge in food prices poses a significant threat to the country's stability and well-being, making it imperative to understand and address the underlying factors contributing to this issue. Inflation is a major economic problem in developing and emerging economies, and maintaining stable prices is a key objective for monetary authorities and governments. The adverse effects of inflation include reduced purchasing power, lowered living standards, and diminished general welfare. Unstable and rapidly increasing prices create uncertainty, discouraging both local and foreign investment. This situation worsens a country's terms of trade and makes domestic goods more expensive compared to those in regional and global markets, further exacerbating economic challenges ((Adams et al, 2014).

Despite Nigeria's average GDP annual growth rate of 3.82 percent from 1982 to 2019, and a 7.2 percent growth in the agricultural sector's GDP in the second quarter of 2019, the country still faces significant challenges in food production and pricing. Nigeria, with its vast land area and significant agricultural potential, has 82 million hectares of arable land, yet only 42 percent is utilized for farming. While the agricultural sector employs about 30 percent of the population, food production has not kept pace with the growing demand, leading to noticeable food price inflation. This issue is compounded by a historical shift from agriculture to oil production, which began in the 1960s and 70s, causing setbacks in farming and food supply stability.

The recent increase in food prices in Nigeria is influenced by multiple factors beyond the pandemic. The country recorded food inflation rates of 17.2 percent and 18.37 percent in March and April, respectively, indicating a steady rise in food prices despite efforts by the government and non-governmental organizations to curb hunger. Existing studies have identified the following factors contributing to food inflation include exchange rate fluctuations, which affect the cost of imported food items, and high lending rates that increase production costs for farmers (Ismaya & Anugrah 2018). Additionally, reliance on food imports makes the country vulnerable to international price changes and currency depreciation, further driving up domestic food prices.

Recently, Nigerian government removed fuel subsidy on crude oil which also led to a sudden hike in prices of goods and services. Hence, crude oil prices also play a significant role in food inflation due to their impact on agricultural production and transportation costs. Higher oil prices increase the cost of fuel for machinery, transportation, and fertilizer production, leading to higher production costs for farmers. These costs are often passed on to consumers, resulting in higher food prices. Understanding the drivers of food inflation is crucial for policymakers to implement effective measures to maintain price stability and promote economic growth. This study aims to examine the factors affecting food inflation in Nigeria, providing insights for addressing this critical issue and ensuring economic stability.

Empirical Review

Emereni and Eke (2014) investigated "the impact of Nigeria's monetary policy rate on inflation." Using eighty months (monthly) data spanning January 2007 through August 2014. There were three methods used: the Augmented Dickey-Fuller test, the Johansen Co-integration test, and the Ordinary Least Square technique. It was discovered that the factors that influenced inflation in Nigeria throughout the investigation period were expected inflation, the money supply, and currency rate. According to the estimated model used for the investigation, 90% of the variance in predicting whether inflation will rise or fall was explained by the exchange rate, broad money supply, annual Treasury bill rate, and monetary policy rate. A steady long-run relationship between the variables was found at order I (1) according to the co-integration result. Similarly, Chowdhury et.al (2015) examined "the effect of money supply growth on Pakistan's inflation rate." Forty-year time series data covering 1973 – 2013 was analysed using ARDL model. Diagnostic and stability tests establish the econometric stability and soundness of the models. The country's overall output level has a short-term deflationary effect on the inflation rate, while interest rates and the money supply are important long-term policy considerations in controlling inflation.

Mohamed (2015) used annual data from 1970 to 2014 to study the "impact of fiscal and monetary policy on inflation in Sudan." The study examined the relationship between inflation and the money supply, the exchange rate, the GDP, the budget deficit, and government spending. The study found that the supply of money had a favorable and significant impact on inflation. The results showed that the supply of money, deficit budget, and shrinking GDP in Sudan are all having an impact on inflation simultaneously. Government spending and the exchange rate had little impact on the inflation rate during the study period. Ujuju and Etale (2016) investigated the role of monetary policy instruments in Nigerian inflation management. As stand-ins for monetary policy tools and independent variables, the CRR, LR, MRR, and interest rate were employed in the study. The inflation rate served as the dependent variable and was regressed against. Secondary panel data from 1982 to 2011 were gathered in 2011 using the Statistical Bulletin of the CBN. To evaluate data acquired on the research variables, the study used multiple regression techniques based on E-views 7 computer software. The null hypothesis was accepted based on the regression results after four hypotheses were tested. According to the study, INTR, MRR, Liquidity, and CRR had no meaningful impact on inflation.

Adodo, Akindutire, and Ogunyemi (2018) conducted a research to examine the "efficacy of monetary policy and inflation control in Nigeria." from 1985 - 2016. ADF technique and the VEC Model were the test used. rate of exchange, Supply of Money, as well as rate of interest all shown to be stationary and have an equilibrium connection over the long run. The rate of interest and supply of money were discovered to be statistically relevant in influencing rate of inflation, but the exchange rate has no bearing on this. It was discovered that Nigeria's monetary policy only minimally reduces inflation.

Habibullah (2019) used data from 1950 to 1999 to examine the long-run link between monetary policy and inflation in thirteen Asian developing countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Myanmar, Singapore, Thailand, India, South Korea, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Nepal, and Bangladesh. The findings shows that supply of money had a positive and substantial association with inflation. From 1970 to 2015, Akindutire, Ogunyemi, and Adodo (2019) investigated the effectiveness of monetary policy in reducing inflation in Nigeria. The results indicates that there was a substantial impact exerted on inflation by the monetary policy variables employed.

Olayinka (2021) investigated the relationship between the interest rate and the inflation rate in Nigeria. One of the main tools the CBN employ to accomplish inflation targeting is the interest rate. The interest rate can be changed to

combat rising inflation or to avert economic depression. The study aims to determine the importance of interest rates in determining inflation rates, as well as the responses of inflation rates to shocks. Nigeria has been challenged for over a decade to keep inflation low and in single digits, but this has been difficult. The interest rate was split into three components to achieve robustness in the study: monetary policy rate, maximum lending rate, and deposit rate. The inflation rate's responses to each interest rate were collected. The years under consideration, 2000-2019, were divided into two groups: 2000-2007 and 2009-2019. The findings indicated that interest rates were weak tools for containing inflation in the short run but were likely to be major and meaningful tools in the long run. Furthermore, short-run inflation rate responses to interest rates were small but substantial in the long run.

Musa and Amuta (2021) investigated the role of monetary policy in fighting inflation in Nigeria. This study's main objective was to evaluate how well monetary policy tools worked to lower inflation in Nigeria. The Statistical Bulletin of the CBN was used for the analysis, which used information from 1986 and 2019. The supply of money, MPR, rate of rate of exchange, and government spending were the explanatory variables, whereas the inflation rate was the dependent factor. The results showed that inflation in Nigeria was positively and significantly impacted by interest rates as well as currency rates over the long and short terms. However, monetary policy rate was found to be significant in influencing the inflation rate only in the interim. but not over a long period. Thus, while interest rates and exchange rates are efficient tools for regulating inflation, monetary policy rates are ineffective in Nigeria.

Methodology

Data Source

For this study, we have used secondary sources of data. The data was gathered from the World Bank Development Indicators and the CBN statistical bulletin. The data is a time series between 1991 and 2021.

Method of Data Analysis

The Vector Autoregressive Model was used as the primary technique for analyzing the data in this investigation. The empirical model was converted into a VEC model with the variables expressed in their lagged values via a matrix specification, as shown below.

$$\Delta Y_t = \beta_1 + \beta_2 \Delta Y_{t-1} + \alpha \sum \Delta Y_{t-1} + \epsilon_t \dots \dots \dots (3.1)$$

As long as the variables are co-integrated, determining causation in the long run and short-run dynamics using VAR is a straightforward process (Engle & White, 1999). In VAR, there is no distinction made between endogenous and exogenous variables, which is a big advantage. As a result, the VAR system treats all variables as endogenous and places no previous constraints on the structural relationships between them. The study uses a four-variable reduced-form VAR model to verify the effect of interest rates on inflation. The model, which is an unrestricted simple VAR, is formulated as follows to explain the impact of interest rate changes on inflation:

$$Y_t = \alpha \sum \Delta Y_{t-1} + \epsilon_t \dots \dots \dots (3.2)$$

Y = Endogenous vector of α variables and matrix polynomials of the lag operator and ϵ_t is a vector of random errors.

$$INFR = \alpha_0 + \beta_1 INTR_{t-1} + \beta_2 BEXCR_{t-1} + \beta_3 COPT_{t-1} + \epsilon_1 \dots (3.3)$$

Where: - α_0 is the intercept term, $\beta_1 \dots \beta_4$ are coefficients but $\neq 0$ and ϵ is the error terms.

Autoregressive Distributed Lag. It is a modeling framework used in econometrics to analyze the long-term relationships between variables that are potentially cointegrated. ARDL models are specifically designed to handle situations where the variables in a regression are non-stationary and have a long-run equilibrium relationship.

The ARDL model is commonly used when the variables are integrated of different orders, meaning some variables are I(0) (stationary) while others are I(1) (non-stationary). This makes it suitable for time series data where the variables may have different orders of integration.

The general form of the ARDL model you provided is:

$$FINFR_t = \alpha_0 + \beta_1 INTR_{t-1} + \beta_2 EXCR_{t-1} + \beta_3 COP_{t-1} + \epsilon_t$$

Where:

$FINFR_t$ is the dependent variable (food inflation rate) at time t.

- α_0 is the intercept term, representing the constant in the model.
- β_1, β_2 and β_3 are the coefficients of the independent variables INTR, EXCR, and COP, respectively.
- $INTR_{t-1}, EXCR_{t-1},$ and COP_{t-1} are the lagged values (one period lag) of the independent variables INTR, EXCR, and COP, respectively.
- ϵ_t is the error term or residuals of the model.

Model Specification

The quantity theory of money by Keynes will serve as the theoretical basis for this study's model specification because it accounts for several factors crucial to this investigation. Keynes's quantity theory of money, Theory of the equilibrium interest rate and the real exchange rate, and Inflation demonstrated the relationship between broad money, reserve requirement, real exchange rate, and inflation through the transmission effect (Ayodeji & Oluwole, 2018). Theoretically, the following model is implied:

$$INFR = f(INTR, EXCR, COP) \dots\dots\dots (3.4)$$

Keynes believes that the variables interact in this way through the transmission effect; hence, the explicit function is as follows:

$$FINFR = \beta_0 + \beta_1 INTR_t + \beta_2 EXCR_t + \beta_3 COP_t + \epsilon_t \dots\dots\dots (3.5)$$

Diagnostic tests

Test for Unit Root

Testing the features of these variables has become important to prevent the skewedness of empirical results due to the non-stationary behavior of a lot of variables related to macroeconomics. According to this interpretation, the study's econometric analysis started by determining the variables' stationary qualities through using the ADF tests. On evaluating the following equation, the test is based on the expression below:

$$\Delta Y_t = \beta_1 + \beta_2 t + \delta Y_{t-1} + \Delta Y_{t-1} + \mu_t \dots\dots\dots (3.6)$$

Where n is the longest possible lag on the dependent variable to guarantee that μ_t is the stationary random error and μ_t is pure white noise error.

$$\Delta Y_{t-1} = (Y_{t-1} - Y_{t-2}), \Delta Y_{t-2} = (Y_{t-2} - Y_{t-3})$$

The goal is to include enough terms to ensure that the error term is serially uncorrelated and that the ADF unit root test null hypothesis $\delta = 0$ is rejected if the t -statistics correlated with the projected value exceeds the critical values of the test.

Cointegration Test

Since the empirical model used in the study is a multivariate model, the Engle–Granger (1987) co-integration test cannot be used to see if the variables are linked together. Due to the problems listed above, the Johansen cointegration test will be used. The trace test and the maximum Eigen-values test are two likelihood ratio tests that Johansen and Juselius (1990) suggest using. Here is how to figure out the trace statistic for the null hypothesis of cointegrating relationships:

$$\Gamma_{\text{trace}}(r|k) = -T(1-\lambda t) \dots\dots\dots (3.7)$$

Endogenous variables are represented by k , for $r = 0, 1, \dots, k - 1$.

Maximum E static, which is calculated as below; hence, it compares the r cointegrating relation's null hypothesis to the $r + 1$ cointegrating relation.

$$\Gamma_{\text{max}}(r/r+1) = -T \log(1 - \lambda_{r+1}) \dots\dots\dots (3.8)$$

$$= \Gamma_{\text{trace}}(r/k) - \Gamma_{\text{trace}}(r+1|k) \dots\dots\dots (3.9)$$

The lagged error-correction term from the long-run static model's residual is added to the cointegrating equations to produce the Error Correction Mechanism (ECM). Information regarding the long term that could have vanished during the differencing will be obtained through this technique. For the outcome to follow the theory, the coefficient of the error term must be negative and between 0 and 1 in absolute values. The short- to long-run equilibrium modification patterns will be shown by the error-correction factor that needs to be estimated. It can be used to gauge how quickly a short-run connection adapts to unanticipated changes. The residual from the long-term model is used to measure it.

Results

To ensure the reliability of the econometric analysis, it is essential to test the stationarity of the variables. According to economic theory, variables must be stationary before applying standard econometric techniques to avoid producing misleading results. Therefore, a stationarity test was conducted to determine if the data meets this requirement.

Table 1: Unit root Tests

Variables	ADF-statistics	Order of Integration
FINFR	-4.306275	I(1)
INTR	-4.614085	I(1)
EXCR	-4.362810	I(1)
COP	-6.707468	I(1)

Source: Authors computations

All the variables—food inflation rate (FINFR), interest rate (INTR), exchange rate (EXCR), and crude oil prices (COP)—are non-stationary at their levels but become stationary after the first difference. Therefore, they are all integrated of order one, $I(1)$. This means that further analysis, such as cointegration tests and Vector Error Correction Model (VECM) if needed, can be conducted to understand the long-term relationships among these variables.

Cointegration Test

In this section, we investigate whether the variables can be brought into a state of long-term equilibrium with one another. The highest possible Eigenvalue, as well as the trace Following the methodology outlined in Johansen and Juselins (1990), statistics are the two likelihood ratio test statistics that are utilized to ascertain the total number of cointegrating vectors. The outcomes of these two likelihood tests, along with their corresponding statistics for the two models, are presented in Table 2

Table 2: Cointegration Results

No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Statistic	Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.799304	108.0166	69.81889	0.0000
At most 1 *	0.638439	61.44373	47.85613	0.0016
At most 2 *	0.558957	31.94129	29.79707	0.0279
At most 3	0.182403	8.201541	15.49471	0.4441
At most 4	0.078200	2.361368	3.841466	0.1244

Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test (Maximum Eigenvalue)

Hypothesized	Max-Eigen	0.05		
No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Statistic	Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.799304	46.57290	33.87687	0.0009
At most 1 *	0.638439	29.50245	27.58434	0.0280
At most 2 *	0.558957	23.73975	21.13162	0.0210
At most 3	0.182403	5.840173	14.26460	0.6338
At most 4	0.078200	2.361368	3.841466	0.1244

The observation that two variables are co-integrated lends credence to the idea that there is a connection between them over time. Table 3 displays the long-term relationship between FINFR, INTR, EXCR, and COP in Nigeria, based on one cointegrating vector, for the years under review.

Table 3: Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ADRL) Model

variables	coefficient	Std. Error	t-statistic	p-value
FINTR(-1)	0.123346	0.539535	0.228615	0.8268
EXCR	0.214712	0.103063	2.083314	0.0824
EXCR (-1)	-0.324775	0.093733	-3.464900	0.0134
COP	8.883763	3.902842	0.256223	0.0042
COP (-1)	19.05648	105.4593	0.180700	0.8626
C	19.05648	105.4593	0.180700	0.8626
R ²	0.967895			

The R-squared value is 0.967895, indicating that approximately 96.79% of the variability in the food inflation rate is explained by the model. The F-statistic is 9.044441 with a p-value of 0.005855, showing that the overall model is statistically significant. The table presents the coefficients for the short-term and long-term impacts of interest rates on the food inflation rate. The short-term coefficient of -0.906176 suggests that a 1% increase in interest rates is associated with a 0.906176% decrease in inflation in Nigeria in the short run. This implies that when the Central Bank of Nigeria raises interest rates, it is expected to have a dampening effect on inflation, reducing the general price levels of goods and services in the economy. The statistical significance of this coefficient indicates a likely true cause-and-effect relationship between interest rates and inflation in the short term.

In contrast, the long-term coefficient of 0.123346 suggests a positive relationship between interest rates and food inflation in Nigeria in the long run. Specifically, a 1% increase in interest rates is associated with a 0.123346%

increase in inflation over the long term. However, this coefficient is not statistically significant, indicating insufficient evidence to conclude a true causal relationship. The lack of statistical significance means that other factors or random variations might influence the observed relationship between interest rates and long-term inflation. The table also presents the coefficients for the short-term and long-term impacts of the exchange rate on the food inflation rate. The short-term coefficient of 0.214712 suggests that a 1% increase in the exchange rate is associated with a 0.214712% increase in inflation in Nigeria in the short term. Despite this positive relationship, the coefficient is not statistically significant, indicating that the relationship may be influenced by random fluctuations or unaccounted factors in the analysis. The long-term coefficient of -0.324775 suggests a negative relationship between the exchange rate and inflation in Nigeria over the long run. A 1% increase in the exchange rate is associated with a 0.324775% decrease in inflation in the long term. The statistical significance of this coefficient supports the conclusion that the relationship is likely not due to random chance, suggesting that an appreciation of Nigeria's currency over an extended period can help control inflation by making imported goods cheaper. Drawing upon the data presented in the table, the immediate effect of crude oil prices on food inflation is represented by a coefficient of -8.883763. This positive coefficient suggests that an increase in crude oil prices is associated with an increase in food inflation. However, this effect is statistically significant, as indicated by a p-value, which is below the commonly used significance level of 0.05.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

This research underscores the importance of a comprehensive approach to macroeconomic policy formulation, considering the interplay between interest rates, exchange rates, and crude oil prices in managing inflation. The findings have significant implications for monetary policy, fiscal policy, and exchange rate management in Nigeria. By providing empirical evidence, this research can guide policymakers and stakeholders in developing effective strategies to achieve price stability, economic growth, and sustainable development in the Nigerian economy.

The study revealed that interest rates have a positive but insignificant effect on Nigeria's food inflation, indicating that changes in interest rates have minimal impact on inflationary pressures in the country. Additionally, the research found that the money supply had a small but favorable impact on Nigeria's inflation rate, suggesting that adjustments to the nation's money supply do not significantly affect the overall inflation rate.

The analysis of exchange rates indicated a positive but not particularly significant effect on Nigeria's overall inflation rate. This implies that fluctuations in the exchange rate do not have a statistically significant impact on the country's inflation. However, the research highlighted that an increase in government spending correlates positively and significantly with higher inflation, suggesting that inflationary pressures are exacerbated by increased government expenditure.

The study aimed to analyze the determinants of food inflation in Nigeria, focusing on the effects of interest rates, exchange rates, and crude oil prices. Utilizing an Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) model, the research captured both immediate and lagged effects of these macroeconomic variables on the food inflation rate. It found that higher interest rates tend to reduce food inflation by decreasing consumer spending and investment, while the exchange rate showed a mixed impact, with an immediate positive effect and a significantly negative lagged effect.

Despite initial ARDL model results indicating non-significant coefficients, the broader analysis revealed that crude oil prices significantly affect food inflation. The cost of production, transportation, and inflationary expectations are all influenced by crude oil prices, impacting food inflation rates. Based on these findings, it is recommended that the Central Bank of Nigeria use interest rate adjustments to manage food inflation, stabilize the exchange rate to minimize its impact on food prices, and implement policies such as subsidies for agricultural inputs to offset the rising costs associated with higher crude oil prices.

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Examining the Effect of Government's Social Expenditure on Unemployment in Nigeria

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Abstract

This study examines the effect of government social expenditures on unemployment in Nigeria from 1990 to 2022. Using the Vector Error Correction Model (VECM) method to analyse both the short- and long-run effects, the results revealed that population growth had a significant positive impact on unemployment, while education expenditure showed a positive but insignificant effect. Conversely, health and infrastructural expenditures demonstrated negative impacts on unemployment, suggesting that investment in these areas contributes to reducing unemployment. Based on these findings, it is recommended that policymakers increase public investment in the health sector and infrastructure. This could involve expanding healthcare infrastructure, enhancing funding for medical training programmes, and improving healthcare delivery systems. Furthermore, the government should prioritise and scale up infrastructure development projects, such as road construction, public transportation systems, and urban development initiatives. These projects have the potential to stimulate job creation across various sectors, including construction, maintenance, and management, thereby addressing unemployment and fostering economic development.

Keywords: Government Expenditures, Unemployment, Socio-economic, VECM, Nigeria

Introduction

Unemployment remains a persistent challenge faced by nations globally, with its adverse effects particularly pronounced in developing economies such as Nigeria. For policymakers aiming to foster inclusive and sustainable economic growth, understanding the factors that influence unemployment—especially fiscal policy instruments like government spending—is crucial. As Nigeria grapples with persistently high unemployment rates, the need to examine how government spending impacts job creation becomes imperative (Adebayo et al., 2020). Samuel (2022) argues that increased government spending can act as a catalyst for economic activity and job creation. In the Nigerian context, this assertion calls for a closer investigation into how public expenditure can be strategically deployed to address unemployment. Recent research has emphasized the importance of targeted public spending in addressing specific deficiencies within the labour market (Okonjo, 2022), underscoring the need to align government expenditure with the unique characteristics of the Nigerian job market to achieve meaningful results.

A major structural issue confronting Nigeria's economy is its heavy reliance on oil revenues, which exposes the country to external shocks. In the face of these economic vulnerabilities, fiscal policies—particularly public spending—serve as critical tools for steering economic outcomes (Adebayo, 2020). However, the effectiveness of government expenditure in addressing unemployment remains uncertain, given the multifaceted challenges of the Nigerian labour market. These challenges include skill mismatches, inadequate infrastructure, and a rapidly expanding population, all of which compound the complexity of the unemployment issue (Sanusi, 2020). Such hurdles necessitate a comprehensive analysis of how government expenditure can alleviate unemployment in Nigeria.

Existing studies have explored various aspects of government spending and its impact on unemployment. For example, Adewale and Adejare (2017), Oladipo and Abubakar (2017), Musa and Adesina (2018), and Olawale and Adekunle (2018) investigated the sectoral composition of government expenditure and its effects on unemployment in Nigeria. Similarly, Eze and Udo (2021), Oladeji and Oni (2017), and Yusuf et al. (2018) examined the structural

composition of public spending concerning unemployment. However, these studies have largely overlooked the socioeconomic composition of government expenditure. This study seeks to fill that gap by uniquely examining the effects of government expenditure on education, health, and infrastructure on the unemployment rate in Nigeria.

Literature Review

Theoretical Review

The classical theory of unemployment, championed by economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo during the 18th and 19th centuries, is rooted in laissez-faire economic principles. This theory posits that the labour market naturally achieves equilibrium, where the supply of labour equals the demand for labour. According to this perspective, wages are determined by the intersection of labour supply and demand, ensuring that anyone willing to work at the prevailing wage rate will find employment (Fitzgerald, 1998). Unemployment, in this framework, is seen as either temporary or voluntary, arising from individual choices or the natural adjustments of the market.

A significant departure from classical economic thought emerged in 1936 with the Keynesian theory of employment, introduced by John Maynard Keynes in his seminal work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. Keynesian economics challenged the classical view, particularly its inability to explain the prolonged unemployment experienced during the Great Depression (Ogujiuba and Cornelissen, 2020). Keynes argued that economies could remain stuck in a state of persistent unemployment due to insufficient aggregate demand. Unlike the classical assertion that wages and prices adjust quickly to restore full employment, Keynes highlighted the rigidity of wages and prices during economic downturns.

Keynes further contended that falling aggregate demand leads to reduced production and widespread unemployment. To address this, he advocated for government intervention through fiscal policies, such as increased public spending, to stimulate demand and foster job creation (Dornbusch et al., 2011). This marked a paradigm shift, emphasizing the role of proactive government action in mitigating unemployment and stabilizing the economy. Keynes's theory forms the theoretical foundation of the present study because it is related to how government expenditure can serve as an intervention to influence socioeconomic outcomes.

Empirical Review

Oladeji and Oni (2017) investigated the impact of government capital expenditure on unemployment in Nigeria, using data from 1998 to 2016 obtained from CBN and NBS. ECM analysis revealed a positive relationship, with government capital expenditure affecting unemployment differently across sectors. The findings highlighted the need for targeted investment in capital projects that could stimulate employment. The study recommended a strategic allocation of funds to capital projects that have the potential to create sustainable job opportunities and foster economic growth. However, the study did not report the long-run findings of the study and it is important to know the long-run impact as well.

Oladipo and Abubakar (2017) investigated the relationship between government expenditure on transportation infrastructure and the unemployment rate in Nigeria, utilizing data from 1990 to 2016 obtained from CBN and NBS. Employing the OLS, findings revealed a mixed relationship, with the impact of transportation infrastructure spending on unemployment varying across different regions. The findings emphasized the importance of region-specific transportation policies to address unemployment disparities. The study recommended targeted investment in transportation infrastructure, considering the unique needs and challenges of different regions, to promote job creation and economic development. However, the study employed the wrong technique as the unit root showed evidence of mixed-order integrations.

Adewale and Adejare (2017) examined the effect of government expenditure on information and communication technology (ICT) on unemployment in Nigeria, using NBS and WDI data from 2000 to 2016. Employing VECM techniques, the study found a positive correlation, suggesting that increased government spending on ICT was associated with higher employment opportunities. The findings highlighted the role of ICT in creating jobs and fostering economic growth. The study recommended continued investment in ICT infrastructure and programs to

support job creation and enhance the country's technological capabilities. However, the study data scope is too few for a robust estimate.

Olawale and Adekunle (2018) investigated the effect of government expenditure on agricultural research and development on unemployment in Nigeria, utilizing NBS and WDI data from 1998 to 2017. OLS revealed a positive effect of government expenditure on agricultural output, with the effectiveness of spending on agricultural research and development in reducing unemployment varying over time. The findings highlighted the importance of adapting agricultural research and development policies to address changing economic conditions. The study recommended continuous evaluation and adjustment of research and development projects to ensure they align with current employment needs and contribute to sustainable economic development. However, the study did not indicate how its variables were measured.

Bello and Ibrahim (2018) investigated the impact of government expenditure on unemployment in Nigeria, utilizing data from 1995 to 2017 obtained from CBN and WDI. ARDL was employed and findings revealed, that the effectiveness of renewable energy spending in reducing unemployment varies over time. The findings emphasized the importance of adapting renewable energy policies to address changing economic conditions. The study recommended continuous evaluation and adjustment of renewable energy projects to ensure they align with current employment needs and contribute to sustainable economic development.

Musa and Adesina (2018) investigated the impact of government expenditure on the manufacturing sector on unemployment in Nigeria, using data from 1995 to 2017 obtained from CBN and NBS. ARDL analysis revealed a significant positive impact, with government spending in the manufacturing sector affecting unemployment differently across periods. The findings underscored the need for dynamic policies that consider the evolving nature of the manufacturing sector. The study recommended targeted interventions and policies to support the manufacturing sector, fostering job creation and economic growth. However, the long-run result was not provided. It will be important to know the long-run effect of the study.

Yusuf et al. (2018) explored the impact of capital expenditure on unemployment in Nigeria, using data from 1992 to 2017 obtained from CBN and NBS. The OLS technique was employed to examine the relationship between capital expenditure and the unemployment rate. The findings revealed a significant negative impact, indicating that higher capital expenditure was associated with lower unemployment rates. The study recommended an increased focus on capital projects and infrastructural development to stimulate economic activities and reduce unemployment. However, the studies did not include some variables like education expenditures etc which will give broader knowledge of the study.

Ahmad and Mohammed (2018) examined the effect of government expenditure on the unemployment rate in Nigeria, utilizing data from 1990 to 2017 obtained from CBN and WDI. VECM analysis revealed a negative effect between government expenditure and the unemployment rate. The study recommended a careful evaluation of government spending priorities, emphasizing the importance of directing funds towards sectors with the potential to create sustainable employment opportunities. The findings underscored the need for prudent fiscal policies to achieve a more favourable balance between government expenditure and unemployment reduction. However, the study should have disaggregated government expenditure so that we can know which of the determinants of government expenditure affect unemployment.

Ojo and Ahmed (2019) examined the relationship between government expenditure and unemployment in Nigeria, utilizing data from 1985 to 2018 sourced from NBS and CBN. Employing ECM techniques, the study found that government expenditure had a positive impact on unemployment. The findings emphasized the importance of targeted government spending to address specific areas of unemployment. The study recommended a strategic allocation of government expenditure to sectors with high employment potential, promoting inclusive economic growth. However, the study did not highlight the specific areas to be targeted and this is important to policy makers.

Salisu and Garba (2020) explored the impact of government expenditure on housing and urban development on unemployment in Nigeria, utilizing NBS and CBN data from 1995 to 2019. Employing VECM analysis, the study found a mixed relationship, with government spending on housing affecting unemployment differently in urban and

rural areas. The findings highlighted the importance of tailoring housing and urban development policies to address the unique challenges faced by both urban and rural populations. The study recommended region-specific interventions and increased investment in housing to support job creation and sustainable urban development. However, the study did not perform any diagnostic tests which is important for reliability results.

Nwosu and Okoli (2020) explored the impact of government expenditure on small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and the unemployment rate in Nigeria, using data from 2005 to 2019 sourced from NBS and CBN. Employing the ECM technique, the study found a positive and significant impact, suggesting that increased government spending on SMEs was associated with higher employment opportunities. The findings underscored the role of SMEs in job creation and economic development. The study recommended continued support for SMEs through policies and funding to enhance their capacity for job creation and contribute to economic growth. However, the scope of the data is not enough to justify the robustness of the result.

Afolabi and Ojo (2020) explored the relationship between government expenditure on health and the unemployment rate in Nigeria, utilizing data from 1992 to 2019 sourced from NBS and CBN. Employing correlation techniques, the study found a negative correlation, suggesting that increased government spending on health was associated with lower unemployment rates. The findings emphasized the importance of health sector investments in promoting overall well-being and contributing to employment stability. The study recommended continued and increased allocation to the health sector to support job creation and enhance the population's health. However, the study did not showcase a theoretical framework to which the model was specified.

Ganiyu and Adeleke (2021) investigated the impact of government recurrent expenditure on unemployment in Nigeria, using NBS and CBN data from 1995 to 2020. Employing VECM analysis, the study found that recurrent expenditure had a significant positive effect on unemployment, indicating that an increase in recurrent spending contributed to higher unemployment rates. The findings suggested a need for efficiency in government spending and the implementation of policies that target job creation. The study recommended a review of recurrent expenditure priorities to ensure they align with employment-generating initiatives. However, the study did not perform a cointegration test and this brings about an incomplete pre-estimation test which caused the estimation technique to be questioned.

Oguntuase and Ogunrinola (2021) investigated the relationship between government expenditure on public works projects and the unemployment rate in Nigeria, using data from 1990 to 2020 sourced from CBN and WDI. VECM analysis revealed a positive long-run and short-run relationship, with the effectiveness of public works spending in reducing unemployment varying over time. The findings emphasized the need for adaptive policies that respond to changing economic conditions. The study recommended continuous evaluation and adjustment of public works projects to ensure they align with current employment needs and contribute to economic stability. However, the study did not report the speed of adjustment, and it is crucial to understand the convergence speed.

Eze and Udo (2021) investigated the influence of recurrent government expenditure on unemployment in Nigeria, utilizing data from 1988 to 2020 sourced from NBS. Employing ECM techniques, the study found a positive effect in the short run, with recurrent government expenditure impacting unemployment differently across economic sectors. The findings highlighted the need for targeted policies addressing sector-specific challenges. The study recommended a comprehensive approach to recurrent government expenditure, taking into account the diverse nature of the economy and its impact on unemployment. However, the study did not report the speed of adjustment, and it is crucial to understand the convergence speed.

Abubakar and Yusuf (2021) explored the relationship between government expenditure on administration and the unemployment rate in Nigeria, utilizing data from 1990 to 2020 sourced from NBS and WDI. Employing pair-wise correlation techniques, the study found a negative correlation, suggesting that higher government spending on administration was associated with lower unemployment rates. The findings emphasized the importance of investing in administration expenses as a means to reduce unemployment. The study recommended increased allocation to admin in the government budget to enhance human capital development and alleviate unemployment. However, the study did not perform any pre-estimation test, and this caused the result to be questioned.

Idris and Ahmed (2022) examined the effect of government expenditure on unemployment in Nigeria, utilizing NBS data from 1985 to 2021. Employing OLS techniques, the study found a positive effect. The study recommended region-specific policies and increased allocation to social welfare programs tailored to the unique challenges faced by different regions. However, the study did not identify problems in its statement of problems.

Olawale and Ibrahim (2023) examined the effect of government expenditure on infrastructure development on unemployment in Nigeria, utilizing data from 1985 to 2022 sourced from NBS. Employing ARDL techniques, the study found a negative correlation, indicating that increased government spending on infrastructure was associated with lower unemployment rates. The findings underscored the importance of investing in critical infrastructure for economic development and job creation. The study recommended sustained efforts in infrastructure development to promote long-term employment stability. However, the study did not include other control variables. It only accounts for government expenditure.

Ogundipe and Aluko (2023) investigated the impact of government expenditure on unemployment in Nigeria, using NBS and CBN data from 1995 to 2022. OLS analysis revealed a significant positive impact on unemployment. The findings emphasized the need for region-specific agricultural policies to address unemployment disparities. The study recommended targeted investment in the agricultural sector, taking into account regional variations and leveraging the sector's potential for job creation. However, the study did not perform some diagnostics and this questions the authenticity of the result.

Adebayo and Sanni (2023) investigated the effect of government expenditure on the unemployment rate in Nigeria, analyzing data spanning from 1990 to 2022 obtained from CBN and the WDI. The VECM technique was employed for the analysis. Findings revealed a positive and significant effect of government expenditure on the unemployment rate in Nigeria. The study suggested that increased government spending contributed to higher unemployment rates. As a recommendation, the study proposed diversification of the economy and the formulation of policies aimed at reducing the unemployment rate. Emphasis was placed on the need for a comprehensive approach to address the complex relationship between government expenditure and unemployment.

A review of the empirical literature reveals a noticeable gap in analyzing the socio-economic composition of government expenditure. While many studies focused on aggregated or sectoral spending, the present study uniquely examines how government expenditures on education, health, and infrastructure individually impact unemployment in Nigeria. This approach offers a different understanding of fiscal policy's role in addressing unemployment.

Methodology

Based on the theoretical foundation of Keynes on the importance of fiscal policy and government intervention in influencing economic outcomes such as output and unemployment, this study specifies a model of unemployment which is as follows:

$$UNEM = f(EDEXP, HEXP, INEXP) \quad 1$$

The econometric format is specified below and in their logarithm format to keep the variables in equal magnitudes:

$$UNEMP_t = \beta_0 + \ln\beta_1 POP_t + \ln\beta_2 EDEXP_t + \ln\beta_3 HEXP_t + \ln\beta_4 INEXP_t + u_t \quad 2$$

Apriori expectation: $\beta_1 < 0$, $\beta_2 > 0$, $\beta_3 > 0$ and $\beta_4 < 0$

Where UNEMP is the Unemployment rate, POP is Population, EDEXP is Education expenditure, HEXP is Health expenditure, INEXP is Infrastructural expenditure, the betas are the coefficients of the estimation and u_t is the error terms. Data for POP, EDEXP, HEXP and INEXP were obtained from the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) statistical bulletin, while UNEMP data was sourced from the World Development Indicator (WDI) of the World Bank's online database. The data description definition and source are summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1 Data definition, measurement and source

VARIABLES	DEFINITIONS	MEASUREMENT	SOURCE	APRIORI EXPECTATION
UNEMP	Unemployment	Unemployment percentage of labour force.	WDI	Dependent Variable
POP	Population	Total number of people in Nigeria	CBN	(+/-)
EDEXP	Education expenditure	Government Public education expenditure in Naira	CBN	(+)
Health expenditure	Health expenditure	Public health expenditure.	CBN	(+/-)
INEXP	Infrastructural expenditure	Public infrastructural expenditures in Naira.	CBN	(+/-)

Estimation Techniques

The study carried out descriptive, diagnostic, and regression analyses to estimate the effect of government expenditures on unemployment. For the regression, it adopted the Vector Error Correction Model (VECM) to account for the presence of unit root and cointegration among the variables and to examine the short and long-run effects of the variables.

Results and Discussion

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Var	Skew.	Kurt.
UNEM	4.169	3.9	.658	3.7	5.999	.4329	1.84	5.053
InPOP	18.78	18.787	.2545	18.37	19.202	.064	-.0000	1.759
InEDEXP	4.271	4.77	1.97	-1.238	6.555	3.88	-.981	3.336
InHEXP	3.555	4.131	2.197	-1.897	6.081	4.826	-.804	2.646
InINEXP	2.986	2.998	2.031	-.892	5.387	4.124	-.473	1.833

Source: Authors' computation (2024)

Table 2 above presents the summary statistics of the data. The average of all the variables ranges between 2 % and 18% and the variance coefficient is between 0 and 4. This concludes that the variation of the samples is not far from their mean. The coefficient of skewness indicates that InPOP, InEDEXP, InHEXP and InINEXP are negatively

skewed, while UNEM is positively skewed. The kurtosis coefficients of InEDEXP reflected a mesokurtic distribution. While, InPOP, InHEXP and InINEXP reflect leptokurtic distribution. And UNEM reflects platykurtic. This implies that the data has some outliers given the coefficient value.

Table 3 Correlation Matrix

Variables	UNEM	InEDEXP	InHEXP	InINEXP
UNEM	1.000			
InPOP	0.636*	1.000		
InHEXP	0.455*	0.993*	1.000	
InINEXP	0.468*	0.935*	0.956*	1.000

* shows significance at $p < .05$

Source: Authors' computation (2024)

Table 3 above shows that InPOP, InEDEXP, InHEXP and InINEXP have a weak positive relationship with UNEM and they are significant at the 5% level. However, looking at the correlations of all the explanatory, we conclude that there is a strong positive relationship among the explanatory variables and they are significant at 5%. With the strong relationship among the explanatory variables in the system, we conclude that there is multicollinearity in the model.

Unit Root Test

It is essential to perform the unit root test to ensure that no variable is integrated into an order higher than one. The study utilizes the Augmented Dickey fuller test in other to ensure the stationarity of the variables. Table 3 depicts the results of the ADF unit root test at levels and first difference.

Table 4 Augmented Dickey-Fuller Test (ADF) Unit Root Test

Variables	At Level	First difference	Order of Integration
UNEM	-0.013	-2.684*	I(1)
InPOP	-2.594	-4.154***	I(1)
InEDEXP	-1.839	-3.505**	I(1)
InHEXP	-1.890	-4.983***	I(1)
InINEXP	-1.658	-6.591***	I(1)
Critical	1%	5%	10%
Values	-3.716	-2.986	-2.624

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

Source: Authors' computation (2024)

From Table 4 above, it is seen that all the variables are integrated on order 1, which means that they are stationary at first difference. And given that the variables are integrated at order 1, it means they have to be differenced before attaining stationarity.

Cointegration Test

Two kinds of tests are considered under the Johansen cointegration technique, and these are the Eigenvalue and Trace statistic tests. The Trace statistics in examining the null hypothesis assume that the number of distinct cointegrating vectors (r) is more than the (r) against a general alternative. On the other hand, the maximal eigenvalue tests measure (r) against the alternative of $r+1$ cointegrating vectors.

Table 5 Johansen cointegration test

Hypothesized No. Of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Trace/Max-Eigen Statistics	Critical value
None	-	89.7939	68.52
At most 1	0.69083	53.4040	47.21
At most 2	0.59872	25.0981*	28.68

Maximum Eigenvalue test

None	-	36.3899	33.46
At most 1	0.69083	28.3058	27.07
At most 2	0.59872	14.2087	20.97

Source: Authors' computation (2024)

Johansen cointegration test from the above table optimizes that there are at most three (3) cointegrating equations in the model and it is supported by the outcome of the maximum Eigenvalue test. Given that the variables are stationary at $I(1)$ and there is cointegration, the study employs the VECM and the result is shown below.

Vector Error Correction Model

To determine the study's general and specific objectives, the study employed the vector error correction model because of its ability to test for long-run robustness and the outcome is shown in the table below:

Table 6 Johansen Normalization Restriction Imposed

INF	Coef.	St. Err	z	p-value
_Cel	-.0739477	.0386787	-1.91	0.056
InPOP	-26.48829	3.912418	-6.77	0.000
InEDEXP	-.7161376	.8224867	-0.87	0.384
InHEXP	1.843964	1.033922	1.78	0.075
InINEXP	1.741655	.3345578	5.21	0.000
Constant	496.9566			

Source: Author's computation (2024)

Table 6 examines the long-run effects of government expenditure on unemployment in Nigeria. The coefficients are interpreted as elasticities due to the logarithmic transformation of the variables. To normalise the vector, the

coefficients are reversed by multiplying them by -1, as recommended by Menla et al. (2014). This approach enables the computation of the long-run coefficients.

After reversing the signs, InPOP (log of population) shows a positive and highly significant effect on unemployment (UNEM). Holding other factors constant, a 1% increase in population results in a 26.5% increase in unemployment. This study aligns with the findings of Olusanya (2019).

InEDEXP (log of education expenditure) exhibits a positive effect on unemployment. A 1% increase in education expenditure leads to a 71% rise in unemployment, though this result is statistically insignificant. This aligns with the study's expectations and is supported by Obada (2019), who attributed similar findings to the limited impact of education expenditure on a country's productivity.

InHEXP (log of health expenditure) has a negative and significant effect on unemployment. A 1% increase in health expenditure reduces unemployment by 1.84% on average, *ceteris paribus*. This finding is consistent with the study by Gbenga et al. (2018) and suggests that investing in health infrastructure enhances the efficiency of the healthcare system and generates employment opportunities for medical professionals, thereby reducing unemployment.

InINEXP (log of infrastructure expenditure) also demonstrates a negative effect on unemployment. Holding other factors constant, a 1% increase in infrastructure expenditure results in a 1.74% decrease in unemployment. This finding aligns with expectations and previous studies by Phillip and Samuel (2018) and Farid et al. (2021).

Finally, the adjustment parameter (λ) satisfies the required conditions of having a negative sign and being statistically significant. This indicates that deviations from the long-run equilibrium are corrected at a convergence speed of 7%. The Error Correction Term (ECT) further confirms these properties, supporting the model's robustness in explaining the relationship between government expenditure and unemployment.

Diagnostic Test

Autocorrelation

To test if there is serial autocorrelation in the lag of the model, the LM test for autocorrelation is employed and the result is shown in the table below:

Table 7 Lagrange multiplier test

Lag	Chi2	df	Prob>Chi2
1	41.2805	25	0.02145
2	25.5792	25	0.43032

H_0 : no autocorrelation

From Table 6, we can conclude that there is no autocorrelation in the first and second lag of the model because the probability value is not significant, we do not reject null.

Normality Test

To test if the errors of the model are normally distributed, the Jacque-Berra test for normality is employed and it is shown in the table below:

Table 8 Jacque-Berra

Equation	Chi2	df	Prob>Chi2
D_UNEM	109.292	2	0.00000
D_InPOP	0.408	2	0.81542
D_InEDEXP	1.280	2	0.52723
D_InHEXP	5.487	2	0.06436
D_InINEXP	0.185	2	0.91182
ALL	116.651	10	0.00000

Source: Authors' computation using (2024)

Table 7 shows that INV is not normally distributed because of the significance of the probability value, the null of a normal distribution is rejected, while other variables are normally distributed and also the overall variables are normally distributed.

VEC Stability

The Eigenvalue stability test is employed to check the stability condition of the model and the result is shown in the table below:

Table 8 Eigenvalue stability condition

Equation	Modulus
1	1
1	1
1	1
1	1
.8916707	.8916707
.6197031	.6197031
-.5904143	.5904143
01360766 + .4439865i	.444195
01360766 - .4439865i	.444195
-.1694121	.169412

Source: Authors' computation (2024)

Table 8 above shows that the VEC specification imposes 4 units moduli and all the variables are inside the circle unit we conclude that the model is stable.

Conclusion and Recommendation

As Africa's largest economy, Nigeria faces significant challenges with high unemployment rates, which adversely affect inclusive economic growth. The country's heavy reliance on oil revenues further exacerbates its vulnerability to external economic shocks, highlighting the need to explore how government spending can drive job creation.

While several studies have investigated the relationship between government expenditure and unemployment, as reviewed in the literature, they often fail to account for the socioeconomic composition of government spending. Addressing this gap, the present study examines the effects of government expenditure on education, health, and infrastructure on unemployment rates in Nigeria.

To achieve this objective, the study employed the Vector Error Correction Model (VECM) to analyse both the short- and long-run effects of the selected variables. The results reveal that population exerts a significant positive effect on unemployment, while education expenditure shows a positive but statistically insignificant effect. Conversely, health and infrastructure expenditures have negative impacts on unemployment, suggesting that investments in these sectors reduce unemployment levels.

Based on these findings, several policy recommendations are proposed. Policymakers should consider increasing public investment in the health sector and infrastructure. In the health sector, this could involve expanding healthcare infrastructure, increasing funding for medical training programs, and enhancing healthcare delivery systems. These measures would not only generate employment opportunities for medical professionals but also improve overall population well-being, indirectly supporting economic growth and reducing unemployment.

In terms of infrastructure, the government should prioritise and expand development projects such as road construction, public transportation systems, and urban development initiatives. Such projects have the potential to create jobs across multiple sectors, including construction, maintenance, and management, thereby addressing unemployment and fostering economic development.

To maximise the impact of government expenditure on unemployment reduction, it is essential to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of public spending. This can be achieved by establishing clear performance metrics for expenditure programmes, conducting regular audits to assess the impact of initiatives, and ensuring transparency in the allocation of funds. Enhanced fiscal management will help ensure that public resources are utilised effectively to achieve targeted outcomes, including significant reductions in unemployment.

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Information Technology Governance and Performance of SMES in Nigeria: Evidence from Ilorin Metropolis

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Abstract

IT governance is one of the concepts that emerged recently and has become an important issue in the information technology arena especially regarding SMEs operations. Some organizations started with the implementation of IT governance in order to achieve the fusion between business and IT. Small and medium businesses account for the transition to a market economy while playing an important part in innovation, income generation and dynamism in economy and employment. This study examined Information Technology Governance and Performance of SMEs in Nigeria, generating data from selected SMEs in Ilorin Metropolis in Kwara State, Nigeria. The study used both primary data and secondary data. Primary data was gotten from the field while carrying out the research from selected SMEs while the secondary data were extracted from various literatures and annual reports available in the library as well as on the internet. Ordinal logit regression was used in testing the research hypotheses and the result revealed that there is a significant impact between portfolio management and SMEs performances. The study then concluded that SMEs should take into consideration their investment management as well as portfolio management in ensuring excellent outcome and achieving their mission and vision.

Keywords: Information Technology, Governance, Performance, SMES

Introduction

In order to maintain growth and competitiveness, small and medium-sized businesses (SMEs) must acquire, track, and manage quality performance throughout time as the inventive era in the globalized and knowledge-based economy continues to expand. Consequently, the extensive use of technology has led to a critical reliance on information technology (IT), necessitating the focus on IT governance. Leadership, organizational structures, and procedures make up IT governance, which makes sure that IT upholds and expands the enterprise's goals and strategy, Guldentops (2014). One of the contentious topics in small and medium-sized businesses is IT governance, and high-level models like Control Objectives for Information and Related Technologies and Value from IT Investments (COBIT and the VAL IT) Framework have been created to help with its implementation. The first stage is to choose an IT governance model, and the next step is to put the chosen model into practice as a solution. A good business performance should result from the choice and application of an IT governance model (Damianides, 2015). Robinson (2015) asserts that IT governance serves three primary goals: optimal risk management, operational excellence, and regulatory and legal compliance. Robinson added that subpar IT performance frequently leads to unsuccessful IT projects, as well as subpar time, money, and return on investment (ROI) management. Therefore, it is clear that governance is necessary to ensure accountability and openness in order for organizations to operate at their best. In the current generation, technology is essential for start-ups and small-to medium-sized enterprises

(SMEs) to stay ahead of the competition. Even though IT governance is becoming more and more important, research indicates that many SMEs have not been successful in using IT to their advantage (Grant, (2017).

Small and medium-sized businesses (SMEs) are the industry with the quickest rate of growth, creating a sizable number of jobs for the public. Even Nevertheless, SMEs continue to confront numerous challenges, especially in the areas of technology-related expenses, technological malfunctions that result in the loss of crucial data, technological change, and a lack of IT know-how, all of which can have a significant impact on smaller enterprises. To make sure the tools they are employing are efficient and promote productivity, organizations must stay up to date with the rapid advancements in technology. While over half of small businesses outsource most or all of their technology management and support, this is not always an efficient approach to handle IT difficulties, and it can be costly to stay up with technological advancements. When there is no qualified inside person executing the position as the SME's IT specialist, outsourcing can be ineffective and cause issues. For SMEs, governmental policies and laws pertaining to IT technologies might provide difficulties. It can be challenging for small businesses to stay on top of these rules and regulations, which are subject to quick changes.

Adenikinju & Osakede, (2020); Aremu & Adeyemi, (2011); Bhatiasavi, (2010); Dinh & Calabrò, (2019); Grant, (2017); Guldentops, (2014); Huang, et al., (2016) and Musawa & Wahab, (2012) are a few reviewed studies in this field. Due to the critical role that IT governance plays in businesses, it is now believed that IT governance must be put into place in order to support and facilitate business goals and to reduce related risks. Benefits from corporate IT investments are directly impacted by IT governance (Weill & Ross, 2014). This is valid for small and medium-sized enterprises. However, SMEs use IT governance measures far more frequently (Huang et al., 2016). Accordingly, the sector's troublesome governance-related problems originate from IT strategic planning and execution to management, support, and monitoring (ITGI & PwC, 2016). Therefore, to improve public service delivery efficiency and satisfy stakeholders, consistent strategy alignment and business goals are necessary for the efficient integration of ICT and, in fact, ICT-enabled transformative governance in these environments (Guldentops, 2014). Based on this context, the study looks at how information technology governance affects small and medium-sized businesses' performance in the city of Ilorin. The main objective of this research is to examine the impact of Information Technology Governance and Performance of Small and Medium Enterprises in Ilorin Metropolis. The study specifically examines. The impact of Value Governance on the SMEs Performance in Ilorin metropolis. Also, it assesses the impact of Portfolio Management on the SMEs Performance in Ilorin metropolis. Therefore, this study hypothesized that:

H₁ There is no significant impact between Value governance and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Performance in Ilorin metropolis.

H₂ There is no significant impact between Portfolio Management and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Performance in Ilorin metropolis.

Literature Review and Theoretical Review

Information Technology Governance

Many organizations place a high priority on IT governance, which is also widely discussed in the professional and scholarly literature (Peterson, 2014). According to Van Grembergen and De Haes (2016), IT governance is the organizational ability of the board, executive management, and IT management to oversee the development and execution of IT strategy and hence guarantee the integration of business and IT. In essence, top management and the board of directors are in charge of IT governance. It is a crucial component of enterprise governance and includes the organizational structures, leadership, and procedures that guarantee that the IT department of the company upholds and expands the organization's goals and strategy.

The word governance, which comes from the Greek word "Kubernan," means "navigation" or the ongoing process of orienting and adjusting. The two definitions of governance mentioned above both allude to the difficulty of IT in consistently adapting to the shifting demands of business. The primary duty of the board of directors is also emphasized in both definitions. While there are some similarities between the two definitions, there are also some

differences. According to Van Grembergen's (2013) definition, IT management plays a significant role in the IT governance process.

Value Governance

Value governance has a wider definition than only overseeing a particular type of company. Various people have used the term in different ways, and there is currently no agreed-upon definition of value governance. Value governance is the subject of a large body of literature, and scholars like Becht et al. (2012) and Shleifer and Vishny (2017) have compiled surveys of the body of knowledge in this area. First, values are shared opinions or concepts among people who belong to the same group, culture, and country. Morals and standards of what is desirable or unpleasant, as well as what is good or evil, are called values. Values serve as general standards for an individual's conduct in all circumstances and have a significant impact on their attitudes and behaviors. In its most basic form, value governance is concerned with how managers establish norms for what is and is not acceptable as well as the type of cultural relativity they foster within the organization, which is then linked to whether their investments perform well (Shleifer & Vishny 2017). The term "value governance" describes the organizational structure that encourages or compels management to uphold moral principles and standards in all of their actions (Tirole, 2011).

Theoretical Review

Resource-based View

The resource-based theory, upon which this study is based, was created to comprehend how businesses create long-lasting competitive advantages. Amit & Schoemaker, 2013; Peteraf, 2013) The resource-based view (RBV) assumed that the firm is a pool of hard-to-copy resources and capabilities (Conner, 2019) and that the firm's unique ability to build up, expand, and organize those resources and capabilities to create and apply value-enhancing strategies is what causes the differences in size distribution and competitiveness of firms. According to the resource-based view, knowledge is a strategic advantage that could serve as the foundation of an organization's long-term competitive advantage. The resource-based theory of the firm, first advanced by Penrose (2009) and later developed by others (e.g., see Alavi & Leidner 2011), is the foundation of Grant (2016)'s knowledge-based perspective of the firm. It includes the efficiency, scope, and flexibility of knowledge integration as well as the four main ways that knowledge is coordinated: rules and directives, sequencing, routines, and group problem-solving and decision-making.

RBV's theoretical findings offer a solid foundation and highlight how crucial resource management is to business performance (Mao et al. 2016; Xu et al. 2016). A number of resources, including human, technological, and relationship resources (Ravichandran et al. 2015), as well as IT-related resources including infrastructure, human-IT resources, and IT-enabled intangibles (Huang et al. 2016), have been identified by various writers as having the potential to improve corporate performance. To be more precise, a company uses IT to compete and create value since its resources are precious, scarce, distinctive, and expensive to replicate under RBV (Prasad et al. 2010; Wang et al. 2016c). According to Xu et al. (2016), a firm's chances of gaining and maintaining a competitive edge increase with the variety and uniqueness of its resources. Furthermore, a company's RBV conceptualizes the potential that it may reap from its IT resources, which may serve as the foundation for its competitive edge (Turel et al. 2017; Zhang et al. 2016). No matter the country, SMEs face the same difficulties in terms of performance and desire to gain a competitive edge. According to records, almost half of SMEs did not make it beyond the first five years of pregnancy (Dinh, 2011; Kpleai, 2019; Ou & Haynes, 2016).

According to reports, 85% of Nigeria's founded businesses did not make it past five years of operation (Aremu & Adeyemi, 2017; Ariyo, 2018; Ogunjuiba, 2014). It confirms that Nigerian small and medium-sized businesses face numerous and significant obstacles in their efforts to stay competitive in the market. Nigeria is currently entering a knowledge-based economy as a result. Given the global problems, Nigeria should focus on developing a knowledge-based economy (Bhatiasavi, 2010). Innovation in technology may help SMEs compete more successfully in the marketplace, and it will soon be a competitive requirement for all businesses to survive. Due to a lack of government policies that encourage the adoption and integration of technology, SMEs in Nigeria currently seem to be underperforming and less competitive, among other reasons, because of financial and electricity restrictions (Adenikinju, 2013; Musawa & Wahab, 2012). Folorunso, Olusegun, Gabriel, Awe, Sharma, Sushil, and Zhang (2016) recognized the implementation cost of technology, human capital (education), and other aspects that were

practical for them. Musawa and Wahab (2012) found that one of the main policy factors influencing the growth of Nigerian SMEs is a lack of finance and a failure to use technology.

Empirical Review

To identify any gaps, a large body of literature on information technology governance and performance was evaluated. According to a review of earlier studies, there is proof that IT governance and performance are related (De Haes & Grembergen, 2018). The literature study highlights the paucity of research on the connection between IT governance frameworks in enterprises and IT strategic alignment. "More research and exploration are required into the means or antecedents of organizational performances," Chan and Reich (2017) added in support of this viewpoint. According to De Haes and Grembergen (2017), there is a dearth of research on the execution of IT governance as well. Hirschheim and Sabherwal's (2011) study concurs that there is a dearth of research on established goals and how they are met and maintained. According to Das, Zahra, and Warkentin (2013), this explanation is inadequate because business practices are process oriented, whereas IT strategies are measured by results. Hirschheim and Sabherwal's research showed that the adoption of the business topologies, prospectors, defenders, and analyzers as the chosen framework to measure and describe information technology alignment strategies implied that these measures fit an aligned behavior.

According to recent studies on technology management techniques used by many multinational enterprises, the majority of businesses are not getting the most out of their IT investments (Ross & Weill, 2012). Doyle, Ge, and McVay (2017) state that the degree of business and senior manager leadership in a few critical IT choices is the most significant element separating high-performing firms from those that perform below expectations. An effective and efficient information infrastructure can also increase shareholder value, according to Ross and Weill. On the other hand, they contend that in an interconnected economy, IT failures can negatively impact an organization's reputation, leading to a growing need to make sure internal controls are in place.

Klamm and Watson (2019) state that boards of directors can adopt an IT governance framework. These frameworks are based on a variety of standards, are generally already in place, and are well-established, sound practices that also offer the necessary guidance and support materials to help the organization adapt and create a foundation for governance. Each governance framework has its own advantages and disadvantages, and although they were created for distinct reasons, many of them do comparable tasks in order to accomplish the intended goal, according to Beneish, Billings, and Hodder (2018). Current research initiatives are being assembled and incorporate the main frameworks to gain higher compatibility, according to the literature, which supports this claim (Klamm & Watson, 2019). According to Hammersley, Myers, and Shakespeare (2018), a significant number of research have been conducted utilizing SOX data, mainly examining the traits of companies that disclose material weakness (MW) and the impact of internal control reports on market conditions. Companies that report MWs are typically smaller, have more complicated operations, and are financially weaker, according to Ge and McVay (2015) (Klamm & Watson 2019). Boards should thus be aware that reports of MWs have a negative stock-price reaction, particularly when those reports are serious. According to Kordel (2014), while businesses are taking advantage of IT-related opportunities, these benefits are gradually evaporating; in certain cases, these overestimations of the strategic impact can result in excessive technology spending.

In order to guarantee the success of the company, Kordel further contended that management should be aware of the significance of IT risk management by having a strategic plan to identify vulnerabilities and make sure business executives are also focused on possible technology weaknesses. Cook, Probert, and Martin (2019) contended that the majority of firms nowadays require an IT unit to succeed, stressing that by preserving operational performance, revenue streams and profitability are more stable, leading to greater financial forecasts and investor confidence. New opportunities and revenue streams can be sought with the establishment of an efficient IT office. According to Cook, Probert, and Martin (2019), a company's new performance and innovation can win over customers and boost the organization's perceived value.

Methodology

This research employed a survey research design to examine information technology governance and the performance of SMEs in Nigeria, with empirical evidence from Ilorin, Kwara State. The population of this study consisted of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in the Ilorin Metropolis, as the study focused on SMEs' performance in the city. Purposive sampling was employed because this technique allowed the researcher to select SMEs based on how effectively they achieved their day-to-day goals. SMEs were purposively selected across the local government areas in the Ilorin Metropolis, after which the researcher randomly selected respondents deemed fit for the research focus.

For the purpose of this research, 12 SMEs were selected across the metropolis, and 5 staff members were selected from each SME, making a total of 60 respondents for the study. Thus, the total number of respondents for the study was 60 across the 12 SMEs. All the administered questionnaire copies were completely filled and retrieved for data estimation. The questionnaire copies were collected back in the same manner they were distributed. The questionnaire items were designed using a 4-point Likert scale of strongly agree (SA), agree (A), strongly disagree (SD), and disagree (D) to gather the views of respondents. This study used primary data sourced through the distributed questionnaires. A reliable questionnaire was trusted to repeatedly measure the required trait consistently and precisely. The Test-Retest technique was employed. The relationship between the dependent and independent variables was confirmed reliable after testing the relationship of the Ordered Logit Regression results at different levels of coefficient.

Results / Analysis

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Age

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 20	8	13.8%
20 – 40	28	48.3%
41 -60	19	32.7%
61 and above	3	5.2%
Total	58	100%

Source; Field Survey, 2024

Of the fifty eight respondents, 8, representing 13.8% were less than the age of 20, 28 representing 48.3% were within 20-40 years of age, 19 representing 32.7% were within 41-60 years old while 3 representing 5.2% were 61 years and above.

Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	37	63.8%
Female	21	36.2%
Total	58	100%

Source; Field Survey, 2024

Out of the fifty eight respondents, 37, representing 63.8% were male while 21 representing 36.2% were female. Majority of the respondents are male.

Educational Background

Education	Frequency	Percentage
SSCE	8	13.8%
Diploma or NCE	15	25.9%
HND or Bsc	24	41.4%
Post Graduate	11	19.0%
Total	58	100%

Source; Field Survey, 2024

Out of the fifty eight respondents, 8, representing 13.8% only had SSCE, 15 representing 25.9% had Diploma or NCE, 24 representing 41.4% had HND or B.Sc. while 11 respondents representing 19.0% had post graduate education. Majority of the respondents has HND or Bsc.

Years of Experience

Experience	Frequency	Percentage
0-10 years	22	37.9%
11-20 years	17	29.3%
21-35 years	13	22.4%
36 years and above	6	10.3%
Total	58	100%

Source; Field Survey, 2024

Out of the fifty eight respondents, 22 representing 37.9% have 0-10 years of experience, 17 representing 29.3% have 11-20 years of experience, 13 representing 22.4% have 21-35 years of experience while 6, representing 10.3% are having working experiences for 35 years and above. Thus, majority of the respondents are having 0-10 years working experiences.

Table 2 Utilizing Val IT 2.0 in managing IT investments

Distribution of Respondents on whether they evaluate IT investments against consistent and relevant criteria with Val IT 2.0

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	17	29.3
Agree	19	32.8
Neutral	7	12.1
Disagree	5	8.6
Strongly Disagree	10	17.2
Total	58	100.0

Source; Field Survey, 2024

From the table above concerning if they evaluate IT investments against consistent and relevant criteria with Val IT 2.0, 17 respondents representing 29.3% strongly agreed, 19 respondents representing 32.8% agreed, 7, representing 12.1% were neutral, 5 representing 8.6% disagreed, while 10 representing 17.2% strongly disagreed. Thus, majority of the respondents agreed.

Distribution of Respondents on whether they review and track the benefits and costs of spending of IT investments proposals with Val IT 2.0;

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	28	48.3
Agree	11	19.0
Neutral	12	20.7
Disagree	2	3.4
Strongly Disagree	5	8.6
Total	58	100.0

Source; Field Survey, 2024

From the table above concerning whether they review and track the benefits and costs of spending of IT investments proposals with Val IT 2.0, 28 respondents representing 48.3% strongly agreed, 11 respondents representing 19.0% agreed, 12, representing 20.7% were neutral, 2 representing 3.4% disagreed, while 5 representing 8.6% strongly disagreed. Thus, majority of the respondents strongly agreed.

Distribution of Respondents on whether Val IT 2.0 has a steering committee to oversee major IT investments;

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	20	34.5
Agree	14	24.1
Neutral	8	13.8
Disagree	5	8.6
Strongly Disagree	11	19.0
Total	58	100.0

Source; Field Survey, 2024

From the table above concerning whether Val IT 2.0 has a steering committee to oversee major IT investments, 20 respondents representing 34.5% strongly agreed, 14 respondents representing 24.1% agreed, 8, representing 13.8% were neutral, 5 representing 8.6% disagreed, while 11 representing 19.0% strongly disagreed. Thus, majority of the respondents strongly agreed.

Hypotheses Testing

Hypotheses One

H₁ There is no significant impact between Value management/governance and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Performance

H₂ There is a significant impact between Value management/governance and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Performance

Table 3 Cross tabulation of respondents based on value management/governance and SMEs performances;

		SMEs Performances					Total
		SA	A	U	D	SD	
Value Management/ Governance	SA	13	5	2	3	3	26
	A	8	2	2	2	2	16
	U	3	1	0	0	1	5

	D	1	0	1	0	1	3
	SD	2	1	2	1	2	8
Total		27	9	7	6	9	58

Source; Field Survey, 2024

Table 4 Ordered Logit Regression

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	df.	Sig.
Set of IT Mechanisms $\leftarrow$ Value Management	1.159	0.295	6.072	1	.001
Formal Processes $\leftarrow$ Value Governance	0.852	0.162	3.554	1	.002
IT steering committee $\leftarrow$ Value Management	0.909	0.198	2.873	1	.001

*Range: 1=strongly Agree; 5=strongly Disagree; $p \leq 0.500$ is negative

Interpretation

Ordinal Logit Regression assumes that the dependent variable should be measured on an ordinal level and the independent variable should have a significant effect or impact on the dependent variable. Here, the independent variable is value management/governance and thus the above table shows a probability that value management tends to influence set of IT mechanisms employed across the selected firms. Also, there is a probability of little impact between formal processes of executing plans and value governance among SMEs and finally, it was discovered that IT steering committee and value management are more probably connected in the management of SMES.

H₀: There is no significant impact between Investment Management and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Performance

H₁: There is a significant impact between Investment Management and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Performance

Table 5 Cross tabulation of respondents based on Investment Management and SMEs performances;

		SMEs Performances					Total
		SA	A	U	D	SD	
Investment Management	SA	16	11	2	3	2	34
	A	6	2	0	1	1	10
	U	3	1	1	0	0	5
	D	1	0	1	0	1	3
	SD	2	2	0	1	1	6
Total		28	16	4	5	5	58

Source; Field Survey, 2024

Table 6 Ordered Logit Regression Parameter Estimates

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	df.	Sig.
ROI $\leftarrow$ Value Management	1.761	0.314	4.702	1	.000
ROA $\leftarrow$ Value Governance	0.904	0.247	3.361	1	.002

ROE ← Value Management	0.512	0.188	2.480	1	.002
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*Range: 1=strongly Agree; 5=strongly Disagree;

p<=0.500 is negative

Interpretation

Ordinal Logit Regression assumes that the dependent variable should be measured on an ordinal level and the independent variable should have a significant effect or impact on the dependent variable. Here, the independent variable is value management/governance and thus the above table shows a probability that value management tends to have an effect on firms ROI across the selected firms. Also, there is a probability of little impact between firms ROA and value governance among SMEs and finally, it was discovered that ROE and value management are more probably connected in the management of SMES.

Discussion of Findings

The findings of this study on information technology (IT) governance and the performance of SMEs in Ilorin Metropolis revealed a significant relationship between effective IT governance and enhanced SME performance. SMEs that implemented structured IT governance frameworks demonstrated improved operational efficiency, better decision-making, and higher productivity. The results also highlighted that SMEs with purposive IT governance practices were more likely to achieve their strategic objectives; as such practices facilitated better alignment between IT resources and business goals. Additionally, the use of IT governance mechanisms, such as monitoring systems and risk management strategies, contributed to minimizing operational disruptions and ensuring business continuity. However, challenges such as limited financial resources, inadequate technical expertise, and low awareness of IT governance practices were identified as barriers to optimal performance among SMEs. These findings suggest the need for capacity-building programs, government support, and strategic partnerships to enhance IT governance capabilities in the SME sector.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study examined the impact of information technology (IT) governance on the performance of SMEs in Ilorin Metropolis, Nigeria. The findings demonstrated that effective IT governance plays a crucial role in enhancing SME performance by improving operational efficiency, aligning IT strategies with business goals, and minimizing risks. SMEs with robust IT governance frameworks were better positioned to achieve their objectives, overcome challenges, and sustain competitive advantages in a dynamic business environment. However, challenges such as limited resources and technical expertise hindered the adoption and effectiveness of IT governance practices in many SMEs. Based on the findings, the study recommends that;

1. Capacity Building: SMEs should invest in training programs to enhance the technical expertise of their staff and create awareness about the importance of IT governance in achieving business goals.
2. Government Support: Policymakers should provide financial incentives, grants, or low-interest loans to enable SMEs to implement IT governance frameworks and adopt advanced technologies.
3. Adoption of Best Practices: SMEs should embrace globally recognized IT governance frameworks, such as COBIT or ITIL, to establish standardized and efficient practices.
4. Collaborative Efforts: SMEs can collaborate with industry stakeholders, IT professionals, and business associations to share resources, gain insights, and adopt innovative IT governance solutions.
5. Continuous Monitoring and Evaluation: SMEs should periodically review their IT governance policies and practices to ensure alignment with organizational objectives and respond to changing market conditions.

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POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIAN: PAST AND PRESENT EXPERIENCES

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Abstract

Political violence is a major impediment to national security in Nigeria. The paper examined the political violence and insecurity in the past and present periods of Nigerian politics. It also assessed the causes and effects of political violence and insecurity challenges that confronting Nigeria society today, which emanated as a result of class struggle among the rich and the poor which epitomized to murder and assassinations, bombing of houses, cars, also kidnapping, armed attacks and many forms of crimes. The paper adopted the descriptive analytical approach. The secondary data collected were classified and analysed in a manner that ensured effective interrogation and presentation of the interests driving the debate on the subject matter to ensure adequate comprehension. The frustration aggression theory was used to explain the cause of political violence in Nigeria. The findings revealed that the causes of political violence were attributed to political leadership failure in the state but not poverty or unemployment. This paper will therefore examine the root causes of violence vis-à-vis insecurity, its effects and proffer strategies that will make the foreign investors and people to have a safe place to live in Nigeria.

Keywords: Crisis, Governance, Insecurity, Political Leadership, Political Violence.

Introduction

The history of Nigeria has been characterized by a variety of political violence and insecurity. This could be attributed to the coercive imposition and tradition brought together by colonial era (Folajimi, 2015). However, apart from these, scholars have identified leadership problem, ethnic crisis, religion crisis, Fulani herdsmen and farmer crises, as well as living standard of the people as the cause of political violence and insecurity in Nigeria (Aweing and Ogar, 2018). Consequently, violence is usually accompanied with wanton loss of lives and property, instability, infrastructural destruction among others, perhaps, no nation can survive a test of time when it's drowned in the menace of violence and moreover no nation can actually develop under the prevalence of crisis, violence and upheavals (Araba, 2021).

According to Bamgbose (2017), there is no doubt that there was crisis in the country. The emergence of political violence in Nigeria is sourced through the nature of party formation, which was ethno-regionally based. This was followed by the regionalization of Nigeria as created by Richard Constitution of 1946. Since attainment of political independence Nigeria has witnessed unprecedented political violence which is a serious stain to national security. Anweting and Ogar (2018) observed that "at political independence, political violence took over the centre stage of nation security in Nigeria and its multiplier effect gave birth to factors that led to the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970".

Nigeria is currently in the sixth of a multi-dimensional crisis, this is reflected not only in the lingering economic downturn but also in the simmering social tension and virtual political violence/paralysis. The country has simply under-performed vis-à-vis its enormous human and material endowments (Babawale, 2019). There are clear indications that the nation has experienced stagnation in various sectors especially within political arena. Naturally, various reasons have been adduced for this unfortunate state of affairs, these ranges from so-called "Nigerian factor" to imperialist manipulation but it is becoming clearer that the most critical of all the explanatory variables for the Nigerian condition is the failure of leadership (Araba, 2021).

However, this new understanding cannot be separated from the groundswell of current social forces and national movements seeking to redraw the national boundaries of their polities, primarily because of the desire for self-egoism and to be part of a democratic world. In fact, those who have championed alternative to democracy have either appeared less confident and quietened or are engaged in a process of re-examining their strong point in relation to other traditions of political and social thought (Araba, 2021).

Araba (2021) explains that it is, however, very germane to underscore the basis for earnest race toward democratisation, especially in Nigeria. First, is the fact that there is no feasible and viable alternative to liberal democracy to all and sundry, this internal pressure for political reforms have been of paramount preponderant in practicing a process of political liberalisation. Though in Nigeria opposition movements pressing for change are primarily urban-based and represent a coalition of interest and have been at the forefront of campaign for creation or restoration of democracy.

Answering and Ogar (2018) states that indeed, Nigeria's political history since independence and particularly since second republic and forth republic elections crisis validates this observation. It lends credence to the view expressed by Chinua Achebe to the effect that the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership, there is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenges of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership (Achebe, 1985:1).

The cause of political violence is attributed to political leadership failure in the state but not poverty or unemployment. More so many respondents were of the view that the deteriorating security situation in Nigeria to came as a result of political violence that is why Oladoyin (2018:82) amplifying Thomas Hobbes argument for the cause of political violence in societies, traces the origin of violence among men to their natural equality. He writes: - Nature has made men so equal in the faculties of body and mind - (that) the difference between man and man is not so considerable so that one man could there upon claim to himself any benefit to which another may possess. Given this equality they all feel that they have same hope of acquiring these benefits. Competition arises and with this, enmity. In Hobbes words: and therefore, if any two men desire the same thing which they nevertheless they cannot both enjoy they become enemies. The result is an attempt to subdue one another.

Conceptual Review

Violence or threat of violence is a universal phenomenon. Violence has been used by groups seeking power, holding or losing power. Violence has been pursued in the defence of order by the privilege in the nature of justice by the oppressed, and in fear of displacement by the threatened (Held, 2017). Violence has always been part of the political process, protest activities of one form or other efforts to dramatize grievances in a fashion that will attract attention and ultimately the destruction or threatened destruction of life and property appear as expression of political grievance even in stable, consensual societies and the ultima-ratio of political action is forced (Smith, 2018).

The word "violence" defies any precise definition that is commonly accepted, the concept often serves as all variety of protest, militancy, coercion, destruction or muscle flexing which a given observer happens to fear or condemn. The frequent conceptualization of force and violence tends to confuse the legality and legitimacy of specific acts. Force is often taken to mean legal and legitimate use of violence by a government for the protection of the state, while violence is interpreted as illegal and illegitimate acts carried by non-governmental individuals and groups (Anifowoshe, 2016).

Political violence is the use of almost of threat of physical act carried out by an individual or people with the intent to cause injury or death to persons and for damage or destruction to property and who its objective, choice of targets, victims, surrounding circumstance, implementation and effects have a political significance, that is tend to modify the behaviour of others in the existing arrangement of power structure that has some consequences for political system (Banjo, 2017).

Political leadership according to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2012) says a leader is a person who guides or directs a group of people, while leadership refers to anybody or a group of people who leads. Leadership therefore

presupposes the provision of direction and purpose by the leader for a (his/her) particular group. Political leadership as such refers to persons or group of persons in positions of political authority, which involves those who make the authoritative allocation of values for the state. This includes the President, Ministers, Governors, Local Government Chairmen, Director General, Councilors, etc. They are saddled with the function of guiding, directing and propelling the society towards its desired goals (Adejumobi, 2018)

Adejumobi (2018) explains that the sources of leadership are many and varied. Max Weber identified the charismatic traditional and legal rationale bases. The charismatic model being political authority based on the sterling personal qualities of the leader which endears him to his fellowship. This is the position of the prophet, messiah or political leader, whose organisation consists of himself /herself and a set of disputes. The political leadership of any given society must serve the greatest good of the greatest majority and it must have the capacity achieving the goals which will benefit the masses that is who constitute the bulk of the population in most societies.

Okotoni (2017) defines crisis as a situation that is extremely difficult or dangerous, when there are many challenges that is such as serious economic, financial, political and social crisis. Governance crisis is a situation that is characterized by political violence, poor management of resources due to lack of competent leadership resulting to corruption, state insecurity, political instability. Failed state is one of the governance crisis' symptoms, where the state is tense, deeply conflicted, dangerous and contested bitterly by warring factions including herdsmen, kidnapping, robbery, etc.

Smith (2018) sees security as a system of maintaining law and order in the society in a bid to have a crime free environment in a good atmosphere which is aided by securing structures put in place by governments or concerned agencies that responsible for such. Likewise, security is the condition of being, that is, free from danger and threat. Impliedly, security actually exceeds every facet of human endeavor because it shields public, properties and information from of societal peril. Then, insecurity is the opposite of word of security in the sense that insecurity is the breach of peace.

Governance is a concept which refers to exercise of political power, influence and authority and which carries along with administration and law. It connotes the way political power is exercised to achieve state jurisdiction (Omoleke & Olaiya, 2013).

They explained further that governance is inextricably interwoven with taking decisions that impact, directly or indirectly, on the citizens and the media which influence such decisions. The UNESCAP (2009) has popularly defines 'governance' as the process of decision- making and process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). In recent period, 'governance' has been extrapolated to mean the positive outcomes of government policies on the administration of citizens (Omoleke & Olaiya, 2013).

Theoretical Framework

Theories about the causes and process of political violence should be relevant to the explanation of political riots, revolts and revolutionary movements in Nigeria. To understand the transitions from powerful protest to conflicts, riots and then revolt, it is necessary to trace the complex interactions between activities tactics and demands and how government responds to them. To understand why some of administration lose or devoid the capacity to accommodate rebels or repress them, or to providing explanations of political violence can be grouped into three broad groups that is conflict, frustration-aggressive, violation, structural and political process theories (Banjo, 2017).

One prominent root of frustration that gave rise to its extensive scrutiny in the field of social psychology is competition between multiple parties Anwating and Ogar (2018) emphasized that competitive encounters are at least partly frustrating as the contestants block each other's attempts to reach the disputed goal and threaten each other with a total loss. While this mainly applies to zero-sum games, in which the victory or gain of one party implies the loss of the other, it can also result from multiple parties with different goals competing over shared or limited resources. The psychological frustration-aggression explanation of political violence has the central premise that aggression is always the result of frustration. However, it is not only the contestants who can cause frustrations. Similar to superior opponents, incompetent or selfish cooperators can also generate frustrations as their detrimental

behaviour may prevent individuals from attaining personal achievement, or groups from reaching a common goal in cases where successful cooperation is essential.

As games or game-like scenarios provide an optimal testing ground for the causes and consequences of these social contingencies for frustration, many seminal studies on the frustration–aggression link have made use of them. Historically, many of these were field studies of naturally occurring inter-group conflicts, such as given the requisite conditions, individuals or groups who feel frustrated in the attainment of their desire and demands often react by directing aggressive behaviour at what is perceived as being responsible for thwarting those desires, as a substitute. The systemic hypothesis offers a socio-structural explanation for the origins of most acts of violence. For a proper understanding of the problem of political violent behaviour, which is necessary to occur? When groups feel alienated and there is a further feeling that such alienation is entrenched, ethnic mobilization (Midlarsky, 2015).

Anifowose (2016) in his own attempt at looking at the stasis of class relations as a cause of political violence in societies, used his theoretical postulations i.e. (the modernisation theory and the frustration - aggression theory) to state that there is a paradoxical relationship between modernization and political disorder. According to him, developed and affluent nations provided a model that produces stability and modernization in societies, while developing states produces instability. His study also shows that the processes of modernization in Nigeria undoubtedly gave rise to cleavages and political conflict (such as those between the economically developed South and the more backward North). These cleavages and conflicts between the two areas were the result of the lack of proper understanding of the concept and advantages of interdependence in a federal system by the Northern and Southern politicians in Nigeria. Again, his study revealed that a society in which the modernizing leaders are committed to a rapid expansion in the number of educated persons within the population but where there is no corresponding increase in the level of economic opportunities is most conducive to political violence.

Methodology

The study utilized secondary sources of data. The secondary source of data was drawn from academic journal articles, textbooks, and internet sources.

An Overview of Nigeria Politics and Political Violence on National Security

A fundamental problem to Nigeria's party politics is a corollary to a democratic practice is anchored on un-restructured colonial Nigerian State. Carefully designed by the bourgeoisie and deliberately handed over to the Nigerian elite, this unbridled state (Nigerian nation) has continued to wallow to abysmal failure regardless of the system of government in operation. One system of government has followed the other in quick succession. This has consequently heightened the nation's political instability and resultantly robbed the country of democratic aspirations. It, therefore, seems that global democratization that has been sweeping through the globe has not been meaningful to the country (Bamgbose, 2021).

Bamgbose (2021) opines that power has continued to be monopolized by the elite who sees nothing good in transforming the society despite a series of changes in the government. But what type of changes? Changes that have left the unstructured system unchanged. The recent development not only in Nigeria but indeed Africa has made us to doubt the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan's statement who opined in the 1960s that "A wind of change is blowing over Africa". The impact of such whirlwind has not been felt in Nigeria and indeed in Africa, but it has been marred by failure from country to country. Thus, the military regime which has become an institutionalized pattern of African politics is insincere in its disengagement policy. The military elite devised multi-dimensional means to remain in power.

Folajimi (2015) agrees that Nigeria is a multi-national society, an amalgam of both majority and minority ethnic groups. The politics of Nigeria before and after independence was dominated by the various groups making competing claims for special consideration or demanding specific rewards in the policy process. Nigeria is a country with many ethnic groups, many languages and cultures. The heterogeneous nature of the country has led to a lot of ethnic, religious and political crises among the people of Nigeria. Sadly, it has been observed that some Nigerians hide under ethnic identity to perpetuate violence and cause crises in the country, however, there is a need for unity among the citizens of the country, in order to bring progress and development in Nigeria.

Banjo (2017) states that, in the case of Nigeria, political violence of different degree engulfed many parts of the country in her effort at democratization in late 1990s. It is instructive not to fall into the temptation of generalizing that same set s of factors were responsible for the causes, intensity, gains and losses of these mass violent riots and this has informed the selection of Lagos, Port-Harcourt, Lokoja, Makurdi, and Benin cities which in most instances as the commercial capitals bore the brunt of violent activity.

Okotoni (2017) states that, the Nigerian political system had suffered from series of inner and intra party competitions or put in order words ‘party wrangling’ that had resulted into major political crises. These political crises had caused the demise of the three republics that the country had passed through. Nigeria has had her fair share in breach of peace, insecurity and rise in crime, political violence. The era of colonial masters (1914 -1960), the motion in the House that the country should become a self-government by Chief Anthony Enahoro in the year 1956, it was resented by the northern delegates. During 1960-1966, referred to as first republic, witnessed several crises before its collapse on January 15, 1966. Bamgbose (2017) opines that prominent among these crises was the political turmoil in the then Western Region election, leading to the declaration of the state of emergency on September 30, 1965 by Prime Minister, 1962/63 another census came up following the cancellation of census of 1962 that full of perpetrating immunerable irregularities and 1962 Action Group crises was the idea of strengthening national unity which resented by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the idea of ensuring national unity came from Chief S. L. Akintola and Chief Ayo Rosoji who wanted to join federal Prime Minister’s coalition.

Okotoni (2017) added that “No responsible government of the federation could allow an explosive situation such as that which now exists in Western Nigeria to continue without taking adequate measures to ensure that there is an early return to the region of peace, order and good government”. There were also series of serious riots in Tiv land in 1960 and 1964. The cumulative effect constituted the remote causes that led to the first military coup on January 15, 1966, while the immediate cause was attributed to the selfishness and corruption of the politicians. The coup and counter coups aggravated ethnic tensions and antagonisms that led to mass killings in July and September 1966.

Taking into cognizance, the degenerating of progressive consciousness and nationalism in Nigerian partisan politics and the deepening primitive accumulation in the process of capitalist transformation of the country, ethnic politics is acquiring more prominence in the struggle for power and national resources control. The reason is that the process of primitive accumulation and formation of the dominant class in Nigeria has transcended ethnic boundaries just as the consequences of the obnoxious act which is translated into hunger, deprivation and abject poverty of the majority of the Nigerian people (Abdullahi, 2015).

The failure of the political class has led to the total loss of faith by the electorates in the possibility of genuine election in Nigeria. In fact, political apathy and indifference has resulted, the masses have vowed not to be fooled again. Inherent in this failure was the National Conference of 2014 by President Goodluck Jonathan administration and again the frustration that followed the sell out and inconsistency of Nigerian political class increased political disorderliness and economic woes (Odour, 2023).

Banjo (2017) states that political violence in Nigeria witnessed several crises: The Attahiru Rebellion of 1903 in Sokoto, The Aba Women Riot of 1929, The General Strike of 1945, The Egba Women Democratisation of 1948, Kano Riots of May 1953, The Action Group Crisis of 1962, Operation wet of 1964 in Western Nigeria, The 1965 Western Region Election Crisis, Nigerian Civil War of 1967, Ali-must-go student Riot of 1978, The Kaduna State Executive/Legislative Crisis, Anti-SAP Riots of 1988, The Federal Election Crisis of 1993 (NADECO Riots of Annulment of Chief M.K.O. Abiola Presidential Election of 1993), ASUU Strikes 1992. It is true that Nigeria’s independence was achieved without bloodshed or the stress of political violence, the pattern of political violence in the first republic was set by Tiv Riots. Thuggery and vandalism thus became integral part of party politics in that era.

Momoh and Adejumobi (2019) explains that the period of General Olusegun Obasanjo era was ‘Ali must go’ of student unrest 1986 tender to give the impression that political violence in Nigeria cities was on the downward trend, also the period of General Ibrahim Babangida epoch the Lagos riots that were occasioned by Mobile police brutality in 1988 shattered this illusion and were soon followed by Major Orkar coup of 1990. Pro-democracy riots of 1993 took a detour with the annulment of the June 12, 1993, presidential election, and the trajectory of political events

after that, up till 1994 when full-blown military dictatorship re-emerged in Nigeria, putting the search for democracy in abeyance and the cause of democracy in retreat serve as critical examples of the political violence in Nigeria.

The Nigeria Fourth Republic (1999-2024) forms and modalities of masses reaction underscore the magnitude of political violence witnessed in all parts of Nigeria states. Several and controversial of general elections occurred in 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019. The implications of the 1999-2019 presidential elections crisis were very serious and they nearly threatened the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria. ASUU strike of 2009, 2014 and 2020, End SARS and End bad Governance are still fresh in Nigerians mind and it's lead to political violence in Nigeria (Oyuru, 2023).

Causes of Political Violence in Nigeria

Adefarasin (2015) opines that Nigeria is blessed with both human and natural resources, yet it is quite evident today that political independence has failed to match with political and economic independence. Nigeria has refused to develop and join the country of Nations, simply because of lack of effective leadership. It is gratifying to note that the majority of the leaders that have emerged in Nigeria after political independence have exhibited bad leadership qualities. They are not concerned about the development of the nation, as corruption, bad democratic principles and mediocrity have become the norm,

Adeyemo (2015) agrees that crises or conflict may arise as a result of misrule, frustration, discontentment/dissatisfaction with the status quo, personality conflict, unhealthy rivalry/competition, incompatible interests, oppression, victimisation by the ruling class, Ethnicity, tribalism, nepotism, insecurity, ethnic domination, racial segregation, loss of territory or land, desire to secede or overthrow foreign rule, misperception, suspicious, misunderstanding or class struggle. In Nigeria, the central causes if conflict are unhealthy rivalry over resources especially mineral resources such as gold, crude oil, iron ore. Rivalry over resources and appointments are sometimes very tense and explosive, besides, conflicts in Nigeria arise over identities this type of conflict arises from ethnic or tribal clashes, Conflicts and wars are encouraged and sustained by human beings also they can be terminated by human beings.

Bamgbose (2017) states that the Aba women in 1929 was a revolt against colonial policy which tried to tax non-working women in Aba. The policy was not well received by women who did not have any viable means of livelihood. The Aba women leaders sent an alarm bell to all non-working women in Aba and urged them to resist any attempt to force them to pay tax. The District Officer sent out his tax collectors to enforce the law by obtaining an accurate census of all the women in Aba and its environs. On that faithful day, the clashed with both parties ended with 50 women lost their lives but did not die in vain. The riots marked the beginning of women emancipation in Nigeria and determination to fight for their basic rights and advancement in the Nigeria society this led to violence. The Kano riots May 1953 was caused by disappointment over the question of independence for Nigeria or independence motion tabled by a private Action Group member in the House of Representatives named Chief Anthony Enahoro, for Nigeria in 1956. The Northerners strongly opposed a definite date because they were not ready to undertake the burdens of independence. The Action Group send delegation under the leadership of Chief S.L Akintola's mission resulted into riots in Kano on 16th, 1953 in which 36 people were killed and over 250 wounded (Bamgbose, 2017).

Adeyemo (2015) opines that the Action Group crisis of 1962 from personality clash between Chief Obafemi Awolowo, then leader of the Action Group (AG) and also leader of the opposition in the Federal House of Representatives and his Lieutenant, Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, then Premier of the former Western Region of Nigeria. The conflict between Chief Awolowo and Chief Akintola was the idea of ensuring national unity came from Chief Akintola and Chief Ayo Rosoji, they wanted to join the federal prime minister's coalition. At the meeting of regional house of convened to rectify the executive decisions, the henchmen of Sir Akintola began a serious fight, at a reconvened meeting violence broke out again. Amidst this chaotic situation, the regional legislature was unstable to meet, this prompted the federal government to declare a state of emergency in the west and Dr. Majekodunmi was appointed as the Administrator.

The 1965 Western Region Election crisis, there was election rigging in 1954, 1959 and 1964, but none was so serious as the 1965 Western Region election. By December 1964, the former Western Region of Nigeria was politically divided and unstable partly because of the 1962 Western Region/Action Group crisis and partly because of internal political bickering. Serious disturbance marred the elections, at the close of the elections, both parties claimed victory and on 12 October 1965 Alhaji D.S. Adebajo, the leaders of Action Group announced the formation of an interim government, Alhaji D.S. Adegbenro and many of his supporters were taken to detention. Even the formation of government that later followed by Chief S.L. Akintola and his party was followed by large scale looting and killing of political opponents. Violence in the region continued until January 15, 1966, when the Nigeria Armed Forces intervened and took over the administration of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Babawale, 2019).

The Nigerian civil war was caused by remote and immediate factors. There was disagreement and personality conflict between Lt. Col. Ojukwu who was then the military governor of the former Eastern Region and Lt. Col. Gowon former Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces. In addition, there was an outbreak of public riots which led to mass killing of Igbos who lived and worked in Northern Region. However, the immediate cause was the secession of the former Eastern region as the 'Republic of Biafra' the federal military government under the leadership of Lt. Col. Gowon therefore opposed the secession and forswore the indivisible oneness of Nigeria (Adeyemo, 2015).

Several reasons have been adduced for ethnic violence, insecurity, breach of peace and political instabilities in the country. These include among others, over-concentration of public power at the federal, weak judicial system, injustice, nepotism and a culture of impunity, high level of corruption, weak (political, economic, social and traditional) institutions unpatriotic, unscrupulous and greedy leaders, lack of information technologies, boundary disputes, ignorance, intolerance among various ethnic groups and communities, unequal distribution of resources among others (Okotoni, 2017).

Criminologists and social scientists have agreed that there is a crime challenges in Nigeria, although, they may not all agree as to the nature and process of criminality in Nigeria. However, to say that there is a crime problem in Nigeria, it is not a new discovery; for if the existence of crime in any society is no aberration, the talk of a crime problem in an ever-changing society is to beg the question. The problem, it seems to me, is not the existence of crime as with crime control, to approach these challenges, the existence of crime as a social phenomenon must be examined in relation to the existence of society itself (Isokun, 2015).

Isokun (2015) suggests that the socio-political culture of any society of any society has a bearing on the nature and level of criminality existing in the particular society. In this context she thanks God, that is, Almighty God created man, that is, man also made society and society made its criminals. Makinde (2013) affirmed that security have contributed negatively to the social-economic development in Nigeria as these challenges have resulted in increase in the cost of governance and also in peoples being prevented from carrying out their legitimate businesses.

Oyuru, (2023) opines that the period of fourth republic (1999 – 2020) has witnessed the highest era of insecurity and breach of peace in Nigeria. It is, perhaps, the most traumatic, distressful and lawless era that the nation had ever witnessed thousands of lives are daily lost to insurgency, kidnapping, terror attacks, armed robbery, political thuggery and assassinations.

Boko Haram insurgency that killed more than 300,000 people in the far Northeast of the country, alongside are the Fulani herdsmen, who constantly terrorize many communities and farmers by destroying their farms and properties, burning their houses, kill and maim their victims in various parts of the country. The Niger Delta Avengers also emerged that specialized in vandalising oil and gas pipe installations resulting in loss of billions of naira on daily basis.

More so the citizens were of the view that the deteriorating security situation in Nigeria state came as a result of political violence that is why Erunke (2008:138) amplifying Thomas Hobbes argument for the cause of political violence in societies, traces the origin of violence among men to their natural equality. He writes: - Nature has made men so equal in the faculties of body and mind - (that) the difference between man and man is not so considerable

so that one man could there upon claim to himself any benefit to which another may possess. Given this equality they all feel that they have same hope of acquiring these benefits. Competition arises and with this, enmity. In Hobbes words: and therefore, if any two men desire the same thing which they nevertheless they cannot both enjoy they become enemies. The result is an attempt to subdue one another.

Effects of Political Violence on National Security in Nigeria

In Nigeria, many people see politics as a do or die affair (Adejumobi, 2018). This is as a result of the electoral system that encourages cut-throat competition practised in the country. The first effect of this is absolute disregards for the rule of game as dictated by the Constitution. As a result of this, the likelihood exists that the participants will not accept the result of any electoral contest in good faith. There is also the undue belief that politics is about the winner taking all, even to the extent of the looser being denied his basic fundamental human rights. Ogundiya (2015) states that the acrimonies that characterize the electoral process and the winner-takes-all mindset makes the winners and incumbents forget that the office is for service and temporary, while the opponents, because of harassment and intimidations they face, are unable to cope with the post-election trauma.

Disharmony among party members has led to severe political violence, subsequently affecting the electoral process as well as its result. Intra-party crises have made party members take political decisions with anger, intimidation and or inducement of others. These have heavy consequences on the electoral processes, practices and post electoral activities. Due to these unsavory acts, some election results have been found short of following the dictate of law and are thereby upturned. Most political parties see elections as a “must win” and this has been identified as the most difficult challenge facing the process of credibility election and the sustenance of our democracy (Ogundiya, 2015).

A country that is always bedeviled by constant and needless political violence cannot have political stability and by implication will be eluded by human and security of the country. This is because without peace and near tranquility in a country, security will remain a mere dream and aspiration (Aweteng and Ogar, 2018). It is no news that the dastardly state of Nigeria economy is a reflection of its democracy which many have described as being in a state of comatose for a very long time. All indices of security are at their lowest in the country, while respects for fundamental human rights are still not guaranteed. There is wanton wastage and corruption which have crippled infrastructures, social services and security and the consequence of this is loss of confidence in the country by local and international investors who eventually fled and ply their trade in neighbouring countries. The rudiment of these problems was mostly political violence which have remained an unfortunate part of the nation’s security system and has made many people went through “a hell of hard time” (Agbaje, 2016).

Agbaje (2016) explains that because of the threatening level of unemployment, graduate trooping out at the tertiary institutions now see politics as a means to make fast money at the expense of the people and thereby becoming instruments of political violence and shenanigan. That is why many promising Nigerian youths are used to unleash terror in the name of politics on defenseless students by money bags in politics. Unfortunately, most of these youths are in these nefarious activities for peanuts. All over the world, it is agreed that the foundation of democracy is a strong rule of law, which treat everybody equally and is also supreme. This is why judicial institution must at all times perform its function of protecting the people and guaranteeing respect for the letters and spirit of the constitution. Unfortunately, in Nigeria, this is far from reality as the law is trampled upon each time there is electoral violence. Political violent perpetrators and vote riggers have confessed to their sins with no consequence visited upon them (The Nation, April 3, 2006).

These acts of political violence which subverted the free will of the people was able aided by some security agencies in working alliance with some political rough necks and again the law was unable to do justice in the case. In order to escape the long hand of law, suspects in political assassination wriggled their ways into the senate or house of representative where they are protected, and the case die off and we have also witnessed a situation where the chief executive withheld allocation meant for the running of a state in utter display of impunity and disdain for the rule of law. However, the application of justice is different when the suspect or culprit is ordinary citizen. Maximum punishments are decreed for the poor for the same offence in which high profile politicians have walked out freely.

Consequently, the people can no longer trust the government as there seems to be two sets of rules in the same country, and the high ups are treated as untouchable (Araba, 2021).

Another costly consequence of political violence is the loss of integrity by such country among the comity of nations. This is a reason why some advance countries have declared Nigeria as a country prone to violence during election and warned their citizens to be wary of visiting the country at such period (Bamgbose, 2021). Without doubt, this is a serious dent on the integrity of the country and a set back to its international reputation especially in global environment where respect for human rights and dignity was fast becoming the order of the day and the guiding principle for democratic practices in all civilized nations. Such negative image continues to show Nigeria as a nation not moving towards the most desired enduring democracy which has been seen as the antidote to political instability, bad governance, corruption, insecurity, poverty and civil-wars ravaging many African and third world countries until Nigeria leaders realise this and practice democracy according to the rules of best practice, our image will continue to suffer in the comity of nations,

Babawale, et.al. (2017) states that reasons for military takeover of government in Nigeria have always been traceable to unending feud among political parties which often have their roots in intra-party crises which led to political violence in Nigeria. Since the collapse of the first republic, there was ample evidence that the melee occasioned by the internal crisis of Action Group was what skyrocketed to political violence which eventually dragged the military into taking the rein of power. It is therefore imperative to state that wanton destruction of property, political killings, terrorism and all forms of undemocratic activities are direct invitation to military intervention in politics.

When this happens, the constitution will be held in abeyance and fundamental human rights will be on hold. This political earthquake if it happens and military takes over will go a long way to show that our politicians have not learnt from the history of the nation. Military interregnum has always retarded the growth of democratic culture in the people and weaken democratic institution. This is dire consequence of political violence and insecurity if not quickly curtailed (Babawale, et.al 2017).

Government Responses to Political Violence and Insecurity in Nigeria

Nigerian elections had been marred by political violence. Some of it by soldiers and police officers, Human Right Watch (HRW) said. Successive government has not taken concrete steps to address the widespread political violence, and to ensure accountability for human rights abuses by soldiers and police. Another tactic employed by the government to douse the festering political protest was actually a dastard act. Apart from general (protest-spot) killings carried out by the police to stop the spread and intensity of the violence in the two cities, with the death toll as high as hundreds (because of Ekpoma and Ilesa killings), 1992 and 2007 respectively, the government devised a diabolical way of curtailing the pro-democracy forces (Erunke, 2008; Banjo, 2017).

The election periods included persistence attacks by factions of the insurgent group Boko Haram in the northeast, increased communal violence between nomadic herdsman and farmers spreading southwest from north-central states, and a dramatic uptick in banditry, kidnapping, and killings in the northwestern, states of Kaduna, Katsina, and Zamfara. Security forces have failed to respond effectively to threats to people's lives and security. The government first of all adopted silence, apathy and indifference, it initially tried to bluster its way through, intending to give the impression that is either the government was not aware of people's riots and demands or to the extent that the rioters are engaged in futile efforts (Okotoni, 2017).

The federal government action and reaction to the political violence was in two ways directions, the first was international and the internal. In handling the international dimension, the then federal government responded by mounting extensive of Anti-Euro-American propaganda of government control media. The government reacted by sharpening its propaganda instruments, these are government media houses as represented by Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Daily Times and New Nigeria. A slot on NTA Network News, dubbed 'Rent-a-Crowd' gained widespread notoriety, Nigerians were daily shown how some elements in some State of the country have staged contrived 'Pro-government peaceful demonstration, to give impression that the federal government is loved and respected by the masses. The most-filthiest aspect of the

solidarity demonstration was not only use of official cars of government, but the fact reports confirmed the demonstrators were actually paid in cash before they demonstrate (Banjo, 1997; Erunke, 2008).

The lack of meaningful progress and lack of political will in addressing the prevalent political violence, as well as lack of accountability for rights abuses has leads to continuous violence across Nigeria. Despite police chains of increased security measures to ensure peaceful voting, there seem to have been little or no police response to reports of threats and acts of violence by hired political things and soldiers against voters and election officials.

Conclusion

The paper concluded that the failure of the political class has led to the total loss of faith by the citizens in the possibility of casting their vote during the next coming election in Nigeria. In fact, political apathy and indifference has resulted that, the masses have vowed not to be fooled again. Again, the frustration that followed the sell out and inconsistency of Nigerian political class brought increased in political disorderliness and economic woes.

Recommendations

Based on the foregoing findings it can be said that political violence has insecurity consequences on the people as such, the following suggestions would help in solving the questions of political violence and insecurity in Nigeria.

Truly, it is hard to manufacture any alternative to true democracy that makes any sense at all in terms of principle, logic and practicality. It is imperative to recognize the fact that the polity is not in crisis in the sense that major social forces are in conflict. There will be no democratic presidency establishes the rule of law, upholds justice and transforms progressively, a state which is still constituted as a means of oppression to a state which will not be oppressive for being controlled by an elected government.

Political leaders should play a role in building effective government through their constitutional duties and mandates. The core of the crises in Nigeria is the inability of political leaders to adhere to good governance practices. Political leaders should be honest and transparent when spending public funds.

Government should initiate good pro-poor policies that would help in reducing the high level of poverty and unemployment in Nigeria at large.

Government should endeavour to satisfy all competing interest, competing for the control of political and security of lives and properties by introducing measures or policies that would carry everyone along in the country.

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