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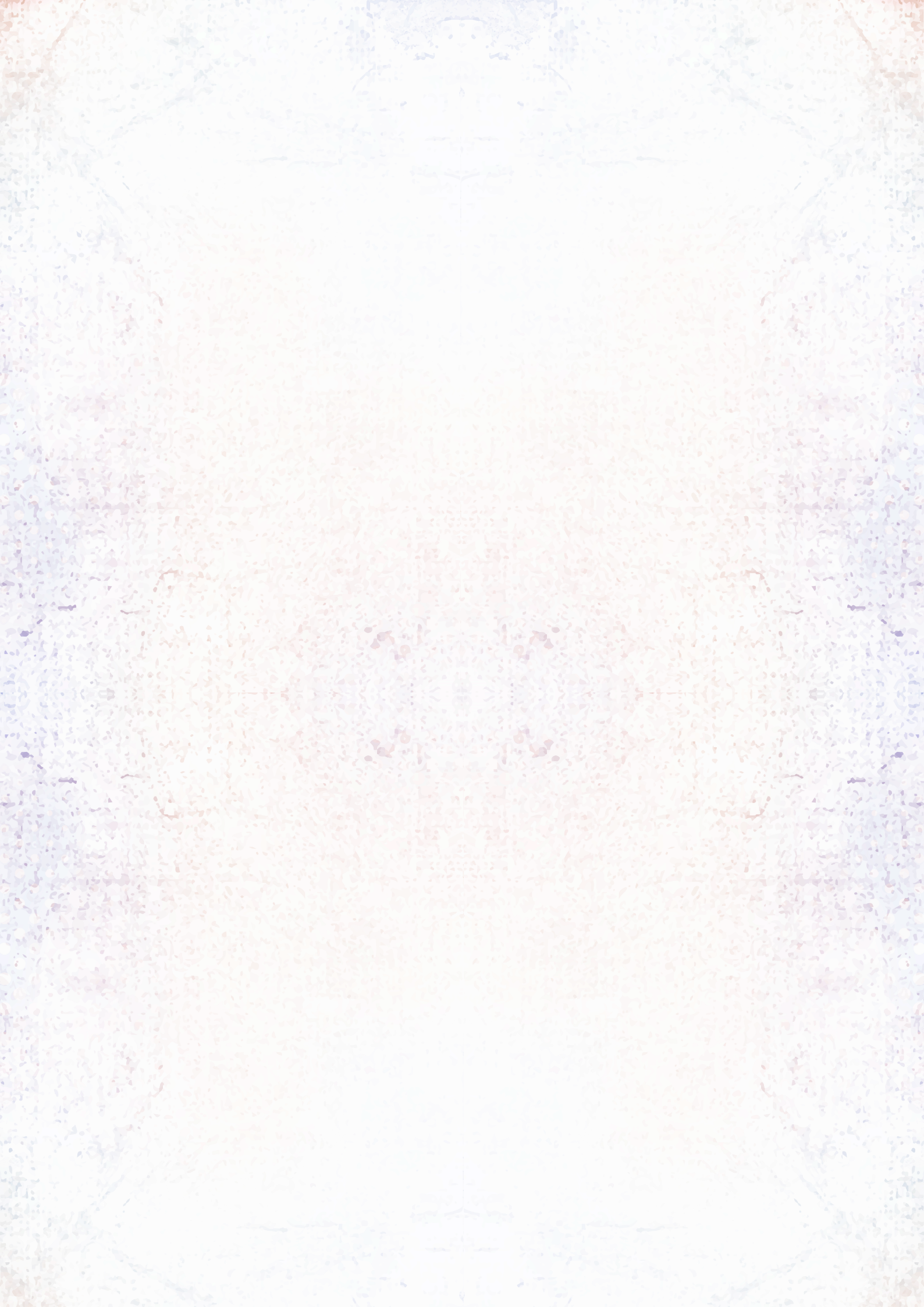DEVELOPMENT
INITIATIVE

BEYOND THE PROTESTS

*...toward governance reforms
after #EndBadGovernance*

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Kimpact Development Initiative (KDI) is a non-profit, non-partisan, non-governmental organisation that advances good governance, democratic rights, public policy, and public engagement. A dedicated force in advancing research and advocacy for Nigeria's democratic governance. With a strong research foundation and a team of experts across various fields, KDI effectively addresses essential issues like electoral justice, women's peace and security, and electoral security management. The organisation's research sheds light on complex topics and offers practical insights that shape local, national, and international levels. KDI's commitment to evidence-based advocacy is reflected in its comprehensive reports, which serve as authoritative resources for stakeholders interested in promoting democratic principles and electoral accountability.

Our Mission

To inspire citizen-led democratic and economic development that is fixed firmly on the principles of participation, data-driven advocacy, strong democratic institutions, and public policies.

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Executive Summary

This study delves into the dynamics of protests in Nigeria, focusing on the evolving landscape shaped by protests like #EndBadGovernance. It highlights the systemic challenges, misconceptions, and mismanagement of protests in a country where mass actions have historically served as a means for citizens to express dissatisfaction with governance and demand accountability. The #EndBadGovernance protest, exemplifies the potential and challenges of using protests as a political tool in Nigeria's fourth republic.

Experts widely believe that protests in Nigeria are often perceived as the last resort of those excluded from conventional political and economic processes. This has led to widespread misconceptions about their legitimacy. Protests like #EndBadGovernance are frequently misrepresented as mere street disruptions or threats to national security, ignoring their role as a response to systemic exclusion and demand for good governance. This perception is rooted in a broader societal failure to recognise protests as a valid form of political participation and a vehicle for societal transformation.

The #EndBadGovernance protest revealed deep-seated frustrations among Nigerians, particularly the youth, over persistent issues such as poor service delivery, corruption, insecurity, and exclusion from political processes. The protest's emergence was not isolated but part of a broader historical trend of protests in Nigeria, which dates to the colonial era. Also, to note that the material conditions and marginalisation patterns from that era persist, leaving citizens with limited options for political engagement.

For marginalised groups, such as youth, women, persons with disabilities, and labour unions, protests remain the viable option to challenge the status quo. The #EndBadGovernance protest underscored this reality, highlighting the lack of formalised channels for citizens to engage with the government. Without structured platforms for negotiation, protests like #EndBadGovernance often struggle with fragmented demands, making it difficult to sustain momentum and achieve tangible outcomes.

The government's response to protests has also evolved. For instance, in the fourth republic, the government's response to protests has shifted

from a relatively dialogic approach in the pre-2015 era to a predominantly coercive stance post-2015. The #EndBadGovernance protests were met with heavy-handed suppression in some states, reflecting a broader trend of state-sanctioned coercion that undermines the legitimacy of mass actions. This hostile environment weakens citizens' trust in the government and fosters a sense of state-induced anarchy, as citizens feel increasingly unheard and marginalised.

At the heart of the #EndBadGovernance protest is Nigeria's youth, who have harnessed the power of social media and technology to mobilise and organise. Social media platforms were instrumental in amplifying the protest's reach and creating a unified voice against bad governance. However, sustaining this momentum has proven challenging, as the lack of formal engagement mechanisms and the state's coercive responses continue to stifle progress.

The #EndBadGovernance protest highlighted the potential and limitations of protests in Nigeria. It demonstrated the power of youth-led mobilisation and the role of digital tools in amplifying demands for change. At the same time, it exposed the systemic challenges that prevent protests from achieving long-term impact.

To build on the lessons from the #EndBadGovernance protest and address the broader issues surrounding protests in Nigeria, this study recommends the following:

- **Formalised Citizen Engagement:** The government must establish, engage, or promote inclusive and accessible platforms for citizens, particularly marginalised groups, to engage in meaningful dialogue and policy-making processes.

- **Post-Protest Dialogues:** Civil society organisations should prioritise post-protest engagements to sustain the momentum of movements (demands) like #EndBadGovernance and channel them into actionable outcomes.

- **Non-Coercive Responses:** Security agencies need to adopt less confrontational approaches to protests, fostering trust and encouraging constructive dialogue between citizens and the state.

- **Youth Empowerment:** Youth-led movements should focus on leadership training, coherent messaging, and grassroots mobilisation to strengthen their impact and resilience.

- **Government Reframing of Protests:** The state must shift its perception of protests from threats to legitimate political actions, recognising their role in a vibrant democracy.

01.
Introduction

Background and Context

Civic participation lies at the heart of democratic governance, reflecting the active involvement of citizens in shaping public policy, societal norms, and governmental accountability. This participation can manifest through voting, public consultations, and sometimes dissent when conventional channels fail to address societal grievances. Civic disobedience, particularly protests, has emerged as a crucial catalyst for social transformation worldwide, serving as a powerful expression of collective dissent against oppression, inequality, and injustice. Throughout history, significant protest movements have prompted substantial changes in societal norms and governance structures, including pivotal moments such as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the global climate strikes led by youth movements such as Fridays for Future, and the Arab Spring[1] [2].

Specifically, the Arab Spring, which commenced in 2010, saw widespread protests across the Arab world driven by demands for democracy, economic reform, and an end to authoritarian rule. The movement originated from a tragic act of self-immolation in Tunisia and rapidly spread to countries like Egypt and Libya, leading to the overthrow of long-standing dictatorships[3]. Similarly, youth-led movements in Kenya, Bangladesh, and Tunisia in recent years underscore the global rise of civic unrest driven by socioeconomic inequalities, governance failures, and the unmet aspirations of younger generations. As mentioned above, these protests not only

illuminate systemic issues but also galvanise public support for reforms, showcasing[4].

The transformation of societal structures through protests is complex. The rise of digital communication technologies has significantly altered how protests evolve, allowing for rapid information dissemination and mobilisation. This has led to a surge in movements and protests characterised by "leaderless" structures in countries like Kenya, Tunisia, and Bangladesh, where decentralised coordination, often facilitated by digital platforms, emerges as a defining trend, demonstrating adaptability and resilience against authoritarian countermeasures[5][6]. This shift indicates a growing disillusionment with traditional political structures and a desire for more direct forms of engagement. Often at the forefront of these movements, the youth express their frustrations over economic inequality, political repression, and social injustice, using protests to articulate their demands for change.

This is not far from the recent trends of protest in Nigeria—specifically, the #EndSARS protests of 2020, driven by youth dissatisfaction with police brutality and broader systemic injustices. Also, the #EndBadGovernance protest represents a continuation of Nigeria's protest tradition, fuelled by frustrations with governance deficits, systemic corruption, and dwindling socioeconomic opportunities. Emerging after the #EndSARS protests, this protest has transcended specific grievances, addressing the broader governance landscape that perpetuates inequality and impedes progress. The protest underscores the growing discontent among Nigeria's youth, who constitute a significant portion of the population yet remain marginalised in decision-making processes.

Despite the surge in protest activities globally, studies have shown that most protests do not lead to significant, sustained changes in public attitudes or policy outcomes. For instance, a comprehensive analysis revealed that only a tiny fraction of numerous protests led to lasting shifts in public opinion or voting[7] Initial spikes in social media activity often dwindle within days, highlighting the challenges of maintaining it[8]. Hence, the need for this study.

Rationale for the Study:
Research Questions and Objectives.

The #EndBadGovernance protest is emblematic of a broader pattern of youth-led civic engagements in Nigeria. This study aims to understand the complexities, motivations, and implications of the protest within the Nigerian socio-political and economic landscape. By exploring the protest's dynamics, the study seeks to provide insights into its impact on governance, democracy, the rule of law, and the role of digital platforms in shaping collective action.

In doing so, the study addresses critical questions such as:

1. What are the underlying causes and socio-political factors that gave rise to the #EndBadGovernance protest, and how do these compare to previous protests like #EndSARS regarding origins, motivations, and outcomes?

2. What are the implications of the #EndBadGovernance protest on Nigeria's governance, democracy, and the rule of law?

3. How do the demands of the #EndBadGovernance protesters relate to the current administration's accountability mechanisms, economic policies, and the quest for Nigeria's economic development?

4. How did the Nigerian government, including security agencies, respond to the #EndBadGovernance protests? What was the extent of human rights violations, and how has the professionalism of the police varied across different regions?

5. What regional and geographical nuances appear from the #EndBadGovernance protests, and how did these influence the reception and responses across the different geopolitical zones in Nigeria? What role did social media play in mobilising and shaping the #EndBadGovernance protests?

6. How did press freedom and media coverage impact the #EndBadGovernance protests? What challenges did journalists and media outlets face during the protests, and how did these affect the protest's public perception?

7. How does the #EndBadGovernance protest fit within the broader global trend of youth unrest?

Research Goal:

To conduct a comprehensive analysis of the #EndBadGovernance protest, exploring its origins, regional dynamics, and broader implications of protest for governance, democracy, and social stability in Nigeria.

Research Objectives:

1. To critically examine the origins, evolution, and regional dynamics of the #EndBadGovernance protests, with a focus on understanding the root causes and the socio-political context that fuelled the movement.

2. To evaluate the implications of the #EndBadGovernance protest on Nigeria's governance structures, democratic processes, and human rights, particularly considering the government's response and security tactics.

3. To assess the role of social media in shaping the protest, the influence of digital and non-digital platforms in mobilizing support, the progression and the eventual suspension of the protests.

Significance of the Study

This study holds considerable significance across multiple dimensions, offering value to various stakeholders, including policymakers, academics, civil society organizations, and the broader Nigerian populace. The following highlights the importance of the study:

1. **Enhancing Understanding of Protest Dynamics:** By examining the origins, drivers, and impacts of the #EndBadGovernance protest, the study contributes to a deeper understanding of protest as a form of civic engagement. It sheds light on how grievances, mobilization strategies, and leadership structures shape the effectiveness and outcomes of such protests.

2. **Promoting Youth Civic Engagement:** The study underscores the growing role of young people in shaping Nigeria's socio-political landscape. Analyzing their motivations, strategies, and contributions highlights the potential of youth-led initiatives to drive governance reforms and strengthen democracy.

3. **Informing Policy and Governance:** Insights from the study provide actionable recommendations for policymakers and government institutions. By identifying the underlying issues that trigger protests, the study

equips stakeholders with evidence-based strategies to address systemic governance issues and enhance government responsiveness to citizens' needs.

4. **Strengthening Civil Society Advocacy:** Organisations can leverage the findings to develop more targeted advocacy campaigns and initiatives. The study's emphasis on the role of digital tools and leaderless structures offers valuable lessons for mobilizing communities and sustaining engagement.

5. **Contributing to Academic Scholarship:** This study adds to the growing body of research on civic participation, governance, and protest in Africa and beyond. Situating the #EndBadGovernance protests within global and historical contexts offers fresh perspectives for scholars exploring similar phenomena in other regions.

6. **Highlighting the Role of Digital Platforms:** The research explores how social media and digital tools have transformed protest organization, communication, and engagement. This is particularly relevant in an era where digital platforms increasingly influence political and social mobilisation.

7. **Facilitating Dialogue on Governance Reforms:** The study catalyses discussions on governance and electoral reforms in Nigeria. Analysing the protest's demands and implications encourages dialogue among stakeholders on addressing systemic challenges and fostering inclusive governance.

8. **Providing a Framework for Future Movements:** Understanding the successes and challenges of the #EndBadGovernance protest can guide future civic initiatives. The study offers lessons on sustaining momentum, building coalitions, and translating protests into tangible policy-influencing initiatives.

Overall, the study bridges the gap between civic action and governance discourse, fostering a better understanding of how citizen-driven actions can influence policy and create a more accountable and inclusive democratic process.

02.
Methodology

Research Scope, Design and Data

Research Scope

This study delves into the #EndBadGovernance protest in Nigeria, which some stakeholders have called an unprecedented expression of collective dissatisfaction among citizens aimed at addressing systemic governance failures. The scope encompasses a comprehensive exploration of the protest's origins, dynamics, and implications across Nigeria's social, political, and geographical landscapes. It seeks to unpack the socio-political factors underpinning the protests, evaluate their influence on governance and democracy, and explore the interplay between digital activism and traditional societal structures.

The scope includes:

1. **Temporal Coverage**: The protest's inception, the ten-day demonstrations, and the aftermath.
2. **Geographical Focus**: The regional variations in protest participation, government responses, and human rights implications across Nigeria's geopolitical zones (Northeast, Northwest, Northcentral, Southeast, Southwest, South-south).
3. **Thematic Focus**:
   o Root causes and socio-political context of the protests.
   o Regional dynamics in responses by government and security agencies.

- Role of social media, media coverage, and press freedom.
- Broader implications for governance, democracy, and rule of law.

Research Design

To address the research objectives comprehensively, the study employs a mixed methods approach that integrates qualitative and quantitative techniques. The methodology was designed to provide a multidimensional understanding of the movement, allowing for data triangulation to enhance reliability and depth of analysis.

1. **Qualitative Component**:
    - **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**: The FGDs engaged a diverse range of participants, including political analysts, social scientists, human rights activists, media professionals, and security experts. Participants were selected purposively to ensure representation from all six geopolitical zones and key stakeholder groups. Discussions focused on regional disparities, government responses, and the role of social and traditional media, with the transcripts subjected to thematic analysis to identify recurring patterns and insights.
    - **Content Analysis**: A qualitative review of media narratives, government reports, and policy briefs to understand framing and public perception.
2. **Quantitative Component**:
    - **Social Media Sentiment Analysis**: Data was collected from social and non-social media sources from 1st July 2024 to 11th August 2024, when the hashtag gained prominence and started trending on the trend log. The social media platforms included Twitter, Facebook, TikTok, and YouTube. Non-social media data comprised news articles and opinion pieces discussing the #EndBadGovernance protest. Relevant hashtags such as #EndBadGovernance, #EndBadGovernanceNow, and #EndBadGovernanceProtest were used to identify and retrieve data. Notably, there was a technical glitch with the META developer platform, which hindered the retrieval of data from Instagram.

- o **Comparative Analysis**: Quantitative comparisons of government and security agency responses across regions, drawing on metrics such as arrest rates, human rights violation reports, and resource deployment.

Data

1. **Primary Data**: The transcriptions from FGDs with stakeholders were analysed for recurring themes and regional dynamics.
2. **Secondary Data**:
   - o **Social Media Data**: Sentiment trends, influencer activities, and digital campaign impacts sourced from platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and TikTok.
   - o **Media Reports**: Systematic content analysis of news from mainstream and alternative media outlets.
   - o **Government Documents**: Policies, press releases, and official responses to the protests.
   - o **Academic Literature**: Contextual insights from peer-reviewed studies and reports on governance, protests, and youth mobilisation in Nigeria.

Limitations and Assumptions

Limitations

1. Limited access to proprietary social media analytics tools and potential gaps in publicly available data. Also, there is variability in the accuracy of media and government reports, which may affect data reliability.
2. Findings may not entirely apply to protests and movements outside Nigeria or those with different socio-political contexts.
3. Due to technical glitches with the META developer platform, Instagram data could not be retrieved. This limits the comprehensiveness of the analysis, as Instagram is a central social media platform with significant user engagement.
4. The approaches and data science library might not capture the full nuance of sentiment. These tools sometimes struggle with sarcasm or idiomatic expressions.
5. While sentiment trends were analysed over time, the correlation between specific events and sentiment spikes might not fully account for all variables influencing public opinion. Other external factors could contribute to sentimental changes.

Assumptions

- Participants in FGDs will provide candid responses based on their experiences and observations.
- Social media sentiment data and media reports accurately reflect the dynamics of the protest.
- Regional protest dynamics and government response disparities can be analysed within comparable frameworks.
- The issues and grievances underpinning the #EndBadGovernance protests remain relevant to ongoing governance and policy debates.

By addressing these limitations and validating assumptions through triangulation and robust analysis, the study aims to provide a comprehensive and reliable understanding of the #EndBadGovernance protest.

Highlights of the study

- There is much more ambiguity and misconception around Nigeria's nature and perception of protests. This includes:
    - Protests have often been perceived as the action of those incapable of engaging in conventional political processes rather than as a legitimate democratic tool.
    - Both the government and citizens frequently reduce mass action or civil disobedience to mere street protests, neglecting its potential as a tool for social negotiation and transformation.
    - The oppressed traditionally use protests to negotiate freedom, and the oppressors are not disposed to use protests to weaken oppressed resistance.
    - There is a widespread but flawed belief that protests are not a form of political participation and are instead a threat to national security.

- The spread of protests globally, which can be termed as the reaction to liberal democratisation and neoliberal economic policies, mirrors similar dynamics in Nigeria. While economic reforms are not all bad, poorly managed reforms often drive citizens to seek alternative economic and political solutions.

- Protests have been part of Nigeria's political culture since the 1920s, driven by poor service delivery, exclusion, and bad governance. Yet, the factors that drive protest persist and exist in the fourth republic.

- Material conditions and marginalisation patterns from the colonial era persist in the post-colonial era, with little change in government responsiveness to citizens' needs.

- Marginalised groups, including youth, women, PWDs, and labour unions, increasingly see protests as a viable form of political participation due to limited opportunities in formal systems.

- Nigeria lacks formalised channels for citizens, particularly marginalised

groups, to engage meaningfully with the government. This exclusion forces skilled and unskilled individuals to adopt protests as a political alternative.

- Protests must be recognised as a legitimate means to negotiate political and social spaces, especially for marginalised groups. Until protests are accepted as legitimate political action with structured engagement platforms, they will remain fragmented and misunderstood.

- Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and the government have done little to sustain post-protest dialogues or prepare citizens for this informal political channel.

- The absence of deliberate citizen engagement platforms often leads to incoherent and numerous demands during protests, as seen in the #EndBadGovernance protest.

- In the fourth republic, pre-2015, responses to protests were less coercive, allowing for marginal dialogue between citizens and the government. In contrast, the post-2015 era has seen predominantly coercive responses to mass actions, fostering an environment where state anarchy emerges as citizens feel unheard.

- Nigerian youths are increasingly socially conscious and politically active, leveraging social media and ICT platforms to organise protests. However, sustaining momentum remains a challenge.

- Despite the clear indications of youth political consciousness, the government has failed to reframe its understanding of protests as legitimate political actions and continues to treat them solely as street disturbances.

03.

Understanding Protest and the #EndBadGovernance protest in its context

Protests serve as a critical mechanism for individuals and groups to express their disapproval, dissent, and demands for change in society.

They are often organised in response to perceived injustices, governmental policies, or societal issues, allowing participants to make their voices heard in public spaces[11] [12]. The primary purpose of protests is to influence public opinion and pressure political authorities to enact desired changes, often through organised collective action that shares potential costs and risks among participants, thus serving as an essential tool in democratic societies[13] [14].

Protests may occur in public spaces where demonstrators seek to attract attention to their cause, thereby increasing awareness and putting pressure on authorities for change. They can be non-violent in nature, particularly when part of a broader campaign for civil rights or social change, termed civil resistance or non-violent resistance. Overall, protests serve as a crucial mechanism for individuals and groups to voice their concerns and advocate for change within society[15] [16] [17].

Key Finding 1

Protests in Nigeria are often perceived as a reflection of political discontent, yet the complexity and ambiguity surrounding it not only shape public perception but also influence how protests are utilised, interpreted, and responded to by both citizens and the government.

Protests can take various forms, from individual acts of dissent to large-scale demonstrations involving thousands of participants. Each form carries its unique significance and method of expression, allowing for a broad range of grievances to be articulated. These include:

1. **Public Demonstrations:** Public demonstrations are perhaps the most recognised form of protest. These can take the shape of marches or rallies where large groups of people gather to voice their objections, often with signs, banners, and vocal expressions such as chanting.

2. **Artistics Expression:** Artistic methods of protest encompass a variety of mediums, including music, literature, and visual art. Protest songs, for instance, have historically been associated with significant social movements, addressing issues from civil rights to environmentalism[18]. These artistic expressions serve to inspire change, mobilise support, and provide a cultural narrative that can resonate with broader audiences.

3. **Digital Activism:** With the advent of technology, digital protests have emerged as a contemporary method of activism. Online platforms facilitate the organisation and dissemination of information, enabling global solidarity. Although digital protests may lack the immediacy of physical gatherings, they can inspire offline participation and foster a sense of collective struggle across geographical boundaries[19]. The effectiveness of these digital

A protest, often referred to as a demonstration, remonstration, or remonstrance, is a public act of objection, disapproval, or dissent against perceived political injustices or policies.

*-Legal Information Institute, Cornell Law School 2025[9][10]*

actions often hinges on their ability to generate awareness and mobilise supporters for subsequent physical demonstrations.

4. **Civil Resistance:** When protests are part of systematic and peaceful non-violent campaigns, they transcend mere expressions of dissent and become acts of civil resistance. This form of protest not only involves public demonstrations but also incorporates strategies of pressure and persuasion to achieve specific objectives. Civil resistance movements have historically played pivotal roles in significant societal changes, emphasising the power of collective action in advocating for justice and reform[20].

Protest methods encompass various actions that individuals and groups undertake to express dissent or advocate for change. It can be a ***violent*** and ***non-violent protest***. These methods can vary in formality, scale, and emotional impact, often tailored to the specific goals of the movement. **Non-violent protests** can be **Normative** and **Nonnormative**, while **violent protests** can be **Nonnormative** and **Symbolic Direct Action.**

Nonviolent Protests

- **Normative Nonviolent Protests:** Normative non-violent protests align with societal norms and often take the form of peaceful demonstrations and raising petitions. Protesters will always seek to raise awareness about issues without disrupting public order[21].
- **Nonnormative Nonviolent Protests:** Nonnormative non-violent protests are those
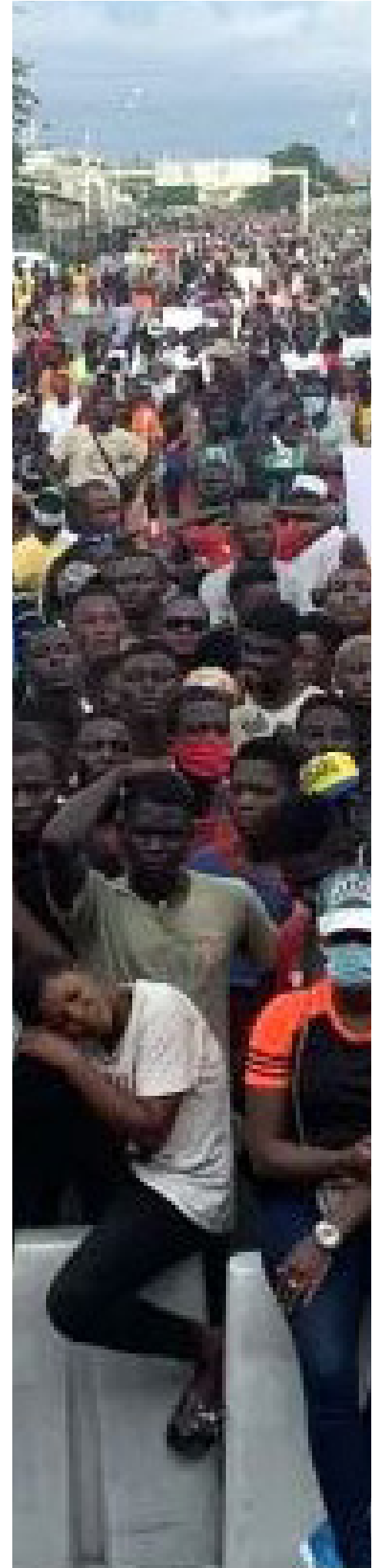
that disrupt the status quo but do not resort to violence. Examples include sit-ins, hunger strikes, and road blockades. These actions aim to draw attention to injustices and compel change through peaceful yet disruptive means[22].

Violent Protests

- **Nonnormative Violent Protests:** Some protests involve direct harm to people or property, categorising them as nonnormative violent protests. The #EndSars protest is a significant example, highlighting how frustration with systemic issues can erupt into violence[23].
- **Symbolic Actions:** Symbolic actions in protests, such as the destruction of objects with political significance or the use of street theatre, serve to create powerful visual messages that capture public attention[24]. These methods often blend artistic expression with activism, allowing protesters to convey their messages in engaging and thought-provoking ways.

Protest is a collective behaviour that is produced by perceived injustice done to groups that identify with it.

– Political Scientist at the KDI #EndBad-Governance Technical Session

Ambiguity and Dynamics of Protests in Nigeria

Protests in Nigeria are often perceived as a reflection of political discontent. Yet, the complexity and ambiguity surrounding their dynamics pose significant challenges to their efficacy and impact on broader civic action. These ambiguities not only shape public perception but also influence how protests are utilised, interpreted, and responded to by both citizens and the government. These include, but are not limited to:

Are the perceptions of protests in Nigeria questioning their legitimacy?

A common misconception in Nigeria is that protests are frequently perceived as actions undertaken by those who lack the capacity or resources to engage in formal political processes. This perception undermines their legitimacy as a form of political participation and reduces them to acts of desperation or unrest. Despite being a recognised form of civil and political expression globally, protests in Nigeria are often dismissed as threats to national security. This mischaracterization diminishes the value of protests as an integral part of civic engagement and marginalises their potential to influence meaningful change.

Additionally, both the government and citizens tend to narrow the definition of protests to mere street demonstrations, neglecting their potential as mechanisms for negotiation and social transformation. This perspective hinders the establishment of formal structures or mechanisms to engage with protest movements, leaving citizens, particularly marginalized groups, with limited options for expressing grievances

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Key Finding 2

Perception of protests in Nigeria

- *Protests have often been perceived as the action of those incapable of engaging in conventional political processes rather than as a legitimate political tool.*

- *Widespread but flawed belief that protests are not a form of political participation and are instead a threat to national security.*

- *Both the government and citizens frequently*

and advocating for reform.

Historically, protests are deployed by oppressed groups to negotiate freedoms and challenge oppression and are often manipulated by oppressors to weaken resistance or delegitimize the movement. Without a broader consensus that views mass action as a legitimate political tool, opportunities for meaningful engagement and government responsiveness remain limited.

The role of identity and cohesion is often equivocal.

Collective identity within protest movements also plays a critical role in determining their effectiveness. Protests in Nigeria often involve diverse groups with varying agendas, which can lead to fragmentation. The lack of a unified voice makes it difficult to coalesce diverse demands into a cohesive call for reform, limiting the movement's ability to sustain momentum and achieve its objectives. For instance, the #EndSARS protests initially focused on ending police brutality but eventually encompassed broader issues of corruption and bad governance. While reflective of widespread grievances, the diversity of demands also highlighted the challenges of maintaining a focused narrative that could drive systemic change.

The rise of counter-protests introduces another layer of complexity. These opposing movements often dilute a protest's original message, leading to public confusion about its legitimacy and objectives. This fragmentation shifts the focus from the core issues to divisive narratives, weakening the protest's ability to galvanize broad-based support.

reduce mass action or civil disobedience to mere street protests, neglecting its potential as a tool for social negotiation and transformation.

- *Protests are traditionally used by the oppressed to negotiate freedom, and oppressors are not disposed to using the same tool to manipulate protests to weaken resistance.*

Structural and Political Challenges

The ambiguity surrounding protests is further compounded by structural resistance within Nigeria's political system. Policymakers, often driven by political affiliations or vested interests, are hesitant to address demands arising from protests. This legislative inertia perpetuates the status quo, undermining the credibility of demonstrations as a tool for influencing governance. Consequently, public disillusionment grows, fostering scepticism about the effectiveness of protests in achieving tangible change.

Media Framing and Public Perception

Media representation significantly influences how the public perceives protests. In Nigeria, media coverage often varies based on the demographics of the protesters, shaping public opinion through biased or selective framing. Negative portrayals of protests as disruptive or illegitimate can obscure their goals and discourage broader political engagement.

Social media, while a powerful tool for mobilisation, also introduces complexities. It amplifies messages and facilitates organization but can also fragment movements by providing multiple, sometimes conflicting, narratives. Empirical evidence suggests that social media positively affects protest participation, but it is not always a straightforward relationship, as misinformation and lack of coordination can undermine cohesion.

04.
Understanding #EndBadGovernance

The #EndBadGovernance protest started as a nonnormative, non-violent protest on August 1, 2024, and it emerged as a powerful expression of widespread public discontent in Nigeria, driven primarily by frustration over poor governance and exacerbated by recent economic policies under President Bola Tinubu's administration.

Top 25 Items by Average Growth

Source: SBM Price of Everything Dataset

Key Finding 3

Economic hardship was a significant factor that sparked #EndBadGovernance protests: President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration's abrupt removal of petroleum subsidies, currency floating, and reliance on market-driven foreign exchange rates plunged millions into poverty and deepened inequality.
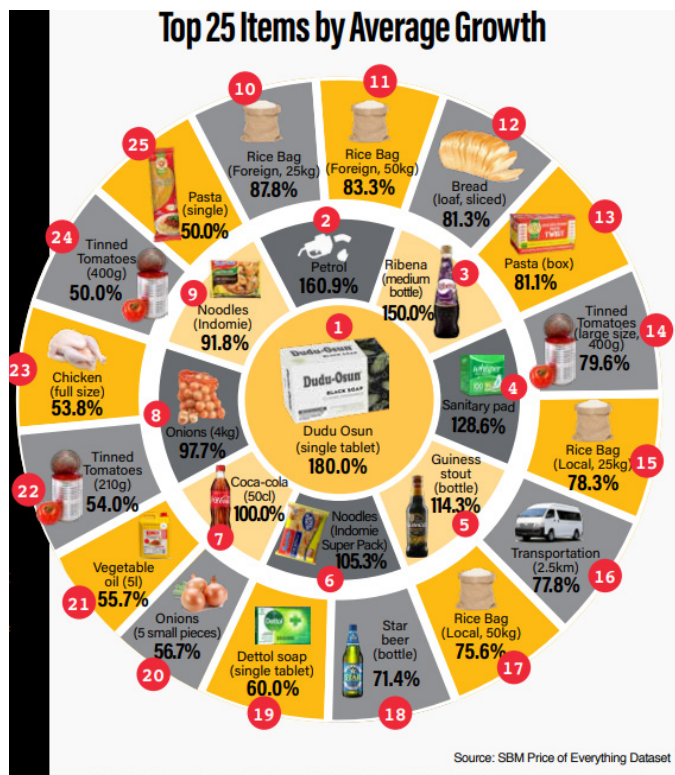
At the core of the #EndBadGovernance protest was a deep-seated anger fuelled by economic hardship. After the hotly contested February 2023 elections[25], Bola Ahmed Tinubu was sworn in as president of Nigeria on Monday, May 29, at Eagle Square in Abuja. In his inaugural speech, he surprised Nigerians by announcing the end of the government's petroleum subsidies. In the months after his inauguration, the Tinubu government took other economic decisions/measures that had drastic consequences on the living conditions of Nigerians. These include floating the national currency and the reliance on the Investors' and Exporters' (I&E) window to determine foreign exchange rates, which were perceived as policies that disproportionately impact people experiencing poverty. These policies made the naira lose more than half of its value and caused an almost 300 per cent increase in the price of electricity[26]. With inflation reaching 34.2% in June 2024 and food prices surging by 40.87%, many Nigerians struggle to meet basic needs.

These economic pressures have led to the protests being dubbed the "Hunger Protest," reflecting the country's dire state of food security. The Global Hunger Index (GHI) ranking Nigeria 109 out of 125 countries only underscores the severity of the situation as citizens grapple with economic and nutritional insecurity. As the situation worsened, widespread unrest began to snowball, culminating in the #EndBadGovernance protests.

There is mismatch between policies and realities:
The Tinubu administration's economic policies, while aimed at structural adjustments, disproportionately affected people experiencing poverty, exacerbating socio-economic inequalities and triggering nationwide unrest.

Nigeria's socio-economic landscape reflects a complex interplay of economic growth, inflation, and socio-political challenges. Here are key insights:

Economic Overview
- Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Growth: Nigeria's GDP grew by 3.46% in Q4 2023, slightly down from 3.52% in the same quarter of 2022. The manufacturing sector grew by 1.38%, and the agricultural sector grew by 14.94% year-on-year (National Bureau of Statistics[27]) (World Bank[28]).

Inflation: Nigeria's inflation rate reached a 24-year high of 31.7% in February 2024. By May 2024, it had increased to 34 per cent and 34.2 per cent by June[29]. This high inflation rate has significantly impacted living standards, pushing more Nigerians into poverty (World Bank[30]).

Unemployment: The unemployment rate was at 3.6% in Q1 in 2023. This increased to 5 per cent in the third quarter of 2023, up from 4.2 per cent in the second quarter. Even though this figure is based on modelled ILO estimates, it might not fully capture underemployment and informal sector employment (World Bank Open Data[31]).

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI): FDI inflows were stagnant, with net inflows recorded at 0.0% of GDP in 2022. This indicates a challenging investment climate (World Bank Open Data).

Social Indicators
Poverty: Poverty remains a significant issue. 40% of Nigerians are below the poverty line, and 25% of Nigerians are in extreme poverty. Even though temporary cash transfers are being implemented to support 15 million vulnerable households (World Bank), the rising inflation and slow economic growth are exacerbating the situation.

Corruption Perception Index: Nigeria ranks 149 out of 180 countries, indicating high levels of perceived corruption.

The minimum wage was also a subject of dispute between the federal and state governments, the private sector, and labour unions until the recent agreement to set it at 70,000 Naira (roughly 43 US dollars as of mid-August 2024) per month. Although this new minimum wage represents a 135-per cent increase over the previous minimum of 30,000, the reality is that it is not enough to buy a 50-kilogram bag of rice, which currently costs 90,000 naira (roughly 57 dollars). No gainsaying, the data shows that the #EndBadGovernance protest was a reaction to the harsh living conditions facing citizens across Nigeria.

What began as a robust protest in 25 states on Day 1 saw fluctuations in participation and intensity over the subsequent days, culminating in notable developments by Day 10.

Numerical Summery of the #EndBadGovernance Per day
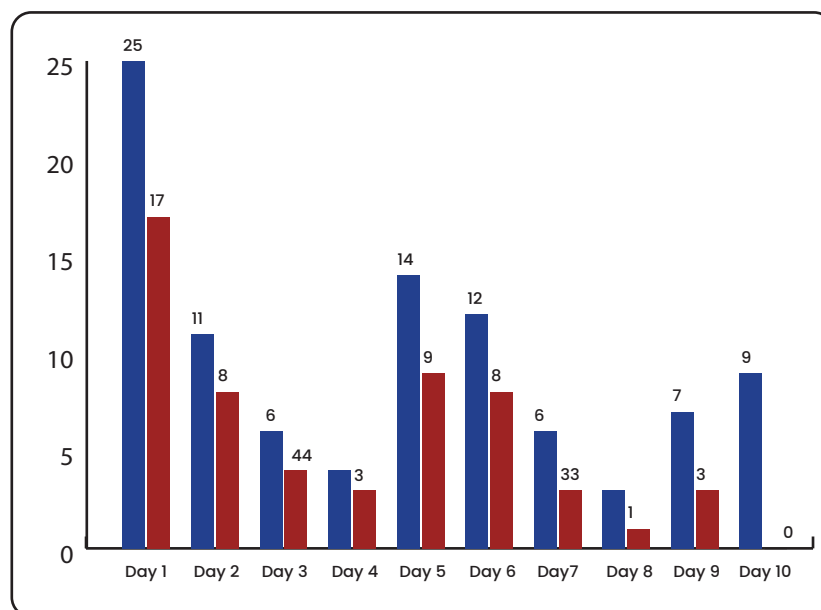
Number of state where protest happened

Number of state where violent incident occured during protest

After the first few hours of day 1, the protest, which started as a nonnormative, non-violent protest, turned into a nonnormative, violent protest, and violent incidents during the protests have also fluctuated. On Day 1, violent incidents were reported in 17 states, and fatalities were recorded during the protests. Over the following days, the number of states experiencing violence decreased, with Day 10 seeing no reported deaths and only three states reporting violent incidents. This decline in violence may suggest a tactical shift among protesters towards non-violent demonstrations, or it could reflect increased state repression, which has suppressed more aggressive forms of protest.

The fatalities resulting from the protests have been heavily concentrated in certain states. Borno State has been the epicentre of violence, followed by Kaduna and Kano States. These states have seen some of the most intense clashes between protesters and security forces, highlighting the severe risks associated with participating in the protests in these regions. The disproportionate impact on certain states suggests a need for targeted intervention and support to address the unique challenges faced by protesters in these areas.

04.
Neoliberal Economic Policies and Their Impact on Nigeria's Development: The Role of the Tinubu Administration in Fuelling #EndBadGovernance Protests

Neoliberal economic policies are a subset of liberal ideology focused on economic principles such as free-market capitalism, deregulation, privatisation, and reduced government spending. When minimally interfered with, these policies advocate that the market can allocate resources efficiently, promoting market-driven pricing, trade liberalisation, and private-sector competition. While neoliberalism, liberal democratisation, and liberal ideology share a focus on individual and market freedoms, they differ in scope and application, influencing economic development in both positive and negative ways. Liberal democratisation enhances governance, transparency, and civic engagement, creating an environment conducive to long-term investment and economic growth. However, rushed or poorly implemented democratisation can lead to political instability, weakened institutions, and economic disruptions. Also, this can cause democracy to regress towards authoritarianism. Liberal ideology emphasises individual liberty and fosters innovation,

Key Finding 4

The spread of protests global-ly, which can be termed as the reaction to liberal democratisation and neoliberal economic policies, mirrors similar dynamics in Ni-geria. While eco-nomic reforms are not bad in their entirety, poorly managed re-forms often drive citizens to seek alternative forms of economic and political solutions.

entrepreneurship, and economic growth, benefiting societal prosperity. Yet, it can exacerbate social inequalities[32] by neglecting safety nets, widening the wealth gap, prioritising economic growth over essential social welfare sectors like health and education, and undermining inclusive development.

Neoliberal economic policies are often praised for attracting foreign investment, stimulating competition, and integrating economies into the global marketplace. Countries that embrace neoliberal reforms can experience rapid economic growth and increased international trade. However, these policies can also lead to significant inequality, as the benefits of economic growth are often concentrated among the wealthier segments of society. At the same time, people with low incomes may see their living conditions worsen. Studies have shown that from 1990 to 2013, increases in income inequality across OECD countries were primarily attributed to neoliberal reforms, such as financialisation, weakening labour unions, and retrenching welfare programs. The social ramifications of income inequality are profound. Studies, such as those summarised in Wilkinson and Pickett's The Spirit Level (2009), demonstrate that greater income inequality correlates with many adverse social outcomes, including reduced health, diminished social mobility, and increased crime rates[33]. The emphasis on deregulation and privatisation can sometimes result in the erosion of public services, leaving essential sectors like healthcare and education underfunded. These policies can also make an economy more vulnerable to global economic fluctuations, especially if it is overly dependent on foreign capital and trade.

When applying these concepts to the Tinubu
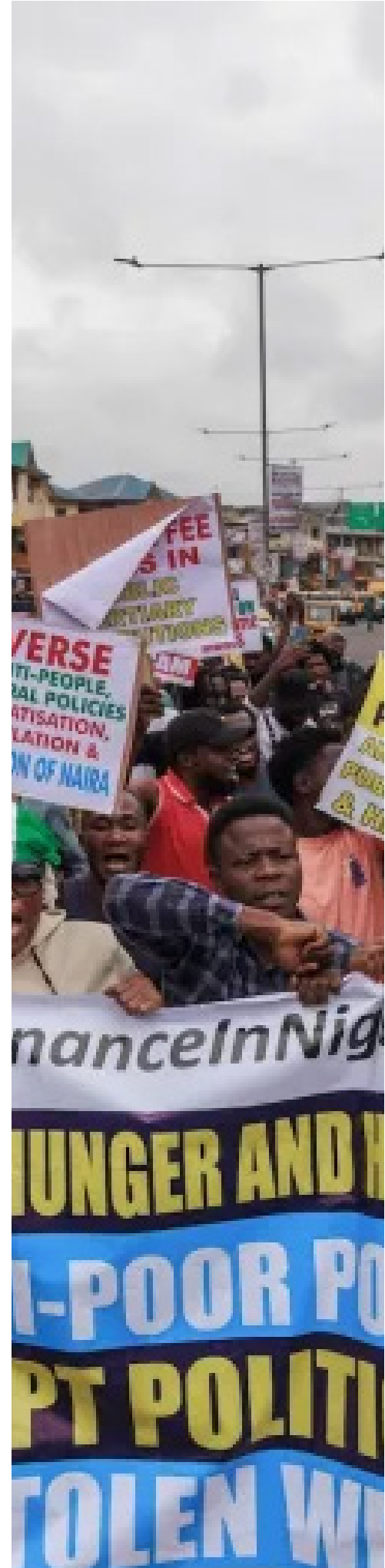
administration's economic policies in Nigeria, it becomes clear that they align strongly with neoliberal economic strategies. The Tinubu government's decision to abruptly remove petroleum subsidies, float the national currency, and rely on market-driven foreign exchange rates reflects a commitment to the principles of neoliberalism. These policies were intended to reduce government expenditures, control inflation, and increase economic efficiency. However, these measures' rapid and unprepared implementation had significant negative consequences, particularly for the poorest segments of Nigerian society.

The removal of petroleum subsidies, for instance, led to an immediate and sharp increase in fuel prices. This had a ripple effect on the cost of living, as transportation and the cost of goods and services escalated due to higher fuel prices. The decision to float the naira and rely on market forces to determine exchange rates caused it to lose more than half of its value, leading to soaring inflation and significantly reduced purchasing power for Nigerians. The reliance on market-driven exchange rates further exacerbated the situation, making imports more expensive and contributing to the inflationary spiral. The result was an economic crisis, with inflation rates reaching unprecedented highs, food prices surging, and essential goods becoming unaffordable for many Nigerians.

Amid this economic turmoil, President Tinubu appointed a large and expensive cabinet with 48 ministers and 20 special advisers. These appointments and the cabinet's perceived wastefulness and financial mismanagement[34] led to accusations of wasteful spending and a failure to curb the cost of governance[35]. Tinubu's Federal Executive Council is the largest

assemblage since the return of civil rule in 1999. The jumbo-sized cabinet trumps President Muhammadu Buhari's cabinet of 42 members, which was constituted after he won reelection in 2019[36]. Critics of the government highlighted the stark contrast between the populace's suffering and the extravagant lifestyles of government officials. The excessive cabinet size and the rapid implementation of neoliberal economic policies fuelled public anger and frustration.

This discontent ultimately contributed to the rise of the #EndBadGovernance protests. The protest was driven by widespread anger over the immediate effects of the government's neoliberal policies, which many Nigerians felt disproportionately impacted people experiencing poverty and the working class. The protest was a response to the economic hardship caused by rising living costs, inflation, and the government's perceived failure to provide basic financial security. The #EndBadGovernance protest highlighted the deepening inequalities in the country and the government's inability to address the needs of its citizens in a meaningful way.

05.
The Fragmented Demand and the Challenges of Coherence in the #EndBadGovernance Protests

The #EndBadGovernance protests in Nigeria were driven by a variety of urgent socio-economic and political demands to address citizens' grievances. The protest sought to establish a platform for articulating these issues and fostering accountability and governance reforms.

The protest's demands were dispersed across multiple lists, with at least six prominent demands circulating in the public sphere. These included:

1. **Office of the Citizens: 10 for 10 Demands**
2. **Groups of Nigerians Backing the EndBadGovernance Protest: 18-Point Demands**
3. **For God and For Our Country List: 10-Point Demands**
4. **Non-Negotiable Demands: 15-Point Demands**
5. **#RevolutionNow: 10-Point Demands**
6. **10 Days of Rage: 12-Point Demands**

Although these lists shared central themes, such

Key Finding 5

Successful leaderless protests, like the Arab Spring, relied on specific, measurable, and attainable goals. The lack of coherence in the #EndBadGovernance protest demands limited its effectiveness.

as reducing hunger, addressing insecurity, tackling the rising cost of living, reducing the cost of governance, implementing #EndSARs recommendations, increasing the minimum wage, and pursuing electoral reforms, they also diverged in critical ways. For example, regarding fuel prices, three lists proposed reducing the pump price to =N=100; one suggested =N=195, while another advocated for lowering it below =N=300 without specifying a figure. Three lists demanded reductions on electricity tariffs, while others were silent on the matter. Similarly, the issue of #EndSARs protesters' release and publicising the panel of inquiry report featured in three lists but was absent in others. In one instance, a demand list entirely focused on the release of Nnamdi Kanu.

All lists agreed to demands for a new constitution, supporting the idea. On the minimum wage, proposals ranged from a living wage with no fixed threshold to specific amounts like =N=250,000 or =N=300,000, or a percentage increase of 35%. There were even unique demands, such as reverting to Nigeria's old national anthem. On governance costs, some lists emphasised implementing the Oronsaye Report. In contrast, others called for a unicameral legislature by abolishing the House of Representatives or reducing executive councils at all levels by 50%.

Electoral reforms appeared in all lists but with varying approaches: some demanded the implementation of the Justice Uwais report, others called for the reconstitution of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) leadership. In contrast, another list emphasised the mandatory electronic transmission of election results.

This fragmentation reflected broader challenges in the #EndBadGovernance protests. While the demands encapsulated critical issues affecting Nigerians, their divergence and lack of prioritisation diluted the protest's impact. Unlike the focused goals of the #EndSARs protests, primarily centred on ending police brutality and achieving targeted police reforms, the #EndBadGovernance protest struggled with thematic overload. The #EndSARs movement's success stemmed from its clarity: ending the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) represented a concrete, actionable demand. Similarly, the #RejectFinanceBill protests in Kenya succeeded because young activists rallied around a single issue: opposing President William

Ruto's controversial finance bill. Once the bill was withdrawn, protesters saw their goal achieved and stepped back, preserving their movement's coherence and momentum.

In contrast, the #EndBadGovernance protests lacked a clear endpoint—the broad array of demands left protesters and observers questioning what success would look like. Without a unified goal, it was unclear what specific government action would signify that the protesters' cries had been heard.

The fragmentation within the #EndBadGovernance protest was not merely a logistical challenge but a reflection of deeper structural issues within Nigeria's socio-political landscape. Activists and political scientists observed that the lack of coordination and coherence allowed for the co-option of some groups by pro-government factions, further undermining the movement's credibility and collective power. The demands reflected deep disenchantment with governance, economic mismanagement, and civil liberties. Yet, the diverse and, at times, conflicting agendas made it difficult to craft a unified narrative capable of driving sustained pressure for change. Unlike the Arab Spring or other successful leaderless movements, which often relied on specific, measurable, and attainable goals, the #EndBadGovernance protests struggled to achieve the same level of focus and impact.

While the grievances driving the #EndBadGovernance protests remain urgent and legitimate, the movement's inability to consolidate its demands highlights the need for better organisation and strategic planning to effect meaningful change. The challenge for Nigeria's civil society going forward is to learn from this experience and build more unified and actionable advocacy frameworks to address the country's enduring socio-economic and political challenges.

#10For10Demands

		Issue	Demand
5 Demands in 7 Days	1	Hunger	Reduce the cost of food immediately, with solutions like food importation, subsidised credits, and intervene in logistics and storage challenges.
	2	Cost of Living	Address the rising cost of living: Reduce pump price of fuel to N195/ltr to reflect current economic challenges; Reduce electricity tariffs, and import taxes.
	3	Insecurity	Curb insecurity across the country: stop diverting security resources (money & people) and immediately prosecute known instigators & criminals. Resettle internally displaced persons (IDPs) immediately.
	4	Government Waste / Cost of Governance / Bloated NASS	PERMANENTLY reduce by 50% the running costs of the executive and National Assembly and fully implement the Oronsaye Report to scrap agencies and reduce the size of government. Scrap hardship, entertainment, and all other NASS allowances and immediately remove all 7,447 projects worth N2.24 trillion inserted by the National Assembly in the 2024 federal budget.
	5	#EndSARS	Release ALL #EndSARS protesters; obey ECOWAS judgement; make public the #EndSARS Judicial Panel Reports and implement recommendations, including payment of compensations.
5 Demands by October 1st	6	Protect Farms & Farmers	Provide security to farmers across the country, restore stolen lands, subsidise farm inputs - seeds, fertilisers, insecticides and ban destructive GMOs.
	7	Human Capital Development	Declare a state of emergency on education and increase budgetary allocation to education and healthcare by 20% and revert to the old National Anthem.
	8	Electoral Reform	Implement the Justice Uwais report on Electoral Reform and include mandatory electronic balloting and transmission to IREV, ending with an executive Electoral Bill to the National Assembly by October 1. The new Electoral Act must be signed by December 2024.
	9	Establish a Living Wage	Go back to the negotiating table for an implementation plan to establish an unemployment/living wage. Enforce implementation across board. Create immediate employment for youths and clear ALL backlog of pensions.
	10	Constitutional & Judicial Reforms	Sponsor Executive Bill to the National Assembly to amend the Constitution to allow for referendums. Nigerians want to vote on a new constitution! The process of appointment and discipline of judges should be transparent.

WARNING: No smoking, drinking, or drugs on the protest grounds.
Please follow @endbadgovtinnig on X (formerly Twitter).

END BAD GOVERNANCE PROTEST DEMANDS

1. Scrap the 1999 Constitution and replace it with a People-made Constitution for the Federal Republic of Nigeria through a Sovereign National Conference immediately followed by a National Referendum. ☐

2. Toss the Senate arm of the Nigerian Legislative System, keep the House of Representatives (HOR), and make lawmaking a part-time endeavor. ☐

3. Immediately release of all #EndSARS protesters still in detention and compensate them adequately. ☐

4. Pay Nigerian workers a minimum wage of nothing less than N250,000 monthly. ☐

5. Put all elected and appointed officials should be on same minimum wage as civil servants. ☐

6. Immediately Increase salaries of all security personnel in the country, health workers and teachers salaries by at least 35% ☐

7. Toss the Senate arm of the Nigerian Legislative System, keep the House of Representatives (HOR), and make lawmaking a part-time endeavor. ☐

8. Declare a state of emergency in education in Nigeria (revamp all public school structures to world standard across the Federation). Prohibit public office holders from sending their children abroad for education. All Public office holders must enroll their children in public schools with immediate effect. Give Nigerian students grants, not loans. Aggressively pursue free, compulsory and quality education for children across Nigeria as guaranteed by the Nigerian Constitution. ☐

9. Place an immediate ban foreign medical trips for all public office holders, Pass into law a bill that mandates public office holders to only use public hospitals in Nigeria not private! ☐

10. Probe past and present Nigerian leaders who have looted the treasury, recover their loot, and deposit it in a special account to fund education, healthcare, and infrastructure. Renationalize publicly owned enterprises sold to government officials and cronies. ☐

11. Reinstate a corruption-free subsidy regime to reduce hunger, starvation, and multidimensional poverty. Revert Fuel Price to 100 Naira per liter. ☐

12. End banditry, terrorism, and violent crimes. Immediate protection of farmers across the nation. Reform security agencies to stop continuous human rights violations and duplication of security agencies. ☐

13. Immediate reconstitution of the Nigerian Electoral Body @inecnigeria to remove corrupt individuals and partisan hacks appointed to manipulate elections. ☐

14. Immediate reconstitution of the Nigerian Electoral Body @inecnigeria to remove corrupt individuals and partisan hacks appointed to manipulate elections. ☐

16. Establish a Special Energy Fund immediately to drive massive, corruption-free power sector development. ☐

17. Massive shake-up in the Nigerian judiciary to remove cabals of corrupt generations of judges and judicial officers that continue denying everyday citizens access to real justice. ☐

18. Restructure Nigeria to accommodate Nigeria's diversity, resource control, decentralization, and regional development. ☐

Compiled from multiple list of demands from groups of Nigerians backing the END BAD GOVERNANCE PROTES

#EndBadGovernanceInNigeria
for the Days of Rage revolt
NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMANDS:

1. Scrap the 1999 Constitution and replace it with a People-made Constitution for the Federal Republic of Nigeria through a Sovereign National Conference immediately followed by a National Referendum. ☐

2. Toss the Senate arm of the Nigerian Legislative System, keep the House of Representatives (HOR), and make lawmaking a part-time endeavour. ☐

3. Pay Nigerian Workers a minimum wage of nothing less than N250,000 monthly. ☐

4. Invest heavily in education and give Nigerian students grants, not loans. Aggressively pursue free and compulsory education for children across Nigeria. ☐

5. Release Mazi Nnamdi Kanu unconditionally and demilitarize the South East. ALL #ENDSARS and political detainees must also be released and could compensated. ☐

6. Renationalize publicly owned enterprises sold to government officials and cronies. ☐

7. Reinstate a corruption-free subsidy regime to reduce hunger, starvation and multidimensional poverty. ☐

8. Probe past and present Nigerian leaders who have looted the treasury, recover their loot, and deposited it in a special account to fund education, healthcare, and infrastructure. ☐

9. Restructuring of Nigeria to accommodate Nigeria's diversity, resource control, decentralization and regional development. ☐

10. END BANDITRY, TERRORISM AND VIOLENT CRIMES-Reforms of Security Agencies to stop continuous human rights violations and duplication of security agencies and enhance the physical security of Nigerian citizens. ☐

11. Establish a Special Energy Fund immediately to drive massive, corruption-free power sector development. ☐

12. Immediate Reconstitution of the Nigerian Electoral Body @inecnigeria to remove corrupt individuals and partisan hacks appointed to manipulate elections. ☐

13. Massive investment in public works and industrialization will help employ Nigeria's teeming youths. ☐

14. Massive shake-up in the Nigerian judiciary to remove cabals of corrupt generations of judges and judicial officers that continue denying everyday citizens access to real justice. ☐

15. Diaspora Voting ☐

THINGS HAVE GOTTEN SO BAD!

We cannot continue to watch our beloved country go down this way!

Let's come out to protest against bad governance
and demand a better life for all Nigerians: the time is now!

JOIN

END BAD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA PROTEST

**NO TRIBE!
NO RELIGION!
NO PARTY!**

#ENDBADGOVERNANCEINNIGERA

August 1st-15th

DAYS OF RAGE!

DEMANDS

1. Revert the petrol pump price to N100 immediately.
2. Address insecurity and hunger (protect our farms and farmers. Farmers must be able to return to farms immediately. If the current insecurity persists, we will return to the streets to protest.
3. Immediately release all #EndSARS protesters still in detention.
4. Sack Prof. Mahmood Yakubu immediately and conduct an independent investigation into the 355 billion Naira allocated for the elections. Additionally, conduct urgent electoral and INEC reforms.
5. Ban foreign medical trips for all public office holders.
6. Declare a state of emergency in education in Nigeria (revamp all public school structures to modern standards across the Federation) Prohibit public office holders from sending their children abroad for education.
7. Reduce the cost of goods and services immediately or implement a N300,000 per month living wage for workers.
8. Refurbish all police and army barracks across the country immediately.
9. Ensure immediate payment of pensions in real-time and clear the backlog of pension owed over the years (Transparent Pension Scheme).
10. Complete a judicial overhaul: retrench and reconstitute the Supreme and Appeal Court benches. New constitution, national conference, and referendum.

#ENDBADGOVERNANCEINNIGERIA #ACTNOTRANT #REVOLUTIONNOW

END BAD GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA 2024

Date 1-10th AUG

10 DAYS OF RAGE
WE ARE NOT SALVES

NATIONWIDE PROTEST

NO TRIBE! NO REGION! NO RELIGION!

OUR DEMANDS !!

END ANTI PEOPLE POLICIES, OVER TAXING, AND ELECTORAL FRAUD

1. End subsidy scam and reverse fuel price to below ₦300 per litre
2. Bring tertiary education fees back to their previous rates by reversing subsidies.
3. Restore electricity tariffs to affordable levels for the public.
4. Return import duties to their previous rates.
5. Publicly disclose and reduce the salaries and allowances of all senators, House of Representatives members, and the Speaker.
6. Establish an emergency fund to support SMEs.
7. Make INEC independent of the executive branch with transparent processes for appointing its chairman.
8. Enact a law mandating INEC to electronically transmit live electoral results.
9. Reopen national borders.
10. Reform EFCC
11. Declare a state of emergency on inflation
12. Reform the judiciary

Sòrò Sókè II

CARRY: PLACARD, HANDKERCHIEF, A BOTTLE OF WATER, A WHITE CLOTH OR RIBBON AND THE NIGERIA FLAG

MEET-UP:
ALL LGA, YOUR HOUSE OF REP MEMBER RESIDENTS AND GOVERNOR'S OFFICES ACROSS THE COUNTRY
ABUJA: NATIONAL ASSEMBLE BUILDING

DRESS CODE: WHITE (+ BLACK)
For those around Enugu, Lagos, Kano, PH, Abuja, Kaduna block all roads leading to the City and Airports on Day 1!

SECTION 40 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA 1999: THE RIGHT TO PROTEST AND ASSEMBLY.

#ENDBADGOVERNMENTINNIGERIA
#ENDBGIN

06.
The leadership Dynamics of #EndBad-Governance Protest

In some quarters, the #EndBadGovernance protest was regarded as leaderless. However, reports and some literature rightly attributed the organization of the protest to a coalition of various activist groups and residents, including the Take It Back Movement, Nigerians Against Hunger, Initiative for Change, Human Rights Co-Advocacy for Change, Students for Change, the Youth Rights Campaign, We the People, Social Action, Womanifesto[37] and Youths Against Tyranny[38] [39].

This study revealed that from the onset, the thoughts behind the #EndBadGovernance protest were not from any organised group. Some believe the thoughts that sparked the protests can be traced back to a pivotal tweet on X (formerly Twitter) by prominent activist @FisayoSoyombo, who called for a nationwide mobilisation against the government's failure to address dire economic conditions. However, because there was no rallying figure, some activists came into the fray and became the face or organiser of the protest. One of such figures includes the leader of the Take it Back Movement – Comrade Omoyele Sowore.

Key Finding 6

The #EndBad-Governance protest lacks formal leadership structure in theory, not in practice.

- *While leaderless protest creates a chance to respond urgently to specific events or systemic failures that require social change, the lack of a centralized leader-*

Leaderless protests, where no single individual or group exercises central command, have become increasingly prevalent globally, uniting small, independent groups by a common goal[40]. Historically, this concept dates back to Lao Tzu, who believed that the best leaders are invisible, allowing people to feel that they have achieved their objectives independently[41]. The Arab Spring of 2010, the #RejectFinanceBill in Kenya, and the uprising in Bangladesh in 2024 exemplified this, with masses mobilising without centralised leadership to demand political reforms[42]. Leaderless protests leverage modern technology to coordinate their efforts and maintain momentum effectively. Social media platforms play a crucial role by enabling rapid mobilisation, real-time updates, and widespread dissemination of information, as seen in movements from Hong Kong and Chile to Iraq and Lebanon[43].

Factors causing the surge in leaderless protest include:

1. **A Sense of Urgency:** Sometimes, leaderless protest came to be due to a sense of urgency and collective purpose in response to specific events, such as the death of George Floyd and #EndSars, which highlighted systemic racism and police violence[44].

2. **Response to Authoritarianism:** The rise of authoritarian regimes whose active crackdown on dissent warrants a leaderless protest structure—avoiding formal leadership helps protect the individuals involved from being diluted by external pressures[45] and minimises the risk of co-opting and/or compromising the leader. However, the efficacy of this strategy is debated.

3. **The Advent of Technological Platform:**

ship structure makes sustaining momentum and gains difficult.

- *Successful leaderless protests, like the Arab Spring, relied on specific, measurable, and attainable goals. The lack of coherence in the #EndBadGovernance protest demands limited its effectiveness.*

- *Like the #EndSARS movement, the #EndBadGovernance protest achieved temporary gains but failed to sustain them due to the absence of formal leadership structures.*

The popularisation of social media platforms has democratized information sharing and enabled decentralized coordination and organization.

Despite their advantages, the findings of this study show that leaderless protests face challenges, particularly in achieving policy change, due to the absence of clear leadership to articulate coherent objectives and strategies. Fragmented messaging and uncoordinated demands often undermine the protests' potential to effect lasting change[46].

While there are some leaderless protests, such as the Arab Spring of 2010 and the #RejectFinanceBill in Kenya of 2024, that achieved their aim, the demands of this protest are SMART (Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Realistic, and have Time allocation). It shows that the protest's needs and objectives are central to achieving its goals, unlike the #EndBadGovernance protest, where demands are not coherent or consolidated. Also, it is essential to note that leaderless protest structures usually fail to sustain the gains or demands; this is a similar situation with the #EndSars protest. Despite the gains made during this action, most were rolled back because there was no formal leadership structure to sustain the movement. Today, there still exists police brutality in Nigeria.

Note Box 1: Comparison and Contrast: #EndBadGovernance vs. #EndSARS Protests

Similarities

1. **Leaderless Nature**: Both protests were widely regarded as "leaderless," relying on decentralized organization. However, both saw activists and groups stepping in as informal coordinators.

2. **Youth-Driven Movements**: Both protests were spearheaded by young Nigerians, reflecting frustration with systemic failures and leveraging modern technology for coordination.

3. **Role of Technology**: Social media platforms like X (formerly Twitter) were crucial in mobilizing participants and amplifying demands. Both movements extensively utilized digital platforms for real-time updates, fundraising, and amplifying their causes.

4. **Erosion of Gains**: Gains achieved during both movements were either rolled back or unsustained, as seen with the cases of police brutality post #EndSARS and no significant governance reforms post #EndBadGovernance.

Contrasts

Aspect	#EndSARS Protest	#EndBadGovernance Protest
Primary Focus	Police brutality and reform of SARS.	Broad governance failures, economic hardship, and systemic issues.
Triggers	Viral videos of police killings and human rights abuses by SARS officers.	A general sense of dissatisfaction with governance and economic hardship, amplified by a pivotal tweet.
Demands	Clear and specific demands include disbanding SARS, compensation for victims, and police reform.	Vague and fragmented demands, lacking consolidation or SMART objectives.

Demographics and Participation	Predominantly youth-led, with significant support from middle-class citizens, civil society groups, and diaspora communities. The focus on police brutality resonated across all social strata.	While also youth-led, this movement included a wider demographic, encompassing the working class and rural populations affected by economic policies.
Government Response	The government initially disbanded SARS but failed to meet other demands, such as comprehensive reforms. The movement faced violent repression, culminating in the Lekki Toll Gate shooting, where security forces shot at peaceful protesters. This incident underscored the government's disregard for citizens' grievances.	The government's response was largely dismissive, with attempts to undermine the movement by co-opting certain factions and suppressing dissent. Unlike #EndSARS, this protest lacked clear, measurable goals, making it harder to achieve tangible outcomes.
Global Attention	Gained significant international attention, with global solidarity protests in cities worldwide.	Limited global attention compared to #EndSARS, as its focus was broader and less specific.
Impact	Disbandment of SARS, failed to achieve sustained police reform. Also, the National Executive Council directed the establishment of state-based judicial panels of Inquiry across the country to receive and investigate complaints of police brutality or related extra-judicial killings.	There was no immediate policy change or significant government response; demands remained too broad to effect tangible change.

Sustainability	Momentarily sustained through the energy of young Nigerians but fizzled due to lack of leadership and government crackdowns.	Struggled to maintain momentum due to incoherent objectives and the absence of a rallying figure or unified strategy.

Key Lessons

1. **The Power of Focus**:
   - #EndSARS demonstrated the importance of specific, actionable demands, which garnered quick attention, even if not fully realized.
   - EndBadGovernance's broad focus diluted its impact, emphasizing the need for more straightforward objectives in protest movements.

2. **The Role of Leadership**:
   - Both protests highlight the risks of a leaderless structure in sustaining long-term gains. While leaderless movements are more challenging to suppress, they struggle to consolidate wins or negotiate effectively.

3. **Sustainability Requires Strategy**:
   - The failure of both protests to maintain gains underscores the necessity of formalized structures to transition from mobilization to sustained advocacy and reform.

4. **Technology as a Double-Edged Sword**:
   - While technology enables mobilization, it also contributes to rapid dissipation without clear leadership to sustain coordination beyond the digital sphere.

OUR FIVE (5) DEMANDS

#5FOR5

11TH OCTOBER, 2020

#ENDSARS ✓

1	Immediate release of all arrested protesters	☐
2	Justice for all deceased victims of police brutality and appropriate compensation for their families	☐
3	Setting up an independent body to oversee the investigation & prosecution of all reports of police misconduct (Within 10days)	☐
4	In line with the new Police Act, psychological evaluation & retraining (to be confirmed by an independent body) of all disbanded SARS officers before they can be redeployed	☐
5	Increase police salary so that they are adequately compensated for protecting lives and property of citizens	☐

PLEASE TICK ALL BOXES

07.
The leadership Dynamics of #EndBad-Governance Protest

Protests in Nigeria have a rich history, deeply intertwined with the country's colonial past and socio-political evolution. The roots of modern protests can be traced back to the British administration, which formally began in 1861 with the ceding of Lagos to the Crown[47]. Before this, northern Nigeria was influenced by various external forces, particularly by the spread of Islam and the large mediaeval kingdoms of West Africa[48]. This period set the stage for a rising nationalist sentiment, fuelled by Western-educated elites who were critical of colonial rule and its disregard for indigenous cultures[49].

Nigerian nationalism, like other independence movements across Africa, emerged as a response to colonial domination. It was primarily a demand for freedom and self-governance. Though nationalism evolved in phases between 1900 and 1960, the core idea remained the same: achieving independence and allowing Nigerians to govern themselves. At its heart, the nationalist movement was about freedom on two levels:

Key Finding 7

Protests have been part of Nigeria's political culture since the 1920s, driven by poor service delivery, exclusion, and bad governance.

1. **Freedom from Colonialism**: Nigerians sought independence from British colonial rule.

2. **Freedom from Male Domination**: Women fought for their place not just in the nationalist struggle but also in political and social spaces dominated by men.

To understand Nigerian nationalism, it's important to study key protests from colonial rule to the present day. These events highlight the struggles and resilience of Nigerians in their fight for independence and equality.

Aba Women's Riot (6 December, 1929):

Organised by Igbo women in eastern Nigeria. It led to the deaths of many of the women. The protest was triggered by the imposition of exploitative tax policy on women, who were tax-exempt in the Igbo tradition. The plot and outcomes of this event provide just one example of Africa's long history of embracing classical liberal values and offer a stark contrast to the deplorable state of human freedom across the continent today.

The Nigerian General Strike (1945):

The Nigerian General Strike of 1945 was a watershed moment in the country's labour movement. Led by the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria, the strike was a response to the harsh economic conditions and low wages experienced by Nigerian workers during and after World War II. The widespread discontent culminated in a nationwide strike that lasted for 45 days, involving approximately 200,000 workers from various sectors. The strike paralyzed economic activities and significantly disrupted colonial administration. The workers' demands included higher wages, better working conditions, and the right to form independent trade unions. Despite the colonial government's initial resistance, the strikers' persistence and the broad support they received from the public forced the administration to negotiate.

Ultimately, the strike led to wage increases and improved working conditions for many Nigerian workers. It also strengthened the labour movement in Nigeria, paving the way for future collective bargaining and political activism. The 1945 strike demonstrated the power of organized labour and set a precedent for subsequent industrial actions in the country. This general strike remains a significant event in Nigeria's history, highlighting the critical role of labour unions in advocating for workers' rights and influencing economic policies. It also underscored the importance of solidarity and collective action in achieving social and economic justice[50].

Abeokuta Women's Revolt (27 November, 1947):

This protest was organised by the Abeokuta Women's Union (AWU) and led by Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti at the Alake's Palace, Abeokuta, and which led to the abdication of the then Alake of Egbaland, Oba Sir Ladapo Ademola II, and the abolition of the tax regime by the colonial government. Ransome-Kuti railed against what she said were unfair taxes levied on small traders-many of whom were women, who she led in colourful campaigns[51]. After

one victory over water rates in 1959, the Daily Times of Nigeria reported that thousands of Federation of Nigerian Women's Union (NWU) supporters – formed out of the AWU – danced around Abeokuta town.

The Enugu Coal Miners' Strike 1949:

Fast forward to 1949 in the coal-rich hills of Enugu, where miners were fed up with unbearable working conditions and meagre pay. Their strike began as a simple demand for better wages but turned tragic when British police fired on unarmed miners, killing 21 and wounding 51. This brutal event did more than just highlight labour abuses; it ignited a nationwide fervour for independence, helping to pave the way for Nigeria's liberation from colonial rule in 1960[52].

Ali Must Go (17 April, 1978):

The Ali Must Go protests erupted in April 1978 following a controversial decision by the Olusegun Obasanjo-led military government to add 50 Kobo to the students' cost of meals per day. The increase meant undergraduates would have to pay an additional 50 Kobo every day as their cost of meal tickets rose from =N=1.50k to =N=2.00[53]. The then Minister of Education, Ahmadu Ali, announced the hike, but the students widely rejected the

idea. Following the announcement, the National Union of Nigeria Students (NUNS), led by Segun Okeowo, then-president, moved to address the issue.

Anti-SAP riots (24 May–June, 1989):

The 1989 protests were against the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) prescribed by the IMF (International Monetary Fund). The IMF wanted the Government of Nigeria to stop some subsidies and introduce restructuring programs as defined by the IMF. True enough, the government accepted the advice of the IMF, but the bitterness in the effects of introducing the SAP prompted the general protests.

The Niger Delta Protests (1990s-2000s):

The Niger Delta protests, spanning the 1990s and 2000s, were driven by the region's longstanding issues of environmental degradation, economic exploitation, and political marginalisation. The discovery of oil in the Niger

Delta had brought significant wealth to Nigeria. Still, the local communities remained impoverished, facing severe environmental pollution and neglect from the government and multinational oil companies. Various groups, most notably the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) led by Ken Saro-Wiwa, mobilised to demand justice and compensation for the affected communities.

The protests included peaceful demonstrations, legal battles, and international advocacy. However, they were met with violent repression from the government, culminating in the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other activists in 1995, which sparked global outrage. In the 2000s, the protests took on a more militant form, with groups like the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) engaging in armed resistance, including attacks on oil installations and kidnappings. These actions aimed to force the government and oil companies to address the region's demands for fair revenue sharing, environmental cleanup, and socio-economic development.

The Niger Delta protests brought international attention to the plight of the region's communities. They forced the Nigerian government to initiate some measures, such as the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and an amnesty programme for militants. However, many issues remain unresolved, and the struggle for justice and equity in the Niger Delta continues.

June 12 Protests (1993):

The protests occurred as an aftermath of the annulment of the 12 June 1993 presidential elections by Ibrahim Babangida. Protests over the 12 June injustice and state brutality were climaxed by the assassination of Abiola's wife, Kudirat, in June 1996 and the mysterious death in detention of Abiola himself on 7 July 1998[54]. While it is true that Nigeria's political landscape has been dominated by repulsive inter/intragroup struggle for

elite positions right from the period of decolonisation till date, the events that surrounded the truncated Third Republic (12 June 1993 presidential election) demonstrated that ethnic factors remained the most potent threat not only to democracy but also to the continuous corporate survival of the Nigerian Federation[55].

Occupy Nigeria (2-14 January, 2012):

On 1 January 2012, former President Goodluck Jonathan abruptly ended fuel subsidies, sparking the Occupy Nigeria protest[56]. Occupy Nigeria was an anti-subsidy removal campaign, which was later propagated to unseat Jonathan and his People's Democratic Party (PDP). It was also one of the corridors where the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) was installed. Similarly, it led to reinstating the subsidy and reviewing the federal government's spending.

The #BringBackOurGirls Protest (April 2014):

The #BringBackOurGirls movement emerged in response to the abduction of 276 schoolgirls by the terrorist group Boko Haram from Chibok, Borno State, in April 2014. The kidnapping sparked global outrage and led to widespread protests across Nigeria, demanding the rescue of the girls and accountability from the government. Daily sit-ins, marches, and vigils characterized the movement. Social media played a pivotal role in amplifying the campaign, with the hashtag #BringBackOurGirls gaining international traction and support from global figures, including former U.S. First Lady Michelle Obama. The protests highlighted the government's inadequate response to the abduction and broader issues of security and human rights in Nigeria.

Despite the government's initial reluctance to engage with the movement, the sustained pressure led to increased international involvement and efforts to rescue the girls. Over the years, some of the abducted girls

have been released or escaped, but many remain unaccounted for. The #BringBackOurGirls movement demonstrated the power of grassroots activism and social media in mobilising global support for a local cause. It also brought attention to the broader issues of terrorism, gender-based violence, and government accountability in Nigeria.

The Shiite Protests (2015-Present):

The Shiite protests, led by the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN), began in earnest following a deadly clash between IMN members and the Nigerian Army in December 2015. The confrontation resulted in the killing of hundreds of IMN members and the arrest of their leader, Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky. The IMN, which advocates for the rights of Nigeria's Shia Muslim minority, has since organised regular protests demanding Zakzaky's release and accountability for the killings. These protests have often been met with violent repression by security forces, leading to further casualties and human rights abuses. International human rights organisations have widely criticised the Nigerian government's response, which has called for restraint and respect for the protesters' rights. The IMN protests have highlighted the broader issues of religious freedom, state violence, and minority rights in Nigeria. Despite the harsh crackdown, the movement has persisted, demonstrating the resilience and determination of its members. The ongoing struggle has kept the spotlight on the need for justice and fair treatment for all religious and ethnic groups in Nigeria.

#End SARS (2020):

Nationwide protests against police brutality, specifically the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), resulted in significant international attention and the eventual disbandment of SARS by the Nigerian government. By 1992, when SARS was founded, the precedent of controlling Nigerian people through excessive force had long been the norm[57]: British colonisers had arrived in the 19th century and treated the land and its people as

resources to be controlled and plundered. Their colonial enterprise had left behind a culture of violence and corruption so that even after Nigeria won independence in 1960, military coups became the norm. The army held power in Nigeria for much of three decades until 1999, including when SARS, the Special Anti-Robbery Squad, was created. On 4 October 2020, a video went viral showing SARS officers dragging two men from a hotel and shooting one of them outside. A few days later, protests erupted across Nigeria. On 11 October, SARS is disbanded[58]. But it was the 5th time since 2015 that the Nigerian authorities pledged to reform the police and disband SARS. Protests continued, demanding more than empty promises.

End Bad Governance in Nigeria (1-10 August, 2024):

Nationwide protest over the rising cost of living since President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration began in May 2023. The protest was driven by multiple factors, including the high cost of living, a recent fuel price hike, worsening economic conditions, and dissatisfaction with government policies[59]. Also, protesters rallied under the hashtag #EndBadGovernance, demanding economic relief, transparency, accountability, and good governance. Organizers of the protests are calling for the reversal of the fuel price hike, the restoration of affordable electricity tariffs, and the reduction of import duties to their previous rates[60].

Above are the notable protests from the pre-colonial era to the fourth republic but the chart shows the timelines and extensive breakdown of the protest in the fourth republic.

Pre-colonial Era 1861: The nationalist Movement

Colonial Era 1929: Aba Women's Riot

1945: The Nigerian General Strike

1947: Abeokuta Women's Revolt

1949: The Enugu Coal Miners' Strike

Post-Independence 1978: Ali Must Go

1989: Anti- SAP riots

1990s – 2000s: The Niger Delta Protests

1993: June 12 Protests

2000: Sharia Law Protests

2003: Anti-Fuel Hike Protests

2005: Occupy Nigeria (Early Protests)

2007: Electoral Protests

2010 Save Nigeria Protest

2011: Enough is Enough

2012: Occupy Nigeria (Anti-Fuel Subsidy Removal Protests)

2014: #BringBackOurGirls

2016: Biafra Agitations

2017 Anti-Buhari Protests

2018: NLC Protests

2020: #EndSARS Protests

2021: The nationalist Movement

2022: ASUU Strike Protests

2023: Fuel Subsidy Removal Protests

Below is a table to show the breakdown of the protest since the colonial to the fourth republic.

Era	Protest Date/Timeline	Protest Name	Triggers	Key Drivers of the Protest	Protest Type	Groups Involved	Stakeholders Addressed	Government Response	Formal Dialogue?
Colonial	6 December, 1929	Aba Women's Riot	Economic	Resistance to taxation of women, economic exploitation, and colonial policies.	Nonviolent	Women	British colonial authorities	Violent suppression by colonial police forces.	No formal dialogue; repression was immediate.
Colonial	1945	Nigerian General Strike	Economic	Demand for higher wages and better working conditions by workers under colonial rule.	Nonviolent	Labour Union	British colonial authorities	Concessions granted after prolonged negotiations.	Yes; formal negotiations with colonial administrators.
Colonial	27 November, 1947	Abeokuta Women's Protest	Economic, Social	Protests against unjust taxation and lack of representation for women in governance.	Nonviolent	Women	Native authorities and colonial governments	Some demands were granted.	Yes; local chiefs and colonial reps eventually engaged women.

Period	Year	Name	Type	Causes/Grievances	Nature	Group	Target	Government Response	Dialogue?
Colonial	1949	Enugu Coal Miners' Strike	Economic, Security	Poor working conditions, low wages, and unsafe mines.	Violent	Labour Union	British colonial authorities	Police opened fire, killing several miners.	No; there was no formal channel of dialogue.
Post-Colonial (Second Republic)	17 April, 1978	Ali Must Go	Social	Increase in tuition fees and poor welfare for students in universities.	Violent	Youth (Students)	Federal government	Violent repression by police and military.	No; dialogue was absent during the protests.
Post-Colonial (Third Republic)	24 May – June, 1989	Anti-SAP Protest	Economic	Hardships caused by the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) implemented by the government.	Violent	Youth, Labour Union	Federal government	Forceful suppression by security forces.	No; government dismissed the grievances as political agitation.
Post-Colonial (Third Republic)	1990s–2000s	Niger Delta Protests	Environmental, Economic	Demand for resource control, compensation for oil spills, and end to exploitation by oil companies.	Violent	Ethnic Minorities (Niger Delta communities)	Federal govt, oil companies	Military intervention; partial concessions.	Yes; government set up commissions to address grievances.

Era	Year	Protest	Category	Cause	Nature	Actors	Target	Response	Concessions
Post-Colonial (Third Republic)	12 June, 1993	June 12 Protests	Electoral	Annulment of the presidential election, widely believed to have been won by MKO Abiola.	Violent	Youth, Ethnic Minorities	Military regime	Crackdown on protesters; prolonged unrest.	No; government maintained a hardline stance.
Post-Colonial (Fourth Republic)	2003	Anti-Fuel Hike Protests	Economic	Increases in fuel prices affecting cost of living.	Nonviolent	Labour Union, Youth	Federal government	Police dispersed protests; limited concessions.	Yes; labour unions held talks with government officials.
Post-Colonial (Fourth Republic)	2012	Occupy Nigeria	Economic	Opposition to the removal of fuel subsidies and rising cost of living.	Nonviolent	Youth, Labour Union	Federal government	Partial reinstatement of subsidies.	Yes; negotiations with union leaders occurred.
Post-Colonial (Fourth Republic)	2020	#EndSARS Protests	Security	Demand to end police brutality and disband SARS unit; calls for broader police reforms.	Nonviolent	Youth	Federal government, security agencies	SARS was disbanded; reforms promised.	Yes; a government panel on police reforms was set up.
Post-Colonial (Fourth Republic)	2024	#EndBadGovernance Protests	Economic, Security, Social	Response to subsidy removal, rising inflation, and widespread corruption.	Nonviolent	Youth, Civil Society Groups	Federal government	Promised reforms but no immediate relief.	No; demands were largely dismissed as politically motivated.

Economic grievances have been a constant thread throughout Nigeria's history of protests – started in the colonial era and it's still with us till today.

Protests have been an integral part of Nigeria's political culture since the 1920s, serving as a vehicle for expressing dissatisfaction and demanding accountability from governing authorities. Over the decades, these protests have been triggered by various issues, reflecting the evolving priorities of Nigerian society as it transitioned from colonial rule to an independent state and later to a democratic republic. Among these triggers, economic concerns have stood out as the most significant, consistently driving protests across all eras of Nigeria's history.

Frequency Analysis of Protest Triggers Type					
Trigger Type	Colonial Era	Second Republic	Third Republic	Fourth Republic	
Economic	3	1	2	4	10
Security	1	0	1	2	4
Electoral	0	0	1	2	3
Social	2	1	0	2	5
Environment	0	0	1	0	1

Frequency Analysis of Portest Key Demands across Eras					
Driver Type	Colonial Era	Second Republic	Third Republic	Fourth Republic	
Unjust Taxation / Economic Hardship	2	1	2	3	8
Worker Rights / Living Conditions	2	0	0	2	4
Corruption / Governance Failures	0	0	1	4	5

Police Brutality / Insecurity	0	0	0	2	2
Electoral Justice	0	0	1	2	3
Environmental Degradation	0	0	1	0	1
Gender Equity	2	0	0	0	2

Economic triggers, including unjust taxation, wage concerns, subsidy removal, and general financial hardship, have historically dominated the motivations behind mass mobilisations. These triggers account for 50% of all recorded protests, underscoring the pervasive impact of economic conditions on the lives of Nigerians. From the colonial era's resistance to exploitative taxation systems to the Fourth Republic's protests against fuel subsidy removal, economic grievances have remained a potent force uniting diverse groups of protesters.

Social issues have also been a recurring theme in Nigeria's history of protests. Demands for equity, social justice, and better governance have fuelled 25% of all documented protests, demonstrating the enduring desire of Nigerians for a fairer and more inclusive society. Security-related concerns, such as police brutality and broader issues of public safety, have driven 20% of protests, reflecting the growing frustration with inadequate security measures and the misuse of state power in the post-colonial period.

One significant development in Nigeria's protest history is the emergence of electoral justice as a trigger, particularly from the Third Republic onwards. The fight for free and fair elections gained prominence during this era, marking a shift in the focus of protest movements toward consolidating democratic principles. Electoral justice has become increasingly central in the Fourth Republic as Nigerians continue to challenge electoral irregularities and advocate for transparent democratic processes. This shift highlights the country's evolving political consciousness and the deepening commitment to democratic governance.

The trends in protest triggers and drivers also vary across historical

eras, providing valuable insights into the changing priorities of Nigerian society. During the colonial era, economic issues such as unjust taxation and demands for gender equity dominated the protest landscape. The Aba Women's Riot of 1929 and the Abeokuta Women's Revolt of 1947 are emblematic of this period, showcasing the courage and determination of marginalised groups to resist colonial exploitation and exclusion from political discourse. In the Second Republic, protests were fewer, primarily due to the short duration of this era. However, the limited demonstrations during this period were centred on education-related issues, such as rising tuition fees, highlighting the importance of access to education in shaping societal priorities.

The Third Republic, although brief, saw an increased focus on governance failures, environmental degradation, and the emergence of electoral justice as a key driver of protests. This era began a broader awareness of governance issues and the need for institutional reforms to address systemic challenges. The Fourth Republic, Nigeria's longest democratic period, has been characterized by various protest triggers. Economic hardship remains the leading driver, as evidenced by protests fuel subsidy removal and other financial policies perceived as oppressive. However, issues such as corruption, insecurity, and democratic failures have gained significant attention, reflecting a growing dissatisfaction with the performance of elected leaders and the broader democratic process.

While economic grievances have been a constant thread throughout Nigeria's history of protests, the prominence of newer issues like electoral justice and governance failures in the post-colonial period, particularly in the Fourth Republic, reveals a shift in the focus of protest movements.

Marginalized groups, including youth, women, PWDs, and labour unions, increasingly see protests as the only viable form of political participation due to limited opportunities in formal systems.

The data reveals that marginalized groups such as youth, women, labour unions, and ethnic minorities frequently resort to protests due to systemic exclusion from formal political participation. However, the outcomes of these protests, particularly regarding formal dialogue with authorities, vary significantly, highlighting both successes and persistent barriers.

Table: Group Involvement in Protests and Formal Dialogue

Group Involved	Number of Pro-tests	Instances of Formal Dialogue	Dialogue Outcomes
Youth	7	2	Partial concessions; reforms promised
Labour Union	4	3	Concessions granted; limited dialogue in some cases
Women	2	1	Partial concessions through local engagement
Ethnic Minorities	2	1	Commissions established; limited tangible outcomes
Civil Society Groups	1	0	Demands dismissed as politically motivated

Youth stand out as the most frequent protest participants, accounting for 58.3% of all recorded instances. Their involvement spans various eras and triggers, including economic hardship, social injustice, and demands for electoral justice. Despite their active participation, youth-led protests often encounter limited success in engaging with formal political systems. Only two of seven youth-driven protests resulted in formal dialogue or concessions. For example, the Occupy Nigeria protests in 2012 led to negotiations with labour leaders and the partial reinstatement of fuel subsidies. Similarly, the #EndSARS protests in 2020 compelled the government to disband the SARS police unit and establish a reform panel. However, other protests, such as the Ali Must Go demonstrations of 1978 and the June 12 protests of 1993, were met with violent suppression and no meaningful dialogue. These outcomes reflect the systemic barriers youth face in accessing formal political mechanisms, forcing them to rely on protests as a primary form of expression.

Labour unions, participating in 33.3% of protests, have historically focused on economic triggers such as wage concerns and fuel price hikes. Their organised structure often enables them to engage with authorities more effectively. For instance, the 1945 Nigerian General Strike and the Anti-Fuel Hike Protests of 2003 led to formal negotiations and partial concessions. However, not all labour-led protests achieved positive outcomes. The Anti-SAP Riots of 1989, driven by hardships caused by structural adjustment policies, were dismissed by the government as political agitation. While labour unions generally fare better in securing dialogue than youth, their successes are not universal, indicating ongoing challenges in effectively influencing policy.

Women's protest participation highlights their struggles against economic exploitation and exclusion from political discourse. The Aba Women's Riot of 1929 and the Abeokuta Women's Revolt of 1947 both targeted unjust taxation and demanded greater representation. While the latter led to some concessions through engagement with local chiefs and colonial representatives, the former was met with violent repression and no dialogue. Women's limited success in achieving formal recognition of their grievances underscores the deep-rooted gender inequities in Nigeria's political systems.

Despite their relatively small representation in protest movements, women's actions often bring attention to systemic injustices that disproportionately affect them.

Ethnic minorities and civil society groups have also relied on protests to amplify their demands, particularly concerning resource control and governance failures. The Niger Delta Protests, for example, sought compensation for environmental degradation and equitable resource distribution. While these protests led to the establishment of government commissions, the outcomes were often insufficient to address the underlying grievances. Similarly, the #EndBadGovernance protests of 2024, involving civil society groups and youth, failed to secure meaningful dialogue, with the government dismissing their demands as politically motivated.

The analysis reveals that marginalised groups often see protests as their viable option for political participation due to limited opportunities within formal systems. Youth, women, and ethnic minorities face systemic exclusion, while labour unions leverage their organisational capacity for better engagement. However, even when dialogue occurs, the outcomes are often partial or fail to address the root causes of the grievances, perpetuating a cycle of dissatisfaction and protest.

Additionally, data reveals a persistent continuity in patterns of marginalization and material conditions from the colonial to the post-colonial era. During the colonial period, protests by women, labour unions, and youth were driven mainly by economic exploitation, poor working conditions, and political exclusion. These grievances remain central to demonstrations in the post-colonial era, though the specific triggers have evolved to reflect contemporary realities. Despite the passage of time, demands for economic justice, equitable representation, and political accountability continue to underscore these movements.

For instance, women in the Aba Women's Riot of 1929 and the Abeokuta Women's Revolt of 1947 mobilized against economic exploitation and exclusion from decision-making processes under colonial rule. Decades later, women's participation in the #EndBadGovernance protests of 2024 high-

lighted the persistence of economic marginalization and systemic barriers to inclusion. Similarly, labour unions' historic demands for fair wages and improved working conditions, as seen during the Nigerian General Strike of 1945, resurfaced in post-colonial protests such as the Anti-Fuel Hike Protests of 2003, demonstrating the enduring nature of economic struggles in Nigeria.

Key Finding 10

Broad demands addressing systemic issues like corruption or bad governance often face dismissal due to their complexity and perceived impracticality.

From the colonial era to the Fourth Republic, these protests have varied in triggers, key drivers, and government responses. This study analyzes the relationship between the specificity of protest demands and their success rates while comparing protests before and during the Fourth Republic to identify patterns of effectiveness and outcomes.

Protests during the colonial era were often driven by economic exploitation and social injustices under British rule. Table 5 summarizes key protests and their characteristics:

Protest Name	Year	Demand Specificity	Outcome
Aba Women's Riot	1929	Specific: Resistance to taxation of women	Violently suppressed; drew attention to economic exploitation.
Nigerian General Strike	1945	Specific: Higher wages, better working conditions	Concessions granted after prolonged negotiations.
Abeokuta Women's Revolt	1947	Specific: Unjust taxation, women's representation	Partial success; some demands were met after dialogue.
Enugu Coal Miners' Strike	1949	Specific: Improved working conditions, wages	Violently suppressed; no formal resolution achieved.

Protests with specific and actionable demands, such as the Nigerian General Strike and the Abeokuta Women's Revolt, achieved partial success. However, colonial authorities often responded with violent repression, limiting the scope of success.

Post-Colonial Era Protests (Second and Third Republics): Protests in this era addressed issues like economic policies, education, and electoral integrity. Table 6 highlights key protests:

Protest Name	Year	Demand Specificity	Outcome
Ali Must Go	1978	Specific: Reversal of tuition fee hikes	Violently repressed; no resolution achieved.
Anti-SAP Riots	1989	Broad: Opposition to Structural Adjustment Program	Violently suppressed; grievances dismissed by the government.
June 12 Protests	1993	Specific: Reinstatement of annulled election	Crackdown by military regime; no concessions.
Niger Delta Protests	1990s-2000s	Specific: Resource control, compensation	Partial success; commissions established to address grievances.

Specific demands, such as those in the Niger Delta Protests, had higher success rates than broader demands like those of the Anti-SAP Riots. However, protests targeting political issues, like the June 12 Protests, faced severe suppression.

Post-Colonial Era Protests (Fourth Republic): Protests in the Fourth Republic often addressed economic hardships, governance issues, and security concerns. Table 7 provides an overview:

Protest Name	Year	Demand Specificity	Outcome
Anti-Fuel Hike Protests	2003	Specific: Reversal of fuel price hikes	Limited concessions after dialogue.
Occupy Nigeria	2012	Specific: Reinstatement of fuel subsidies	Partial success; subsidies reinstated temporarily.
#EndSARS Protests	2020	Specific: Disbandment of SARS unit	SARS disbanded; promised reforms largely unimplemented.
#EndBadGovernance Protests	2024	Broad: Corruption, inflation, governance issues	Dismissed by government; no immediate relief or concessions.

Specific demands, like those in the Anti-Fuel Hike Protests and #EndSARS Protests, achieved partial success, while broader demands, such as those in the #EndBadGovernance protests, were dismissed.

Patterns in Success Rates: Protests with clear and actionable demands, such as reversing a policy or improving working conditions, were more likely to achieve concessions, while broad demands addressing systemic issues like corruption or bad governance often faced dismissal due to their complexity and perceived impracticality.

Era Comparison

- **Colonial Era:** Success rates were higher for specific demands despite violent suppression. Examples include the partial successes of the Nigerian General Strike and Abeokuta Women's Revolt.

- **Post-Colonial Era (Second and Third Republics):** Success rates declined as protests began targeting systemic issues, such as the Structural Adjustment Program or electoral annulments.

- **Fourth Republic:** Protests addressing specific grievances (e.g., fuel subsidies, police brutality) achieved limited success, while those with

broader demands (e.g., governance reform) saw little to no success.

The analysis reveals a clear relationship between the specificity of protest demands and their success rates. Protests with actionable and coherent demands are more likely to prompt dialogue and concessions, while those addressing systemic issues often fail to achieve immediate results. Additionally, protests in the colonial era had a slightly higher success rate than those in the Fourth Republic, likely due to the clearer focus on specific injustices and actionable grievances.

08.
Regional Dynamics and Geographical Nuances.

The #EndBadGovernance protests in Nigeria highlighted stark regional disparities in participation, sentiment, and interpretation of the Nigerian socio-political landscape. This dichotomy, particularly between Northern and Southern Nigeria, underscored the varying stakes and perspectives on governance, economic hardship, and societal frustrations across the country.

Number of incident based per state
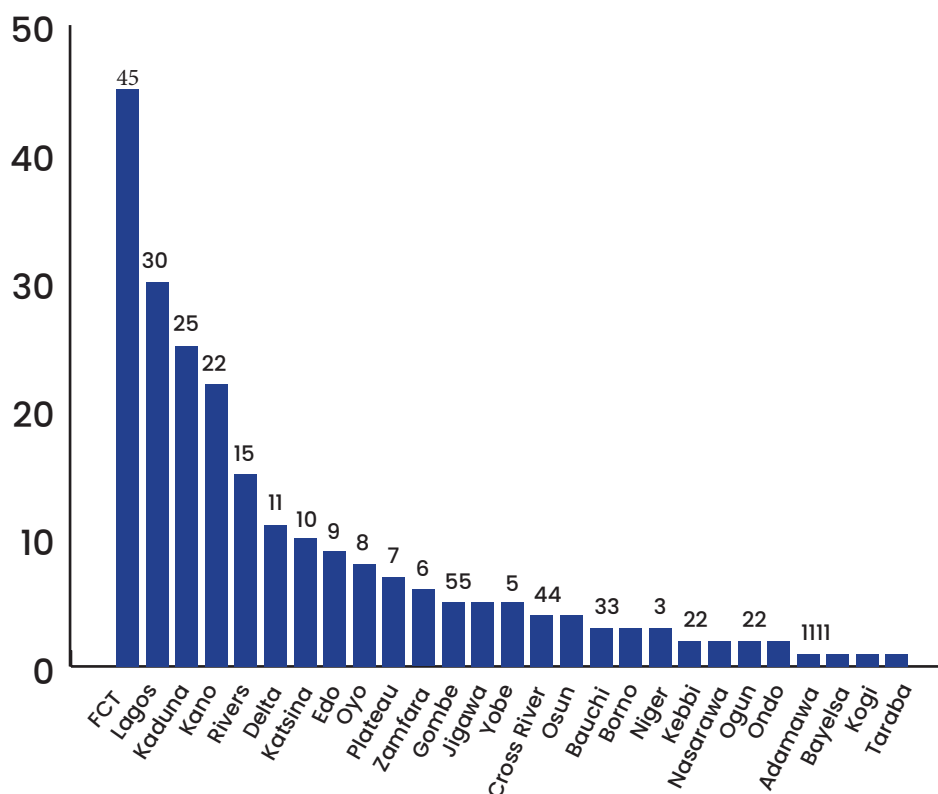
In Southern Nigeria, participation was relatively subdued, varying across its subregions. The Southeast was conspicuously silent, with little to no involvement in the protests, reflecting a historical pattern of disconnection or alternative modes of expressing grievances. The South-South region exhibited hesitant participation, likely due to entrenched political dynamics and economic dependencies tied to oil revenues, which dampened broader mobilization. The Southwest showed more visible involvement, with Lagos serving as the epicentre of the protests. As the nation's economic hub, Lagos often acts as a bellwether for national movements, and its vibrant civil society and youth population were at the forefront of organizing and amplifying the protests.

In contrast, Northern Nigeria experienced unprecedented levels of participation, which marked a significant departure from historical trends. Historically, the North has been less active in nationwide protests, often due to cultural norms prioritizing stability and reverence for authority. Religious and political leaders in the region have traditionally framed protests as destabilizing, dampening mobilization efforts. Additionally, a sense of solidarity with Northern political leaders, such as former President Muhammadu Buhari, has historically discouraged open dissent. The #EndBadGovernance protests, however, signified a shift in this paradigm, driven by the region's worsening socioeconomic conditions and growing awareness of governance failures.

The economic hardship in Northern Nigeria was a critical catalyst for the protests. The region has long relied on subsistence farming, but widespread insecurity has devastated agricultural livelihoods[61]. Armed groups have seized vast territories, forcing farmers off their lands, disrupting food production, and extorting millions in "farm levies." Between 2020 and 2023, these challenges escalated dramatically, with over 1,300 farmers killed in 2024 alone, the majority in the North[62]. This has intensified food insecurity, further impoverishing a region already grappling with alarming multidimensional poverty levels. As of 2022, approximately 86 million people in the North were living in poverty[63], with the region hosting some of the poorest states, the lowest GDP per capita, and the highest rates of hunger, infant mortality, and maternal mortality in Nigeria.

The socioeconomic realities in the North also exacerbated the violent dimension of the protests. The region has the highest prevalence of pharmaceutical opioid abuse, particularly in states like Kano, Zamfara, and Kebbi, where idle, uneducated, and disengaged youth, including the almajirai, form a volatile demographic. This population's lack of educational and economic opportunities has created a ticking time bomb. These frustrations and widespread grievances over insecurity and systemic neglect transformed the protests into chaotic and often bloody confrontations. Reports of unsubstantiated ethnic and regional narratives further inflamed tensions, contributing to the degeneration of protests into riots in some areas[64]. The North-South divide in the #EndBadGovernance protests thus illuminated the underlying socioeconomic and political fault lines in Nigeria. While the South exhibited a relatively muted response shaped by its political and economic context, the North's active and often violent participation reflected the severity of its challenges.

The Lagos-Abuja Divide: Contrasts in Urban Protest Dynamics

The #EndBadGovernance protests further highlighted significant contrasts between Nigeria's most cosmopolitan cities, Lagos and Abuja, regarding participation, government response, and underlying dynamics. Both cities, emblematic of Nigeria's urban diversity and political significance, became focal points for the protests, albeit with differing narratives and outcomes.

In Lagos, the protests were marked by a mix of resilience and resistance but also by efforts from the political elite to stifle momentum. Pockets of protests emerged across the city, showcasing the determination of citizens to express discontent despite concerted efforts to suppress dissent. The Lagos political elite launched a robust campaign to dissuade participation, aiming to portray former Lagos governor and current President Bola Ahmed Tinubu as maintaining strong popularity in his political stronghold. The political machinery worked to paint a picture of public confidence in the presidency, discouraging protests that could be interpreted as a vote of no confidence in the administration.

Additionally, pecuniary interests among some residents further dampened participation, with economic incentives playing a role in their reluctance to join the movement. Another notable factor was the withdrawal of the Igbo community, not only in the Southeast but also in Lagos. Many Igbos in Lagos refrained from engaging in the protests, removing a critical demographic that could have added significant momentum and diversity to the demonstrations. This absence diminished the overall intensity of the protests in the city, highlighting the influence of ethnic dynamics on public movements.

In contrast, Abuja, the seat of Nigeria's federal government and a hub for the diplomatic community—witnessed a different form of protest engagement. The city's civil society class, characterized by a higher degree of enlightenment and reduced ethnic bias, played a central role in shaping the nature of the protests. Unlike Lagos, where efforts to stifle protests were evident, Abuja's demonstrations remained impactful despite government attempts to restrict them to the Moshood Abiola Stadium. This attempt at containment, while unsuccessful, revealed the government's desire to limit the protests' visibility and disruption.

However, police brutality in Abuja played a significant role in curtailing the protests' reach and effect on public life. The strategic use of force reduced the nuisance factor of the demonstrations but did not eliminate their efficacy in drawing attention to governance issues. This revealed the balance of power in the city, where state machinery wielded control, but civil society proved resilient in ensuring their voices were heard. One key takeaway from the Lagos-Abuja divide is Nigeria's unique dynamics of cosmopolitan cities. In such urban centres, no single ethnic group holds absolute sway over the public space or narrative. The protests in both cities demonstrated that ethnic diversity and varied economic and political interests often dilute the homogeneity of public demonstrations. This reinforces the reality that Nigeria's urban centres, while significant in shaping national discourse, are complex terrains where multiple forces intersect to influence the outcome of collective actions.

The Stance of the Southeast and the Igbo Ethnic Group: A Silent Protest

The Southeast states and the broader Igbo ethnic group took a markedly different stance during the #EndBadGovernance protests, opting for non-participation. This decision reflected a regional response and a more profound metaphor for silent political protest within the Nigerian state. It was a deliberate and calculated choice by leadership and followership in the region, emphasizing a growing sense of alienation from the Nigerian polity.

The Igbo elites framed the protest as irrelevant to their people, presenting it as a conflict between the Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani rather than a national issue that concerned the Igbos. This narrative resonated with historical grievances and current realities. Many Igbos view themselves as victims of systemic exclusion within the Nigerian state. Factors like the continued imprisonment of Nnamdi Kanu, a key figure in the pro-Biafran movement, the perception of being denied opportunities in Nigeria's political structure, and the region's political opposition stance have fostered a sense of disillusionment. Additionally, the perception of being scapegoated in broader national conflicts reinforced the justification for their withdrawal from the protests.

This conscious decision not to join the movement highlighted the deepening chasm between the Southeast and the rest of Nigeria. The Igbo silence in this critical moment was not one of indifference but an assertion of disconnection, symbolizing a region increasingly questioning its place in the Nigerian project.

The Propaganda Divide: Government Apologists vs. Ordinary Nigerians

A stark contrast emerged between the narratives pushed by government apologists and the sentiments of ordinary Nigerians. Government apologists, often aligned with federal and state authorities, sought to defend the government's policies and actions while undermining the legitimacy of the protests. They propagated the argument that the administration, being just

a year old, required more time for its policies to yield tangible results. This narrative attempted to portray the protests as premature and disruptive to the government's developmental agenda.

On the other hand, many ordinary Nigerians rejected this propaganda, showcasing a deep-seated dissatisfaction with governance at both federal and state levels. While anger was primarily directed at the central government, subnational governments were not exempt from criticism. The public perceived state governments as equally culpable, serving as a reminder of the widespread frustration with leadership across all tiers of governance.

This divide underscored the growing disconnect between government narratives and the lived realities of the populace. The failure of propaganda to quell discontent revealed the limits of rhetoric in addressing the tangible socioeconomic and political challenges driving the protests. Ordinary Nigerians demonstrated a heightened awareness of governance issues, signalling a shift toward more critical and participatory citizenship.

Assessing Government and Security Agency Responses

The Nigerian government's response to the #EndBadGovernance protests has been marked by a mix of cautious public appeals, divisive rhetoric, heavy-handed security measures, and inconsistent regional approaches, revealing the depth of governmental disconnect from the populace and the challenges of managing large-scale dissent.

Initially, the Tinubu administration sought to dissuade citizens from participating in the protests through public appeals for patience and trust in its reform agenda. President Bola Ahmed Tinubu made a personal plea, warning youth against what he described as "malicious" protests and urging them to exercise patience as his administration worked to implement reforms. This sentiment was echoed by Vice President Kashim Shettima and other officials, including the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, George Akume, and Ministers of Finance, Budget, and Planning, who collectively argued that the protests were premature and unnecessary. Traditional rulers were also enlisted to leverage their influence in discouraging public demonstrations, with some issuing statements urging citizens to en-

dure current hardships.

Despite these efforts at placation, dismissive and controversial remarks from key government figures undermined the administration's narrative. Senate President Godswill Akpabio's infamous statement that government officials would be "eating" while citizens protested exemplified the tone-deafness of the political elite, further alienating the population. Presidential Adviser Bayo Onanuga compounded the issue by accusing opposition figures of inciting the protests, a claim many viewed as an attempt to deflect responsibility[65]. Such comments painted a picture of a government increasingly detached from the struggles of ordinary Nigerians.

The government resorted to a firm and coercive approach rather than engaging in substantive dialogue with protest organizers. Security agencies issued preemptive warnings, branding the protests as potential threats to national stability and even associating them with terrorism. The military described the demonstrations as a precursor to "anarchy," signalling a readiness to employ violent suppression[66]. Similarly, the police cautioned against protests, suggesting they could serve as platforms for terrorist activities despite evidence of their predominantly peaceful nature[67]. The Department of State Services (DSS) alleged that the protests were part of a calculated plot to destabilize the government, further stigmatizing the movement and

Bayo Onanuga @aonanuga1956 [Follow]

REVEALED: Peter Obi's supporters are the people planning mayhem in Nigeria; Obi should be held responsible for anarchy

Don't be fooled: the malcontents planning to stage nationwide protests are supporters of Peter Obi, the failed presidential candidate of the Labour Party. And he should be held responsible for whatever crisis emanates from the action.

The protest planners are also the same people who were instigated by IPOB leader Nnamdi Kanu to launch the destructive ENDSARS protest in Nigeria in October 2020. ENDSARS began as a genuine protest by youths against the Police Special Anti-Robbery Squad, notorious for its high-handedness. IPOB members planning to extricate the South East region from Nigeria infiltrated the protest and hijacked it for their own agenda. Lagos still bears the scar of the malicious destruction by IPOB elements until today.

Two years after ENDSARS, the IPOB and the gullible innocents joined the Labour Party in 2022 to support Peter Obi, a sympathiser of their cause.

They are the people spreading the hashtags 'EndBadGovernance', 'Tinubu Must Go,' and 'Revolution2024'. They are not democrats but anarchists. They are attempting to call out our people via propaganda because their Messiah, Peter Obi, failed to win the Presidency in the 2023 election. As bad losers, they don't have the patience to wait for another election in 2027; they would rather destabilise Nigeria by staging a civilian coup against President Bola Ahmed Tinubu.

If they understand the meaning of their hashtags, they will realise they

creating an atmosphere of fear[68].

The government's measures included the deployment of heavy security forces and the imposition of curfews, revealing stark regional enforcement disparities. Northern states such as Borno, Kaduna, and Kano imposed 24-hour curfews within seven (7) hours of the protests' commencement, reflecting a starkly different approach compared to southern states, where no such measures were implemented. This uneven response exacerbated tensions and highlighted the government's inconsistency in managing the crisis.

The fatalities that resulted from the protests have been heavily concentrated in certain states. Borno State, with the most reported fatalities, has been the epicentre of violence, followed by Kaduna and Kano States. These states have seen some of the most intense clashes between protesters and security forces, highlighting the severe risks associated with participating in the protests in these regions. The disproportionate impact on certain states suggests a need for targeted intervention and support to address the unique challenges faced by protesters in these areas.
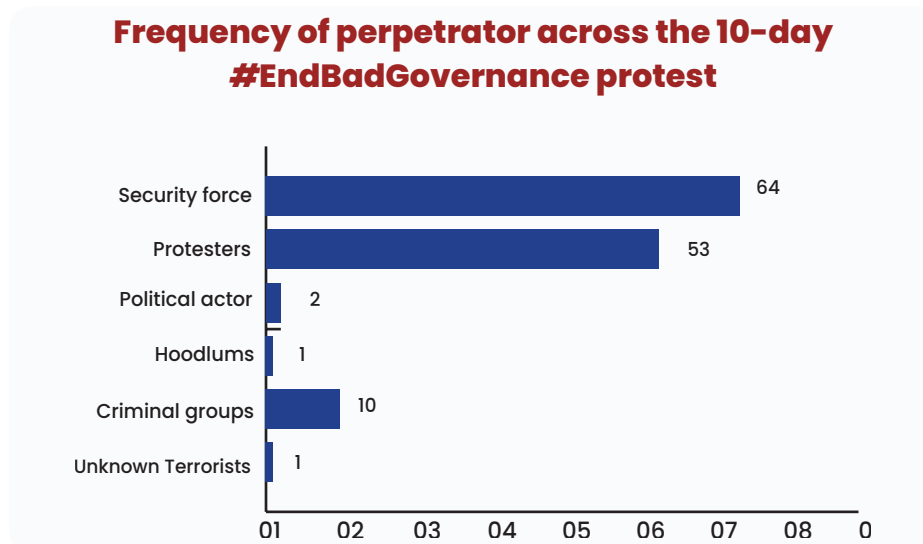
The involvement of various actors in the violence has also been notable. Security forces have been the most frequently reported perpetrators, involved in 64 incidents of violence over the first seven days of the protests.

Protesters themselves have been implicated in 53 incidents, while criminal groups, political actors, and hoodlums have also played roles in escalating tensions. The involvement of criminal groups and political actors indicates that the protests have, in some instances, been co-opted for purposes beyond the movement's original intent, complicating the narrative and posing challenges to maintaining a unified message. The protests have also witnessed the infiltration of hoodlums and unpatriotic elements, leading to incidents of arson, such as the burning of the residence of a former House of Representatives member in Jigawa State. The waving of the Russian flag by some protesters adds a dangerous dimension to the movement, potentially inviting international attention and complicating the narrative of the protests.

Frequency of perpetrator across the 10-day #EndBadGovernance protest

Perpetrator	Count
Security force	64
Protesters	53
Political actor	2
Hoodlums	1
Criminal groups	10
Unknown Terrorists	1

The arrests of prominent figures and ordinary protesters alike have been a consistent feature of the state's response to the movement. For instance, on Day 7, nine youths were arrested in Akure, Ondo State, including Kunle Wizeman Ajayi, a governorship candidate, and members of the Take It Back (TIB) Movement and other human rights organizations. Similarly, in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), the Department of State Services (DSS) arrested Michael Lenin, a leader of the protests. On Day 8, It was alleged that the DSS arrested Madam Angel Innocent – a prominent face in the protest in Wuse 2 in FCT. These arrests signal the government's intent to quell the movement by targeting its leadership and key participants, thereby attempting to weaken the organizational capacity of the protests.

The #EndBadGovernance protests have also brought significant human rights issues to the forefront, particularly concerning the conduct of security forces. Reports of police brutality, including the shooting of protesters and journalists, have shocked the public and drawn widespread condemnation. For example, in Bauchi State, a protester was reportedly shot dead by security operatives, while in Zaria, Kaduna State, a 19-year-old was killed by soldiers inside his father's house. These incidents underscore the urgent need for reform within Nigeria's security apparatus, where impunity and excessive use of force remain rampant.

The broader human rights implications were stark. Amnesty International reported over 2,000 arrests nationwide[69], while the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) documented more than 1,200 arrests and 228,549 complaints of rights violations, including arbitrary detentions and police brutality[70]. Fatal incidents involving security forces underscored the urgent need for reform. Protesters, aged between 14 and 34, faced accusations of terrorism, treason, arson, and other felonies during the protests - in which minors were included. Court orders mandated the detention of protesters for 60 days. According to the report, this occurred within 10 days after the protest. "A Federal High Court in Abuja has granted the police permission to remand 124 protesters arrested during the recent #EndBadGovernance protests for 60 days pending the conclusion of investigations. Justice Emeka Nwite ruled on separate ex-parte motions filed by the police, citing the need for further investigation and legal advice from the Attorney-General of the Federation (AGF)[71].

According to Human Rights Watch (HRC), by charging protesters with treason, the Nigerian authorities are sending a troubling message about their intolerance for dissent. "A Nigerian researcher at HRC also stated that "instead of equating protesting with a crime punishable by death, the government should uphold Nigerians' right to freedom of expression and listen to their grievances."

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) strongly condemned the treatment of Nigerian youths protesting bad governance, calling for an immediate end to the excessive use of force, independent

investigations into reported abuses, and constructive dialogue with civil society. They called for an immediate end to the excessive use of force, independent investigations into reported abuses, and constructive dialogue with civil society.

The security response also encompasses several dimensions and nuances. One of which is the law enforcement aspect, which raises questions about how effectively the laws governing protests were enforced and the extent to which police actions aligned with established guidelines. Additionally, the broader security context highlights how the protests were perceived amidst existing national tensions.

The government's communication is also crucial; for example, the government's failure to engage in meaningful dialogue with protest organizers was heavily criticized. However, the President addressed the nation on August 4, 2024. The 20-minute speech of 38 paragraphs articulated the economic reforms his government had embarked upon in the last 14 months. President Tinubu's Speeches since he assumed office as the 16th leader of Nigeria never contained the kind of statistics his August 4, 2024, broadcast contained. The President spoke to issues around youth empowerment, agricultural initiatives meant to bring down the rising cost of food, and gas initiatives, especially the plan to make Nigeria adopt compressed natural gas as the new fuel for

President Bola Tinubu Addresses Nation

So Far So Good:

- **9.1 trillion Naira:** Government revenues in the first half of 2024, more than double compared to the first half of 2023.
- **97% to 68%:** Reduction in percentage of revenue spent on debt service in the last 13 months.
- **$5 billion:** Amount of legitimate outstanding foreign exchange obligations cleared.
- **1.61 million** barrels per day: Recent oil production level.
- **1 million:** Number of CNG conversion kits to be distributed.
- **60%:** Expected reduction in transportation costs due to the CNG initiative.
- **45.6 billion Naira:** Amount processed for student loan payments.
- **200 billion Naira:** Initial funding for Consumer Credit Corporation.
- **50 billion Naira:** Additional funding each for student loans and Credit Corporation.
- **$620 million:** Secured for Digital and Creative Enterprises program.
- **3 million:** Target for Technical Talents scheme.
- **570 billion Naira:** Released to 36 states for livelihood support.
- **600,000:** Number of nano-businesses that have benefited from grants.
- **75,000:** Beneficiaries processed for 1 million Naira business loans.
- **70,000 Naira:** New minimum monthly wage.
- **100,000:** Target for housing units to be completed over next three years.
- **10 million hectares:** Target land area for increased food cultivation.

Presidential Address on the Nationalwide Protest, Sunday 4th August 2024

transportation. Tinubu also spoke on infrastructural development in terms of roads and housing, the new minimum wage for Nigerian workers, the consumer credit scheme, the student loans scheme, and credit support to nano, micro, small, and medium enterprises[72].

Although many, including the organizers of the protest, did not agree with him. The broadcast faced criticism for its timing and content. Some analysts believe that addressing the demonstrations before they escalated would have been a missed opportunity to engage with protest organizers and effectively address their demands. Many critics argue that the broadcast failed to tackle the pressing issues that spurred the protests, such as escalating fuel prices, food insecurity, and widespread violence and that it lacks empathy.

The President's inactive response to the protesters' demands further fueled the surge in protests on August 5. Citizens expressed dismay at the country's leadership for not being willing to make sacrifices despite the President's call for citizen sacrifice. Citizens criticized the country's extravagant spending on luxurious presidential vehicles, yachts, and unwarranted salary increases for judges and the judiciary.

This response approach is not in any way different from the historical response under the military. In the Colonial Era, Protests during this period were typically met with violent repression, and formal dialogue with protesters was rare. For example, the Aba Women's Riot of 1929 and the Enugu Coal Miners' Strike of 1949 were brutally suppressed without meaningful engagement or negotiation. Violent repression remains a common tactic in the Post-Colonial Era; there have been instances where protests have led to concessions through formal dialogue, mainly when labour unions are involved. The Nigerian General Strike of 1945 and the Anti-Fuel Hike Protests of 2003 resulted in negotiations and partial victories for the protesters.

However, other groups, particularly youth and civil society organizations, have found it more challenging to achieve meaningful dialogue with authorities. Protests like Ali Must Go (1978), the June 12 Protests (1993), and the #EndBadGovernance protests (2024) were either dismissed outright or met with violent crackdowns, reflecting systemic barriers that prevent

these groups from being heard within formal political structures. Even when concessions are made, as in the case of the #EndSARS Protests of 2020, where the government disbanded the SARS unit and promised re-forms, the follow-through on these promises has been slow or insufficient, raising questions about the government's commitment to addressing citizens' grievances.

09.
Analyzing the Frequency and Effectiveness of Government Dialogue During Protests in Nigeria

This report evaluates the frequency of formal dialogue between the government and protesters across key historical eras, from the colonial period to the Fourth Republic. It examines whether Nigeria's governance structures provide formalized channels for citizens to engage meaningfully with authorities. A review of twelve significant protests spanning Nigeria's colonial and post-colonial history reveals critical insights into the frequency of government-protester dialogue and its impact on resolving grievances.

Table 8: Protests and Formal Dialogue Frequency

Era	Protest Date/ Timeline	Protest Name	Formal Dialogue Occurred?
Colonial	6 December 1929	Aba Women's Riot	No
Colonial	1945	Nigerian General Strike	Yes
Colonial	27 November 1947	Abeokuta Women's Revolt	Yes

Colonial	1949	Enugu Coal Miners' Strike	No
Post-Colonial (Second Rep.)	17 April 1978	Ali Must Go	No
Post-Colonial (Third Rep.)	24 May – June 1989	Anti-SAP Riots	No
Post-Colonial (Third Rep.)	1990s– 2000s	Niger Delta Protests	Yes
Post-Colonial (Third Rep.)	12 June 1993	June 12 Protests	No
Post-Colonial (Fourth Rep.)	2003	Anti-Fuel Hike Protests	Yes
Post-Colonial (Fourth Rep.)	2012	Occupy Nigeria	Yes
Post-Colonial (Fourth Rep.)	2020	#End-SARS Protests	No
Post-Colonial (Fourth Rep.)	2024	#End-BadGovernance Protests	No

This table shows that formal dialogue occurred in approximately 42% of the protests, while the remaining 58% lacked any formal engagement. This trend underscores the absence of institutionalized mechanisms for citizen-government engagement, particularly during heightened tension.

Formal dialogue has historically played a critical role in addressing protester grievances, albeit inconsistently. During the Nigerian General

Strike of 1945, for example, prolonged negotiations between labour unions and colonial administrators led to concessions that improved workers' conditions. Similarly, the Abeokuta Women's Revolt of 1947 resulted in some demands being granted after women engaged local chiefs and colonial representatives in formal discussions. However, these successes are exceptions rather than the norm. The absence of formal dialogue is particularly notable in protests such as the Aba Women's Riot of 1929 and the Enugu Coal Miners' Strike of 1949, where government responses were marked by violent suppression without attempts at negotiation. In these instances, the lack of engagement exacerbated tensions and highlighted the authoritarian tendencies of the colonial administration.

In the post-colonial era, Nigeria's democratic institutions have struggled to provide adequate channels for formalized dialogue. Protests such as the Ali Must Go movement of 1978 and the Anti-SAP riots of 1989 were met with forceful suppression rather than constructive engagement. Similarly, the June 12 Protests of 1993 centred on electoral justice and saw the military regime dismiss protesters' demands outright, maintaining a hardline stance that fueled prolonged unrest. Even in the Fourth Republic, where democratic governance theoretically offers more significant opportunities for citizen engagement, formal dialogue has been inconsistently applied. The Anti-Fuel Hike Protests of 2003 and Occupy Nigeria Protests of 2012 involved negotiations between labour unions and government officials, leading to partial concessions. In contrast, the #EndSARS Protests of 2020 and the recent #EndBadGovernance protests of 2024 saw limited to no meaningful engagement, with the government either dismissing demands or framing them as politically motivated.

The consistent exclusion of marginalized groups, including women, youth, and labour unions, from formal governance processes has reinforced protests as a political alternative. Women-led movements such as the Aba Women's Riot and Abeokuta Women's Revolt were driven by systemic economic and social inequities. At the same time, youth and labour unions have often mobilized against policies that exacerbate poverty and inequality. These groups have historically lacked access to formalized engagement channels, leaving protests as their primary means of influencing policy and demanding accountability.

Government responses to protests have frequently been characterized by repression rather than reform. Violent suppression, such as the police killings during the Enugu Coal Miners' Strike and the military crackdowns during the June 12 Protests, has often overshadowed any attempts at dialogue. Even when dialogue occurs, as in the case of the Occupy Nigeria Protests, it tends to focus on immediate demands rather than addressing the systemic issues that underlie citizens' grievances.

The findings suggest that Nigeria lacks institutionalized and consistent mechanisms for formalized dialogue with its citizens, particularly marginalized groups. This exclusionary governance structure forces skilled and unskilled individuals to adopt protests as an alternative option for political engagement. While some protests have successfully led to dialogue and concessions, the overall trend reveals a governance system prioritizing repression over inclusion and dialogue.

10.

The Role of Media in Shaping Public Perception of the #EndBadGovernance Protests

Media coverage was pivotal in influencing public perception and shaping the narrative of the #EndBadGovernance protests in Nigeria. Fueled by widespread discontent over corruption, economic mismanagement, and poor governance, these protests garnered extensive attention from local and international media outlets. The nature of this coverage, ranging from supportive to sceptical, significantly influenced public sentiment and mobilization efforts, highlighting the dual-edged impact of media portrayals in protest movements[73].

The interplay between media representation and public sentiment surrounding the #EndBadGovernance protests can be understood through theories like the Protest Paradigm. This theory posits that mass media often portrays protests negatively, emphasizing conflict, violence, and disruption over the underlying issues being protested[74]. In the case of #EndBadGovernance, Nigerian newspapers and broadcast media reflected a mixture of support and scepticism. Some outlets highlighted the protesters' grievances and demands, portraying them as legitimate calls for reform. Others focused on isolated incidents of violence, describing the protest as unruly and disruptive, which risked delegitimizing the protesters' platform.

Social media, however, emerged as a critical counterbalance to traditional media's framing. Platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram facilitated rapid mobilization, amplified grassroots voices, and allowed protesters to

bypass traditional gatekeepers. Social media's ability to disseminate live updates, videos, and testimonies in real time enabled global solidarity and attracted the attention of international media outlets.

The rise of social media has revolutionized Nigeria's media landscape, challenging traditional media's dominance. This democratization of media production empowered ordinary citizens to create, share, and control the narrative around the protests. Citizen-generated content, often unfiltered and raw, played a crucial role in highlighting police brutality and the broader grievances driving the demonstrations.

However, despite the growing influence of digital platforms, traditional media outlets, primarily broadcast channels, remained indispensable in reaching older generations and rural communities with limited internet access. Their coverage lent credibility to the movement and held political elites accountable. This dynamic underscore the enduring importance of a free, independent, and pluralistic media in Nigeria's democratic development.

While the media played a critical role in amplifying the protests, several criticisms emerged regarding its approach: Many observers argued that mainstream media and social media users prioritized sensationalist coverage, often focusing on clashes between police and protesters rather than the substantive issues at the heart of the movement. Summer Harlow, a journalism scholar, asserts that this emphasis on violence detracts from the core social justice concerns driving protests, ultimately undermining the effectiveness of such movements[75]. Moreover, the proliferation of misinformation during the protests posed a significant challenge. Misleading videos, manipulated images, and false narratives spread rapidly on social media, exacerbating tensions and occasionally provoking irrational responses from the public. After the president addressed the nation in response to the protests, there was a perceived decline in media efforts to set the agenda and sustain focus on the protesters' demands. This shift in media priorities was criticized for allowing the government's narrative to dominate and diminish the movement's momentum.

Challenges Faced by Journalists and Media Outlets.

During the #EndBadGovernance protest, Journalists and media organizations in Nigeria faced significant challenges, including physical attacks, intimidation, and threats, which severely hamper their ability to report freely on events such as the #EndBadGovernance protests. This environment of repression undermines the media's critical role in holding the government accountable and informing the public. According to the Press Attack Tracker (PAT)[76], at least 31 journalists were attacked by security agencies while covering the #EndBadGovernment in Nigeria protests. To buttress the attack, the Committee to Protect Journalists positioned that at least 56 journalists were attacked[77]. Some of the cases.

S/N	State	Date Harassed	Name of Journalist	Media House	Issue Surrounding Their Attack
1	Abuja	August 1	Yakubu Mohammed	Premium Times	Beaten by police officers, phone seized and thrown into a police van despite wearing a "Press" vest and ID card.
2	Lagos	July 31	Bernard Akede	News Central TV	Harassed by police officers, forced to pause reporting on planned protests at Lekki toll gate.
3	Lagos	July 31	Eric Thomas	News Central TV	Harassed by police officers alongside his team while reporting on protests.
4	Lagos	July 31	Karina Adobaba-Harry	News Central TV	Harassed by police officers alongside her team while reporting on protests.
5	Lagos	July 31	Samuel Chukwu	News Central TV	Harassed by police officers alongside his team while reporting on protests.
6	Abuja	August 1	Jide Oyekunle	Daily Independent	Arrested by police officers while covering protests.
7	Abuja	August 1	Kayode Jaiyeola	Punch Newspaper	Arrested by police officers while covering protests.
8	Borno	August 1	Lami Manjimwa Zakka	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."
9	Borno	August 1	Mamman Mahmood	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."

10	Borno	August 1	Ummi Fatima Baba Kyari	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."
11	Borno	August 1	Hadiza Dawud	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."
12	Borno	August 1	Zainab Alhaji Ali	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."
13	Borno	August 1	Amina Falmata Mohammed	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."
14	Borno	August 1	Bunu Tijjani	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."
15	Borno	August 1	Ali Musa	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."
16	Borno	August 1	Abubakar Gajibo	Radio Ndarason Internationale	Detained alongside eight other staff members for five hours after police accused them of publishing "fake news."
17	Abuja	August 1	Mary Adeboye	News Central TV	Tear gas canister struck her leg, causing swelling, during police attacks.
18	Abuja	August 1	Samuel Akpan	TheCable	Tear gas canister struck his leg, causing swelling, during police attacks.
19	Abuja	August 1	Adefemola Akintade	Peoples Gazette	Tear gas canister struck him during police attacks on protesters.
20	Kano	August 1	Ibrahim Ayyuba Isah	TVC News	Hand injured by glass during an attack on a Channels Television bus by unidentified attackers wielding machetes.
21	Kano	August 1	Ayo Adenaiye	Arise News	Laptop damaged during an attack on a Channels Television bus by unidentified attackers wielding machetes.

22	Kano	August 1	Murtala Adewale	The Guardian	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
23	Kano	August 1	Bashir Bello	Vanguard	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
24	Kano	August 1	Abdulmumin Murtala	Leadership	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
25	Kano	August 1	Sadiq Iliyasu Dambatta	Channels Television	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
26	Kano	August 1	Caleb Jacob	Cool FM/ Wazobia FM/ Arewa Radio	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
27	Kano	August 1	Victor Christopher	Cool FM/ Wazobia FM/ Arewa Radio	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
28	Kano	August 1	John Umar	Channels Television	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
29	Kano	August 1	Ibrahim Babarami	Arise News	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
30	Kano	August 1	Iliyasu Yusuf	AIT	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
31	Kano	August 1	Usman Adam	TVC News	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
32	Kano	August 1	Salim Umar Ibrahim	Daily Trust	Attacked during a Channels Television bus attack by unidentified assailants.
33	Delta	August 1	Monday Osayande	The Guardian	Attacked by unidentified assailants opposed to protests; police officers witnessed but did not intervene.
34	Delta	August 1	Matthew Ochei	Punch Newspaper	Attacked by unidentified assailants opposed to protests.
35	Delta	August 1	Lucy Ezeliora	The Pointer	Attacked by unidentified assailants opposed to protests.
36	Delta	August 1	Prince Amour Udemude	Investigative Journalist	Phone snatched by unidentified assailants opposed to protests.

37	Abuja	August 3		Premium Times	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
38	Abuja	August 3	Emmanuel Agbo	Premium Times	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
39	Abuja	August 3	Abdulqudus Ogundapo	Premium Times	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
40	Abuja	August 3	Popoola Ademola	Premium Times	Cut his knees and broke his phone while fleeing masked security forces firing bullets and tear gas.
41	Abuja	August 3	Mbasirike Joshua	TheCable	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
42	Abuja	August 3	Dyepkazah Shibayan	TheCable	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
43	Abuja	August 3	Bolanle Olabimtan	TheCable	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
44	Abuja	August 3	Claire Mom	TheCable	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
45	Abuja	August 3	Oscar Ihimhekpen	AIT	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
46	Abuja	August 3	Femi Kuku	AIT	Dislocated his leg while fleeing masked security forces firing bullets and tear gas.
47	Abuja	August 3	Olugbenga Ogunlade	AIT	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
48	Abuja	August 3	Eno-Obong Koffi	News Central TV	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.

49	Abuja	August 3	Emmanuel Bagudu	News Central TV	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
50	Abuja	August 3	Johnson Fatumbi	ICIR	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
51	Abuja	August 3	Mustapha Usman	ICIR	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
52	Abuja	August 3	Nurudeen Akewushola	ICIR	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
53	Abuja	August 3	Akintade	Peoples Gazette	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
54	Abuja	August 3	Ebube Ibeh	Peoples Gazette	Targeted with bullets and tear gas by masked security forces at the national stadium during protests.
55	Abuja	August 3	Victorson Agbenson	Radio Nigeria	Robbed at knifepoint by unidentified men while covering a protest.
56	Abuja	August 3	Chris Ikwu	Radio Nigeria	Robbed at knifepoint by unidentified men while covering a protest.
Table was culled from the Committee to Protect Journalists report on the 21st of August					

Another challenge the media faces is finding the right balance in its coverage of the protests. Some outlets risk being perceived as too liberal and overly supportive of the protestors, while others may be viewed as too conservative and aligned with government interests. This delicate balance act creates a difficult environment for media organizations that strive to maintain journalistic integrity.

Social Media and Mobilization

The role of social media in shaping public sentiment cannot be overstated. Platforms like Twitter and Facebook have facilitated rapid mobilization and communication among activists, allowing them to share grievances and organize effectively. Empirical studies suggest a positive correlation

between social media usage and protest participation, as the low barrier to entry for engagement enables wider public involvement[78]. Furthermore, social sentiment monitoring tools have provided insights into audience engagement's motivations, allowing campaigners to tailor their messaging to resonate more deeply with the public[79].

Numerical Summary of the #EndBadGovernance between 1st July and August 10, 2024, at 22:30 WAT.

419,578,616 Social Media Reach	52,709,639 Non-Social Media Reach	53,837 User Generated	19,468,932 Social media Interactions	17,202,283 Likes
52,927 Social Media Mentions	11,972 Non-Social Media Mention	27% Positive Sentiment	45% Negative Sentiment	30% Neutral Sentiment

Holistic Trend Analysis of #EndBadGovernance Metrics from Day 1 to 10

The data spanning 40 days, including the 10 days of the #EndBadGovernance protests, offers a detailed view of how the movement evolved regarding public engagement, sentiment, and media reach.

From Day 1 (1st August) to Day 10 (10th August), the metrics indicate a significant and steady increase in mentions, interactions, and social media reach. Starting with 13,476 mentions on Day 1, this figure climbed steadily to reach 64,899 by Day 10, highlighting a cumulative growth rate of nearly 382%. This suggests that the protest gained considerable traction, likely fueled by widespread dissatisfaction and the increasing visibility of the movement on various platforms.
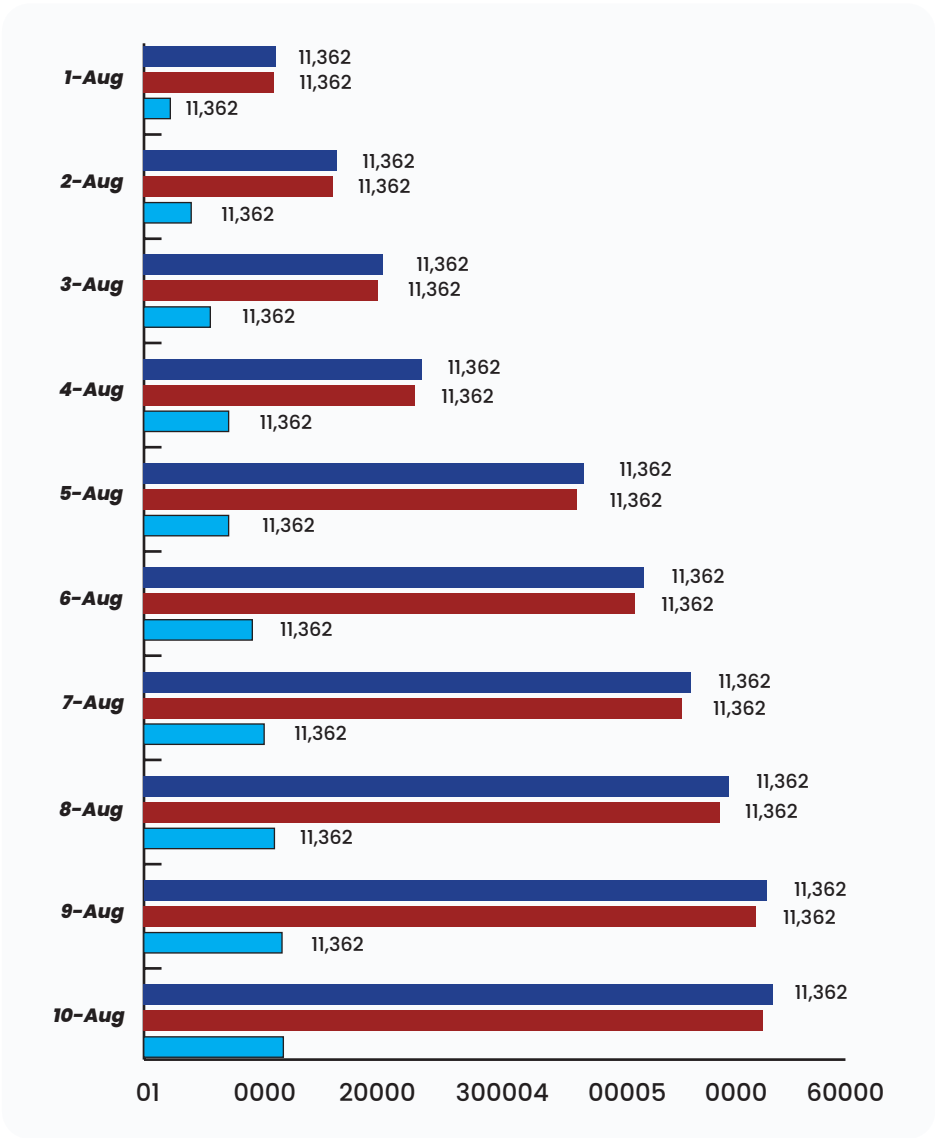
Social media mentions mirrored this trend, increasing from 11,167 on Day 1 to 52,927 on Day 10. The growth in social media mentions was particularly pronounced from Day 4 to Day 5, where the number of mentions jumped from 23,189 to 37,014—a 60% increase in just 24 hours. This surge may reflect a pivotal moment in the protests, possibly driven by a significant event or government response that catalyzed public discourse.

Non-social media mentions , including traditional media outlets, also experienced a steady increase, although at a slower rate than social media. From 2,309 mentions on Day 1, non-social mentions reached 11,972 by Day 10. The constant rise in non-social mentions indicates growing attention from mainstream media, which often follows the lead of social media trends but adds legitimacy and broader public awareness to the movement.

The estimated social media reach expanded significantly, starting at 48,871,262 on Day 1 and reaching 419,578,616 by Day 10. This exponential growth underscores the increasing visibility of the protest online, with more people engaging with or being exposed to the movement's messages. The reach likely expanded due to the viral nature of the content, amplified by user-generated content (UGC), which grew from 11,362 pieces on Day 1 to 53,837 by Day 10. The increase in UGC suggests that more individuals

felt compelled to contribute to the discourse, sharing their experiences, opinions, and solidarity with the movement.
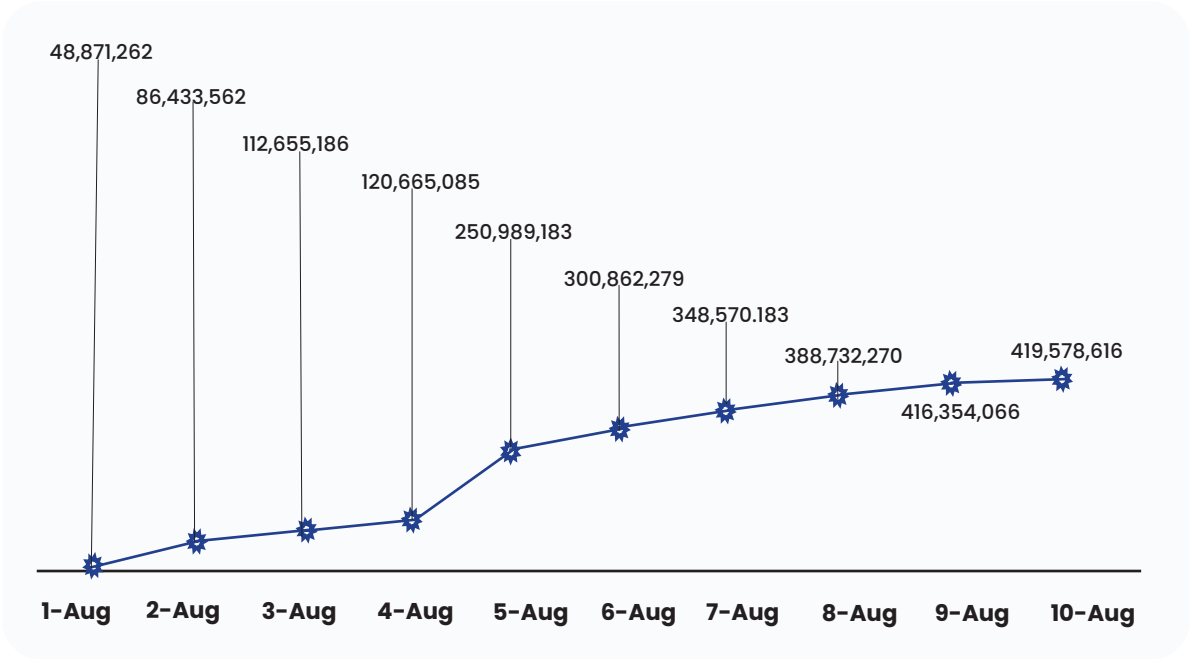
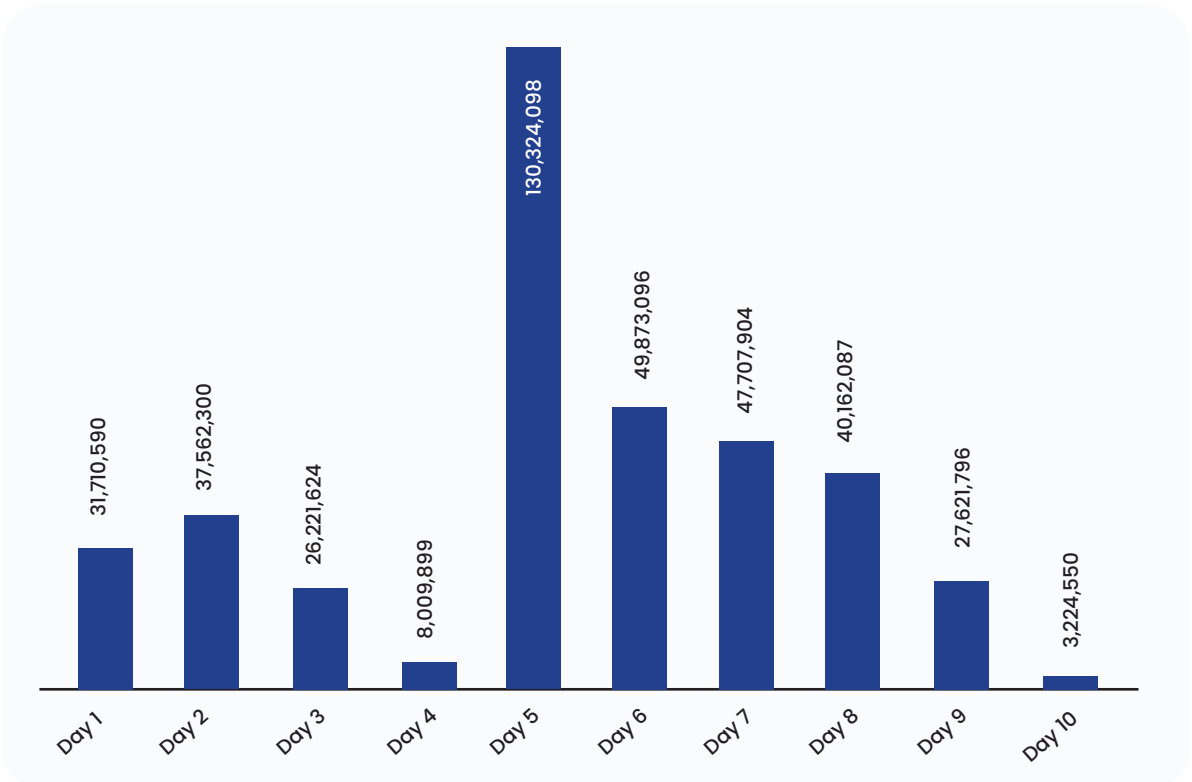## How #EndBadGovernance Content and Mentions Grew in Ten Days

Date	User Generated Content	Social media mentions	Non-social mentions
1-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
2-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
3-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
4-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
5-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
6-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
7-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
8-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
9-Aug	11,362	11,362	11,362
10-Aug	11,362	11,362	

X-axis: 01 0000 20000 300004 00005 0000 60000

Legend:
- User Generated Content
- Social media mentions
- Non-social mentions

How #EndBadGovernance Social Media Reach Grew in 10 Days

48,871,262
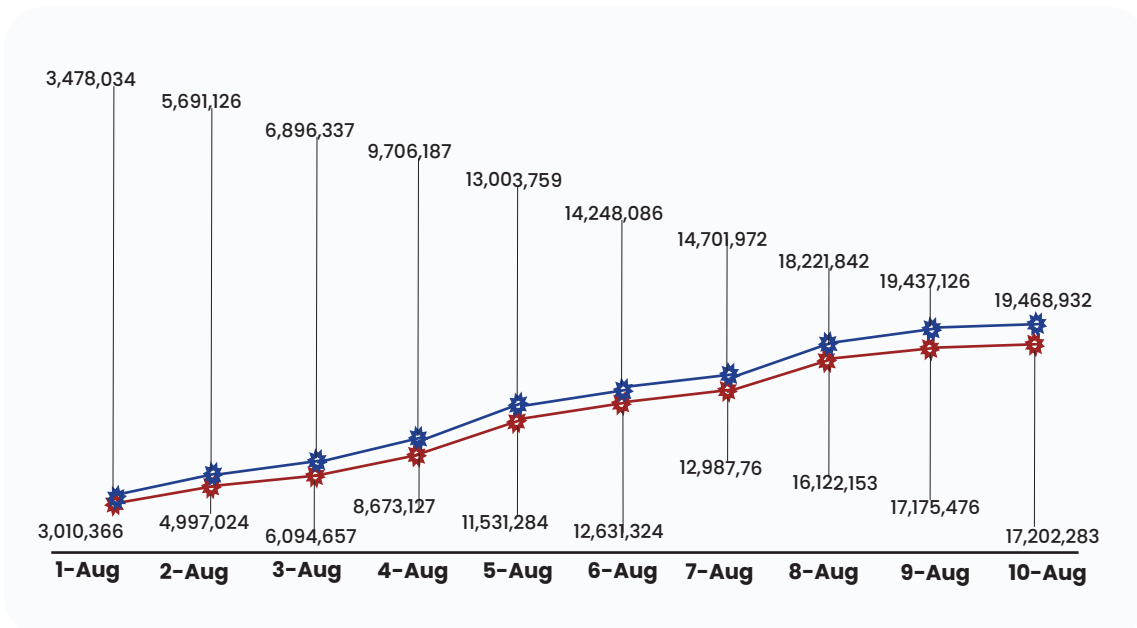86,433,562
112,655,186
120,665,085
250,989,183
300,862,279
348,570.183
388,732,270
419,578,616
416,354,066

1-Aug 2-Aug 3-Aug 4-Aug 5-Aug 6-Aug 7-Aug 8-Aug 9-Aug 10-Aug

The number of people that saw content relating to the #EndBadGovernance per Day

31,710,590
37,562,300
26,221,624
8,009,899
130,324,098
49,873,096
47,707,904
40,162,087
27,621,796
3,224,550

Day 1 Day 2 Day 3 Day 4 Day 5 Day 6 Day 7 Day 8 Day 9 Day 10

The Average Value Estimate (AVE), which measures the financial value of media coverage, also reflected this upward trend, growing from 3.3 million on Day 1 to 26.8 million on Day 10. This increase indicates the economic impact and media value of the coverage generated by the protests, highlighting its significance as a national and potentially international story.

The trends reveal a protest movement that gained momentum quickly, particularly in the first half of the period. The surge in mentions, social media reach, and UGC between Days 4 and 6 suggests that this period was critical for the protest's visibility and public engagement. However, the concurrent rise in negative sentiment points to the growth in public opinion polarization, where support for the movement's goals coexisted with increasing concern over the associated violence and unrest.

How #EndBadGovernance Social Media Interaction and likes Grew in 10 Days

How #EndBadGovernance Non- Social Media Reach Grew in 10 Days

Date	Reach
1-Aug	7,791,381
2-Aug	17,665,195
3-Aug	25,040,074
4-Aug	30,885,583
5-Aug	35,695,377
6-Aug	40,903,634
7-Aug	45,210,021
8-Aug	49,215,200
9-Aug	51,968,171
10-Aug	52,709,639
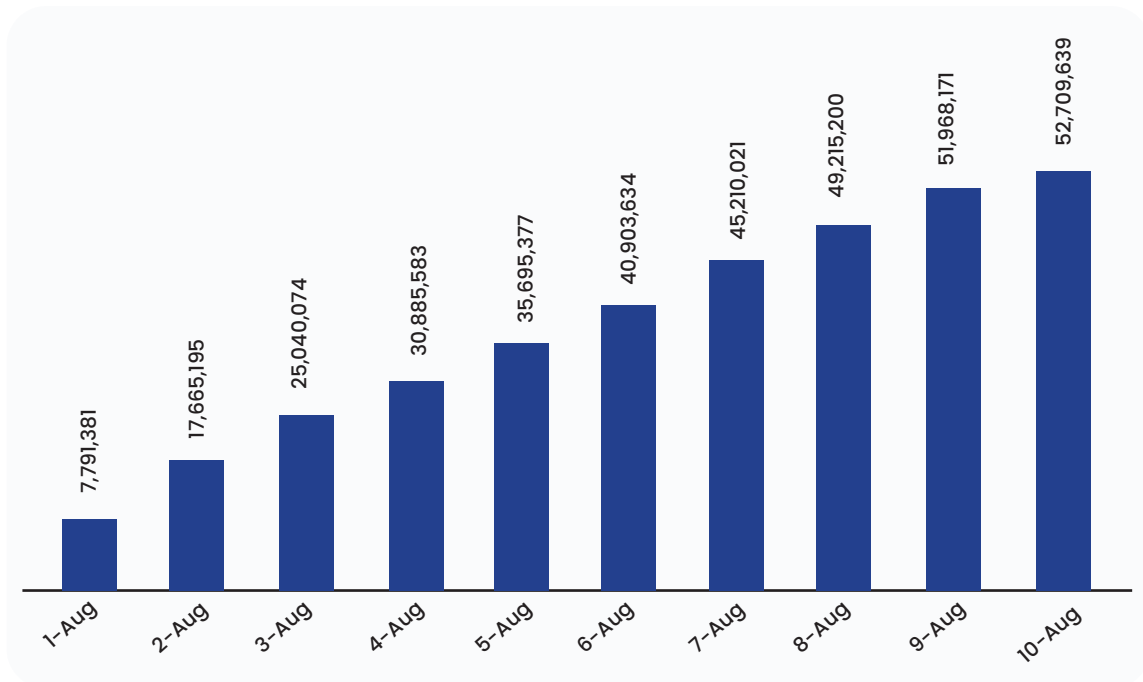
The categorization of the increase levels reveals different phases in the protest's progression. The initial phase (Days 1-3) saw a steady build-up, likely driven by organic growth and initial mobilization efforts. The middle phase (Days 4-6) experienced a sharp escalation, possibly triggered by significant events or responses from authorities. The final phase (Days 7-10) was characterized by a plateau in mentions and reach, with a sustained high level of engagement but signs of fatigue or strategic withdrawal.

This analysis suggests that while the protest effectively garnered attention and mobilized support, the plateau in engagement metrics toward the end could indicate challenges in sustaining momentum. The organizers' decision to pause and potentially resume the protests on 1st October may be a strategic move to recalibrate and address the issues that emerged during the first 10 days, ensuring that the movement's energy is preserved for future actions.

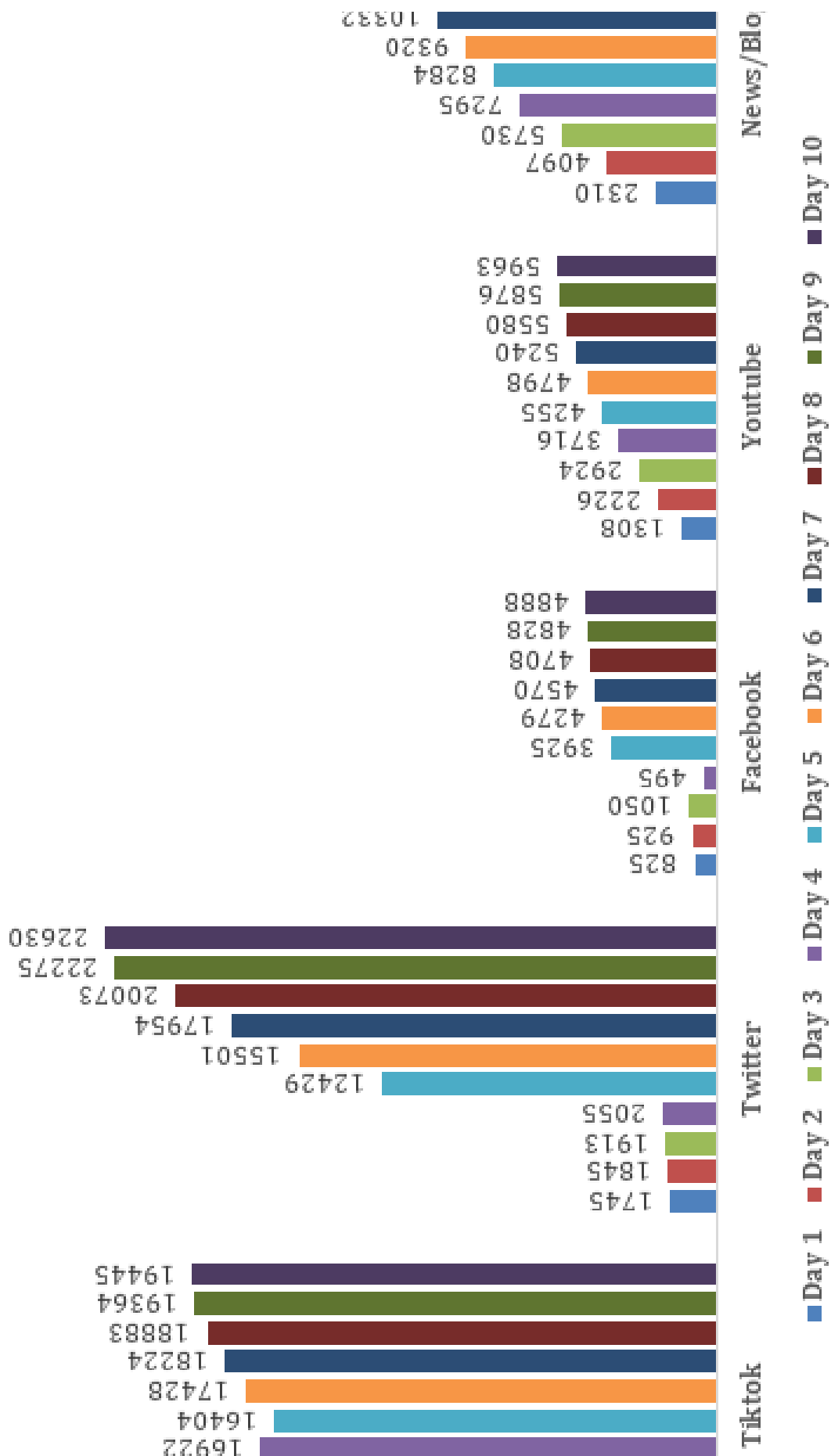# Analysis of Platform Mentions for #EndBadGovernanceProtest

TThe #EndBadGovernance protest data, spanning ten days, offers critical insights into the dynamics of public discourse across various platforms. A careful analysis of platform mentions reveals distinct trends and patterns, shedding light on the movement's digital footprint, public engagement, and the strategic influence of different media outlets. (See chart below)

Starting with TikTok, which consistently recorded the highest number of mentions, there is a clear growth trajectory. The numbers rose steadily from 7,288 mentions on Day 1, peaking at 19,445 mentions by Day 10. The increase in TikTok mentions was particularly significant in the early days, with a marked jump from 7,288 on Day 1 to 11,191 on Day 2. This rapid growth can be attributed to TikTok's highly visual and shareable content format, which resonates with younger demographics who are more likely to engage with protest-related content through videos, memes, and live streams. The platform's algorithms, which favour viral content, likely contributed to the sustained increase in mentions as the protest gained traction.

Twitter, on the other hand, shows a different pattern. Starting with 1,745 mentions on Day 1, the platform experienced a steady rise, with a dramatic spike on Day 5, where mentions soared from 2,055 on Day 4 to 12,429. This significant increase suggests that Twitter became a central hub for real-time updates and discourse, likely driven by breaking news, viral hashtags, and the platform's role as a primary source of information for activists, journalists, and the public. The surge on Day 5 indicates a critical juncture in the protest, where the movement either gained a new level of visibility or faced a significant event that triggered widespread discussion. Following this spike mentions continued to rise, reaching 22,630 by Day 10, indicating Twitter's sustained role in amplifying the movement's message.

Facebook's trend is more nuanced, reflecting the platform's diverse user base and slower pace of information dissemination. Starting with 825 mentions on Day 1, there was a steady increase until Day 3, followed by a surprising drop to 495 mentions on Day 4. This dip could suggest a momentary decline in engagement, possibly due to platform-specific algorithm changes or shifts in user attention. However, mentions rebounded significantly on Day

Platform mentions for #EndBadGovernanceProtest

Tiktok: 16922, 16404, 17428, 18224, 18883, 19364, 19445

Twitter: 1745, 1845, 1913, 2055, 12429, 15501, 17954, 20073, 22275, 22630

Facebook: 825, 925, 1050, 495, 3925, 4279, 4570, 4708, 4828, 4888

Youtube: 1308, 2226, 2924, 3716, 4255, 4798, 5240, 5580, 5876, 5963

News/Blo: 2310, 4097, 5730, 7295, 8284, 9320, 10332

Day 1 Day 2 Day 3 Day 4 Day 5 Day 6 Day 7 Day 8 Day 9 Day 10

5, rising to 3,925 and grew to 4,888 by Day 10. This rebound indicates that while slower to react, Facebook played a critical role in sustaining long-term engagement, particularly among users who might be less active on platforms like Twitter or TikTok.

YouTube's trend follows a more linear progression, starting with 1,308 mentions on Day 1 and increasing steadily to 5,963 by Day 10. The consistent growth suggests that video content, including news reports, personal testimonies, and live coverage of the protests, played a significant role in engaging the public. YouTube's format allows for in-depth content, which may explain the steady, albeit slower, growth compared to the rapid spikes seen on TikTok and Twitter. The platform's role in archiving and distributing longer-form content likely contributed to its steady mention rise.

The News/Blogs category also exhibited a notable upward trend, starting with 2,310 mentions on Day 1 and peaking at 11,973 by Day 10. The increase was particularly sharp between Days 2 and 4, where mentions jumped from 2,310 to 7,295, reflecting the mainstream media's growing coverage of the protests. This sharp rise likely corresponds with the movement's escalation, where traditional news outlets began to give more attention to the unfolding events. The sustained growth in this category underscores the role of formal journalism in legitimizing and spreading the protest's message, particularly to audiences that rely more on traditional media sources.

Categorizing the increased levels reveals three distinct phases in the protest's digital journey. The initial phase (Days 1-3) was characterized by a gradual build-up as the movement began to gain attention across platforms. The second phase (Days 4-6) saw a sharp escalation, particularly on Twitter and News/Blogs, suggesting that this period was marked by critical events or strategic messaging that significantly amplified the protest's visibility. The final phase (Days 7-10) shows a plateauing in mentions, with platforms like TikTok and Twitter maintaining high levels of engagement. At the same time, Facebook, YouTube, and news/blogs have gradually started to rise.

Trends:
1. **Early Growth and Momentum (Days 1-3):** There was an initial

build-up in mentions across all platforms as the protest gained traction. TikTok and Twitter showed rapid early growth, while Facebook, YouTube, and News/Blogs had more gradual increases.

2. **Mid-Protest Surge (Days 4-6):** The protest saw a sharp escalation in mentions, particularly on Twitter and in News/Blogs. This surge was likely driven by significant events or heightened media attention, leading to broader public discourse and engagement. Twitter experienced a dramatic spike on Day 5, reflecting its role as a central hub for real-time updates.

3. **Sustained High Digital Engagement (Days 7-10):** After the surge, the mentions on platforms like TikTok and Twitter plateaued at high levels, while Facebook, YouTube, and News/Blogs continued to rise steadily. This suggests that while the initial burst of attention stabilized, the protest maintained strong engagement, particularly in more traditional and video-based media.

Lessons:

1. **Platform-Specific Strategies:** The trends highlight the importance of understanding and leveraging each platform's unique strengths. TikTok's visual and viral content drove early momentum, while Twitter's real-time updates and discussions amplified the protest during critical moments. Movements must tailor their strategies to the platforms where they want to make the most impact.

2. **Importance of Timing and Media Coverage:** The sharp increase in mentions during the mid-protest phase illustrates how critical events or media coverage can drastically boost visibility. Coordinating key messages or actions with peak media attention can significantly enhance a movement's reach.

3. **Sustaining Momentum Across Platforms:** The steady growth in platforms like Facebook, YouTube, and News/Blogs, even after the initial spikes on TikTok and Twitter, suggests the need for a sustained, multi-platform approach. Relying on a single platform could lead to losing momentum, but diversifying across various media helps maintain prolonged engagement.

4. **Role of Traditional Media:** The significant increase in News/Blog mentions underscores the continued relevance of traditional media in legitimizing and spreading the message to broader audiences. Movements should not overlook the power of formal journalism in reaching demographics that might not be as active on social media.
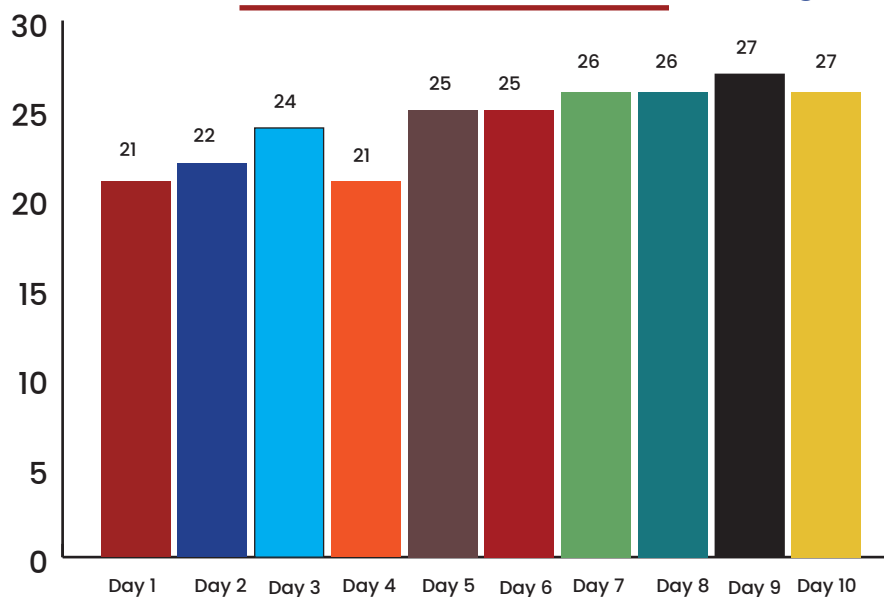
Sentiment Distribution

The sentiment distribution of the #EndBadGovernance protest over the ten days reveals a complex and evolving narrative marked by shifting public emotions and perceptions. By examining the data on neutral, negative, and positive sentiments, we can draw significant insights into the underlying dynamics of the protest and its impact on public discourse. (See chart).
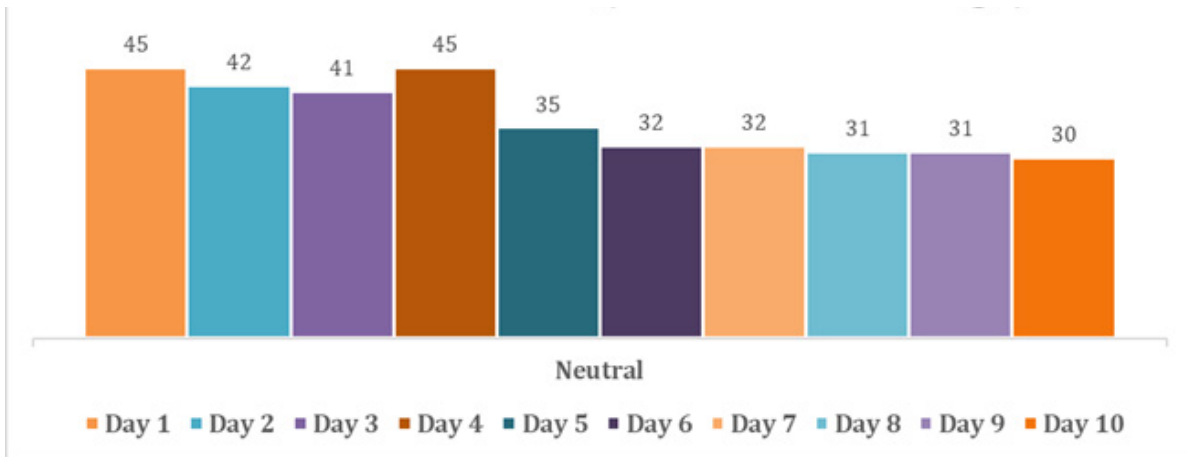
Negative Sentiment Distribution of #EndBadGovernance (Value in Percentage)
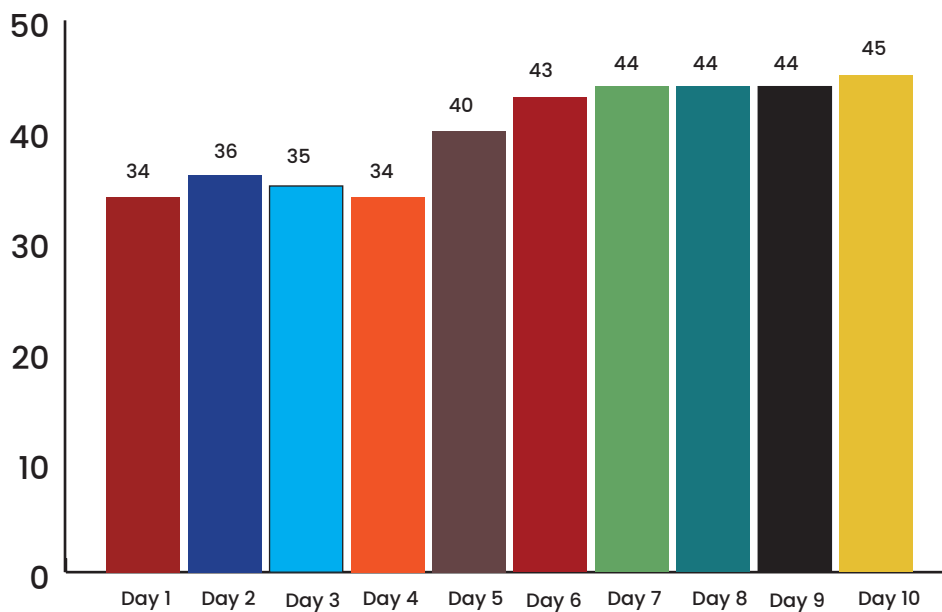
Positive Sentiment Distribution of #EndBadGovernance (Value in Percentage)

Neutral Sentiment Distribution of #EndBadGovernance (Value in Percentage)

Explaining positive, negative, and neutral sentiments In sentiment analysis.

In sentiment analysis, positive, negative, and neutral sentiments describe public opinion and emotional tone in text. Using the #EndBadGovernance protests as an example:

- *Positive sentiment reflects optimism and hope, such as posts supporting the youth's efforts for change (e.g., "This is the change we've been waiting for!"). Positive sentiments like this often come from core supporters who remain optimistic about achieving the movement's goals.*

- *Negative sentiment expresses frustration or criticism, often tied to issues like police violence or government inaction (e.g., "Another day of violence, and still no accountability.").*

- *Neutral sentiment includes objective, factual statements, such as updates on protest activities (e.g., "Protests are ongoing in Abuja.").*

These sentiments reveal public perceptions of the protests, highlighting areas of hope, dissatisfaction, and factual context. For instance, spikes in negative sentiment during reports of journalist harassment show public outrage, while positive sentiment reflects solidarity and support. Analyzing these trends helps stakeholders understand public engagement and prioritize responses.

Trend and Pattern Analysis:

In the initial phase of the protest (Days 1-3), the sentiment was relatively balanced, with neutral sentiment dominating at around 45% on Day 1. However, there was a noticeable decline in neutrality, dropping from 45% to 41% by Day 3. Simultaneously, positive sentiment increased from 21% to 24%, suggesting that early supporters were beginning to express more optimism about the movement's potential. The negative sentiment also hovered around 34-36%, indicating scepticism or concern but not yet overwhelming the discourse.

We observed a significant shift as the protest progressed into the middle phase (Days 4-6). The neutral sentiment dropped sharply from 45% to 32%, coinciding with a corresponding increase in negative and positive sentiments. The negative sentiment rose from 34% on Day 1 to 43% by Day 6, while the positive sentiment grew to 25%. This divergence indicates that public opinion began to polarise as the movement gained traction and visibility. The increased negative sentiment could be attributed to growing frustration with the government's response, escalating violence, or concerns over the movement's sustainability. Meanwhile, the rise in positive sentiment reflects a core group of supporters who remained hopeful and energized by the protest's momentum.

In the final phase of the protest (Days 7-10), the trends became more pronounced. Negative sentiment peaked at 45% on Day 10, overtaking neutrality, which declined to 30%. Positive sentiment, although rising, plateaued at 27%. The dominance of negative sentiment in this phase suggests a deepening disillusionment among the broader public, possibly due to unfulfilled demands, the impact of governmental countermeasures, or the realization of the complexities involved in achieving the protest's goals. The steady increase in positive sentiment, albeit at a slower rate, indicates the persistence of a hopeful faction within the movement, likely driven by a strong belief in the cause and the possibility of eventual success.

Implications of Shifting Sentiment Distribution:

The evolving sentiment distribution throughout the ten days provides critical insights into the #EndBadGovernance protest's trajectory and

potential future. The initial balance between neutral, positive, and negative sentiments suggests that the movement started with a broad base of cautious optimism mixed with some scepticism. However, as the protest gained momentum, public opinion became increasingly polarized, reflecting the intense emotions and stakes.

The sharp decline in neutral sentiment and the corresponding rise in negative sentiment implied a growing sense of urgency and frustration among the public. This could indicate that the movement's ability to maintain a broad-based appeal diminishes as more people take definitive stances for or against the protest. The increase in negative sentiment could also be a warning sign of potential challenges ahead, such as waning public support, increased resistance from opposing groups, or difficulties in achieving tangible results.

On the other hand, despite the growing negativity, the steady rise in positive sentiment highlights the resilience and commitment of a core group of supporters. This suggests that the movement has succeeded in building a dedicated base, which could be crucial for sustaining long-term advocacy efforts, especially if the protest is to be revived on Independence Day, as suggested.

The polarization of sentiment also underscores the importance of strategic communication and engagement by the movement's leaders. To maintain momentum and mitigate the rise in negative sentiment, the movement may need to address the concerns driving public disillusionment, such as clarifying goals, demonstrating progress, and fostering a sense of unity and hope. Additionally, the movement should consider ways to re-engage neutral observers who might be swayed by effective messaging or visible successes.

Breakdown the mentions into positive and negative positivetive sentiment associated with the Hashtag
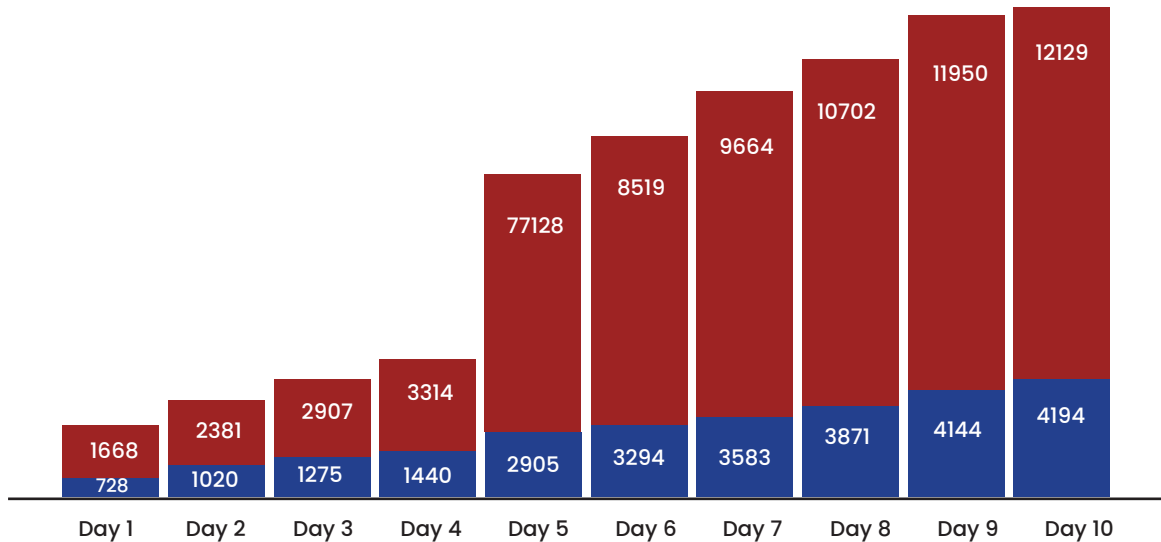
Most Active Sites and Public Profiles as of Day 10 of the Protest.

The data from Day 10 of the #EndBadGovernance protest presents a critical reflection of the online dynamics that have shaped the movement. The most active sites and top public profiles offer a deep insight into the reach, influence, and voice share that contributed to the protest's digital footprint. Analyzing these figures provides an understanding of the pivotal platforms in driving the conversation and the individuals and organizations that played key roles in amplifying the movement's message.

Most Active Sites

Site	Mentions
twitter.com	22,630
tiktok.com	19,445
youtube.com	5,963
facebook.com	4,888
nnu.ng	667
punchng.com	556
naijanews.com	206
guardian.ng	205

tribuneonlineng.com	189
premiumtimesng.com	188
ibrandtv.com	187
ourheritagereporters.com.ng	131
legit.ng	120
nationnewslead.com	110
leadership.ng	110
nigerianeye.com	106
naijablitznews.com	103
channelstv.com	102
dailypost.ng	99
tv360nigeria.com	97

Top Public Profiles

Profile	Source	Voice Share	Influence
ReportYourself	Webpage	5.498%	23 M
SaharaReporters	Twitter	3.368%	14 M
channelsforum	Webpage	2.837%	12 M
YeleSowore	Twitter	2.709%	11 M
chiditweets042	Twitter	2.354%	9.9 M
instablog9ja	Webpage	2.087%	8.8 M
PO_GrassRootM	Twitter	2.028%	8.5 M
instablog9ja	Twitter	1.952%	8.2 M
General_Somto	Twitter	1.717%	7.2 M
legitngnews	Webpage	1.469%	6.2 M
JaypeeGeneral	Twitter	1.334%	5.6 M
PIDOMNIGERIA	Twitter	1.109%	4.7 M
mr_dan4ne_fkg_	Tiktok	1.052%	4.4 M
EmirSirdam	Twitter	0.973%	4.1 M
Premiumtimes	Webpage	0.943%	4.0 M
Channels Television	YouTube	0.892%	3.7 M
WestAfricaWeek	Twitter	0.887%	3.7 M
Sports_Doctor2	Twitter	0.737%	3.1 M

| InibeheEffiong | Twitter | 0.683% | 2.9 M |
| verydark_man | Tiktok | 0.656% | 2.8 M |

Patterns and Trends:

A key trend observed over the ten days is the increasing dominance of social media platforms over traditional news outlets in shaping the narrative around the protest. The concentration of mentions on Twitter and TikTok reflects a shift in how political movements are organized and communicated, with a clear preference for platforms that allow for rapid, widespread dissemination of content. This trend also underscores the decentralized nature of modern protest movements, where individuals and smaller, agile entities can exert significant influence through the strategic use of social media.

The voice share data reveals a fragmented yet interconnected network of influencers and platforms, each contributing to the movement differently. While some accounts focused on reporting and information dissemination, others served as rallying points for mobilizing supporters or providing commentary and analysis. The diversity of these profiles indicates a broad-based movement that drew on various segments of society, from dedicated activists to popular culture figures.

The data from Day 10 offers several key lessons. First, the success of the #EndBadGovernance protest in maintaining visibility and engagement over ten days highlights the importance of leveraging multiple platforms to reach different audiences. Social media, particularly Twitter and TikTok, proved essential in sustaining the movement's momentum and ensuring that the message continued to resonate with both active participants and passive observers.

Second, the role of influential public profiles underscores the need for strategic communication and the importance of key voices in shaping public discourse. The ability of certain accounts to command significant voice shares suggests that movements benefit from having recognized,

credible figures who can articulate demands, provide updates, and inspire participation.

Lastly, the relative decline in mentions on traditional news sites compared to social media platforms signals a shift in how information is consumed and shared during protests. Movements can prioritize digital strategies focusing on social media engagement while ensuring that credible information reaches traditional media to maintain a balanced narrative.

The #EndBadGovernance protest successfully harnessed the power of social media to amplify its message, engage with a broad audience, and sustain momentum over time. However, the movement also faced challenges in managing the diverse voices and narratives that emerged across these platforms, highlighting the need for coordinated communication and strategic use of influential profiles to guide the conversation and achieve its goals.

11.
Conclusions and Recommendations

The #EndBadGovernance protest reflects the growing demand for accountability, transparency, and reform in governance and public administration. It underscores the frustration of citizens with systemic issues such as poor governance, police brutality, and the lack of electoral justice. However, the movement also demonstrates the resilience and capacity of the Nigerian people, especially its youth, to advocate for change and demand a government that serves their interests.

To achieve sustainable progress, a collaborative and inclusive approach is essential. The government must prioritize dialogue, implement meaningful reforms, and commit to human rights and democratic principles. Security agencies must adopt community-focused policing strategies and act as protectors of civil liberties rather than enforcers of repression. Civil society organizations (CSOs) and media outlets must amplify concerns, promote advocacy, and ensure transparency. Protest organizers and movement leaders must remain unified, strategic, and focused on long-term objectives. Influencers, public figures, and the international community can provide critical support by spreading awareness, countering misinformation, and holding stakeholders accountable.

By addressing challenges holistically and fostering collaboration across all sectors, the #EndBadGovernance protests can pave the way for a more inclusive, equitable, and democratic Nigeria. The lessons learned from these protests can serve as a roadmap for civic engagement and advocacy,

empowering citizens to shape their governance and protect their rights and freedoms actively.

Based on the data and trends observed from Day 1 to Day 10 of the #EndBadGovernance protests and historical trends, several recommendations can be drawn to address the emerging issues, dynamics, and insights. These recommendations focus on improving the efficacy of the movement, addressing challenges, and ensuring sustainable progress.

Government:

- **Should address the Protesters' Demands:**
  - **Engage in Dialogue:** The government should engage in an open, transparent dialogue with protest organizers and representatives. This includes setting up a formal platform where the protesters' concerns can be discussed and solutions can be proposed.
  - **Implement Reforms:** The government should commit to tangible reforms in response to the demands. This might involve revising policies on governance, police accountability, and electoral transparency. Implementing these reforms should be timely and demonstrable to regain public trust.
- **Strategic Communication and Messaging:**
  - **Publicly Acknowledge Issues:** The government should acknowledge the grievances driving the protests and communicate its commitment to addressing them. Regular updates on progress should be provided to the public to demonstrate accountability.
  - **Promote Positive Initiatives:** Highlight ongoing government efforts that align with the protesters' demands, such as anti-corruption measures or programs to improve governance. This can help shift public sentiment towards a more positive outlook.
- **Mitigating Risks and Addressing Challenges:**
  - **Avoid Repressive Measures:** Using force against peaceful protesters should be avoided in future demonstrations to prevent escalating tensions. The government must prioritize

dialogue over repression, recognizing that heavy-handed responses could lead to further unrest and international condemnation.

o **Monitor and Regulate Social Media Responsibly:** While it is crucial to manage misinformation, any regulation of social media should respect freedom of expression. The government should collaborate with platforms to address harmful content without stifling legitimate dissent.

Security Agencies:

- **Ensuring Peaceful Protests:**
    - o **Adopt a Community Policing Approach:** Security agencies should adopt a community-oriented policing model that prioritizes the protection of protesters and the facilitation of peaceful demonstrations. This approach can help build trust between law enforcement and the public.
    - o **Training on Human Rights:** Security agencies should adopt a community-oriented policing model that prioritizes the protection of protesters and the facilitation of peaceful demonstrations. This approach can help build trust between law enforcement and the public.

- **Strategic Communication and Messaging:**
    - o **Transparent Communication:** Security agencies should communicate their role and actions clearly to the public. This includes providing regular updates on their operations and ensuring that their presence at protests is seen as protective rather than intimidating.
    - o **Public Accountability:** Establish mechanisms for holding security personnel accountable for any misconduct during the protests. This could involve setting up independent review panels to investigate allegations of abuse or excessive force.

- **Mitigating Risks and Addressing Challenges:**
    - o **Prevent Infiltration by Violent Elements:** Security agencies should work to prevent the infiltration of protests by individuals or groups intent on inciting violence. This can be achieved through intelligence gathering and collaboration with

community leaders.

- o **Prepare for Contingencies:** Security forces should prepare for potential scenarios that could escalate into violence, such as counter-protests or provocations. They must have clear protocols for handling such situations without excessive force.

Protest Organizers and Movement Leaders:

- **Strategic Communication and Messaging:**
  - o **Increase Positive Sentiment:** Leaders should craft and disseminate positive narratives highlighting achievements and galvanizing support. This includes leveraging social media platforms, public statements, and organized events to shape the discourse.
  - o **Unified Leadership and Clear Objectives:** Movement leaders must work to unify the movement under clear leadership and articulate specific, actionable goals. This will help to manage expectations and reduce fragmentation within the movement.
- **Sustaining Momentum and Preparing for the Next Phase:**
  - o **Plan for Future Mobilization:** Organizers must develop a strategic plan for the planned protests on Independence Day. This includes logistical planning, ensuring the safety of participants, and creating a clear agenda that reflects the movement's demands.
  - o **Strengthen Grassroots Mobilization:** Leaders should empower local communities to organize and advocate for the movement's goals. This will ensure the movement's reach extends beyond social media and into real-world action.
- **Mitigating Risks and Addressing Challenges:**
  - o **Counter Misinformation:** Organizers should establish or collaborate with fact-checking teams to address misinformation quickly and accurately. This will help to maintain the integrity of the movement.
  - o **Monitor Government Response:** Leaders must be vigilant about the government's actions and prepare for potential crackdowns. This could involve legal support for arrested protesters and advocacy for international pressure on the

Nigerian government.

Influencers and Public Figures:
- **Mitigating Risks and Addressing Challenges:**
  - **Amplify Accurate Information:** Influencers should prioritize sharing verified information and correcting false narratives. Their large followings can be instrumental in countering misinformation.

Media Outlets (Traditional and Social Media Platforms):
- **Addressing the Fragmentation of Sentiment:**
  - **Regular Updates and Transparency:** Media outlets should provide regular, accurate updates on the progress of the movement's demand. This helps maintain public interest and support while ensuring transparency.
- **Diversify Platforms:**
  - **Tailored Messaging:** Media outlets should tailor content for different platforms and audiences. This ensures that the movement's message resonates with diverse demographics, whether through in-depth articles, social media posts, or video content.

1. ## Civil Society Organizations (CSOs):
   - **Advocacy and Awareness:**
     - **Support Grassroots Mobilization:** CSOs should work closely with grassroots organizations to support their efforts in advocating for reforms on issues that lead to this protest. This could include providing training on effective advocacy, organizing community dialogues, and facilitating connections between local activists and national movements.
     - **Amplify the Issues:** CSOs should use their platforms to amplify the concerns and demands of the protesters. This includes conducting public awareness campaigns, both domestically and internationally, to draw attention to the issues at stake.
   - **Strategic Communication and Messaging:**
     - **Coordinate Messaging:** CSOs can play a key role in ensuring

that the messaging about the policy reforms remains consistent and focused. They can create a unified communication strategy that resonates with both the public and policymakers.

- o **Engage International Partners:** CSOs should engage international partners and human rights organizations to build global support for the issues the movement are raising. This includes leveraging international media, conducting briefings for foreign diplomats, and coordinating with global advocacy networks.

- **Monitoring and Accountability:**
  - o **Document Human Rights Violations:** CSOs that have monitored the protests and documented any human rights violations, including the use of excessive force by security agencies can use this for advocacy purposes and to hold perpetrators accountable.
  - o **Legal Support and Counseling:** CSOs should provide legal aid to arrested protesters and support those who have faced violence or intimidation. Additionally, offering counseling and support services to affected individuals can help mitigate the psychological impact of the protests.

2. **International Community and Human Rights Organizations:**
- **Monitor Government Response:**
  - o **International Advocacy:** Human rights organizations and the international community should monitor the Nigerian government's response to the protests and apply pressure where necessary to ensure that protesters' rights are protected.
- **Support for Legal and Advocacy Efforts:**
  - o **Global Awareness Campaigns:** International stakeholders can help by raising global awareness about the #EndBadGovernance movement, drawing attention to the underlying issues, and encouraging foreign governments to support the protesters' demands.

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