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ENDSARS Protest and Centralized Police System in Nigeria



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Synonyms

Centralized police system; Government response; People's demand; Sound governance; The media

Definitions

SARS: Special Anti-Robbery Squad – one of Nigeria Police Force' units created in 1992 to tackle and prevent criminal-related offences such as highway robbery, kidnapping, and armed robbery, among others.

ENDSARS: a sweeping campaign led by Nigerian youths in October 2020, agitating against the operations of the special anti-robbery squad. Allegorically, ENDSARS is a metaphor to end bad governance/leadership in Nigeria.

Social media: these are strong technological platforms of unconventional media such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and YouTube, among others, used to advance and give weight to the ENDSARS campaign in Nigeria.

Centralized police system: a system of policing in Nigeria whereby the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) remains the only police authority in the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Sound governance: this refers to a more comprehensive governance. It has all the quality characteristics of governance that is superior to good governance and is sound technically, professionally, organizationally, managerially, politically, democratically, and economically. Sound governance is also sound in terms of capacity and anticipatory behavior; it is democratic in character, responsive, and competent; and its cultural values are embedded in societal values and structures (Farazmand 2017).

Introduction

The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) remains the only police authority in the Federal Republic of Nigeria, since the first decade of the nation's independence in 1960. For emphasis sake, this had not always been the case. For example, from 1943 to 1966, there were local police forces in the three regions of the federation, controlled and maintained by respective regional administrations

under the Native Authority Ordinance of 1943 (Shyllon 2008). Note that the constitutional conference of 1954 paved the way for a quasi-federal system of government in Nigeria. At this conference, it was agreed that the Nigeria Police Force should be the only police authority and that the existing local and native police forces should be dissolved or absorbed, if possible, into the Nigeria Police Force (Shyllon 2008). Nevertheless, the dissolution was never carried out in spite of coming into operation of the 1954 Constitution. It was not until 1966 when the first coup d'état took place that the then government of Aguiyi-Ironsi decreed that all local police forces and native authority police forces should be placed under the overall command of the Inspector-General of Police (Tamuno 1970).

Be that as it may, the complete absorption of the local police forces into the NPF was finally completed between 1967 and 1969 (Jemibewon 1978), maybe as a result of the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970). At this juncture, the long journey into a centralized police system in Nigeria commenced amidst the presence of federal structure, at least on paper. One of the Nigeria Police Force's units, Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), created in 1992 to tackle and prevent criminal-related offences ranging from highway robbery, kidnapping, armed robbery, etc. recently became notorious in her conduct of operation. The SARS' unruly behavior to Nigerian citizens reached its crescendo in the year 2020. It was their assault, extrajudicial killings, extortion, unlawful arrest, and detention of innocent citizens that resulted to the ENDSARS protest of October 2020.

Origins

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was a branch of the [Nigeria Police Force](#) under the [State Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department](#) (SCIID). It was founded in late 1992 as 1 of the 14 units in the Force Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department, which was established to detain, investigate, and prosecute people involved in crimes like armed robbery, kidnapping, and other violent crimes (Paquette 2020). The squad

was created as a masked police unit to perform undercover operations against violent crimes like [armed robbery](#), car snatching, [kidnapping](#), [cattle rustling](#), and the bearing and use of illegal firearms (Projectstore 2020).

The Nigeria police's Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) has been accused of unlawful arrests, the invasion of youth's privacy by searching phones and laptops, "kidnapping," rape, humiliation, extortion, and extrajudicial killings of their victims. To validate the above viewpoint, Kelechi Madu, Canada's first black Minister of Justice and Solicitor-General at Government of Alberta, recently gave a detailed account on how the Nigerian police allegedly murdered his cousin – Chrisantus Nwabueze Korie – in 2013 (Ikeji 2020). He went on to reveal how the police did everything to obstruct the investigation into the murder incident. Aside this gut-wrenching incident, so many painful experiences encountered by so many Nigerians in the hands of SARS were shared on various news outlets, particularly the social media platforms which are quite efficient in disseminating news contents with speed and heightening tension (Ekwunife et al. 2020). Nevertheless, the Nigerian government paid a deaf ear and did absolutely nothing to stop this. This resulted in a violent protest in Nigeria in October 2020 which led to the banning of SARS on the 11th day of October, after days of protest.

[Amnesty International](#) has accused the SARS officials of regularly detaining young male [Nigerians](#) illegally and extorting money from their relatives. In 2016, a human rights activist, Segun Awosanya popularly known as *Segalink*, started ENDSARS campaign on Twitter prompting police authority to announce reform of the police unit, but nothing tangible was achieved at the time. In 2018, Nigerian rapper Michael Ugochukwu Stephens professionally known Ruggedman joined the campaign to end police brutality by releasing a single titled *Is Police Your Friend?* In 2017, a petition signed by 10,195 people was submitted to [Nigeria's National Assembly](#) calling for a total disbandment of SARS (Ibrahim 2017). Not minding that a few [senators](#) backed the call for total disbandment of

the unit (Busari 2017), consideration was given to reforming the force, rather than full disbandment due to the number of cases falling (Salaudeen 2017a, b).

The campaigners moved from [social media](#) using the #ENDSARS# hashtag to organize peaceful protest in [Abuja](#), [Lagos](#), [Ibadan](#), [Osun](#), [Benin](#), [Ughelli](#), [Warri](#), [Ilorin](#), [Ogbomosho](#), [Owerri](#), [Jos](#), [Kaduna](#), [Calabar](#) (Bellanaija 2017), and other Nigerian cities and states, threatening to continue if the federal government refused to disband the force (BBC Pidgin 2017; Wayback Machine 2020b). Not only were there campaigners in Nigeria utilizing the hashtag and having protest, but they were also done in London and some parts of America recognizing this situation as a global event. In response to the campaign, Nigeria Police Force Public Relations Officer [Jimoh Moshood](#) apparently accused the campaigners of being “criminals” (Erunke 2018). Despite this, [Inspector General](#) of Nigeria Police Force, [Ibrahim K. Idris](#), ordered the reform and reorganization of SARS (Adewole 2018).

On Saturday, October 3, 2020, a video showing a SARS police officer shooting a young Nigerian in front of Wetland Hotel, [Ughelli](#), in [Delta State](#) trended on the Internet. It was alleged that the police officers took away the young man’s vehicle – a brand of [Lexus](#) sports utility vehicle (SUV) ([Aljazeera Media Network 2020](#)). The trending video caused public outcry on social media, especially on Twitter, with the #ENDSARS# hashtag trending ([Okon 2020](#)). Just as the ENDSARS trend began on Twitter, on Monday, October 5, 2020, another report surfaced of SARS officers killing a 20-year-old upcoming musician named Daniel Chibuike, popularly called Sleek in his neighborhood ([Lambo 2020](#)). Sleek was said to be sitting in front of a hotel with a friend when the SARS officers approached them, prompting them to flee. According to an eyewitness, the SARS men pursued the pair, shouting “thief,” before shooting Sleek as they ran through a supermarket. His friend was arrested and detained as well ([Punch Newspaper 2020a](#)).

On Thursday, October 8, 2020, a nationwide protest on ENDSARS gained momentum after weeks of outrage and anger with videos and

pictures showing police brutality, harassment, and extortion in Nigeria. The protest was led predominantly by young Nigerians in different cities alongside many activists and celebrities (Busari et al. 2020a, b). As usual, [Nigeria Police Force](#) disrupted the protest in some cities, throwing teargas, using water cannons, and shooting at unarmed peaceful protesters as seen in [Abuja](#) and [Osun](#) (BBC News 2020a, b, c). For instance, this led to the death of Jimoh Isiaq in Ogbomosho, [Oyo State](#) (Reuters 2020; BBC News 2020a, b, c). Eleven days after, by Wednesday, October 14, 2020, precisely, the ENDSARS protest was still ongoing with young people in different parts of Nigeria intensifying their calls for reforms and accountability in police operations ([Aljazeera 2020a, b](#)).

The People’s Demands

The protesters had refused to back down from their protest, insisting on some demands, and until they were met, they would continue with their protest. Below are some of the demands listed for the Nigerian government to actualize:

- (a) Justice for all deceased victims of police brutality and compensation to their families
- (b) The immediate release of all arrested protesters in Nigeria
- (c) Setting up an independent panel of inquiry within 10 days that would oversee the investigation and prosecution of all reports of police misconduct in Nigeria
- (d) In line with the Police Act, the need for psychological evaluation and retraining of all disbanded SARS officers before they are reassigned to other units
- (e) And finally, adequately increasing their wages ([Vanguard News 2020a](#)).

ENDSARS is a decentralized [social movement](#) and a series of [mass protest](#) against [police brutality](#) in [Nigeria](#). The slogan calls for the disbanding of the [Special Anti-Robbery Squad](#) (SARS), a “notorious” unit of the [Nigerian Police](#) with a long record of abuses ([Vanguard](#)

Newspaper 2018). The protest which takes its name from the slogan started in 2017 as a [Twitter](#) campaign using the [hashtag #ENDSARS#](#) to demand the disbanding of the unit by the [Nigerian government](#) (Salaudeen 2017a, b; Thisday Newspaper 2017). After experiencing a revitalization in October 2020 following more revelations of the abuses of the unit, [mass demonstrations](#) occurred throughout the major cities of Nigeria, accompanied by vociferous outrage on social media platforms. Also, solidarity protest and demonstrations by Nigerians in [diaspora](#) and sympathizers occurred in many major cities of the world. The protest is notable for its patronage by a demography that is made of entirely young Nigerian populace (Busari 2020). The movement has since expanded to include demands for sound governance, transparent accountability, and genuine representation from the present government. Sound governance as demanded by Nigerians is in tandem with the idea of Farazmand (2017); hence, “a more comprehensive governance that includes the normative as well as technical and rational features of good governance presents a balanced view of governance that is less biased and takes into consideration the genuine features of indigenous governance systems that may be at odd or conflict with the globally dominant neocolonialist power structures. It has all the quality characteristics of governance that is superior to good governance and is sound technically, professionally, organizationally, managerially, politically, democratically, and economically. Sound governance is also sound in terms of capacity and anticipatory behavior; it is democratic in character, responsive, and competent; and its cultural values are embedded in societal values and structures.”

Within few days of renewed protest, on October 11, 2020, the Nigerian Police Force announced that it was dissolving the unit with immediate effect. The move was widely received as a triumph of the demonstrations (Aljazeera 2020a, b). However, it was noted in many quarters that similar announcements had been made in recent years to pacify the public without the unit actually being disbanded and that the government had merely planned to reassign and review SARS

officers to medical centers rather than disband the unit entirely (Ademoroti 2020). Protests have continued accordingly, and the Nigerian government has maintained a pattern of violent repression including the killing of demonstrators (Premium Times 2020). There have been international demonstrations in solidarity with those happenings in the country, and the movement has also grown increasingly critical of President [Muhammadu Buhari](#)'s led government response to the protest (Makinde 2020).

Contrary to the fiat setting up its modus operandi, SARS officers have been alleged to profile young Nigerians, mostly males, based on fashion choices, wearing tattoos on their body, and putting on hairstyles that may not appear conventional for male folks, especially young boys. They were also known to mount illegal road blocks, conduct unwarranted stop-and-search, arrest and detain without warrant or trial, rape women, and extort young male Nigerians for driving exotic vehicles and using laptops and expensive phones such as [iPhones](#) (Kazeem 2020). Nigerians have shared both stories and video evidence of how officers of SARS engaged in extrajudicial murder, theft, rape, torture, [unlawful arrests](#), humiliation, [unlawful detention](#) and [extortion](#) of Nigerian citizens, and sexual harassment of women and brutalizing of young male Nigerians. The human rights abuses were documented in trending videos on social media (Ujene and Orji-Egwu 2018). Regrettably, a large section of the victims of the abuses of SARS has been young male Nigerians (Wayback Machine 2020a). In some instances, the SARS operatives of the Nigerian Police Force have been accused of kidnapping too.

A 2016 report by [Amnesty International](#) indicted SARS by maintaining that the squad was responsible for human rights abuses, cruelty, degrading treatment of Nigerians in their custody, and other widespread torture. Some of the human rights abuses by SARS include the shooting of their detainees in the leg, mock executions and threats of execution, hanging, and physical assault (Salaudeen 2018). In 2017, Nigerian activists, youth, and celebrities across the nation took to the streets in a peaceful protest to spread

awareness of SARS brutality and extortions and to demand its disbanding. The protest also moved to social media using the hashtag #ENDSARS (Ogundipe 2017a, b; Adebayo 2020).

Government Response to the ENDSARS Protest

In response to the public outcry on police brutality, the Inspector-General of Nigeria Police made an official announcement by restraining the SARS, Special Tactical Squad (STS), Intelligence Response Team (IRT), Anti-Cultism Squad, and other tactical units from mounting of roadblocks, checkpoints, stop-and-search, and other routines and patrol operations. Similar actions taken against their operatives had been announced multiple times over the previous 4 years, causing citizens of Nigeria to question whether the order would actually be upheld. There were further reports of SARS officers involved in killings across the country (Ifeoluwa et al. 2020). As this was the fourth time that the Nigerian government had announced a similar measure on SARS illegal activity (Kazeem 2020), protesters insisted that the notorious police unit be entirely disbanded and wide-ranging reform of the force to follow suit (Punch Newspaper 2020a).

Imposition of Curfew and Deployment of Security Agents

On the 20th day of October 2020, the “Lekki Tollgate Massacre” occurred. Following violent escalations which included attacks by agitators against both protesters and police, the Governor of Lagos State, [Babajide Sanwo-Olu](#), declared a state-wide 24-h curfew, effective from 4:00 PM WAT on October 20. During this time, images of some persons alleged to be working with the Lagos State Government and the Lekki Concession Company (LCC) removing cameras (later confirmed by the Lagos State Government to be laser cameras and not CCTV cameras as earlier publicized on social media) ([Vanguard 2020b](#)) at the tollgate circulated on [ENDSARS](#) on [Twitter](#),

and street lights at the tollgate vicinity were turned off. A few hours later, it was reported that armed men of the Nigerian Army arrived at the scene of the protest and [opened fire on peaceful and unarmed protesters](#), thereby resulting in a disputed number of deaths. A clip of the shooting videoed by a brave Nigerian youth, DJ Switch, trended on the Internet showing how live rounds of bullets were being shot at innocent protesters who crouched on the ground, holding hands together and singing the Nigerian national anthem. There were also reports that at least 50 other people were injured. However, the Lagos State Government later reported that the shooting resulted in up to 25 injured and only 2 dead ([Premium Times 2020](#)). Despite the fact that the curfew was extended till 9:00 PM, soldiers of the Nigerian Army started shooting before 7:00 PM ([The African Media 2020](#); [Amnesty Organisation 2020](#)).

Following the killings on October 20, video evidence showed that more shootings were still being carried out by the Nigerian Army and the Nigerian Police on the unarmed protesters. Some people also attacked and burned buildings, vehicles, and TV stations and raided the Oba of Lagos’ palace ([BBC News 2020a](#)). The Governor of Lagos had said that there were no casualties from the incident of the previous day but later tweeted that there had been reports of one casualty which negated the report sent in by various citizen journalists who had live recordings of the killings on Twitter and Instagram. While the protesters gathered again at the Lekki tollgate where the shooting took place on Tuesday, October 20, they were forced out by police ([BBC News 2020a](#)). As the protesters defied curfew imposed by the Governor of Lagos State, hoodlums burned about 30 government buses at a bus station. Also burned was Television Continental Station (TVC) whose ownership was linked to a former governor of the state, [Bola Ahmed Tinubu](#), who is a national leader of the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) ([Aljazeera 2020b](#)). About seven people were reportedly killed within 24 h since soldiers opened fire at protesters in Lagos. Authorities did not deny carrying out a crackdown but refused to accept the number of deaths

(casualties) as at October 21, 2020. Brutality by the police forces made the protesters angrier on intensifying the scale of the protest (The Guardian Newspaper 2020).

On Thursday, October 22, it was reported that armed men began shooting at protesters at Oyigbo (Obigbo) in Port Harcourt. The attackers began breaking into homes, murdering the occupants, and afterward, torching down property. It has been rumored the shooters were Fulani herdsmen contracted by the government to disrupt the protest, but there is no clear verification for this claim yet.

Central Bank of Nigeria and ENDSARS Protesters' Bank Accounts

On Tuesday, October 20, 2020, the Central Bank of Nigeria obtained an ex parte motion to freeze the accounts of notable participants in the ENDSARS protest. In an exclusive report by Peoples Gazette, court documents showed that the Central Bank of Nigeria failed to give any justification for the freezing order. Twenty protesters banking with Access Bank plc, Fidelity Bank Nigeria, First Bank of Nigeria, Guaranty Trust Bank, United Bank for Africa, and Zenith Bank had all accounts linked to them placed under "post no debit" (Punch Newspaper 2020b).

International Dimension of the Protest

International protests were organized by the Nigerian diaspora in Europe, the Americas, Oceania, and elsewhere in Africa (Pulse Nigeria October 12 2020). Many Nigerians and Nigerian diaspora celebrities gave supportive statements on social media and took part in protest, while demonstrators pledged to continue until the demands were met (Goal.com 2020).

Social Media

On the 9th of October 2020, the #ENDSARS# hashtag trended globally on social media. ENDSARS protest, which started on the 8th of October 2020, was still ongoing in major cities

across the country and has attracted international mainstream media attention. The campaign has witnessed reactions on social media from international celebrities such as Cardi B, Rihanna, Trey Songz, Big Sean, Jidenna, John Boyega, Kanye West, Drake, Diddy, and Lewis Hamilton, among others, including footballers Marcus Rashford, Odion Ighalo, and Mesut Ozil (BET 2020). Upon hearing the news that SARS had been disbanded, Nigerians took it with a grain of salt and carried on with pressing their demands for total disengagement of the unit and for wide-ranging reform of the force. The hashtag on social media changed from #ENDSARS to #SARSMustEnd! With the announcement of a new unit styled Special Weapons and Tactics Team (SWAT) by the Nigerian Police to replace SARS, the hashtag for the protest quickly changed to #EndSWAT on Twitter (Channels Television 2020), and this #EndSWAT also trended on social media (Trends24 2020). On Thursday the 15th of October 2020, Google Africa made a statement on its Twitter handle in support of the ENDSARS protest going on in Nigeria by condemning police intimidation, oppression, and brutality while urging the government to speedily intervene and resolve the crisis as soon as practicable (Nwosu 2020).

Celebrity Actions

Many celebrities and Black Lives Matter activists have now written and signed letters directed to President Buhari by demanding justice over the treatment of Nigerian people during the protest, in regards to police brutality. In the letter, they urged President Buhari to free detained protesters, and this letter was organized by the Black Lives Matter cofounder Opal Tometi. The letter was signed by the likes of Alicia Keys, Donald Glover, Mark Ruffalo, Kerry Washington (notable celebrities), and writers such as Reni Eddo-Lodge, Naomi Klein, and Afua Hirsch. It was also signed by a notable activist called Greta Thunberg.

ENDSARS Protest: Success or Failure?

The ENDSARS movement began back in 2017. But in a matter of a few weeks, the hashtag #ENDSARS has been spread worldwide in October 2020 by both the mainstream and the social media, and this attracted the attentions of international and local celebrities such as Beyoncé, Rihanna, Lil Nas X, and Nigerian superstar Burna Boy. But the hashtag's origins and widespread use actually date back to 2017. The Special Anti-Robbery Squad itself has existed since 1992 with the [intention of combatting violent crimes](#). In the ensuing decades, many accusations of police brutality have been levied against its officers, who have faced minimal repercussions.

According to *The New York Times* (October 14 2020), the catalyst for the October 2020 protest was the death of a young man during “a stop-and-search operation,” which the cops have said didn't involve SARS officers. The protest escalated and turned violent in October 2020. Citizen protest started toward the beginning of October, with *Al Jazeera* (October 9 2020) revealing that “thousands of people took to the streets” on October 13. As the protest continued, the national governments responded by [calling in riot police, while the Lagos State Governor instituted an assumed harsh 24-h curfew](#).

October 11 saw the announcement of SARS being disbanded and replaced with a new force trained by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), but protest has continued as the public demands more meaningful reform to the nation's police and expresses skepticism that what has been promised will actually create a safer environment for Nigerians, if implemented. As the protest stretched on, the police and government's responses have turned increasingly violent against the peaceful protesters. On October 20, [reports said](#) that soldiers began shooting at protesters in Lagos, and though the numbers are unconfirmed, it was reported that people were wounded and killed. For instance, an anonymous officer speaking to *The New York Times* (October 7 2020) said the death toll was 11.

An investigation by [Amnesty International](#) (October 14, 2020), which has been following the #ENDSARS protest closely since October 8, led the organization to declare that “the Nigerian army and police killed at least 12 peaceful protesters in October 20 at two locations in Lagos.” The report also said that thousands were peacefully protesting when the shooting began, that there was no warning before they began firing, and that CCTV cameras “were removed by government officials.” #ENDSARS demonstrations in Nigeria took a violent turn today when authorities opened fire on peaceful protesters in Lagos after the city's governor imposed a curfew to quell ongoing demonstrations. The Amnesty International condemned these violent acts against peaceful protesters and stood in solidarity with the people of Nigeria.

The protest may have been unsuccessful, this is because the Nigerian government has promised reform, but many are skeptical due to its history of inaction and policy inconsistency on police reform. Though the SARS unit was ended on October 11, many are skeptical that President Muhammadu Buhari and his administration will take meaningful steps toward reform and holding former SARS officers accountable to their deed while active in the unit.

According to *Al Jazeera* (October 9 2020), a new unit – Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) – has already been formed with the intention of replacing SARS, leading some to believe it will carry out same actions under a different name. This is seen as consistent with the Nigerian government's actions they have reportedly claimed in the past to be reforming SARS but ended up with little or no concrete improvement to show for it.

Agencies such as Amnesty International Nigeria on October 14 2020 have laid out the reform steps that must be taken by the government and police force. For example:

The Nigerian authorities must go beyond lip service to ensure there is real reform within the Nigeria Police Force with an emphasis on SARS. These reforms must translate into holding police officers suspected of torture to account, ending torture, unlawful detention, extortion, extrajudicial execution and other human rights violations that SARS officers have been known for across Nigeria

Argument for or Against the ENDSARS Protest

Many Nigerians are in support of the protest because the NPF needs to be restructured for obvious reasons (Egbunike 2020). The voice of Nigerians is of the view that the entire NPF needs to be reformed entirely, seeing this as the only way to eradicate the rot in the system and institute sound governance, not only in the SARS unit. It goes beyond the latter. Allegorically, the ENDSARS protest is an agitation against bad government in Nigeria. In some quarters, SARS was interpreted to mean “Senators And Reps Salaries,” hence calling on the federal government to stop the huge salaries of Nigerian senators and members of House of Representatives which are acclaimed to be the highest in the world. Nigerians need the right people at the realm of powers – activists, celebrities, and the international community to get involved – for this reform to become a long-lasting reality. Thus, the protesters and the government should have a round table discussion and begin to iron out these demands and also place stringent laws against police brutality which should be enacted into law as this will forestall future occurrence.

Conclusion

This entry contends that the highly centralized Nigeria Police Force was a major problem that gave rise and backing to the unruly behavior of its operative unit – SARS, hence the need for immediate decentralization of the police force in Nigeria. With this, the federating units should be able to establish its police system that would be answerable to the governors and the federating unit. Also, the unprofessional conduct of its unit, SARS operatives, would be properly monitored and restricted to a minimal level. The ENDSARS protest could not be said to be a failure (unsuccessful) at the end. For instance, it took just a few days for the Nigerian youths to organize food, legal aid line, and alternative charging points for phones and laptops. In addition, a lady

with a single limb amputation got a prosthetic leg worth 1.6 million naira in less than 24 h and a helpline for protesters. One can imagine what will happen if the right people take up the mantle of leadership in Nigeria. Indeed, nations fail because of bad leadership.

Indeed, what the world witnessed was the anguish experienced by most Nigerians but rather suppressed due to fear of harassment, imprisonment, intimidation, and marginalization, among others, from the government of the federation who has the sole control of the entire police force in Nigeria. However, there is a paradigm shift from the old era filled with fear to a new era of fearless Nigerians: Nigerians that speak out against bad governance, injustice, police brutality, and oppression and call out for a just system that will tackle crimes and criminalities in the society within the ambits of law while at the same time treat everyone with respect and dignity.

To sum it up, the ENDSARS protest could be likened to an uprising that failed to materialize into a revolution at the end. This is because the government at the center is in full control of the entire police force in Nigeria, hence, in a position to give the first and last order at will. Be that as it may, for the first time in many decades, Nigerians spoke!

Cross-References

- ▶ [Accountability](#)
- ▶ [Citizen Journalism/Social Media](#)
- ▶ [Crisis Management](#)
- ▶ [Democratic Governance](#)
- ▶ [Sound Governance](#)

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