

The Psychological Implications of #EndSARS Protest in Nigeria: A Theoretical Expository Approach

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Authors' contributions

This work was carried out in collaboration among all authors. Author CAFO designed the study, formed the analyse, wrote the protocol and wrote the first draft of the manuscript. Authors HO-N and PCU managed the analyses of the study. Author CEN managed the literature search. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

The nation of Nigeria recently experienced unprecedented violence occasioned by the activities of the Special Anti- Robbery Squad, popularly known as SARS. This tactical Police unit charged with the onerous responsibility of dealing with violent crimes such as car-jerking, armed robbery, kidnapping, and sundry crimes allegedly became a terror against Nigerians. They were accused of brutality, rights abuse, undue criminal profiling of youths, rape, extra-judicial killings, among other forms of abuse. These states of affair prompted Nigerian youths to initiate a protest against this Police unit tagged #EndSARS. The protest at inception was a peaceful one. Unfortunately, this supposed peaceful protest degenerated into a chaotic and violent one across the country, largely due to the high handedness of security operatives, particularly the special anti robbery squad. Consequently, several people lost their lives, public and private properties were burnt or destroyed, unimaginable looting occurred, several correctional centres witnessed jail-break, among other forms

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of violence. The aim of this paper therefore is to examine the psychological implications of the #EndSARS protest in Nigeria. This was done by analysing the position of some psychological theories, with the frustration-aggression hypothesis forming the theoretical framework for the analysis. Thereafter, recommendations were proffered on ways to avoid further protest, including the need for government to see the development of the youth as a priority in Nigeria.

Keywords: Psychological; implications; #EndSARS, protest; theoretical; expository.

1. INTRODUCTION

On October 4, 2020 #EndSARS was trending in the social media space; and later erupted into protest. The protest was motivated by viral video which showed a special anti-robbery squad (SARS) operative allegedly shooting a man in Delta State, before driving off in his car. This singular act prompted the protest by the youth for the banning of this tactical police unit. According to Abosede [1], this year's protest follows previous activism and government announcements that SARS would be demobilized in 2014, 2015, and 2017. That notwithstanding, SARS officers continued to act with impunity. Their unmitigated impunity resulted in the current agitation by the youth aimed at forcing government to disband the unit. Psychologically, the activities of the SARS operatives created palpable fear, and anxiety among the masses. Equally, observations showed that people that experienced SARS brutality developed posttraumatic stress disorder, which interfered with their daily psycho-social adjustment. Such interference has short- and long-term consequences on cognitive functioning.

This Special Anti-Robbery squad popularly referred to as SARS by Nigerians was formed in 1992 to deal with violent criminal activities like car-jerking, kidnapping, armed robbery, among others, which is endemic in Nigeria. At inception, observation showed that their activities brought relief to majority of law-abiding Nigerians, who saw them as an antidote to the activities of dare-devil hoodlums terrorizing the Nigerian citizenry. Indeed, their presence and operations succeeded in reducing the spate of violent crimes in the society. Their laudable role in crime fighting and prevention were not in doubt and was appreciated by all and sundry. Consequently, crimes such as kidnapping and bank robbery which have hitherto become a daily occurrence in the polity reduced drastically.

Furthermore, their activities led to the demise of several criminal elements, forcing those that survived to either flee or repent from their evil

ways. Essentially, this tactical Police unit recorded several successes against the men and women of the underworld. Indeed, these retinue of success emboldened the operatives and they became more daring and henceforth derailed from their charge. They therefore assumed untouchable status among the crop of other security operatives believing that they could be exonerated from any infraction committed in the course of duty.

However, they seem to have become synonymous across the nation with allegations of brutality and unbridled impunity. Amnesty International and other rights group have documented the units alleged abuse of civilians including extortion, rape, and extrajudicial killings. Moreover, several people have petitioned the police authorities that established this unit on the atrocities being perpetrated by their operatives. However, no concrete or foreseeable effort was made by the police establishment to curb their excesses.

This nonchalant act by the police establishment may have given the SARS operatives the false impression that they are untouchables. They therefore perceived that they have unfettered power to operate as they wished. There is this saying that power corrupts and that absolute power corrupt absolutely. This became the lot of the SARS operatives in Nigeria. Incidentally, they jettisoned the objective of the beautiful slogan "Police is your friend", and became the enemy of the people. They henceforth derailed from their supposed mandate of curbing violent crimes and began to engage in routine police duties. They are often seen on roadblocks in cities of Nigeria searching vehicles, unlawfully checking people's phones, computers(laptops), making arbitrary arrests, or involving themselves in civil matters such as land dispute issues, simple assault matters, among others. They were also being used by the elites and the political class (the rich) to oppress the poor and the less privileged unjustly.

As a matter of fact, they were observed to have engaged in unbridled brutality and abuse against

the Nigerian people whom they are supposed to protect, particularly the youth, who then saw their actions as a threat to their inalienable rights and freedom. Furthermore, their engagement in extrajudicial killings, unabated secret abductions, torture, prolonged illegal detention, rape, and unwarranted extortions infuriated the people. Several youths were indeed arrested and detained by being profiled as “Yahoo” boys; an appendage for youths who engages in internet fraud and cyber crimes. It was alleged that some of the arrested youths never returned and their way-about remains unknown.

Consequently, this state of affairs prompted the victim’s relatives and many well-meaning Nigerians to raise the alarm over the inhuman and insensitive activities of the SARS operatives. Several petitions were sent to the police high command, state governors, amnesty international, human rights watch, US embassy in Abuja, Canada, African union, common wealth, European union, UN human rights and civilized nations. These petitions were geared toward informing them on the untowards activities of the SARS operatives and also to prevail on the Nigerian government to stop the cruel and inhuman act [2]. Nwaiwu and Alozie [2] further asserted that these petitions buttressed the obvious that SARS operatives may have lost the appeal with the Nigerian masses considering the way they dress (wearing earrings and having tattoos); killing innocent Nigerians and engaging in insatiable monumental extortions brazenly.

Unfortunately, it was these alleged criminal dispositions of the SARS police unit that instigated the EndSARS protest by Nigerian youth across several cities of Nigeria, particularly in Abuja, Lagos, and Ibadan. The protest was also witnessed across the globe among Nigerians in diaspora and people of other nations that sympathized with their plights. Ab-initio, the protest was very peaceful, involving civil societies, celebrities (musicians and actors), students, artisans, human rights activists, among others. To be candid, the protest was carnival-like, as the protesters were seen dancing to provided music on major streets and roads across Nigeria. The activities of the protesters prompted members of the Senate and House of Representative (National Assembly) to move against the SARS unit by instituting a probe into their activities [3].

Essentially, in reaction to the sustained protest by the youth against the sordid activities of SARS

operatives, the President of Nigeria Muhammadu Buhari mandated the Inspector General of Nigeria Police Force Muhammed Adamu to disband the SARS unit and other tactical units pending proper reformation. Thus, the SARS unit was banned on the 11th of October, 2020. Few days after the dissolving of the SARS unit, the police authorities announced the establishment of a replacement unit to be known as Special Weapons and Tactic (SWAT). The protesters quickly reacted by rejecting and condemning the idea. They argued that the proposed new outfit is still SARS in another disguise and likened it to “an old wine in new wine skin”. Consequently, they vowed not to vacate the streets and roads until the authorities suspend its’ implementation.

Unfortunately, along the course of this sustained protest, things got awry. Some pro-SARS protesters (purportedly sponsored by government) appeared in the scene and violently attacked the #EndSARS protesters who have been all along peaceful. This unwholesome were observed in Abuja, Lagos, Ilorin, Ibadan, among other cities. They were seen attacking the #EndSARS protesters with dangerous weapons like knife, machete and stick. Private businesses were not spared, particularly in Abuja where cars exhibited for sale were set ablaze. This unfortunate action brought violence into the once peaceful protest. Again, the federal and state governments after sustained appeals to the youth to vacate the streets and give them time to attend to their arrays of demands, sent in security operatives to disperse the protesting youth. This action led to confrontation between the protesters and the security operatives causing injuries and loss of lives on both sides.

Indeed, the last straw that broke the camel’s back was the event of 20th October, 2020, at Lekki, Lagos State, where several youths were massacred by the army and many others sustained different degrees of gunshot wounds. This alleged killing unleashed the violent dispositions of the protesters; causing unmitigated and monumental violence. Several inmates in the correctional centres were forcefully freed, police stations were set ablaze and police personnel became the target of attack, scores of policemen were brutally murdered, public and private properties were destroyed, or vandalized, warehouses and other private businesses were looted, unprecedented arson took place, lives were lost, social-economic activities were totally disrupted, and Nigerians became further traumatized. Indeed,

the perceived peaceful protest became hijacked by some criminal elements who visited mayhem and pains on the entire country. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine the psychological implications of the #EndSARS protest in Nigeria.

2. THE CONCEPT OF PROTEST

Protest, also known as demonstration, remonstrance or remonstrance, is a public expression of objection, disapproval or dissent toward an idea or action, mostly a political one [4,5]. It is an expression or declaration of objection, disapproval or dissent, often in opposition to something a person is powerless to prevent or avoid (Dictionary. Com). According to Turner [6], collective acts of disruption and violence are sometimes viewed as expression of social protest, and sometimes as crime or rebellion.

Indeed, protest can take many different forms; from individual statements to mass demonstrations. Protest may be organised as a way of publicly making one's opinions heard in an attempt to influence public opinion or government policy. Protesters may also undertake direct action in an attempt to enact desired changes [7]. Furthermore, where protests are part of a systematic and peaceful nonviolent campaign to achieve a particular objective, and involve the use of pressure as well as persuasion; they go beyond mere protest and may be better described as cases of civil resistance or nonviolent resistance [8].

A protest therefore could be seen as an open resentment against an activity, action, or idea in order to attract pity and possible amelioration. A protest itself may at times be the subject of counter-protest as witnessed during the #EndSARS protest. In such cases, counter-protesters demonstrate their support for the person or policy action that is the subject of the original protest. Thus, protesters and counter-protesters can sometimes violently clash. Consequently, various forms of self-expression and protests are sometimes restricted by governmental policy (such as the requirement of protest permit) [9], economic circumstances, religious orthodoxy, social structures or media monopoly. The most common state reaction to protest is the deployment of riot police. Indeed, there has been an increase militarization of protest policing in many countries including Nigeria. In most cases, armoured vehicles and

snipers are deployed against protesters. When such becomes the case, protest may assume the form of open civil disobedience, as was witnessed in the #EndSARS protest in Nigeria.

2.1 Forms of Protest

Basically, a protest may take different forms ranging from rally to demonstrations, march, vigil, picket, civil disobedience, ceremony, riot, melee, mob violence, dramaturgical demonstrations (such as motorcade, symbolic display, etc), attack, strike, slow down, sick-ins, and employee work protest of any kind, boycott, press conference, among others. It is important to elaborate further on some of them.

1. Rally or Demonstration: Demonstration rally involves marching or walking in a picket line, with protesters making speeches, singing, or preaching.
2. March: This typically involves moving from one location to another.
3. Vigil: In vigil, protesters bear banners, placards, or leaflets so that people passing by despite silence from participants will be aware or informed about the purpose of the vigil.
4. Picket: In picketing, placards or banners are carried and the protesters walking in circular route.
5. Civil disobedience: This refers to explicit protest that involves deliberately breaking laws deemed unjust in order to protest them. It is a political action that aims at reforms.
6. Riot, Melee, Mob violence: This involves the use of violence by instigators against persons, property, police, or building separately or in combination lasting several hours.
7. Boycott: This, as a form of protest involves organized refusal to buy or use a product or service.

2.2 Distinguishing Between Peaceful and Violent Protest

Peaceful protest, otherwise referred to as non violent resistance or nonviolent action, is the practice of achieving goals such as social change through symbolic protest. This type of action highlights the desires of a group that feels that something needs to change to improve the current condition of the resisting group; while being nonviolent. According to the UN Human

Rights Committee (2020), people have the right to peaceful demonstration and government should respect international laws and let them do so. Furthermore, according to a 2014 briefing published by Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights, "there should be a compelling or clear evidence of an intent to use or incite violence for a protest to no longer be considered peaceful" They also suggested that "acts of violence by a small number of participants do not render a whole assembly violent and do not justify its dispersal" However, not all protests are peaceful. Anytime protesters are causing harm or damaging properties, those are not legitimate actions of peaceful protests; but violent protest. In other words, acts involving arson, looting, causing damage to properties, causing harm to people, among others, are in the realm of violent protest. Indeed, the #EndSARS protest in Nigeria metamorphosed from a peaceful protest to a dangerously violent dimension as a result of poor handling by the government authorities and security operatives.

3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND FRAMEWORK WITH RESPECT TO #ENDSARS PROTEST IN NIGERIA

To explain the genesis of the #EndSARS protest in Nigeria, the authors reviewed the position of Equity theory [10], Frustration- Aggression theory [11] and the Good Governance theory [12].

3.1 Equity Theory

The equity theory was posited in 1963 by John Stacy Adam to explain motivation in an organization. It stems from the idea that individuals are motivated by fairness (equity). Indeed, equity theory is of the view that if an individual identifies inequity (unfairness) between themselves and a peer, they will adjust the work they do to make the situation fair in their eyes. Essentially, equity theory held the position that the higher an individual's (or group) perception of equity, then the more motivated they will be. On the contrary, an individual will be demotivated if they perceive inequity (unfairness).

Furthermore, Adam's equity theory also states that individuals do not just understand equity in isolation, but they look around and compare themselves to others. If they perceive unfairness, then they will adjust their imputes in order to restore balance. Imputes here include commitment shown, enthusiasm shown, personal sacrifices made, responsibilities and duties of an

individual and the loyalty the individual has demonstrated.

Apparently, equity theory opined that individuals in social exchange relationship compare each other, the ratios of their imputes into the exchange to their outcomes from the exchange [13]. Indeed, seeing Nigeria as an organization, where social exchange relationship exists between the government and its citizens, it is pertinent to argue that there exists a lot of unfairness (inequity) in that relationship. It is evident that the ratio of the imputes by the government (leaders) is very low to motivate loyalty and commitment from Nigerians. Also, considering the unjustifiable nature of the social relationship where some citizens are treated fairly more than the others (unfairness) , it is plausible to state that the level of enthusiasm of the citizens, personal sacrifices made, responsibilities and duties of the citizens to the nation, and the level of loyalty demonstrated are likely to dwindle in the face of inequity. Indeed, it is apparent that a disloyal and uncommitted citizen may be dispositional irresponsible and could engage in protests to achieve equity. Essentially, the exchange between Nigerian government and its citizens has been inequitable buttressing the position of Adam [10] who stated that whenever two individuals (government and citizens) exchange anything, there is the possibility that one or both of them will feel that the exchange was inequitable.

3.2 Frustration- Aggression Theory

The frustration- aggression hypothesis was originally developed by Dollard et al. [11] and it was reformed by Berkowitz [13,14]. It is one of the most influential theories of aggression. Since its formulation, it has been applied and studied in many fields, including psychology. While there has been various reformations, additions and changes to the original idea, the basic assumption of the theory is that frustration; typically understood as an event instead of an emotion, increases the tendency to act or react aggressively.

The original formulation of the frustration-aggression hypothesis by Dollard et al. [11] stated that "the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression". Indeed, frustration in this sense is not seen as an emotional experience, but as "an interference with the occurrence of an instigated

goal-response [11]. In essence, when a goal-directed response is thwarted, or frustrated, the individual is likely to show aggressive disposition. Moreover, Berkowitz [15] reformulated the theory arguing that frustrations are still defined as aversive events, but that they "generate aggressive inclinations only to the extent that they produce negative effect". The position of Berkowitz implies that frustration is not a direct cause aggression but negative effect, which is the proximal cause of aggressive disposition. It also suggests that frustrations are just one of the many potential sources of negative affect [14]. Essentially, Berkowitz assertion implies that frustration causes negative affect, which in turn elicits aggressive inclinations.

Applying this theory to the Nigerian situation with respect to the #EndSARS upheaval, it is apparent that the masses of Nigerians, particularly the youth have experienced frustrations in their efforts to attain instigated goal responses. The experience of no employment after graduation from higher institutions of learning and poor infrastructural amenities that will enable them achieve their targeted goals is frustrating enough. Therefore, it could be argued that the #EndSARS protest is a response to the arrays of frustrations which the masses of Nigerians have experienced in their endeavour to attain set existential goals.

3.3 Good Governance Theory

Good governance theory explains various perspective about governance and how they evolve. This theory apparently is the most appropriate of the governance theories with respect to Nigerian situation. Good governance theory had its origin from a set of principles or policies formally introduced by the World Bank in relating with and in assisting developing countries. Thus, the good governance theory is associated with governing methods and structures in developing countries, which Nigeria is one. The World Bank usually requires the practice of good governance as a condition from the developing countries.

In essence, good governance is about how the public sector in developing countries can be developed. It has been observed that a modern form of government is not just about efficiency; that governing is also premised on accountability between the state and its citizens [16]. Indeed, good governance is about how people are treated and not merely as customers or consumers [17], but as citizens, who have the

right to hold their government accountable for their actions or inactions. The demand for efficiency in the public sector should not be allowed to lead to bad service. Consequently, when there is bad service, citizens have the right to protest and hold government accountable [17].

Good governance theory, essentially is a governance approach that outlines some basic principles according to which every government must be run. Such principles are accountability, control, transparency, responsiveness, economy, public participation, efficiency, rule of law, job creation, among others. Indeed, the theory of good governance was developed to encompass or reflect all the principles outlined above and many more [18].

Considering the foregoing and in tandem with World Bank principles and policy interventions in developing countries, good governance involves existence of an efficient public service, an independent judicial system, and legal framework to enforce contracts and responsible administration of public funds ([16]. Subsequently, good governance also requires an independent public auditor answerable to a representative legislature, respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government and an institutional structure that is pluralistic. In conjunction with the above, good governance is predicated on three segments of the society, which have direct bearing on governance as highlighted. Thus, the type of political regime, the process by which authority is exercised in the management of the socio-economic resources with respect to development, and the capacity of government to formulate policies and have them effectively implemented [16,12]. The principle of good governance theory is also known as international indices for assessing good governance globally [19].

Applying this theory to the Nigerian scenario, it is quite obvious that politicians in Nigeria have failed woefully in their responsibility of providing good governance to the citizens, who entrusted the management of their resources in their hands. Not minding the abundant human and material resources available in Nigeria, the citizens are dejected and frustrated due to poor governance in the areas of provision of employment, lack of infrastructural amenities, inability to eliminate abject poverty, poorly provided services in the public sector, insecurity, among others. Indeed, as enunciated by the theory of good governance, when there is bad

service, the citizens are bound to protest as was witnessed in Nigeria. Based on the foregoing theoretical analysis, it is apt to select the frustration -aggression hypothesis as the theoretical framework for the paper.

4. DEPRIVATIONS THAT LED TO FRUSTRATIONS

Nigerians have experienced oppression by the ruling class through various forms of deprivations. These deprivations could be witnessed in the following areas;

1. Neglect of the education sector: The subsequent ruling class in Nigeria have perpetually and serially neglected the education sector through poor funding and non-provision of infrastructure in schools. The situation of many public schools (both basic and tertiary) is quite pathetic. Most of the school lack basic amenities like well equipped laboratory, good classrooms for learning, lack of teaching aids and other appurtenances that encourage learning, lack of good and habitable hostels, particularly with respect to universities and other higher institutions of learning, among others. This state of affairs has led to incessant strikes by the university unions, particularly the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), in order to force government to right the wrongs. Instead, government have been adamant in seeing reason with the striking workforce. Rather than equipping the public schools where the poor masses could cheaply assess education, government is busy making policies that empowers individuals to establish private universities (politicians and business men) where exorbitant fees are charged, thereby making education unaffordable by the impoverished Nigerians. Education, they say, is the bedrock of any society, but the masses of Nigeria are educationally frustrated. Indeed, education remains the cornerstone of any society.
2. Neglect of youth development: The youth they say are leaders of tomorrow, but this is not the case with the Nigerian youth. Nigeria is a country where the leaders suppress their youths from developing. This perspective was taken based on the fact that the government have failed repeatedly to evolve policies that will empower the youth and enable them to strive educationally, politically, socially, and otherwise. A situation where political office holders manipulate the political process to enable them spend protracted years in office stifles the chances of the youths with respect to political participation. Indeed, government have failed in enacting policies that will encourage smooth ascension of the youths to political and other leadership positions. Therefore, their hopes of attaining the expectations as leaders of tomorrow are repeatedly thwarted and dashed through the insatiable greed of the political class to remain perpetually in power. This in itself is a great source of frustration.
3. Poor service delivery: It is not in doubt that service delivery by ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) of the Nigerian state is poor. Indeed, it is a parlous state. The quality of services delivered by the MDAs have been tainted by the corrupt inclinations and disposition of their staff. Their ability to render any desired service is wholly dependent what one can offer. It is not driven by the patriotic zeal to serve the nation, but rather by the proclivity to enrich themselves. This apparently is totally at variance with their core mandate of effective service delivery. Most Nigerians who cannot meet their perverted demands are usually frustrated from attaining their desired goals.
4. Absence of rule of law: The observance of rule of law in Nigeria is questionable. In fact, rule of law is not in existence and has been trampled upon. The government appears dictatorial and selective in their approach to rule of law. In so many instances, court judgements are not obeyed; people are detained without due process of law, bails are flouted without recourse to court pronouncements, and people are detained by security agencies longer than is required by law not minding that they have not been tried and convicted by a court of competent jurisdiction. This has been the frustrating approach to observance of rule of law in Nigeria. Indeed, the government in Nigeria presents this posture that it is above the law.
5. Ineffective anti-corruption mechanisms: The anti-corruption mechanism in Nigeria is very weak. This has been the case with

subsequent regimes in the country. The justice system has a lot of loopholes that usually enable corrupt persons to escape expected prosecution. Indeed, the justice procedure is very slow and usually compromised, that it takes years for persons arrested and charged for corruption to be tried and convicted, if ever they will be convicted. So many people are usually frustrated by these legal bottlenecks in their effort to attain justice for perceived injuries. Not minding that there exist several anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria, but they have done little to stem the tide of corruption in the country.

6. Lack of faith in the integrity of public office holders: The deplorable antecedents of public office holders have made the masses to lose faith in their integrity. Observation over the years have shown that public office holders (Politicians, bureaucrats, civil servants, among others), are so egocentric and lacked empathy in their public disposition. Their stock in trade is to amass wealth for themselves and their generations unborn with disdain and disregard to the public good. Funds provided for provision of public infrastructure and services are shamelessly and brazenly diverted for their personal aggrandizements. It has become the norm for public office holders to think about self before others. Furthermore, this unfortunate and frustrating character has been emboldened by the ineffective anti-corruption mechanism prevalent in the Nigerian state.
7. Lack of effective mass participation in policy making: As is usually the practice in most advanced democracies, the masses of the people participate effectively in the process of policy making. But, in Nigeria, the reverse is the case. Most government policies and their process are shrouded in secrecy and are usually made without input from the masses, who are the beneficiary of these policies. It is expected that Nigerians should be made to know about policy initiations before they are articulated in order for them to make necessary input for effective implementation. As is usually the case in Nigeria, the hunger for participation in policy articulation and formulation are frustrated by the antics of the government, who derive pleasure in making anti-peoples' policies.
8. Endemic corruption in governance: It is no longer news to state that there is a general corruption in all spheres of public governance. In fact, corruption has become so endemic that it is now a sub-culture among government officials and public servants in Nigeria. The news in the pages of newspapers and other media outlets are usually filled with cases of embezzlement and misappropriation of public fund by persons who are entrusted with the responsibility of serving the people. Monies allocated for the development of public infrastructural amenities are usually diverted for personal use, all at the detriment of the projects they were meant for. The culture of corruption witnessed in the governance of the country is quite humongous. Indeed, corruption in governance has eaten deep into the fabrics of our national lives, thereby frustrating the masses expectations of a better governance.
9. Poverty: It is quite evident that there is palpable poverty in Nigeria. The generality of the people of Nigeria are experiencing abject poverty occasioned by bad governance. The poverty index of the world showed that Nigeria has overtaken India as home for the poorest of the poor. Indeed, the government of Nigeria have not done anything tangible to reduce the poverty status of Nigerians and thus enrich their lives. The social investment programme of government is quite abysmal and poorly administered. It has not done anything to improve the living standards of Nigerians and put food on the table of the common man. There exists high cost of living, general inflation culminating in high cost of goods and services, which government have not made visible and concerted effort to address. This has worsened the living standard of the people. Indeed, Nigerians experience frustration in their daily effort for survival.
10. Mass unemployment: Evidently, the level of unemployment in Nigeria is quite astonishing and unprecedented. There is no gainsaying the fact that majority of Nigerian youth (both graduates and non

graduates), are unemployed. This state of affair is as a result of poor governance. Government operators have failed over the years to enact policies that will enable the youths to be gainfully and meaningfully employed after graduation from secondary or higher education. They have failed to establish parastatals and agencies that could absorb the teeming and ever-rising population of the youth. It is indeed terribly frustrating that after spending harrowing years in the higher institutions, one is still faced with the dilemma of not finding a job to do. Essentially, the consequence of this state of affair inevitably will be increase in crime and possibly youth restiveness. Furthermore, most of the youth who would want to be self-employed lacked the fund due to inadequate business financing by the government. This, indeed is a product of poor political leadership.

Taking a critical look at the above factors, it is pertinent to state that they are at variance with the objectives of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The SDG emphasized issue of zero hunger, no poverty, quality education, decent work and economic growth, industry innovation and infrastructure, reduced inequality, responsible consumption and production, peace and justice, strong institution, among others. It is quite glaring that these growth indices are lacking the governance behaviour of the Nigerian state. Indeed, it is apt to stress that the governance of Nigeria is pro-elite and anti-people.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The #End sars protest has come and gone leaving its' scars in the Nigerian polity. However, it is a truism to state without equivocation that the instigating factor is majorly frustration. Nigerians, particularly the youth have experienced frustration in all spheres of their national existence and survival. Unimaginable and unmitigated frustrations in education, employment, quality of life, economy, governance, attendant inequality, among others, have been visibly endemic in the polity without any sign of abating. This palpable condition is getting worse by the day, thereby arousing the ire of the youth by way of #EndSARS violence. This reality was in tandem with the position of the frustration-aggression hypothesis which advocates that aggression (violence) is a product of frustration.

Conclusively, this paper is an analysis of the psychological implications of the #EndSARS protest in Nigeria. The equity theory, the frustration-aggression hypothesis, and the good governance theory provided theoretical justifications for the analysis while the frustration-aggression hypothesis was adopted as theoretical framework. Further analysis showed that Nigerians have suffered deprivations with respect to all the indices of good governance according to the expectations of the people and the tenets of the Sustainable Development Goals. This perceived lack of good governance structure became terribly frustrating that it resulted to the violence that was widely referred to as the #EndSARS protest.

Based on the foregoing, the following recommendations were proffered:

1. Government should make the development of the youth a priority. They should create policies that will open opportunities for the empowerment and mentoring of the youth in the area of political economy. This will go a long way in engendering the feeling of sense of belonging and care among the youth.
2. Government should set effective anti-corruption mechanism that is saddled with the responsibility of fighting corruption in public and private sectors of the economy. A situation where observed corrupt leaders, politicians, and civil servants are brought to book will go a long way in stemming the ugly tide of corruption and restore hope in governance.
3. Government should also involve the citizens in policy making and implementations. This is considering the fact that the citizens are the end beneficiaries of these policies. This will help to engender confidence and trust from the people.
4. Government should make concerted effort to strengthen the rule of law in the country and the judicial system. This will restore public confidence and faith in the judiciary and further prevent looming anarchy in the form of the #EndSARS protest.
5. Government should initiate education policies that are proactive and will make entrepreneurial studies compulsory in all

higher institutions and universities across Nigeria. This will help in skill acquisition and building competence among the youth; thereby stemming the endemic youth unemployment in the country.

6. Furthermore, the Police should be restructured and their personnel retrained to learn to imbibe positive rules of engagement in their official dealings with the Nigerian masses. They should be orientated to be humane in their operations to avoid stirring the ire of the citizens, particularly the youth.
7. Government should create and give equal opportunities for and to all Nigerians irrespective of the part of the country one comes from. This is very pertinent in order to mitigate the perceived inequality in different spheres of our national existence and relationships.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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