

Assessment of the Effect of Policy Implementation on Civil Unrest: The Nigeria Perspective (2012 - 2025)

OSAWA, Cyril Onyepuemu (PhD)., UGWA, Onyinyechi Amaka., ASHADE, Oladimeji Abiodun (PhD).,
OSHINEYE, Adebawale, Abiola

Department of Public Administration, Lagos State university, Ojo Nigeria

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2026.100800013>

Received: 06 August 2026; Accepted: 12 August 2026; Published: 24 August 2026

ABSTRACT

The study examines the effect of public policy implementation on civil unrest in Nigeria with special reference to selected policies implemented between 2012- 2025. The present Nigeria democratic republic has experienced several civil unrest that affects socio-economic and political development of the country. Previous studies conducted in this area seem not to have established a correlation between public policies implementation and civil unrest within the context of Nigerian society. The study adopts qualitative research approach which relies on primary data- interview and secondary data. Using purposive sampling method, 20 participants was selected which include policy makers, public policy analysts and Nigerian youths from Lagos State. Data collected was analyzed using thematic analytical tool. The findings of the study show that transparency in policy implementation has a significant effect on strike action by Nigeria; and that citizen's engagement and participation is significantly related to protest in Nigeria. The study concludes by recommending among others that engaging the citizens to participate in the implementation of any policy programme which will enhance inclusive governance within the society and consequently reduces citizens level of aggressiveness towards governance.

Key Words: Citizens, Civil Unrest, Government, Policy, Public Policy, Policy Implementation, Protest.

INTRODUCTION

Public policy is a political tool that steer the governance of any political state in the world. To any nation in the world including Nigeria, a well-designed and implemented public policy is a means used to provide for the welfare of its citizens. According to Bassey (2020) public policy as an old political tool is a driving instrument of governance systems that expresses institutional response to situational challenges in a variety of sphere of public interest and domains. Nigeria over the years have initiated various public policies aimed at enhancing the welfare of the citizens; however, a critical look at the country's developmental level shows that Nigeria is unfortunately a country behind development despite her abundant natural and human resources. With the postulation of Bassey (2020) public policy steers the direction of governance and development. With numerous brilliant public policies formulated by Nigeria government the poor implementation has not allow visible development (Obodoechi in Obona, 2016; Andrew 2021). This poor development has always been protested against by Nigerians as evidence by the numerous civil unrest that pervade the country since Nigeria returned to democratic state (Adekunle, 2024).

Public policy implementation is the stage of policy making process is the translation of intention into concrete action and programme towards solving identified public problems (Ajulor, 2019). Public policy implementation has been a great concern in developing nations like Nigeria where the government is increasingly looked upon by the citizens to effectively implement development policies that will yield a positive towards improving the lives of the citizens (Obonna, 2016; Ikechukwu & Chukwuemeka, 2013).

Civil unrest has been a long existing phenomenon even at global scene. All over the world, civil disturbances has been a recurrent event, with its rising effect affecting socio-economic activities (Global Re-insurance, 2025). As observed by Global Re-insurance (2025), Europe, America and Asia countries are worst heated by civil

unrest. While in African; Central Africa Republic, Angola, Congo and Nigeria are witnessing frequent civil unrest of different nature and magnitude. However, the uniqueness of the civil disturbances being witnessed in the 21st century is that they are more systematic in nature involving several countries simultaneously expressing discontent over several forms of injustice and social ills in the society (Dajo & Akor, 2022). More so, from the argument of Vaskov, Pienknagura and Ricci (2021), it was earlier observed that between 2011 and 2021 the number of riots, protests, strikes, and anti-government demonstrations increased by 244 percent worldwide. This increased in the frequency of civil disturbances has implications on social, political and economic progress around the world.

Since Nigeria returned to democracy in 1999, civil unrest has been on increase; these ranges from religious crises, ethnic conflicts, communal conflicts, youth un-restiveness, anti-government demonstration, insurgency and other forms of civil disturbances. All of these have disastrous effects on lives and properties; and also on socio-economic development of the country. This according to Jolaso (2024) is described as a social unrest that steam from the Nigeria growing economic hardship and hunger which Nigeria witnessed at the wake of August 1, 2024 (Adekunle, 2024). In reaction to this, Kebonkwu (2024) argue a protest is a political tool used to make demand on government for socio-economic change of the material condition of the people.

Several research both local and international have attempt to identify the solution to poor governance that has resulted to several civil unrest in Nigeria. Shorey, Kelly and Chapel (2023) examines the meaning and preparation for civil unrest; Adebowale (2022) looks at the relationship between public policy formulation and good governance; Challma (2024) investigates government ideology and implementation of peace agreement; at the continental level, Montana (2023) examines the nature and cause of civil unrest in Africa; Selepe (2023) under take a study on the evaluation of public policy implementation failures and possible solutions; while Bassey (2020) examines the ecological variables and public policy implementation in Nigeria: evidence and reality.

However, despite these scholarly contributions, none of the existing studies seems to empirically examine the cause - effect relationship between public policy implementation and civil unrest in Nigeria. In lieu of the above, this study examines the effect of public policy implementation on civil unrest in Nigeria with particular reference to some selected public policies implemented between 2012 and 2025. Nonetheless, the specific objectives of the study are to:

- i. To assess the effect of transparency in policy implementation and strike action in Nigeria.
- ii. To determine the relationship between citizens' engagement and participation in policy implementation and protest in Nigeria

Conceptual Review

The Concept of Public Policy as a course or principle of action proposed by the government is central to the operation and activities of the government. Martinez (2022) regard policy as a general rule, regulations, guiding practice or actions in a particular activity or problem area.

Public Policy Implementation is public administration in action. However, for effective implementation of public policy, the following factors must be in place: Policy communication, effective institutional framework, adequate and controlled funding, transparency and accountability, citizens' engagement and participation, good leadership and monitoring and evaluation.

Policy communication is the action and processes of involving both the government and non-government agencies in informing and educating the public about the societal problem(s) and programme towards providing solution(s) to the identified problem(s). The goal of policy communication according to Riant (2021) is to inform citizens about policy objectives and their involvement; which is crucial for successful policy implementation. Without proper communication between stakeholders and the government on policy issue, misunderstanding and trust issue may develop (Political Science Institute (PSI) (2024).

Furthermore, transparency and accountability is a potent determinant factor in a successfully implementation of public policy. Transparency and accountability are essentials of good governance which ensures that public policies are implemented in a fair, efficient and responsive manner. Transparency is about citizens having access to information about the nature of public policy implementation, clear communication by government agencies on the policy activities being carried out. In line with, Osawe and Ashade (2023) opine that transparency and accountability enhance public trust and support in government programme and actions.

More so, citizens' engagement and participation towards the implementation and evaluation of policy programme is another factor that determine effective implementation of public policy. To OECD (2022), citizens' participation in policy process leads to a better and more democratic policy making process; makes policy more legitimize and acceptable by the public. To OECD, citizens' engagement and participation start from the point of identifying policy problem, defining expected results, identifying relevant group of people to be involve and recruiting participants, communicating the policy process, and policy evaluation.

In addition, to enhance the effectiveness of policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation play a critical role in providing data-driven insights into what works and what doesn't work about a particular programme execution. Together, these processes foster accountability and improve overall governance by ensuring that policies remain responsive to changing needs.

Major Public Policies In Nigeria (2012 – 2025)

The **Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme** known as 'SURE-P is a policy enacted by the Federal Government of Nigeria during the Jonathan Administration. SURE-P was established in January 2012 when the Federal Government of Nigeria announced the removal of subsidy on Petroleum Motor Spirit (PMS). According to Atakpa (2024), the policy was meant to be a palliative programme for Nigerians as a result of the partial removal of the oil subsidy. According to Atakpa (2024), the intervention areas of SURE-P was divided into two categories; Social Safety Net Programme and Infrastructure Development Programme. **(a)**The Social Safety Net Programme consists of the Community Service Scheme (CSS), Women and Youth Empowerment Programme(WYEP) -Vocational Training, Graduate Internship Scheme (GIS) for the youth; Maternal and Child Health Care (MCH), Public Works (FERMA); and Mass Transit programme. **(b)** While the Infrastructure Development component of SURE-P focuses on the completion of core road projects and railways that will enhance transportation of passengers and goods in the country.

As laudable as the objectives of SURE-P policy is, it was observed that the policy could not achieve its expected objectives as a result of challenges facing the implementation phase of the policy. Some of these challenges, he identify as; lack of transparency, designing the policy without due consultation of the stakeholders. To CSJ (2014), the setup, mandate, composition and framework of SURE-P were all determined by the executive without due consultation of the stakeholders.

N-Power Social Investment Programme

Another notable public policy within the period under review that was aimed to curb unemployment and poverty in Nigeria, was the N-Power policy was a component of the National Social Investment Programme (NSIP) initiated by the President Muhammadu Buhari administration in 2015. This was a deliberate effort to pull many Nigerian youth out of poverty through capacity building, investment and direct support. According to the (National Social Investment Programme (NSIP 2023), this programme was supposed to achieve its goal in ten years across the 774 local governments in the country. Dauda, Adeyeye, Yakubu, Oni and Umar (in Agwudagwu, Egboh & Obiorah, 2023) note that the goals of N-Power revolve around reduction of unemployment, transfer of technical and entrepreneurial skills to people so that the beneficiaries would have employment capacities. To Ibrahim (2021), the policy was to enhance the provision of a structure for relevant skills acquisition and development.

Policy of Naira Re-design

In late 2022 and early 2023, Nigeria witnessed another policy implementation that many Nigerians saw as a problematic policy; this is the “naira re-design policy” implemented by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). This policy aimed at addressing the several economic and financial challenges facing Nigeria. The primary goals of this policy according to Iwedi, Wachukwu and Court (2023) were to prevent naira counterfeit, control money supply, encourage online transaction, reduce inflation, curb money hoarding, embezzlement of fund and reduce cash movement. However, as good as the concept was, the policy brought hardship to many Nigerians, and there was gross misunderstanding of the government intention as highlighted in the policy objectives. This is because the people - masses were not involved in designing of the policy. The interest of the masses was not harvested.

Policy of Oil Subsidy Removal in Nigeria

Oil subsidy has been an economic approach used to relief consumers from the effect of high cost of oil. The decision of the present administration to remove oil subsidy has been a contentious debate among public and political analyst with significant economic and socio-political implications. The aims of this policy were to; enhance fiscal responsibility by the government and redirecting government funds to improve other sector of the economy. The removal of oil subsidy in any country will help the government to focus more on other sectors of the economy with the scarce resources, promote private sector investment and reduce corruption (Aniemeka, 2023; Peter, 2020; Adeniran, 2020). This is the third year of the existence of the policy of oil subsidy removal, many Nigerians are still in the illusion of the implementation strategy. This has brought misunderstanding of the government intention, and majority of Nigerians are complaining of rising cost of living and inflation rate on daily basis (Abdul, Pius-Ajibade & Ibrahim, 2025).

Tax Policy

The present administration in Nigeria on 20th June, 2025 signed the four (4) Tax Reform Bills into law. These laws include the Nigeria Tax Act (NTA), The Nigeria Tax Administration Act (NTAA), The Nigeria Revenue Service Act (NRSA) and the Joint Revenue Board Act (JRBA). This Tax Policy comprehensively overhaul the Nigerian tax landscape to drive economic growth, increase revenue generation, improve the business environment and enhance effective tax administration across the different levels of government. This tax policy according to Abati (2026) was supposed to take off at the wake of 2026 January 1st. This policy introduced an increased exemption threshold for small companies, increased Capital Gains Tax (CGT) rate from 10% to 30%; introduce Development Levy (DL); Personal Income Tax (PIT) that was considered a more progressive personal income tax regime; Another aspect of the tax policy was the sharing of the VAT among the federating units of the country. This brought a lot of controversies among the Nigerian elites (Abati, 2026). This disagreement depicts a notion that there was no wide consultation and adequate transparency in the formulation of this policy. As good as this tax policy is in its design, though still in an adolescent stage, its implementation is yet to been seen as a policy made for the interest of the masses.

Common Challenges Facing Public Policy Implementation in Nigeria

Shuaibu and Abduhuraire (2024); Alexander, Ozuru and Kponi (2022) while analyzing the complexities of policy formulation and implementation in Nigeria, affirm that public policies in Nigeria are characterized by common challenges in their implementation; such as bureaucratic inefficiencies, corruption, lack of transparency and accountability, poor funding, community resistance. Alexander, Ozuru and Kponi (2022) note that in the implementation of public policies in Nigeria, appointment of individuals with no knowledge and understanding of the policy design is a prevailing factor. The institutions assigned with the responsibilities of implementation of public policies are weak and lack coordination. To Ogu, Oranekwu and Okoye (2025) these policies are being executed by political figures, and not professionals who has the right knowledge to effectively execute such programme.

Abdul, Pius-Ajibade and Ibrahim (2025) observes that lack of transparency is a great obstacle to effective implementation of public policies. In this vein, Shuaibu and Abduhuraire (2024) assert that in the implementation

of public policies in Nigeria, the beneficiary communities or the citizens are not adequately communicated on the policy strategies, and as such there is community resistance on the government programmes.

Civil Unrest In Nigeria

Civil unrest is generally understood to involve violent and non-violent group act such as riots, protest, and other forms of isolated or sporadic acts of violence. To Shorey, Kelly and Chapel (2023), civil unrest means the discontent condition of the citizens under a governing authority resulting to civil disturbances ranges from peaceful demonstration, strike and riot to violent demonstration with the aim of inciting the government for a change.

The forms of civil unrest, such as the actions of separatist groups like the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) in the south-east, militancy in the south south area, insurgency in the North, religious and communal conflicts among others. Furthermore, according to Dajo and Akor (2022) labour unrest is another form of civil unrest that constitute an integral component of social unrest in Nigeria over the years with serious drawbacks on the nation's economy. Some of the labour unrest includes the strike actions by; the Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC), the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), National Association of Resident Doctors (NARD), National Union of Petroleum and Gas Workers Association of Nigeria (NUPENG), Petroleum and Gas Workers Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN), Judicial Staff Union of Nigeria (JUSUN). In the year 2024, Nigeria witness the demonstration of the youth tagged "EndBad Governance protest"

As Nigeria was recovering from the effect of the EndSars, and the pressure of naira redesign, the Endbad governance protest emerged as a more comprehensive critic of the Nigeria's political leadership and institutions. The protest was widely known by the hashtags #Endbad governance were series of mass protest in Nigeria which mainly occurred from 1st August to 10th August 2024. This movement was for the government to reduce the cost of governance and reinstating the oil subsidy removed implemented by the Nigeria government in 2023. Jalisco (2024) observe that the said #Endbad governance protest stemmed from Nigeria's growing economic hardship and hunger; the rising cost of living and increasing inflation especially on food prices in the country. This protest according to Ayodele (2024) cut across regions, ethnic groups and religious lines.

In general, civil unrest starts with unacceptability of government policy outcome and pattern of governance in any political state. It was in line with this that Shorey, Kelly and Chapel (2023) define civil unrest as civil right movement involving peaceful protest and demonstrations; in an attempt to influence the government towards changing a policy or pattern of governance perceived by the people as against their welfare and security. To Shorey, Kelly and Chapel (2023), civil unrest is a respond to political and socio-economic issues in a society or the aftermath of their legislation especially when the people are not contented with such legislation.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on the State-Centered Theory propounded by Karl Marx and Fredrich Engel. This theory according to Randall(1993) is complex set of arguments on the structure and the role of the state to the society. This school of thought argue that the state has been an environment of revolution based on class conflict. To the Marxists, the privilege class (the owners of the means of production, the political elites) continually face an increasing pressure from the discontented rising class- the masses. The Marxists argument was a critic of the market driven theories that capitalists embroiled in the free-market will act to increase their own wealth, exploiting the lower classes. Against the ideology of the market driven theories, the state- centered theories as argued by Thedaskoopol (in Kalyvas, 2024) and Nordlinger emphasize that the state should enact policies to prevent exploitation and promote the equal distribution of goods and wages. It is argued that the role of governmental policy and economic planning should aimed at promoting changes and reducing the inequality in the society.

The theory is relevance to study as it beams research on the relative cause of people's anti-social behaviour in the public. It relates the constant differences and the exploitative gap between the few elites who uses the state as a political tool to exploit the poor masses and the majority proletariat; and this has always been a major cause of civil unrest in most societies of the world.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopts qualitative research approach which aimed at exploring the effect of public policy implementation on civil unrest in Nigeria. The study utilised published books, assorted journal publications, periodicals, circulars, diaries, pamphlets, and internet which constitute the secondary source of data; while the primary data was obtained through interview of key informants using semi-structured questionnaire. The study covers some selected public policies formulated and implemented between 2012 and 2025. This period was selected to cover governance of different administration and the two opposing political parties in Nigeria - Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Congress (APC) party.

For the interview, the research respondents for this study include public policy makers, public analyst. The rationale behind selecting these participants is the fact that the policy makers and public policy analysts have the knowledge and interpretation on how public policy are formulated and set standard for policy implementation by respective agencies; and likely effect of a particular public policy on the Nigerian citizens. More so, Nigeria youth were selected randomly from Lagos state being the commercial hub of the Nation and having witnessed almost all the recent civil unrest in Nigeria. Also, personal observation during the last public protest-EndBad governance in Lagos form part of sources of information for this study. The sampling technique is to be sure that all the participants that have been selected have in-depth knowledge of the topic under investigation.

In total, the study population consists of 20 participants- 5 (coded as; P1, P2, P3, P4, P5) were selected from public policy makers (from both the executive and legislative arm of the government), 5 (coded as; P6, P7, P8, P9, P10) from public policy analysts-mostly academicians in public policy analysis and 10(coded as; P11, P12, P13, P14, P15, P16, P17, P18, P19, P20) from Nigeria youth in Lagos State. P1 to P10 were interviewed on the nature and strategies used in the implementation of the selected public policies; while P11 to P20 were interviewed on the causes of civil unrest witnessed recently in Nigeria with special reference to Lagos State.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In general, the findings of the study reveal that within the period under investigation, Nigeria has witnessed a lot of civil unrest, ranging from strike, peaceful protest or demonstration, violent protest to insurgency. These forms of civil unrest occurred in Nigeria across all the regime between 2012 and 2024, irrespective of the political party in power. Also, between 2012 and 2023, Nigeria witnesses notable policies formulated and implemented: these include among others; SURE-P Policy (2012), N-P Social Investment Policy (2016), Naira Re-design Policy (2022), Oil Subsidy Removal Policy (2023), and the Tax Policy (2026).

Findings of the study also shows that the citizens were not dully consulted either through town-hall meeting, media, respective local government chairmen, or through public hearing. The government intention was not made known to the public; and this has been one of the major reasons why the public react negatively to the government programme. The above is in support of the argument of Mitu (2021) when he posits that when policies are not communicated to the people, it can lead to confusion, mistrust, noncompliance and resistance as citizens may not understand their roles and responsibilities under the new policy. The study also discovered that with good communication of government policy intention to the public, the citizens will give their support and acceptance to any policy implementation process. Therefore, in line with objective one of this study, the above finding provides an answer to research question one; that there is a significant relationship between policy communication and citizens acceptance of policy outcome.

The study also discovered that government while implementing policy programme do avail the public with the policy implementation strategies, keeping the public in the dark. In the same vein, the study reveals that government do not render public report of how the implementation of public policy is going; even with the long list of institutions identified as having oversight function of monitoring policy implementation yet the people do not get the report of their policy evaluation. To this end, the public feel alienated and begin to show apathy to government programme. However, Kopit and Jon (1998) have earlier argued that transparency in government operation is very necessary and important. They argue that lack of transparency breeds lack of public trust on government. This invariably will cause resentment and anti-government behaviour like staying out of work in reaction to distrust on government in implementing policies that will take care of the public interest. Therefore,

in line with the objective one of this study, the findings of the study reveal that transparency in policy implementation breeds trust, and consequently has effect on the citizens embarking on strike actions.

Furthermore, the study reveals that government do not seek the opinion of the citizens in the implementation of policy programme. In the same vein, government do not involve the communities in the selection of beneficiaries of policy programme - for instance in the selection of people for the N-Power and Sure-P policies. Again, in the composition of membership of the advisory committee on implementation of some of the policy. The mode of selection of beneficiaries has been a question that answer is yet to be provided. It was expected that while the government programme is going on, a survey of the feedback on the programme from the public supposed to be carried out; however, this study discovered that government don't seek for feedback from the public regarding to the policy programme being implemented. Nevertheless, the study also observes that if the youth are given opportunity to participate in the policy implementation programme some of these civil unrest could be averted. The study again shows that majority of the civil unrest were reaction to government policy. This supports the opinion of Adekunle (2024) that *most, if not all the civil unrest are reactions to the nature and effect of government policies so formulated*. From the above position, citizens' engagement and participation in policy implementation is significantly related to protest in Nigeria.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study examines the effect of public policy implementation on civil unrest in Nigeria. The look analyse four of the public policies formulated and implemented between 2012 and 2023. Findings of the study reveal that: (1) Transparency in policy implementation has an effect on the citizens striking in Nigeria. When government are transparent in policy implementation, citizens build trust on the government in the programme implemented and this reduces the tendency of staying away from work. (2) To a large extent, citizens' engagement and participation is closely related to protest in Nigeria. It was discovered in the study that when citizens are involved in the policy programme implementation, they feel the sense of belonging, cooperate with the government towards effective implementation of any public policy; and see no reason for any protest against the government.

Recommendations

For effective implementation of public policy, this will enhance the cooperation of the citizen and the study recommended that: .

1. The government and her agencies should be transparent in the implementation of policy programme; the government should ensure that regular public report is render to the citizens on the progress of policy implementation. As posit by Fatile and Adejunmo (2023) that public accountability and transparency are the hallmark of modern democratic governance.
2. The citizens should be engaged and encouraged to participate in the implementation of any policy programme. Communities that are beneficiaries of any public policy should not be alienated form the implementation of such policy and this will enhance inclusive governance within the society.

REFERENCES

1. Abati, R. (2025). Nigeria tax controversy. Retrieved April 12, 2026 from <https://thisdaylive.com/2025/12/30/nigeria-tax-controversy>
2. Abdul, Pius-Ajibade & Ibrahim (2025).Effect of fuel subsidy removal on the economy of Nigeria Retrieved from <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.90300285>
3. Adeniran, A; Odusola, A; &Afolabi, M. (2020). Economic implication of fuel subsidy removal in Nigeria. African Development Review, 32(2), 145 - 159.
4. Adekunle, E. (2024). Enough is enough. Nigerians take to the street in protest over a cost-living-crises. Retrieved January 12, 2025 from <https://www.npr.org/2024/enough/is/enough/nigerians/take/to/street/in/protest/over/cost/living/crises>
5. Agande, B. (2015). Johnathan fires Sure-P chairman. Retrieved December 17, 2024 from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/03/johnathan/fires/sure-p/chairman>

6. Agbazure, A.B.C (2020). Challenges of public policy making and execution in Nigeria: European scientific journal. 16(7), 130-141<https://doi.10.19044/esj>.
7. Agwudagwu, A.; Egbob, E. A & Obiorah., C. B (2023) Assessment of Public Policy Implementation on National Planning in Nigeria: A Case Study of N-Power Plan on unemployment and Poverty. Nnamdi Azikiwe Journal of Political Science 8(4), 88 - 106.
8. Ajulor, O. V. (2019). Goal setting policies and poverty in Africa, A paper presented at the Faculty of Management Sciences Conference held at the School of Transport Hall, Lagos State University. 1st to 3rd March
9. Akujuru, C. A. & Enyioko, N. C. (2019). The Impact of N-Power programme on poverty alleviation in Nigeria: A study of Rivers State. Global Journal of Political Science and Administration, 7(3), 29 - 50.
10. Alexander, C. B; Ozuru, E. C. & Kponi, G. (2022). A review of development policies implementation in Nigeria. East African Scholars Multidisciplinary Bulletin. 5(7), 134 - 140
11. Andrews, M. (2021). Successful Failure in Public Policy Work. Centre for International Development Studies at Harvard University. Retrieved January 20, 2025 from <https://bsc.cid.harvard.edu/files/bsc/files/2021-12-cid-wp-402-successful-failure.pdf>.
12. Aniemeka, I. G. (2023). Subsidy Removal and Economic Revitalization of Nigeria. International Journal of Public Administration, 2(2), 343-357. from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/#endsars/movement/from/twitter/to/nigerian/street>
13. Ayodele A. (2024) Take away from the End bad government protest. Retrieved from December 29, 2024 from www.thisdaylive.com.
14. Bassey, J. E. (2020). Ecological variables and public policy implementation in Nigeria: Evidence and reality. International Journal of Education Humanities and Social Science. 3(3), 1-5.
15. Center for Social Justice (CSJ) (2014). Analyzing SURE-P in action: A report on Implementation of Sure-P. Retrieved January 20, 2025 from <https://csj.ng/wp-content/analyzing/sure-p/in/action>
16. Dajo, U & Akor, L(2022) Impact of Social Unrest on Nigeria's Socio-Economic development. International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research, 7(4) 16-27
17. Ehigiator, S. (2024). Chronicling the #Endbad Governance protest as Nigerians cry for change. Retrieved from November 20, 2024 www.thisdaylive.com
18. Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) (2013). SURE-P performance monitoring report. Retrieved January 12, 2025 from <https://nationalplanning.gov.ng/wp-content/2013/surepannualreport/monitoringreport>
19. Ikechukwu, U. B. & Chukwuemeka, E. E. (2013). The obstacles to effective policy implementation by the public bureaucracy in developing nations: The case of Nigeria. Singaporean Journal of Business Economics, and Management Studies, 1(8), 34 – 43.
20. Ibrahim, Y. (2021). Understanding the impact of N-Power on youth. Retrieve December 02, 2024 from <https://thenationonlineng.net/understanding/the/impact/of/N-Power/on/youth>
21. Iwedi, W. M. (2023). Naira re-design and economic growth in Nigeria. Prospect and Challenges. Journal of Accounting and Financial management, 19(1), 23 - 28.
22. Jalisco, S (2024). Nigerians vows days of rage over economic hardship. Retrieved January 03, 2025 from <https://www.bbc.com>nigeria/vows/days/of/rage/economic/hardship>
23. Kebonkwu, M. (2024). Rivers' political crises as acid test of democracy. Retrieved December 12, 2024 from <https://thenationonlineng.net/rivers/crises/30/10/2024>
24. National Social Investment Programme (NSIP) (2023). Bill to amend National Social Investment programme agency Act. Retrieved November 13, 2024 from <https://placng.org/i/bill/to/amend/national/social/investment/programme/act>
25. Obona, E.E. (2016). Effective implementation of public policies in Nigeria: Issues and challenges. African Journal of Politics and Administrative Studies, 9(1), 1-20
26. Ogu, A. O; Oranekwu, D. C. & Okoye, A. T (2025). The effect of public policy implementation on Community and rural development in Nigeria. International Journal Research in Social Sciences <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.90>
27. Organisation of Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD) (2022). Guidelines for citizen participation process. Retrieved December 20, 2024 from <https://oecd.library.org>guidelines/for/citizens/partiicipation/process>

-
28. Peter, N. (2020). Impact of energy subsidy on transportation sector in Nigeria. *America Journal of Energy Research*, 3(4), 20 - 26.
 29. Riant, A. (2021). Policy communication is beyond policy dissemination. Retrieved January 21, 2025 from www.ksi-indonesia.org/en/wawasan/detail/2525-policy/communication/is/beyond/policy/dissemination
 30. Selepe , M. M. (2023), Evaluation of public policy implementation failures and Possible Solutions. *EUREKA: Social and Humanities*, 1 (43), <https://doi.10.21303/2504-5571>
 31. Shorey, J; Kelly, M. & Chapel, L. (2023). Civil unrest: Definition, preparation and examples. Retrieved December 20, 2024 from <https://www.study.com>civil/unrest/definition/preparation/examples>
 32. Shuaibu, S. & Abduhura, A. M. (2024). Analyzing the complexities of policy formulation and implementation in Nigeria democracy: A comparative study of historical perspectives and contemporary challenges. *International Journal of Development Strategies in Humanities, Management and Social Sciences*. 14(1), 258 - 274.
 33. Vaskov, M.H., Pienknagura, S.& Luca A.R. (2021). The macro economic impact of social unrest. IMF working paper, western hemisphere department.