

**BAD GOVERNANCE “A THREAT TO HUMAN WELLBEING: A CASE STUDY OF
BAD GOVERNANCE DURING THE COVID PANDEMIC IN NIGERIA”**

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ABSTRACT

Despite the ongoing substantial evolutions in human progress, the search for appropriate administration and governance that is focused on advancement, general welfare, and the well-being of citizens in developing countries has become disreputable and ironic, in the sense that it has been clouded with corruption, embezzlement, poor service delivery and appears to differ from what is expected by the citizens. However, the results of good or bad governance are ultimately felt by those within the scope of which the authority has been exercised. This study titled bad governance “a threat to human wellbeing: a case study of bad governance during the covid pandemic in Nigeria” is aimed at determining how the leaders in Nigeria have failed in their duties and how the advent of the covid-19 pandemic worsened bad governance in Nigeria. Though Nigeria has been plagued by terrible leadership in the past, the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic highlighted more the government's failures to its citizenry. This study draws mainly from secondary sources.

The findings from the study reveal that the welfare of the people is no longer the priority of the state as can be seen in the poor health, education, lack of basic infrastructures, non-payment of workers' salaries, insecurity, and high rate of unemployment. It was further revealed from the study that strengthening checks and balances, building broad-based support for reform, and paying close attention to incentives are ways to ensure good governance. The study recommended citizens' participation and engagement, institutionalizing the rule of law, ensuring responsiveness and consensus orientation, equity, and inclusiveness as well as efficient social service delivery.

Keywords: Governance, Threat, Covid-19,

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my mother (Lady Elizabeth Abiamiri), who died because of bad governance during the Covid-19 pandemic

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EFCC	ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRIMES COMMISSION
INGO	INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION
OECD	ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
UN	UNITED NATION
UNESCAP	UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
UNECA	UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA
WHO	WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Despite the ongoing substantial evolutions in human progress, the search for appropriate administration and governance that is focused on advancement, general welfare, and the well-being of Africans has become disreputable and ironic (Anyanwu, 1998) and this has been explained to mean that governance in Africa is clouded with scandals, failures, mismanagement of funds, insecurity, etc. and does not reflect what the expectations of the people are. Due to the pervasiveness of the governance trend in modern times, most Africans like Mo Ibrahim (“Mo Ibrahim’s Sobering Report,” 2013) and some global intergovernmental institutions, such as the World Bank, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), are working towards establishing good governance in various countries of the world. Their goals include but are not limited to seeing Africa attain a governance system that will have the needs of citizens as a priority. Furthermore, they prescribe and assert that leadership restructuring is the key to Africa's economic and social progress (Essien, 2012). The results of good or bad governance are ultimately felt by those within the scope of which the authority is been exercised (Towah, 2019). However, bad governance impacts negatively on the citizens but felt more by the marginalized and less privileged in the society, making it a bane of peace and threat to livelihood and wellbeing of many individuals and these are evident in several studies (Coker and George-Genyi, 2014; Essien, 2012).

Using Nigeria as a case study and building upon several works, this research will extensively illustrate how the Covid-19 pandemic worsened bad governance in the country under

study. The views of different researchers on what bad and good governance means will be explored to help us understand more how the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic exposed the failures and weaknesses of governance in the country under study.

The issue of governance is a multilayered and comprehensive notion that functions at all levels of society, including the home, village, city, country, territory, and worldwide. However, creating a governance system that encourages, supports, and nurtures social development, particularly for the impoverished and most marginalized, is a problem for all nations today (Essien, 2012). Moreover, it is sufficient to state that the topic of governance is a repeating element in the African economic predicament (Nunnenkamp, 1995).

It is imperative at this point to discuss the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic and how it vastly disrupted human activities both in developed and developing countries. Nations, institutions, agencies, corporations, individuals among others had their plans for the year 2020. Budgets were made at national, state, corporate and individual levels. Plans were matched with actions with many working towards assessing with first-quarter results by April 2020. The news of Wuhan and the ravaging effects of the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak were making the rounds. National governments, especially in Europe and America had difficulties in dealing with the virus in their healthcare systems, while making efforts to curtail its spread. Following the WHO declaration of the virus as a pandemic, national governments in Africa and the rest of the world took preventative measures to stop the spread of the virus that has claimed several lives. According to the World Bank (2020), the rapid and large shock of the corona virus pandemic, as well as mitigation measures will cause a deep economic recession in many nations. Nigeria is on set to experience its worst economic downturn in four decades (Nigeria Development Update, 2020).

The coronavirus outbreak was a watershed moment in Nigeria's socioeconomic and political landscape, as it sparked panic in states.

Some notable studies have indicated that due to many cities serving as entry sources for much international commerce and travel, they became epicenters of the COVID-19 virus (Helbrecht, 2020; WHO, 2020; Asante and Mills, 2020). In Africa, urban areas including Abuja (Nigeria), Accra (Ghana), and Johannesburg (South Africa), have seen the maximum number of instances of COVID-19 infection, which disrupted people's daily social, commercial, and political life (Kazeem, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic expanded at an alarming rate, afflicting millions of people, and bringing economic output to a stall as countries implemented harsh mobility constraints to stop the virus from spreading (World Bank, 2020). The world came to a halt, borders were closed, economies were shut down, all gatherings were canceled indefinitely, schools were closed, states of emergency were declared in some parts of the world, and everybody was mandated to stay home (Van der Ploeg 2020; Wong 2020). Policies ranging from travel restrictions to social distancing and closing of businesses, schools, mosques, churches every facet of life came to a standstill. All these were measures put in place to minimize the spread of the virus (Szmigiera, 2021). Despite all these measures, the Covid-19 pandemic affected all spheres of human well-being, especially in developing countries. Nigeria as a developing country was hit hard by the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic.

It is however imperative to this study to trace the political landscape of Nigeria in the historical context, this is aimed at illustrating how governance has been under the different administrations after independence and to help readers understand more about governance in

Nigeria. After gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria faced leadership issues that have impeded the growth and resulted in brain drain (Anetoh, 2020). The security challenges are egregious as well as the rot in government. These were the glaring challenges bedeviling the country (Anekwe, 2020). There were a series of coups with the plotters claiming to be forced to act in the 'nation's interest'. The first of such coups was the January 15th, 1966, the coup of Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu (Dummar, 2002). According to Adebayo, (2013), the 1966 revolutionary council's goal was to build a powerful, united, and prosperous country that is free of corruption and internal strife. The manner to achieve this is absolutely through armed services and the council was however resolute and demanded that every Nigerian give their full cooperation by assisting the administration and not disrupting the calm while the changes occur. The sorry state of the nation before the coup was aptly captured by Ademoyega, (1981:28) where he observed among other things that:

“Economic, social, educational, and political problems were not solved. Corruption was ripe and nepotism was the order of the day. The safety valves of the nation were reposed in such institutions as the courts, the census commission... But the sanctity of those institutions was being politically assailed... They were fast losing their credibility”.

Ngozika and Paul (2016) asserted that the 1966 January 15th coup marked the beginning of a Nigeria where ethnic chauvinism, nepotism (Feit, 1968), maladministration, unquestionable corruption, and consolidation of poverty. It is against this background and many other factors that the Nigeria-Biafra War came after the countercoup and the subsequent events that characterized the polity and this was argued to be the consequence of bad governance by some scholars (Falola

and Ezekwem, 2016; Bello, 2017). In the south-east, it was the quest for the sovereign state of Biafra, in the south-south, it was an agitation by the Niger Delta militant for resource control, in the Middle Belt area, and it was security challenges orchestrated by Fulani herdsmen killing of farmers without government provision of security (Nyangoro, 1993). In the west, it is operation Amotekun, a regional security outfit aimed at countering the criminal activities of the herdsmen. In the northeast, the ravaging effect of the activities of the Boko Haram terrorists has undermined development in the zone while the inadequacy of the government to motivate the soldiers and the corrupt enrichment of some, prolonged the war against terrorism in the area. All these maladies are because of bad governance. The military held sway for some time and when they finally relinquished power, all thought that liberal democracy would set Nigeria on the path of development (Nyangoro, 1993). As evident in many democratic regimes which have been toppled with a coup, the aftermath is the suspension of the constitution and military junta regime with the decree (Harding, 2021). Consequently, the suspension of the constitution saw the use of martial law in the administration of the country, and this energized corruption and corrupt persons. It was from one military administration to another truncated democratic process until 1999 (Noibi, 2003).

In 1999, retired General Olusegun Obasanjo was inaugurated as Nigeria's elected president with Alhaji Atiku Abubakar as his vice. That administration made effort at salvaging Nigeria's ruined image in the international arena by embarking on a series of foreign trips as well as setting up an anti-graft agency, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), whose goal was to entice foreign investors by assuring them that their investments in Nigeria would be safe and that they would receive large returns. However, that government was implicated in several bribery schemes. Subsequently, in 2007, there was a successful transition that saw the emergence of Umaru Musa Ya'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan. The Niger Delta crisis was rife, and the

administration came up with its amnesty program to ensure uninterrupted production of oil from the region. Following the death of Ya'Adua, Goodluck Jonathan took over and completed his principal's tenure. The administration began to grapple with the activities of Boko Haram and endemic corruption in almost all facets of national life (Habiba, 2018).

Conclusively, this section gives a general overview of governance and the corona virus pandemic narrowing it down to the background of Nigeria's political background and how bad governance triggered agitations which saw the military taking over leadership with the aim of bringing back good governance for all. Also, the discussion above sets the tone for further discussing how bad governance poses a threat to human well-being and how the advent of the covid-19 pandemic exposed bad governance in Nigeria.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Nigeria scores poorly in areas of governance accountability, rule of law, stability in terms of social and political, corruption, and the existence of terrorism (World Governance Index). Odeh (2015) further argues that given the considerable resources invested in the execution of policies aimed at improving governance in Nigeria, there have been no discernible changes in citizens' living standards. However, the outbreak of coronavirus in 2020 worsened bad governance in Nigeria, this further exposed how maladministration has made Nigeria and Nigerians so vulnerable. Where the government claimed to have made provisions under government controls, such was tainted with corruption. Few studies have been able to examine the impacts of COVID-19 on governance in Nigeria, it is against this context that this study seeks to examine how the advent of Covid-19 worsened bad governance in Nigeria and thereby making it a threat to human well-being.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

How has the COVID-19 pandemic worsened bad governance in Nigeria?

How is bad governance a menace to human well-being?

1.4 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of this study includes: to examine how Covid-19 worsened and exacerbated bad governance and its impact on the well-being of Nigerian citizens.

To explore how institutions can be strengthened to ensure good governance.

Discuss and make suggestions based on the findings of how covid-19 worsened bad governance, thereby making it a threat to human well-being.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Governance is fundamental to the socioeconomic well-being of every citizen, therefore leaders in the helms of affairs must exercise the authority given them judiciously for the greater good of those they govern. Several scholars have studied and examined bad governance and its impact on Nigerians taking into consideration the elements that consist of bad governance and how this affects the citizens, but few studies have been able to examine the impacts of COVID-19 on governance in Nigeria. In Nigeria, bad governance is a widely known phenomenon, however keen attention has not been paid to what constitutes bad governance and how these components pose a threat to human well-being. Based on this implication, this study would be evident in the components that constitute bad governance by examining bad governance and its impact on the well-being of Nigerian citizens and exploring how institutions can be strengthened to ensure good governance. This research will contribute to the existing knowledge on governance, and its impact

in Nigeria. It would contribute to the discourse on improving good governance in Nigeria through the implementation of appropriate strategies within the public service, and the need to put the right people into government positions for a people-oriented policy.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

According to Cresswell (2008), research design refers to the plans and procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed data collection and analysis methods. This study adopts the qualitative research method. Qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to solve a social or human problem (Cresswell, 2008). Qualitative research design provides an accurate profile of situations, people, or events to the researcher. Rahi (2017) succinctly conceptualized qualitative research design as a method to collect in-depth details on a particular topic. Reinard (1994) added that qualitative methods make passing reference to statistics, even though statistics are primarily secondary.

One of the designs in qualitative research is the case study. A case study seeks to understand a person, group, or phenomenon in its original context (Reinard, 1994). A case study is especially effective in obtaining specific information about populations' values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts. The case study method is used because it allows for a thorough investigation of a specific event, group, or individual in their natural setting. Case studies reduce the burden of a large study size that could hamper study effectiveness in understanding the problem. In this study, Nigeria was selected as a case study to allow the researcher to understand the phenomenon of bad governance and its effects within the context of the Nigerian political experience. Even though case studies are limited to specific cases and, therefore, not the findings

of case studies are not generalizable, the fact that case studies provide evidence of possible outcomes and solutions that could be inferred to other situations like the case is undeniable.

I selected Nigeria as a case of bad governance for two significant reasons: geopolitical reasons and historical antecedents. For the geopolitical factor, Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa, and it is endowed with rich mineral resources that provide it with resounding revenue. Despite the good economic feats, the country is one of the most indebted countries with the lowest per capita income. Geopolitically, it is the hub of the West African region of Africa and one of the economic giants of Africa (Boyce, J. K., & Ndikumana, L. (2001). Such a country is noted to be a trailblazer that others are modeling, yet there are several instances of bad governance, making its fortunes rather misfortunes. Historically, since independence in 1963, Nigeria has had eight coups that toppled its democratic government. Coupled with coups are the incessant activities of Boko haram (terrorism) and social unrest such as SARs menace, civil wars, oil-related conflicts, and high poverty rate. The antecedents such as high revenue and low per capita income are signs of a hole in the pockets of the Nigerian economy, a hole created by bad governance.

The current study relied heavily on secondary data. The secondary was elicited from official peer-reviewed journals that publish information on the African continent's political, historical, and social issues. Aside from these journal articles, other sources such as news articles, documentaries, and accessible public documents were collected and analyzed to collaborate with the secondary data.

A document analysis, which is a form of qualitative research that relies on systematic procedures to analyze documentary evidence, was used to analyze secondary data. In carrying out these, I defined the environment by listing my external and document source requirements. In so doing, the scope of my study was factored into the considerations and the resulting requirements

needed. Afterward, I further defined and outlined the textual features of my secondary data sources of interest. This kept my focus in line with my research questions and the core objective of my study. I supplemented my secondary data when and where necessary with information gathered from my literature review. For instance, I used research findings from recent studies to complement some of the data that I had from my document analysis.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

The works of literature that were used range from varied secondary sources and were narrowed down to the year of publication and how relevant they are to the current study

Osaghe (1994), in his view, sees the penchant for wealth acquisition as the reason for bad governance and false accumulation of wealth. He opined that; the material perception of the state has made the political elite seek power mainly to enrich themselves and members of their groups. The reason people seek power is not to further ends of the people and community but that of self. In tandem with the argument of Osaghe (1994), argued that since independence in 1960, most Nigerian leaders have not demonstrated a sense of genuine national development. According to them, most African leaders, plunder, defraud, embezzle, and mismanage their country's human and natural resources with so much impunity. They are possessive, egoistic, selfish, individualistic, callous, greedy, and secretive that transparency and accountability have no place in this administration and management of common and collective wealth.

As have been pointed out, the problem associated with governance in Nigeria is the problem of governance; Achebe in his book; *The Trouble Nigeria* did a meticulous examination and analysis of the leadership problems in Nigeria and with all elements of certainty he concluded that;

the trouble is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leader to rise to its responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmark of true leadership (Achebe 1984).

Karl Maier (2000) observed the many ills bedeviling the development of Nigeria from independence. He examined the military regime under Abacha era. According to him, “Billions of dollars were siphoned off into overseas bank accounts controlled by Abacha, his family, or his cronies, while the masses simmered in anger in the deeding poverty. Millions of Nigerians had fled into economic and political exile (5). Under Abacha, Nigeria became a pariah state and was accordingly isolated by the international community due to a series of sanctions and the inability of the military to enthrone democracy. Maier notes that during Obasanjo's inaugural address as president in May 1999, the new head of state observed that “the greatest single bane our society today is corruption” (2000:20).

The inability of Nigerian leaders to address such basic needs of the people like access to quality health facilities, good roads, electricity, pipe-bone water, quality education among others were made more manifest in the face of the covid-19 pandemic. Achebe adds more by implying that so many Nigerians engage in corrupt practices because the system under which they live today makes corruption easy and profitable, they will cease to be corrupt when corruption is made difficult and inconvenient (Achebe, 1984:38). All these anomalies in Nigeria are the result of the failure of leadership which in effect leads to bad governance.

There is no doubt that Covid-19 exposes how governance has failed in Nigeria. Though Nigeria has in the past been bedeviled by bad leadership, the coming of Covid-19 enormously

exposed how the government has failed its citizens. Governance in some countries, especially the developed countries today may not be excellent, but they prioritize the well-being of their citizens especially during the lockdown caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. For instance, in Canada, residents both permanent and temporary who are low-income earners benefited from the CERB program initiated by the government to relieve her citizens of the difficulty caused by the pandemic (Yawney, J., & Gadsden, S. A. (2020). These developed countries like Canada, the United States of America, etc. have good leaders, stable political structures, and a functional system. They provided basic amenities for their citizens, human lives are greatly valued, but the case is different in developing or underdeveloped countries especially in Nigeria and most African countries where the leaders due to corruption and their selfish interest have failed to provide adequately for the socio-economic wellbeing of citizens.

From the literature, it was noted that the ideals of good governance according to Akhakpe (2014), assure that bad governance is minimized, the views of minorities are considered, and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard. The accompanying protection of civil liberties and human rights should make for an open and transparent government and provide a check on abuse of power (Odinkalu, 2010). Odinkalu in his argument was of the view that if bad governance is eschewed and civil liberties and human rights protected, it will give rise to transparency and check excess of the ruling class. Accordingly, Ciulla (1978) argued that leaders must operate at higher need and value systems and play the role of raising people's consciousness. In essence, therefore, transforming leaders are reputed for their strong values and moral ideals which they do not water down by consensus but elevate people by using conflict to engage followers and help them reassert their values and needs.

An analysis of what is needed for good governance will be discussed subsequently. Hitherto, the phrases "governance" and "good governance" have recently become more popular in development literature. In our communities, bad governance is progressively being seen as one of the core causes of all evil. Major donors and international financial institutions are frequently stipulating that "good governance" improvements be implemented in exchange for aid and loans. It has been argued by many scholars that key indicators are needed to ensure good governance, and these include but are not limited to transparency, responsiveness, rule of law, and participation (Arndt, and Oman, 2006; Biersteker, 2010; Berman, 2007). Accordingly, transparency refers to how policies are made and how they are implemented under the rules and regulations. It also implies that information is publicly available and accessible to individuals who may be impacted by such decisions and their implementation. It also implies that sufficient information is presented in easily understandable formats and mediums (Biersteker, 2010). With regards to responsiveness, state institutions and processes must strive to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe as part of good governance (Arndt, and Oman, 2006). Finally, Good government necessitates the participation of both men and women. Direct participation or participation through legitimate intermediary entities or representatives is both viable options. It's vital to note that representative democracy does not always imply that the interests of society most vulnerable are considered when making decisions. Participants must be well-informed and well-organized. On the one hand, this entails freedom of association and expression, while on the other; it entails a well-organized civil society (Arndt, and Oman, 2006).

Rotberg (2004) observed that achieving good governance required that the Nigerian state provide adequate qualities and quantities of the prime political goods of security, rule of law, political freedom, economic opportunity, access to infrastructure, education, health, and

empowered civil society. In all these, what is obtainable in Nigeria is the opposite of good governance which, in the context of this study, is bad governance.

Adebayo (2021) studied good governance, bad governance to coronavirus pandemic in Nigeria to show the intrinsic relationship between good governance, bad governance, and coronavirus pandemic in Nigerian democracy, while my study examined how the coronavirus pandemic worsened bad governance. Adebayo further argued that bad governance is responsible for the poor management of the coronavirus pandemic in Nigeria. And because of this, it is difficult for the government to formulate policies and implement them for the protection of its citizenry. The paper is qualitative and depended only on secondary sources of data. The analysis of the data showed that there is a yawning gap in trust and accountability between citizens and the government because the feet need of the citizenry have often been ignored and neglected by the government as evidenced in the noncompliance of the fundamental induces of good governance and leadership. The paper recommended good governance which will promote participatory governance, Consensus-driven, accountable, and transparent, responsive, effective, and efficient, equitable, inclusive and rule of law. This study is apt because it shows the adverse effects of bad governance in the management of the coronavirus pandemic and the promotion of the welfare of the citizenry.

Similarly, Wachiri (2021) was concerned with the reaffirmation of the importance of good governance and effective status in Africa in the COVID-19 era. The paper, which has the objective of showing the importance of good governance in the handling of COVID-19 maintained that in the responsibility to govern, states should provide political, social, and economic goods and services to the people. The paper is narrative. It concluded that the experience and lessons emerging from the COVID-19 pandemic in Africa indicated that without efficient, transparent, accountable, inclusive, and participatory governance, it will be extremely difficult to address

contemporary and emerging challenges such as the COVID-19 pandemic. The paper, therefore, called for effective state governance anchored on solidarity, cooperation, and collaboration of regional and global actors. This paper is relevant to our study because of its ability to show the role of the state in governance in Africa and the need for global and regional partnership and collaboration in alleviating the socio-economic costs of COVID-19, among others. On the other hand, the study is more generalist as it failed to concentrate on the study of one or two nations for more emphasis. Using one or two nations as a case study will greatly aid the understanding of the research.

In another development, Ezeibe, Ilo, Ezeibe, Oguonu, Nwankwo, Ajaero, and Osadebe (2020) In Nigeria, the focus was on political distrust and the growth of COVID-19. The goal of the study was to see how political distrust affected the propagation of the COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria. The study used a qualitative dominant mixed methods strategy that included phone interviews and a survey of 120 educated Nigerians purposively picked from four of the COVID-19's most afflicted states: Lagos, Oyo, and Kano, Federal Capital Territory Abuja, and Rivers State. Utilizing primary sources of data, the study's analysis demonstrated that political corruption fuels widespread political distrust, undermining public compliance with government norms, limiting the effectiveness of government countermeasures to COVID-19, and aiding the virus's spread in Nigeria. Improved trust and accountability, according to the paper increased citizens' compliance to COVID-19 safety measures are necessary steps required to reduce the spread and effects of the pandemic. The study's importance lies in showing how the spread of COVID-19 in Nigeria was aided by health sector corruption, a weak healthcare system, a huge immune-compromised population, misinformation, and the prevalence in the densely populated slums, and how political distrust has escalated the spread of the virus.

In the same vein, Onyishi, Ejike-Alieji, Ajaero Mbaegbu, Ezeibe, Onyebueke, Mbah, and Nzeadibe (2020) argued from a political Economist viewpoint through their research, which was conducted on the COVID-19 epidemic and informal urban government in Africa. The goal of the research was to evaluate the COVID-19 extraneous protocols and responses about urban governance principles. The paper argued that the outbreak of coronavirus is probably the most serious global challenge since World War II. Hence, research has neglected the social, economic, and political dimensions of the pandemic. Relying on the analysis of data on trends of COVID-19 infections the World Health Organization and Africa's Disease Control and Prevention Centres, and a rapid review of available international and national policy/program documents on COVID-19 control responses in Africa, the study adopted a political economy framework, to drive the argument that the social conditions of informal labor and business activities during the COVID-19 pandemic are explored with accession to the social habitus of informality. The paper discovered that the COVID-19 pandemic is a pervasive health problem and poses a social and political-economic challenge given the largely informal nature of urbanism in Africa. The study stated that in the fight against COVID-19 in Africa, urban governance that includes collective organization, community groups, non-state and informal actors is more effective. The report advocated for a rethinking of African urbanism in line with the global campaign's ideals on urban governance.

Madueke, Iheonu, and Ololo (2020) were concerned about the consequences of the post COVID19 epidemic in Nigeria for good governance and development. The authors aimed at unraveling the implications of a post-COVID-19 pandemic on good governance and development in Nigeria. They maintained that Nigeria is facing a challenging time due to the devastating effect of the COVID-19 pandemic as adequate measures have not been put in place to contain the pandemic which exposed the Nigerian government inefficiencies amid the COVID-19 pandemic,

because of police/military brutality, malnutrition, and famine, many Nigerians have died. The structural-functional theory of Herbert Spencer, Talcott Parsons, and Gabriel Almond was used in this paper to discover the link between the many social institutions and structures that make up society, which, according to the theory's proponents, is a system with interdependent pieces that work together to maintain the whole's stability. The paper concluded that Nigeria has all it takes to move up the ladder of development, but lack of efficient and effective leadership and strong institutions has undermined its efforts in the harnessing of its resources for most of the people. The paper recommended strong institutions and the broader of Nigerian various sectors of the economy to make for a strong economic base as well as address infrastructural decay, corruption, and other related vices. The study is interesting because it provided a historical background of the COVID-19 pandemic concerning the political and socio-economic factors in Nigeria. However, the time frame for the research was so short and may not provide a valid and reliable generalization.

Studying the COVID-19 pandemic and the Nigerian primary healthcare system, Obi-Ani, Ezeaku, Ikem, Isiani, Obi-Ani, and Chisolum (2021) claimed that the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria, as well as its local dispersion caused by a lack of medical personnel and supplies because of a decade of neglect of the health care system, is concerning. According to a study that used secondary sources of data, the sad condition of the Nigerian healthcare system has been increasingly apparent since the outbreak of the COVID-19 epidemic. It is saddening to know that the ineffective and inactive administration, as well as the outdated health institutions typified by poor working conditions and incentives, are alarming and frightening. The study recommended among others overhauling of the healthcare system and good leadership practices and values. The importance of this study stems from its capacity to highlight the link between Nigerian leadership failure and the neglect of the primary healthcare system.

Yagboyaju and Akinlola (2019) examined the Nigerian state and governance crises to investigate the condition of governance in Nigeria as well as assess the factors impeding the promotion of public good and effective service delivery in the country. The study argued that the Nigerian state, like its counterparts in Africa and other emerging nations, has underperformed for decades due to a lack of state ability to deal with contemporary governance problems. The paper's methodology is quantitative, and it relies on secondary data and the authors' observations of occurrences in Nigeria. The paper's findings revealed that Nigerian governance and political leadership are driven by self-interest and other primordial reasons that take precedence over public well-being. It was also discovered that the state has failed tremendously in three important areas: the security of people and property, the promotion of the rule of law, and the provision of visionary leadership. For good governance, the study called for a positive shift in the character and personalities of political leaders.

Okere and Okoroafor (2018) studied good governance and corruption in Nigeria regarding President Muhammadu Buhari's government. The paper argued that the declaration of war against corruption in Nigeria was to pave way for good governance, as the search for good governance is more undermined by the factors of corruption. The paper utilized a quantitative research method based on secondary data. It employed the social contract theory of the state, propounded by Jean Jacque Rousseau. The theory states that government is a product of a social contract that is guided and predicated on the general will. The findings of the study proved that Nigeria's biggest challenge in the achievement of good governance and leadership is corruption. The paper recommended a credible poll, a review of anti-corruption laws and policies, a total restructuring of anti-corruption agencies and the judicial institution to ensure the sustainability of good governance. The paper is relevant for showing that corruption is the bane of good governance.

Adeleke (2017) was involved in researching good governance as a catalyst for national peace, stability, and development. The paper argued that good governance, which is the determinant of peace and stability has remained a mirage in Nigeria due to corruption and several other challenges. The paper described the present administration as riddled with graft, bribery and corruption, and abuse of office. The paper used an analytical tool as the conclusion revealed that the government can only build trust in the polity by ensuring probity, accountability, and eschewing all forms of indices for good governance and sustainable development in Nigeria.

1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The research is grouped into four chapters. The first chapter introduces the study and specifies its organization (background of the study, statement of the research problem, research question, purpose of the research, and importance of the research, methodology,). Chapter two will explore existing and relevant literature that discusses bad governance in pre-covid Nigeria. The third chapter will be an in-depth analysis of how covid-19 worsened governance in Nigeria and thereby making a threat to human well-being. It will further discuss relevant literature that will advance the argument of this study to achieve the intended objectives. Chapter four will discuss the conclusions and recommendations for the study.

CHAPTER TWO

BAD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA, PRE-COVID

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter is divided into themes. The first highlights the background of Nigeria's political setting and governance in the post-covid Nigeria. The second focuses on the scope and defining what constitutes good and bad governance. Subsequently, the elements that constitute bad governance and its threat to well-being would be discussed.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.2.1 Governance Defined

The subject of governance has arisen as a key idea within the contemplation of society as a tool to achieve development (Essien 2012). The World Governance Indicators (WGI) project defines "governance" as comprising of "the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised" (World Bank 2014, p. 1). This includes how governments are appointed, monitored, and replaced, as well as their ability to detail and implement sound strategies, provide public types of assistance, and gain the respect of residents and institutions that determine monetary and social connections (Kaufmann 2010). The six key governance predictive factors by the WGI are 1) political stability and the lack of violence, 2) government competence, 3) institutional quality, 5) rule of law and 6) corruption check, and given these actions, Nordic states in Europe, for example, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway have an exclusive standard of governance (Asefa and Huang, 2015). From the definition, governance is more than a way of achieving the collective good; it is also linked to the government's aim to serve individuals in achieving individual happiness and

monetary success. As a result, governance may be equated to the administration, distribution, and delivery of political commodities to the people of a nation-state.

2.3 GOOD GOVERNANCE

Good governance is defined as efficiently offering high-quality and essential services by a state to its inhabitants and this is achieved when it distributes and manages resources to react to communal challenges (Essien, 2012). As a result, nations should be judged on the quality and quantity of public services they offer to their inhabitants (Rotberg 2004). From a broad perspective, good governance is seen as an institutional principle of public administration and administrative law that requires the State, nation, or government organs to execute the tasks in a way that encourages the principles of system performance, non-corruptibility, and civil society adaptiveness (Essien, 2012). Consequently, it is a concept that's closely linked to statesmanship. While the government is not practically required to deliver every essential service for citizens, it must focus on ensuring that the mechanisms for identifying and delivering such provisions are constructive in terms of (i) being sensitive to public expectations; (ii) being honest in resource distribution; and (iii) being fair and equal in the distribution of goods and services. Human rights, democratization and democracy, openness, engagement and decentralized power exchange, competent public service, integrity, rule of law, efficacy, equity, and strategic vision are all concepts that drive the process of providing essential services in every community. The graphic in Figure 3.3.1 depicts some common features of excellent governance.

According to Asefa and Huang, (2015), good governance consists of political accountability, regular elections, and participation by all, rule of law, independence of the judiciary, bureaucratic accountability, freedom of information, transparency, efficient and effective administrative

system, and cooperation between government and the civil society. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are considered, and that voices of the most vulnerable in the society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsible for the present and future needs of society. They further asserted that these features are not usually met by dysfunctional and authoritarian governments.

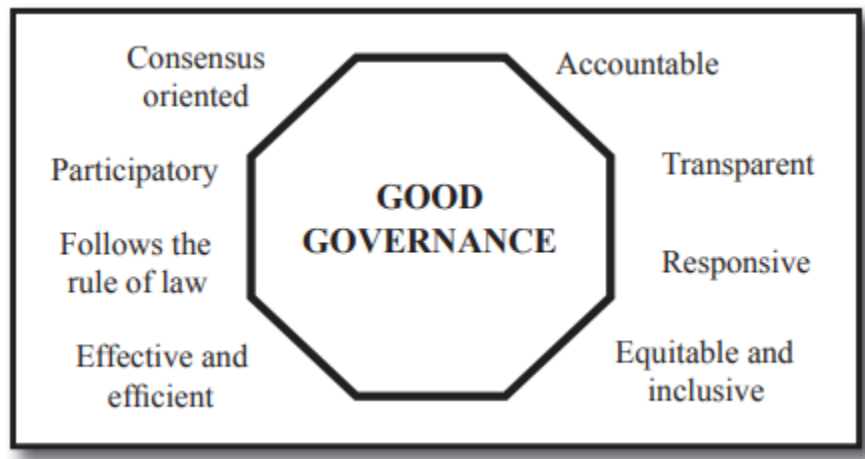


Fig. 2.3 Model of Good Governance

Figure 2.3.1 Simple Model of Good Governance (Collier, 2007)

Kola, Nnawo, and Olasumbo, (2017) also noted that good governance is the technique of efficiently managing a state's affairs in the areas of public transparency, fiscal responsibility, administrative and political responsibility, sensitivity, and transparency, all of which must reflect the interests of the governed and leaders. Odo, (2015), espouses that the execution of proper management, in which all important stakeholders are permitted to have a say in the decision-making process, is one of the core elements of effective and good governance. In effect, the purview of governance is broad since it encompasses all the government's day-to-day operations, such as the exercise of authority on economic, political, and administrative levels at all stages of the country (Kola, Nnawo, and Olasumbo, 2017). Again, institutional and policy arrangements,

decision-making procedures, strategy formulation and execution capabilities, people development, information flow, and the type and style of leadership are all elements of good governance, according to Odo, (2015).

Conclusively, good governance is a method of administration that aims to build a system based on justice and peace while safeguarding people's human rights and civil freedoms. It also connotes instances where governments are being sensitive to public expectations, being honest in resource distribution, and being fair and equal in the distribution of goods and services. Also, good governance will ensure that there is an open and flexible economy where jobs are created, educational and necessary social infrastructures are in place to uplift the livelihood of the less privileged and marginalized.

2.4 BAD GOVERNANCE

2.4.1 Summary of Governance Development in Nigeria

According to Aning, (2016) bad governance is the failure of a government to satisfy the demands of society while making the best use of all resources available; failure of a public institution to handle public affairs and state funds. In governmental bodies, it is distinguished by corruption, criminality, and a lack of freedom of expression, among other things. Subsequently, having discussed the concept of good governance above, I will juxtapose it against my discussion of the key elements of bad governance espoused by Essien (2012); Odeh, (2015); Kola, Nnawo, and Olasumbo, (2017); but with specific reference to governance development in Nigeria. However, even if efforts are made to discuss all governance indices in Nigeria time and poor reportage of issues as well as undocumented events will be constraints to the analysis (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019) hence the need to focus on key areas of safeguarding life and property, corruption, leadership

question, rule of law and poverty alleviation as posited by Aning, (2016) and Yagboyaju and Akinola, (2019).

2.4.1.1 Security of life and property

According to Yagboyaju and Akinola, (2019), security plays a critical role in all country's development aspirations and goals. Researchers have often emphasized the link between security and development (Akinola, 2011; Shanum, (2013). Furthermore, Shanum (2013) argues that no nation can experience permanent peace if its inhabitants are impoverished, especially if that nation is seen as having the potential and resources to offer development and provide a high quality of life. Unfortunately, Nigeria's story is similar. It's a story of bad government, instability, and poverty in a land where there is abundance. Nigeria has been classified as one of the world's "19 poorest, unhappiest, unhealthiest, and most dangerous countries" ("National Assembly's Amendment of CCB Act Cannot Stand," 2016, p. 24) due to its obvious bad governance.

Consequently, the security-advancement assembly clarifies why each progressive government, since Nigeria's freedom in 1960, has repeated the significance of security as the center objective and basic role of government. Police officers, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force are among the public security organizations and agencies tasked with providing security in Nigeria. The National Intelligence Agency (NIA), the Department of State Services (DSS), and the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) are all federally regulated entities (Yagboyaju, (2016a). Besides, there is also the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) program, in which new graduates from higher institutions participate in various exercises, some of which are security related (Yagboyaju and Akinola, (2019).

Moreover, despite all of these, the lives and property of the public, particularly ordinary individuals can scarcely be secure. For example, in the wake of the disputed voting results in Western Nigeria in 1965, the country's First Republic crumbled due to political turmoil. Other types of violence had preceded this, including the 1962 national census issue, the contentious 1964 federal election, and the 1960 and 1964 Tiv insurrection, the latter of which had reverberations throughout the country's whole north-central political zone (Anifowose, 1982). These developments resulted in the collapse of Nigerian law and the military's subsequent takeover of the recognized government. Whereas the number of casualties and lasting disabilities caused by these violent incidents is alarming, it is much more so since “many of the instances remain sometimes unsolved several years later” (Yagboyaju, 2016b, pp. 58-59). As a result of the agitated high-profile instances of Dele Giwa, a cutting-edge journalist killed in 1987, and Chief Bola Ige, a serving Minister of Justice and Attorney General of the Federation killed in 2001, it should not shock anyone if normal residents’ resort to self-improvement at whatever point they feel offended. According to Yagboyaju and Akinlola, (2019), abusive behavior at home, intercommunal hardship, political deaths, uprisings, and, most recently, illegal intimidation are largely normal events. Whenever left overlooked for a long time, self-improvement is a solution for political agitation, the rule of law breakdown, and grave threats to the wellbeing of individuals and property (Yagboyaju and Akinlola, (2019). Using the observations discussed above concerning safeguarding human life as an element of good governance, it is a story of bad government, instability, and poverty in a land where there is abundance.

2.4.1.2 Governance in Nigeria: Rule of Law

The principles of constitutionalism and the rule of law are essential for successful governance and protecting the community. One of the benefits of democracy is the rule of law. Governance is more than just the rule of the people. It represents a serious and broad contest for public posts, as specified by the legislative framework of the country in question, through periodic, free, and fair elections (Towah, 2019). The rule of law as opined by Adamolekun, (2016), supports an impartial judicial system that entails a workable legal structure that aids in the resolution of disputes between the private and the public on the one hand, and between people or organizations on the other. It also helps to guarantee that property rights and contracts are respected, as well as preventing the government and powerful individuals from behaving arbitrarily. The court also acts as a check on the other branches of government, particularly the executive branch, through its supervisory duties (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019).

To begin with, there is enough evidence of a tumultuous relationship between the executive and the court throughout the nation's First Republic. It should be emphasized that, rather than checking the government's abuses, the judiciary seemed biased in numerous cases. For example, it played a part in the treason trial of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the main opposition party Action Group (AG) in the First Republic. This was also shown in the conduct of the Western region election of 1965, in which a breakaway faction from Awolowo's AG won a contentious win with apparent backing from the federal government (Anifowose, 1982); Yagboyaju and Akinola, (2019). Throughout Nigeria's lengthy period of military rule, the lack of judicial independence and its accompanying evils, which are a formula for bad governance and maladministration, notably by the executive branch of government, grew more evident. Because of military rulers' lack of faith in the normal legal system, successive military regimes have reduced the function of regular courts, particularly in corruption-related matters (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019). However,

because the composition of the specialized military courts, like that of numerous other organizations whose membership is selected by the military dictator's discretion, was arbitrarily chosen, their actions were compared to "combating corruption with corrupt practices" (Akinseye-George, 2000, p. 53).

Considering the broad and deep correlations between legislation and adjudication, it is relevant to use examples from the activities of Nigerian legislators, particularly at the federal level, to further demonstrate the links between governance and the impact of the rule of law in the country. For example, instead of focusing on the almost 200 legislations pending in the National Assembly since 2012, some of which have been deemed critical to the economy, the 8th Assembly, which was inaugurated in 2015, seemed to be more concerned with self-serving objectives ("National Assembly's Amendment of CCB Act Cannot Stand," 2016). Consider, for instance, the Railways Amendment Bill, which intends to revoke the provincial Railway Act of 1955 and clear a path for private financial backers, just as the Petroleum Industry Bill, "whose mystifying deferral has obstructed interests in the basic oil and gas area," and the Minerals Bill, which will likewise "open the conduits to private double-dealing of sand and minerals" ("National Assembly's Amendment of CCB Act Cannot Stand," 2016, p. 24) has been perused in the selfish interest of the assembly (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019).

Moreover, The Code of Performance Bureau and Code of Conduct Tribunal Act, also known as the CCB/CCT Act, enacted to combat corruption, require public officials to declare their assets, and maintain the highest level of moral virtue in the actions of government operations was changed by lawmakers ("National Assembly's Amendment of CCB Act Cannot Stand," 2016, p. 24). Evidently, in most areas of the sophisticated democratic world, senior managers are encouraged to disclose information about their holdings to maintain a level of morality and transparency in

government companies. Surprisingly, the National Assembly began this amending procedure while one of its most powerful officers, Senate President Bukola Saraki, was on trial before the CCT for making a fraudulent asset disclosure (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019).

2.4.1.3 Question of Leadership

Without a question, leadership plays an important role in all aspects of public administration and social management. In the context of this, Nigeria's inability to achieve efficient administration that tackles issues such as corruption, human rights, and the deployment of people and material resources for long-term development is often attributed to bad governance (Achebe, 1988; “Mo Ibrahim’s Sobering Report,” 2013). Agulanna, (2006), asserts that politics in Nigeria has failed to provide the desired results due to the political elites' poor knowledge of what governance entails. Moreover, Shanum, (2013) argues that the growth of every nation is determined by the magnitude or quality of its leadership and how they may apply it to the wellbeing of the country and its citizens. Agulanna, (2006), further noted that as a result, the state is required to fulfill service-delivery obligations, such as building society's facilities, such as roads, postal, and telecommunications, as well as water, sewerage, and energy assets. Surprisingly, the Nigerian state has failed to meet these objectives. Indeed, if a political system is controlled by visionless politicians, the country may struggle to achieve stability and progress indefinitely. “Many African governments have proved either criminally ignorant to, or unwilling to rectify, the terrible reality of life for most of their citizens. It can be deduced that one of the most profound underpinnings of state incompetence and bad governance in Nigeria is an administrative failure.

Furthermore, with regards to the oil economy, has been the largest in Nigeria, the export value averaged 2 million barrels per day in 2016, but due to bad governance, the industry was

unable to properly account for its revenues, as well as put its four oil refineries to “10.4% capacity utilization” (“May 29: Wasted Years of Civil Rule,” 2015, p. 22); Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019). Notwithstanding the nation's oil wealth, most Nigerians still live in poverty, which underlies the nation's open hostility to any sort of gasoline rise (Akinola, 2014). According to Agbaje, Onwudiwe, and Diamond, (2004), Nigeria has been described as a wealthy country with an impoverished population, and this assertion according to Yagboyaju and Akinola, (2019), is due to bad governance. Suberu, on the other hand, feels Nigeria is the “greatest single developmental disaster in the world today... the symbol extraordinaire for a catastrophic developmental experience” (Suberu, 2004, p. 31). Moreover, its failed socioeconomic reforms, such as the oil sector reform, are noteworthy. As a result of the failure to sustain refinery efficiency, the inadequacy of oil governance machinery, and inadequate leadership, completed petroleum products were imported and a criminally questionable fuel subsidy system lasted until 2015 (Akinola, 2014; Akinola and Wissink, 2018; “Swallowing the Bitter Pill of Fuel Deregulation,” 2016, p. 22).

The imbalanced federal frameworks, with centralization of authority as opposed to initial post-independence local autonomy (1960-1966), and administrative deficiencies exacerbated Nigeria's leadership difficulty and governance crises. The military's entry into politics threw the Nigerian federal system into disarray and provided the groundwork for individuals to rise above government agencies. Undoubtedly, the political leadership took advantage of Nigeria's federalism and institutions' fundamental flaws (Akinola and Wissink, 2018). Following the fall of the First Government (1960-1966), the new political class emerged self-serving, incompetent, and motivated by tribalism and benefactor politics (Akinola, 2009). Again, the army's effect on the

political elite was detrimental, particularly during the undemocratic character of consecutive liberalization processes from the late 1990s.

Conclusively, from the argument thus far, the military's entry into Nigeria's political atmosphere was one of the most significant impediments to good governance and the rule of law in the country. The armed services, which lacked leadership and governance skills, set out to dismantle constitutional governance structures and subjugate public institutions to an authoritarian hierarchy. For Nigerians, provision of services, human rights, and socioeconomic growth have all become high goals. The public service was military, and the government imposed poor governance through corruption, which has plagued the Nigerian state and Nigerians to this day.

2.5 PRE-PANDEMIC AND GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

The following will be discussed considering the main objective of the study which seeks to illustrate how bad governance was worsened by the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic. The selected themes under consideration are security/insecurity, economy, brain drain, and education.

2.5.1 Governance in Nigeria: Security

Human security is an important part of the world's political and development agenda. It is based on two ideas: first, the safeguarding of individuals is a strategic concern for national and international security; and second, security conditions for people's development are not limited to traditional national defense, law, and order issues, but rather include all political, economic, and social issues that enable a life free of risk and fear (Shanum, (2013). Even though the roots of this notion have been agreed upon, there is presently no unambiguous definition of human security. The United Nations Commission on Human Security, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, the OECD Development Assistance Committee, and the national

governments of Japan, the United Kingdom, Canada, and others have been working to define its essential components since the mid-1990s. Nevertheless, definitions remain wide, emphasizing the preservation of individuals and society from a range of dangers, ranging from personal to communal vulnerabilities, and from physical to political, economic, social, or environmental hazards.

According to Udeh et al (2013), the definition of insecurity is quite the opposite of security; it is the inability to protect lives and properties. Insecurity is commonly seen as the "fear of the unknown", it is a feeling of unsafe or vulnerability. Security issues in a country poses threat to people's lives and properties, obstruct business operations, and deter local and foreign investors, all of which have an impact on a country's socio-economic growth. Group violence that causes insecurity in a country always stems from the government's failure to effectively provide for the socio-economic well-being of the people. Human and drug trafficking are two more activities that have increased insecurity in Nigeria. Porous borders, allowing illegal immigration, guns and ammunition, ethnoreligious disputes, political violence, and so on to infiltrate. Furthermore, a study by Walker (2012) revealed that Boko Haram is a group founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002, who are opposed to Western Education, and they have severally unleashed terror on Nigerian citizens since 2009. The Boko Haram is being referred to today in Nigeria as the deadliest group in Nigeria because they are getting stronger by conquering more communities, taking over the bushes where they lay ambush for road travelers, they kidnap and kill both the poor, the rich, the educated, the uneducated, the women and children. Before the pandemic, Boko Haram carried out several attacks for instance; on May 29th, 2011, they detonated 3 bombs at the Army barracks in Bauchi state, 14 people were killed. On June 13th, 2011, the first suicide bombing took place outside the Nigerian police headquarters in Abuja, killing 5 people. Also, on January 20th, 2012,

Boko Haram attacked several areas in Kano, killing nearly 200 people, they further carried out more attacks in the Federal capital territory Abuja, for instance, the bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Abuja, bombing of some churches and mosques to instigate religious tension (Eme et. al., 2012:45). Olisemeka (2011:26) stated that the bombings and killings constantly left the people in Maiduguri and other cities of the northeast in fear, and many migrated to other parts of the country, abandoning their homes, business, etc.

2.5.2 Governance in Nigeria: Economy

Adewale (2011) in his study from 1996 to 2009 used a simulation method to explore the economic ramifications of bad governance in Nigeria, applying the Error Correction Mechanism (ECM) to resolve the difficulties of the regression model, and to determine the degree of stationary of variables in the study and the co-integrating characteristics of the data, he discovered that all of the econometric tests used in the study indicate a statistically significant link between the model and, as a result, he concluded that bad governance slows economic growth in Nigeria, that is, bad governance has a crowding-out impact on growth.

According to Abubakar and Abdullahi (2018), there are two (2) separate philosophies in research (Leff, (1964); Friedrich (1972) on corruption, bad governance, and economic security. The first school of thought holds that corruption and bad governance contribute to economic independence or growth. This is because corruption and bad governance (i.e., the payments of bribes to officials in various forms) function as lubricants in the catalyst for economic growth, allowing public officials to speed up the project authorization. What these researchers imply is that corruption improves productive viability and has a favorable impact on economic security, i.e., growth rate. From this perspective, corruption serves as a lubricant, smoothing activities and so increasing an economy's efficiency (Abubakar and Abdullahi, 2018). Corruption, according to Leff

(1964) can improve efficiency by removing government-imposed impediments that stifle investment and interfere with other growth-friendly economic decisions. As a result, corruption lubricates the system or lubricates the wheel. This logic was frequently used to explain the high growth rates in several Southeast Asian countries.

The performance perspective is promoted by the second school of thought. Corruption and bad governance, according to McMullan (1961), Mauro, (1997), and United Nations (1989) assessments, impedes economic security and growth, alters markets, and misrepresents service provision. Corruption favors sectors where it is difficult to detect corruption, such as security, education, and health. It also leads to increasing the extent of public investment while decreasing the productivity of the country's infrastructure. Because it jeopardizes the government's capacity to collect taxes and customs, it has a propensity to diminish taxation.

2.5.3 Governance in Nigeria: Brain Drain

According to Imafidon, (2018), Nigeria has always struggled with the problem of brain drain. The trend of physicians, engineers, and other professionals traveling to other nations in search of better pastures is at an all-time high. The cause for this is a result of bad governance. The doctors themselves have blamed this mass exit at the doorstep of poor working conditions dilapidated health care infrastructure, lack of motivation, etc. Over 2000 physicians are thought to have already fled Nigeria's borders. Doctors in Nigeria were on strike during the onset of the new coronavirus pandemic, a circumstance that jeopardized the country's attempts to combat the spread of Covid-19 (Amzat et al, 2020).

2.5.4 Governance in Nigeria: Education

Lewis and, Gunilla (2009), opined that the successful delivery of education services is aided by good governance in educational systems. Education is the cornerstone for the successful development of any nation. Its significance therefore cannot be overstated. The educational system in Nigeria, like every other sector, is underfunded, which leads to strikes by teachers and school staff (Omotor, 2004). In some developed nations online learning has been incorporated in their educational system (Adarkwah, 2021). Before the outbreak of the covid-19 epidemic, the Ghana government took several steps to encourage online learning in the country. Ghana's Ministry of Education adopted the "one laptop, one pupil" program, delivering 1,000 computers to 30 schools around the country (three in each region) (Amorighoye, 2020).

Before 1960, Nigerian schools were mainly reliant on missionaries and international teachers. Most of these expatriates, according to Akindutire and Ekundayo (2012), lacked teaching credentials. Shortly after the Nigerian independence, there was a rise in pupil enrolment, leading to the establishment of new schools. Both the West African Examination Council (WAEC) and the Scientific Teacher Association of Nigeria (STAN) were established in 1952 and 1957, respectively, bringing significant improvements to science education in Nigeria. Biology, Chemistry, and Physics have introduced into Nigerian schools in 1968 thanks to cooperation with STAN, the Ministry of Education, and the Comparative Education Study and Adaptation Centre (CESAC) (Aina and Adedo, 2013). However, a significant scarcity of trained instructors to teach these topics exists.

Conclusion

Nigeria, the largest country in Africa, is bereft of genuine statesmen. The lack of political will is also relevant and significant. Within the context of patriotic nationalism, political will is the compelling force for sound leadership qualities, the ability to accomplish what is right, what is

important, and what is attainable. Political will frequently necessitate individual or communal sacrifices. It entails the ability to put policies in place that are both significant and relevant to the country, without letting vested interests detract from what should naturally be of national benefit (Ibrahim et al., 2018). Nigeria's leadership selection procedure, unfortunately, follows the imposition pattern, either directly or indirectly. Worrying is the fact that Nigeria's political structure is based on tribal and ethnic groups, which means visionary leaders are typically overlooked while mediocre leaders are often chosen or imposed on the populace (Wachira, 2020).

Further, bad governance before the COVID-19 pandemic can allude to the following discussed above. With regards to security, Human and drug trafficking are two more activities that have increased insecurity in Nigeria. The borders are porous, allowing illegal immigration, guns and ammunition, ethnoreligious disputes, political violence, and so on to infiltrate. The unemployment percentage is ever-increasing which leaves the teeming youth with no work. These affected people engage in numerous social vices. Poverty is also on the rise due to bad governance since the government is not able to provide for these youth which lives an impact on the economy. With regards to education, little provision has been made to cater to the needs of both teachers and students. There is a lack of trained teachers to facilitate subjects taught in schools. Again, the lack of motivation results in brain drains. People travel outside to seek greener pastures.

CHAPTER THREE

COVID-19 AND THE AMPLIFICATION OF BAD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA AND IN AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Having set the tone for what good and bad governance is in the previous chapter of this study, this chapter shall be divided into two parts which are the question postulated for this study which is how the COVID-19 pandemic worsened bad governance in Nigeria and the second part makes a comparative analysis of governance in other African countries and governance in Nigeria during the pandemic. This analysis will highlight key measures put in place by leaders to mitigate the harsh effects of the pandemic on their citizens. Nonetheless, this analysis will be linked to the central question of this study.

3.2 HOW COVID-19 WORSENE BAD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

The first case of COVID-19 in Nigeria was discovered on the 27th of February 2020 when an Italian man who flew into Nigeria and presented symptoms like that of coronavirus tested positive for the virus. From then on, the incidence of COVID-19 grew steadily with cases being recorded daily thereby overwhelming the already poor health system. By March 30th 2020, the number of COVID-19 cases has grown so high that the government began to consider a total lockdown of the country as a way of slowing down the spread (Okolie-Osemene, 2021).

According to Okolie-Osemene (2021), the coronavirus crisis was a major turning point in Nigeria's socio-economic and political landscape, causing fear in states. Security governance is

one of the components for societal peace and stability, but difficulties can arise when the criminal justice system fails. There is evidence of bad governance during the pandemic. The implications of maladministration have left many underprivileged and marginalized Nigerian's suffering. The subsequent discussions will focus on selected themes or in other words areas that exposed how worsened bad governance in Nigeria.

3.2.1 Lockdown and its Implications

The first phase of the lockdowns was announced by the president on April 27th, 2020, and will last two weeks, from May 4th to 17th. In addition, the government enforced a dusk-to-dawn curfew in the impacted areas. Lockdown might be declared by state governments in their respective geographical domains. The government has also taken other efforts to restrict the spread of the Covid-19, and these include the closure of all schools, suspension of all religious activities, closure of all land and sea borders to prevent inward and outward-bound travelers, partial closure of markets, and cessation of movement within the country especially inter-state travels. The masses, many of whom rely on daily revenue to support their families, began to feel the effects of the lockdown just a few days after it began. The federal administration considered distributing palliatives¹ to the most vulnerable members of the population after significant agitation and threats of mass disobedience to the lockdown restrictions. The Covid-19 infection spread like wildfire over the whole country. The leaders of many countries swiftly implemented several steps to preserve the lives of their populations.

¹ According to the Collins dictionary, Palliative is an action that is designed to lessen the severity of the impacts of a problem but does not actually solve it (collinsdictionary.com)

As elucidated by Wæver (1995), survival, growth, freedom, and identity are the four essential requirements that must be met for an issue to be securitized, although individuals have the freedom to securitize whatever they choose. The procedures put in place to monitor people's actions and adherence through the deployment of security operatives and task forces along the highways and streets are the link between security governance and lockdown enforcements. The goal of security governance, and lockdown enforcement is no exception, is to protect people and property (Okolie-Osemene, 2021). However, considering curbing the spread of the virus the World Health Organization (WHO) has indicated that lockdown is the best step (WHO, 2019). Campbell, (2020) asserted that Lock-down was the most popular of these measures. To stop the spread of this terrible illness, everyone was ordered to stay at home, all borders were blocked, and all companies, schools, and gatherings were shuttered. Bonardi et al, (2020) pointed out in their study that lockdown measures were effective in limiting the spread of the virus.

However, for the first time in the history of Nigeria, there was a lockdown that affected all sectors due to the COVID-19 pandemic. On March 30th, 2020, the federal government of Nigeria issued the stay-at-home order in some states of the nation as Lagos, Ogun State, and Abuja, intending to contain the spread of the disease in these states and the capital territory to other parts of the country, some state governors followed suit in imposing the same restrictions in their states. The two-week restriction order was extended for another two weeks and further extended to a few months, prohibiting all social gatherings and parades in churches, mosques, weddings, and funerals (Campbell, 2020). The lockdown lasted longer than expected (Kalu, 2020).

It is unfortunate to note that Nigerians did not get the needed support from the government to help them through this difficult period. They were not provided with even their basic amenities like electricity, food, water, in some cases shelter, especially in the rural areas. A study by

(Azubuike, et al, 2021 pp. 32-34) revealed that though the lockdown helped in reducing the transmission of the disease, the impact on the people living especially in slums is unimaginable. Mrs. Ogunsola cried out that all four of her children lie down on the floor while it rained outside because the house, they are living in is dilapidated. She also said that she must go and sell her vegetables and fruits because her family survival solely depends on the little profits, she makes daily. These are some concerns raised by some citizens in respect of the implications of the lockdown which was a response by the government putting measures in place to curb the spread of the virus.

3.2.2 Diversion Palliatives

During the outbreak, the government of Nigeria has put up measures to ensure that the livelihood of citizens is improved. Resources were mobilized to respond to the outbreak. Medical supplies and food items were distributed. The essences of these palliatives were to mitigate the effects of the lockdown. However, because of the corruption inherent in the Nigerian system, the federal government palliatives were hijacked by politicians. Most state and local governments used the palliative as campaign materials giving only to party faithful instead of the vulnerable in the society. Many of the palliatives were also locked up in many warehouses across the country as was revealed during the crises against police brutality in Nigeria. During the protests, many of these warehouses housing the palliatives were looted by the protesters (Okolie-Osemene, 2021).

Another difficulty that hampered the seamless distribution of palliatives to the vulnerable in society is the lack or absence of accurate data: Nigerian governments lack statistics on the group referred to as vulnerable or poor in Nigerian society (Abiodun, 2020). As a result, it became

exceedingly difficult for palliatives to reach the intended audience, culminating in the materials being diverted by a corrupt politician. Nigerians questioned the federal government's sincerity in responding, particularly in terms of accepting donations and distributing palliatives to the needy (Odekunle, 2020). Furthermore, many warehouses were discovered loaded with food products during the Nigerian 'Endsars' protest, which the politicians refused to distribute, preferring to save them for their re-election campaign. Angered Nigerians stormed these warehouses and damaged them, stealing the food and other essential items needed for their well-being. Pictures of Nigerians fighting and scrambling for food were shown in a story written by Timothy Obiezu and broadcast by Voice of America (www.VOA.com/news). Some persons were interviewed, and the following is what they had to say: An individual by name, David Ojo was stubborn and insisted that they (him and his group), would not leave until they had food. He said "Palliatives are needed. It is our right to do so. Because of COVID-19, my neighbour was on the verge of starvation Ojo remarked. He used to work as a security guard for a government agency before being shot. So, what exactly do you want him to do? I fed him beans and rice, and he was on the verge of starvation (Timothy Obiezu, www.VOA.com/news). Another Nigerian named Chukwu, who lives in Abuja, stated that the government has failed to assist them. "They didn't provide us anything here, Chukwu expressed his disappointment. Perhaps they shared for personal benefit. However, they did not share it with anybody, and now these politicians are stockpiling the palliative to make people forget about it, which they would later distribute or sell to their constituents (Timothy Obiezu (2020); www.VOA.com/news).



Fig 3.2. Picture of Nigerians looting

Figure 4.2.2.1 a picture of Nigerians forcefully taking away the food items found hidden in a warehouse in Abuja federal capital territory on the 26th of October 2020 (<https://www.voanews.com/a/covid-19-pandemic>)

From the picture, one can see that these people do not care about social distancing, wearing of face mask, or washing off their hands; their major challenge is hunger because of bad governance and not Covid-19. The amount of food kept in storage, according to Vivian Bellonwu, the head of Social Action Nigeria, is a sign of "systemic failure" (<https://guardian.ng/tag/mrs-vivian-bellonwu-okafor/>). "It's unimaginable that these people will lock down this amount of food and resources as we see them in their premises, in their custody, and watch as people wallow in poverty and difficulty," Bellonwu described the act as very disappointing (<https://guardian.ng/tag/mrs-vivian-bellonwu-okafor/>).

Conclusively, the factors discussed above show how Covid-19 exposed bad governance in Nigeria. The lockdown which was a step to curb the spread rather saw many agitated youths fight for what they duly deserve since measures put in place were not properly structured to ensure that citizens enjoy necessities. The measures enrolled by the government saw many youths and marginalized

citizens jobless. The government could not do anything to alleviate the hardship that they were going through. This situation led to many recorded police brutality which in my opinion was against the elements of good governance as discussed in this study. A key focus of good governance is safeguarding the lives and properties of citizens. However, during the pandemic many marginalized and underprivileged citizens who felt they were deprived of what they deserved rather got brutalized by the police and other law enforcement agencies when they use peaceful and democratic means like a protest to channel their grievances. Again, governments must provide for the essentials that citizens need for their well-being in order to improve upon the standard of living but then again this has been the opposite. Nigerian politics rather hoard items that were meant for the general well-being of the populace. This was to serve their selfish interest. As indicated above some citizens lamented about how difficult it was to survive and the image above also demonstrates how citizens were agitating just to get food items and other necessities to support their household.

3.3 COMPARISON OF GOVERNANCE IN SOME COUNTRIES TO GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The focus here is to make an analysis of measures put in place by leaders of some countries to lessen the burden that comes with the strict requirements to reduce the spread of the virus. Some literature recalls specific socioeconomic policy mechanisms put in place by the government of some African nations as well as countries across the globe (Eribo, 2020). I must add that these policies have boosted the confidence of citizens in their governance system (Eribo, 2020). The reason for this comparison is that evidence shows how many marginalized Nigeria received poor treatment during the pandemic. The government did not put in much to cushion the harsh effects of the strict measures like lockdown and stay home that was in place to reduce the spread (Barua,

2020). Again, in this current study, Nigeria is a representative case study of how African countries and other nations have fared on the governance front during COVID. The subsequent sections detail how these measures helped citizens', juxtaposing against Nigeria's government provisions which reveal bad governance.

3.3.1 Economy

According to data from the United Nations Trade and Development Agency (UNCTAD), the impact of the covid-19 outbreak will be close to 2 trillion U.S. dollars by 2020 (World Bank 2020). Most central banks, finance ministries, and independent economic analysts around the world have taken solace in the forecast that the effects will be severe but brief, and that economic activity will then return to normal. A study by Barua (2020) showed that before covid-19, the Nigerian government was trying to recover from the 2014 oil price fall, which led to the slow growth of GDP with 2.3% in 2019. For this reason, the IMF amended the 2020 GDP growth rate from 2.5% to 2% in February He further stated that Nigeria being plunged into so much debt is a major challenge facing the country.

Nigeria received donations from philanthropists both local and international to support the teeming number of Nigerians who are dying of hunger because of the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic. A study by Eribo (2020), listed some of these donations made to the Nigeria government and they include; donation of 110 isolation beds by the Guarantee Trust Bank of Nigeria, €50M was donated to Nigeria by the European Union, UN Women donated the equivalent of US\$100,000 to help the most vulnerable women in Nigeria's 14 states purchase and distribute palliative and medicine; 50 A30 ventilators and personal protective equipment, valued at US\$2.2 million were donated by the United Nations to Nigeria.

Though the negative impact of the Covid-19 is reflected in every country of the world with good leadership and functional institutions, the citizens are hopeful and believe that there will be a light at the end of the tunnel. For instance, in Canada incentives were rolled out to support people living in the country (www.deloitte.com/ca/en/pages/tax/articles/covid-19-tax-other-incentive-measures.html), but the reverse is the case in Nigeria, where workers' salaries were not paid for up to seven months in 2020 (<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/419037-covid-19-nigerian-health-workers-lament-non-payment-of-allowances-after-closure-of-isolation-centres.html>). Dr. Jerry, a lecturer at Imo State University Owerri, stated in a chat with The Leader Newspaper on the 23rd of October 2020, that he has not been paid any salary since April 2020. This is because the elected governor was suddenly removed by a court order and a new governor sworn in. The new governor immediately made some changes in the state university administrative units, and this complicated the payment system. Consequently, upon this, many workers did not receive salaries for several months. Many of these workers have families and children that solely depend on them. This singular act plunged so many people into untold hardship during this period.

The prices of food drastically increased in Nigeria during the Covid-19 pandemic. In 2019, a bag of rice (which is a regular food in every family in Nigeria) sold for 19,000 Naira, but now, a bag of rice sells for 34,000 Naira (www.icrc.org/en/document/nigeria-sharp-increase-food-prices-caused-covid-19-raises-fear-hunger). The Nigeria government has refused to lift the ban on the importation of rice and the irony of this act is that nothing much is being done to increase the production of rice locally. With this, the level of hunger got from bad to worst. There was a sharp increase in the price of petroleum which was from 87 Naira per liter in January 2015 to 121 Naira in 2020, thereby leading to an increase in transportation, food, etc. (BBC News, 4th September 2020). With a high level of unemployment, non-payment of salaries, 50% increase in electricity

bill, increase in fuel pump price, many Nigerians live in misery. The government has failed them, the institutions have failed them, and the consequence is many youths going into crimes to survive.

3.3.2 Energy Sector (Ghana vs Nigeria)

One of the major challenges that faced Nigerians during the lock-down is the lack of power supply to preserve food, relax at home or keep the internet working. The issue of lack of constant power supply in Nigeria has defiled all solutions. And as Nigeria is still lagging in this sector, other African countries are improving the supply of power to their citizens. On the other hand, Ghana celebrated one year of uninterrupted power supply (Rupp, 2013). An article was written by Simon Echewofun Sunday in Daily Trust Newspaper on the 22nd of April 2021, revealed that Nigeria has overtaken the Democratic Republic of Congo with the highest number of citizens that lack access to the power supply World Bank Group, officials who announced a virtual engagement with Power reporters in Abuja on the Power Sector Recovery Programme (PSRP), said Nigeria has 25% of people without access to electricity. The international financial agency's officials revealed that while electrification in the country has been growing at 1.1% yearly since 2010, it has not kept pace with the population growth of 3% yearly. This issue has increased the deficit by 3 million people to 85 million, which is 57% of the population. The group further said that Nigeria now has 25% more electrified people than the second most electrified country. For the bottom, 40% of the population (mostly rural), access to grid electricity is even lower at about 31% nationwide.

This situation had remained largely the same at the outbreak of COVID-19 in Nigeria. The problem of poor electricity supply in Nigeria is presently hampering the efficient storage of the COVID-19 vaccines in the country. Vaccines are very important in the ongoing fight against the COVID-19 virus (Rupp, 2013). In a screening headline, the Sunday Sun newspaper of March 21,

2021 'Covid-19 Vaccine Storage Exposes Nigerian's Power Supply Woes' According to the newspaper, Nigeria's embarrassing electricity was continued and lasted for more than a week with the reported disqualification of the country by the World Health Organization WHO from benefiting from the organization's global COVID-19 vaccine bid over what was described as the nation's poor power supply and storage systems (Rupp, 2013).

3.3.3 Education

In March 2020, Nigerian lecturers embarked on an indefinite strike that lasted for 9 months. The president of the association, Biodun Ogunyemi announced the suspension of the strike on 20th December 2020 but said the strike would be back on if the government failed to stick to the agreement (guardian.ng/tag/biodun-ogunyemi/). The union sympathized with students for the harm caused during the strike action. He further stated that it would strike again without notice if the government failed to honor its part of the agreement reached with the university lecturers (Pokhrel and Chhetri, 2021). During the lockdown, countries like Canada, the United States of America, supported their educational system by moving the classes online. Students were provided with laptops and some educational materials during this period. But in Nigeria, the schools both private and government-owned were closed without any further support for the students. Several private schools are now permanently closed because they could not pay and maintain their teachers during the lockdown (Pokhrel and Chhetri, 2021).

3.3.4 Health Sector

According to Mo Ibrahim Foundation for Covid-19 in Africa, most African countries, including Nigeria do not have the economic and manpower to fight the Covid-19 pandemic (Ohiaa et al., 2020). They lack enough testing kits and capacity, they have few numbers of trained staff for the intensive care unit, they lack personal protective equipment (PPE), and they lack funds to pay the health care workers (Ohiaa et al., 2020). Akindare Okunola in his article on the Global Citizen website dated April 8th, 2021, disclosed that the Resident doctors in Nigeria embarked on an indefinite strike because of the following reasons: underfunding of the health sector, non-payment of almost six months' salary, the payment of 5,000 Naira (\$13) to doctors as hazard allowance despite being the front liners in the fight against Covid-19, lack of insurance coverage and review of the agreement between the Association and the government (www.globalcitizen.org/en/). As this strike is ongoing, millions of Nigeria suffer and die because the doctors are not there. The rich politicians can afford to travel to other countries to enjoy good healthcare and abandon the poor masses.

On Monday, June 15th, 2020, resident doctors in Nigeria began two weeks warning strike to press home their demand for better working conditions. At the time of the strike, Nigeria has already recorded about 16,000 COVID-19 cases in the country and 420 deaths (Ohia C. et. al. 2020), strikes have become an integral part of the Nigerian health system such that on Monday, September 7th, 2020, the resident doctors began an indefinite strike action because the federal government could not meet their earlier demands.

The attitude of the federal government of Nigeria towards the medical doctors' demands shows how insensitive the government is to the health care needs of Nigerians during the

pandemic. More Nigerian's may have died not because they contracted COVID-19 but because they couldn't get the care, they needed to stay alive simply because the doctors were on strike and the government is playing politics with the situation.

At this point, I will add a personal experience to illustrate the sorry state of the health sector in Nigeria and how Covid-19 exposed bad governance more. My mom died out of carelessness and bad governance in April, the 17th 2020 in the Federal Medical Center Owerri, Imo State southeast Nigeria. Her health condition got worse, but the doctors were on strike and the nurses refused to offer any first aid or any kind of treatment because they do not have adequate PPE. My mom was left in the emergency unit for days without any medical attention. Finally, a doctor that is a friend to the family came from another state to see her, she was rushed in for surgery because her wound had gotten infected. She died hours after the surgery because the doctor left and there was nobody to approve the transfusion of more blood. When I think of all that happened, I weep for Nigeria. We were able to get a doctor for my mom at least, even though it was late, then what of the people that do not know anybody or has any doctor friend that can sacrifice for their sake? This is one case out of millions of other cases of neglect that eventually leads to death.

Dr. Ikehukwu Okeke, the chief medical director of new creation Hospital Orji, Owerri, disclosed in an interview on the 3rd of November 2020, that the Nigerian Medical Association banned them from admitting any patient from February 2020 till around October 2020 without making adequate provisions for these patients (nigeria24.me/new-creation-medical-consultants-limited). They were asked to direct all patients to federal or state hospitals where Covid-19 protocols will be properly followed. He further stated that these patients were abandoned and left to die in these government-owned hospitals because the government does not have what it takes to care for the patients.

Moreover, in Kenya for instance, according to Barasa et al., (2021), the president proposed the following steps in addition to tax cuts to help his citizens during the lockdown: Immediate disbursement of KES 1 billion from the Universal Health Coverage kitty to fund the recruitment of additional health staff to help with the COVID-19 outbreak; State and public officers, excepting those in the security sector and other critical facilities, who have pre-existing medical conditions and/or are 58 years or older and are working in Job Group S or below or their equivalents, to leave or work from home immediately; Reduction of the President's and Deputy President's salaries by 80% and his cabinet's salaries by up to 30% voluntarily; Allocate 10 billion Kenyan shillings to the elderly, orphans and other members of society in need; and from April 1, 2020, temporarily suspend the listing of credit reference agencies to people who have not fulfilled their loan obligations. All these and more things are done by the Kenyan government to alleviate the suffering of its citizens (Nikhil Hira, 2020). But in Nigeria, workers were being owed seven months' salary and the youths were sacked from their jobs especially youths from the federal government Npower program. The Npower is a program designed by the Nigerian government in 2017, to help Nigerian graduates by providing them with temporary employment and skills (Ayobami, and Adeagbo, 2019). Every graduate engaged in this program receives a monthly pay of N30, 000 (thirty thousand Naira), less than \$100. Many youths embraced this opportunity because it is better than nothing. Ezezi. (2020), illustrated in his article in the Guardian Newspaper, dated May 28, 2020, how the federal government planned to disengage over 500,000 youths, who are beneficiaries of this program. He further pointed out that this action will increase the number of unemployed youths in Nigeria. The last official figures released by Nigeria's statistics office put the unemployment rate at 23.1%. Labour minister Chris Ngige said that figure could rise to

33.5 this year. The Nigerian government in July 2020, exited all the 500,000 graduates from this program, consequent upon this, the level of crime increased in the country (Erezi, 2020).

Conclusively, the human and state security of every nation should be of paramount position to the leaders (Southhall, 2003). Nigerian leaders have failed woefully to protect their citizens from an internal threat. They have failed to provide for them in all ramifications and consequent upon this, the citizens today see the Covid-19 pandemic exposing how poor Nigerian governance was during the period. Again, they see the betrayal and disappointment on the part of their leaders as something that poses more threat to their lives. Suffice it to say that all the problems discussed in this chapter were all products of bad governance in Nigeria which were exacerbated during the Covid pandemic. Bad governance as already noted is when a government is not responsive, irresponsible, not accountable, not transparent, and is outrightly corrupt and not able to provide for the needs of her citizens' governance is also bad when the resources of the nation are not efficiently and equitably managed and distributed. It is generally believed that in the absence of a good democratic process, political participation, equality, accountability, effectiveness, and transparency, governance could be said to be bad. The above aptly describes the state of the Nigerian nation. Bad governance in the country is what gave to insecurity, poor health facilities, brain drain, poor standard of education, corruption, bad economy, and inefficient power sector. With the above discussion, Covid-19 worsened bad governance in Nigeria; it exposed all the flaws and loopholes in governance in Nigeria. Nonetheless, the subject matter discussed above concentrating on other African countries is because they all consist of emerging economies within the sub-Saharan region and Nigeria have been the largest economy would be expected to do more for her vulnerable and marginalized citizen during a global pandemic yet the exigency of the time rather exposed and worsened bad governance.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The study has discussed the concept of governance and highlighted the difference between good and bad governance discussing its implication. The questions that were resolved are how Covid-19 has exposed bad governance in Nigeria and how democratic institutions can be strengthened to ensure good governance. Moreover, secondary data such as articles, books, newspapers, journals, and other relevant resources were used in the research. This chapter summarizes the study's findings, concludes, and offers some recommendations for prospective studies.

4.1.1 Good Vs Bad Governance

This study, which is titled a threat to human wellbeing, a case study of bad governance during the COVID pandemic in Nigeria is an attempt to unravel how the pandemic exposed bad governance in Nigeria. The study waded into conceptual issues where the meaning of the concepts of governance, bad governance was thoroughly considered. With regards to good governance, it was noted that it is a method of administration that aims to build a system based on justice and peace while safeguarding people's human rights and civil freedoms and instances where governments are being sensitive to public expectations, being honest in resource distribution, and being fair and equal in the distribution of goods and services (Abubakar & Abdullahi, 2018). On the other hand, bad governance is the failure of a government to satisfy the demands of society while making the best use of all resources available; failure of a public institution to handle public affairs and state

funds. In governmental bodies, it is distinguished by corruption, criminality, and a lack of freedom of expression, among other things. Subsequently, having discussed the concept of good governance above, the discussion of the key elements of bad governance was highlighted. However, if efforts are made to discuss all governance indices in Nigeria, time, and poor reportage of issues as well as undocumented events will be constraints to the analysis hence the need to focus on key areas of safeguarding life and property, corruption, leadership question, rule of law and poverty alleviation cannot be said of Nigeria since the ideals of good governance is the opposite of what is witnessed in Nigeria. Concerning bad governance and how the coronavirus pandemic exposed and worsened it, the study focused on the social-economic sphere of Nigeria particularly on security, economy, health sector, education, and power supply, among others. Therefore, the study did a review of related literature that directly has to bear to the theme of the study. The major challenge of the study, in this case, is the scantiness of literature-relevant data needed to enrich the study. As a qualitative study that was descriptive and narrative in approach, the analysis of secondary data revealed that Nigeria is a failed state due to the absence of almost all indicators of good governance poor management and control of coronavirus are also linked to it. Hence, the consequences of coronavirus have not yet done much harm or constituted many threats more than bad governance in Nigeria.

4.1.2 Effects of Covid-19

The study revealed that during the outbreak of the COVID-19 the measure which was put in place to curb the spread which includes lockdown has exposed how bad governance poses a threat to citizens. The effect of the lockdown and how it affects the citizens is what exposed the state of

poor governance. The public, many of whom rely on daily income to maintain their families, began to experience the consequences of the lockdown only a few days after it began. Following widespread unrest and threats of mass disobedience to the lockdown restrictions, the federal government contemplated providing palliatives to the most vulnerable segments of the populace. These essential needs were not provided due to poor accountability, and improper structures put in place to help distribute this essential. Nigerians, however, did not receive the necessary government assistance to help them get through this tough era (Amorighoye, 2020). They were deprived of even the most necessities, such as electricity, food, and water, as well as, in some circumstances, shelter, especially in rural regions. Even though the lockdown helped to reduce disease transmission, the impact on those living in slums was unfathomable. Furthermore, it was revealed that the lack or absence of reliable data has impeded the smooth delivery of palliatives to the vulnerable in Nigerian society. Nigerian governments lack statistics on the group referred to as vulnerable or impoverished in Nigerian society (Amorighoye, 2020). As a result, getting palliatives to the target audience became extremely difficult, ending in the supplies being diverted by a corrupt politician. Nigerians questioned the federal government's sincerity in reacting, especially when it came to collecting gifts and giving palliatives to the poor. Moreover, during the Nigerian "Endsars" demonstration, several warehouses were discovered filled with food items that politicians refused to distribute, preferring to keep them for their re-election campaigns. Angry Nigerians attacked the warehouses and vandalized them, taking food and other necessities for their survival (Amorighoye, 2020).

4.2 CONCLUSION

In a nutshell, bad governance has been a threat to human well-being and COVID-19 has exposed and worsened it in Nigeria and this is evident from the study. As a nation that has everything required to be great, Nigeria since its independence in 1960 has not been lucky to have good governance and leadership. It has been the story of bad governance which undermines active participation, engagement, and empowerment of its citizenry in governance. There is an incessant absence of rule of law and strong institutions of accountability and transparency, coupled with the penchant for the political leadership to undermine responsiveness and consensus-oriented governance. This has undermined the ability of the state to promote equity and inclusiveness leading to social tension, violence, separatist agitations with grans danger to national stability and security. The failure of governance in Nigeria also shows in the inability of the state to deliver public goods and services (Coker & George-Genyi, 2014). Unfortunately, the welfare of the people is no longer the priority of the 60 federal states as can be seen in the poor health, education, road, electricity services as well as the non-payment of workers and high rate of unemployment. Unfortunately, the intrusion of the COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria has exposed the fragility and vulnerability of Nigerian governance. The poor management and control of the coronavirus indicate the failure of governance. Although people are worried about the increased adverse of coronavirus in Nigeria, bad governance has rather had more devastating effects (Coker & George-Genyi, 2014). It is, however, directly accountable for the high death rate, the emergence of Boko Haram insurgents and Niger Delta militants, separatist agitations by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Herdsmen – farmers conflicts, Banditry, kidnapping etcetera, posing a major threat to the existence of Nigeria. Indeed, what Nigeria needs to salvage these situations is good governance promised on citizens’

participation and engagement, the institutionalization of the rule of law, stronger enforcement of accountability and transparency, responsiveness and consensus-oriented governance, equity, and inclusiveness as well as efficient social service delivery.

Moreover, while evidence recognizes bad governance and its consequences when we see them, there is no widely recognized concept of good government, much alone a master plan. Some initiatives have been remarkably successful, while others have provided little value, squandered limited resources and opportunities, or caused more harm than good. What are the key obstacles to be aware of, and what blunders should we eliminate (Schoeberlein, 2020).

Lysias and Fidelis (2014) asserted that it's all too easy to fall back on legislation and top-down policymaking when trying to enhance policy and execution. Therefore, administrative, fiscal, and personnel system controls can become so stringent that managers are unable to govern, and elected officials are unable to implement their programs. Discretion can be whittled down to the point that cases with unique characteristics require weeks or months to settle. Furthermore, the inflexibility that results in wastes resources and opportunities, generates policies that are insensitive to social realities (thus undermining the legitimacy of good-government efforts) and can enhance corruption incentives. Instead of relying just on restrictions, policies that enhance the space for debate and dialogue, stimulate innovation and seek desirable results with positive incentives are needed (Southall, 2003). Procedural controls may create enormous amounts of information, but if it is presented in formats that only certain officials understand, or if it is generated primarily by citizens providing information to the government rather than the government opening to citizens, transparency is harmed, and people are less likely to develop a personal interest in reforms.

According to Frey (2008), there is little question that governance change needs long-term commitment and leadership from the top, and that selecting reform "champions" is a crucial first step in providing such leadership. However, such attempts will be ineffective if they are limited to blue-ribbon committees that issue proclamations or a "one-man show" reform paradigm. It is far preferable to reach out into communities, learn about common issues, and create a broad base of support, even if it takes time, effort, and resources, and even if it means sharing credit for improved governance (Schoeberlein, 2020).

Frey (2008) further noted that leaders must pay particular attention to difficulties and controversial issues, these concerns may mobilize popular energy and commitment considerably more effectively than "excellent ideas" alone. Citizens will see few connections between the rule of law, clarity, and transparency on the one hand, and the tangible concerns of everyday life on the other, and they will not develop a sense that change for the better necessitates their approval, involvement, and adherence if these types of connections are not made. Also, it will be far more difficult for reform leaders who cannot demonstrate wide and deep societal support to persuade authorities and interest groups that are dubious about or outright opposed to, reform. Actively corrupt persons will interpret this lack of support as proof that the reform movement will be short-lived, and they will frequently be correct. High-profile attempts that fail over time will engender public skepticism, making the next wave of reform much more difficult (Johnston, 2017).

While some degree of government-to-government cooperation is necessary, it is just one component of the whole. The government must be able to rein in its excesses as well. The court is critical for interpreting and implementing new laws and regulations, and it will be ineffectual if it is not independent of the current administration. Similarly, executive agencies require monitoring, and parliamentary oversight and trustworthy external "watchdogs" can help ensure that policies

are implemented effectively and that abuses are prevented (Johnston, 2017). People can file complaints and reports to an ombudsman system, but citizens must be satisfied that they will not be retaliated against and that their reports will be handled seriously. (Even yet certain citizens in some civilizations will refuse to file reports for cultural or historical reasons.) These types of oversights and controls must be active, constant, and long-term; they will be of little use if used only in crises or in the aftermath of failures (Southhall, 2003; Johnston, 2017).

Again, Johnston, (2017) espouses that in the absence of personal gain, governance changes frequently prioritize public goods like effectiveness, transparency, cultural empathy, and the like. Even when the objective is to recruit the involvement and support of civil society, other types of pleas improved governance will lower taxes, make it easier to find employment in a restored economy, safeguard one's family and property—receive too little attention. He further stated, as a result, good-governance activities run into collective action issues: individuals believe that if reform improves governance for one person, it will enhance governance for everyone and that their actions are thus insignificant or even undesired. Efforts must be taken to persuade individuals, government officials, and political leaders that reform will benefit them—that is, to establish the type of long-term stake in reform mentioned earlier.

Nonetheless, the study made its greatest contribution by outlining ways through which the pandemic worsened bad governance in Nigeria by highlighting key aspects which the leadership of the country should step in to mitigate the harsh effects of the measures put in place to reduce the spread of the virus, however, these measures key among them are lockdown and stay home rather placed marginalized Nigerians in a state of hardship.

4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

It was also revealed that in strengthening institutions to enhance good governance in Nigeria, certain factors must be adhered to. Leaders must pay special attention to problems and contentious topics since these concerns may galvanize public support and commitment far more effectively than "great ideas" alone. Citizens will see connections between the rule of law, clarity, and transparency on the one hand, and the tangible concerns of everyday life on the other, and they will not develop a sense that change for the better requires their approval, involvement, and adherence unless these types of connections are made. Also, there is a need to strengthen checks and balances. Here, the court is critical for interpreting and implementing new laws and regulations, and it will be ineffectual if it is not independent of the current administration. Similarly, executive agencies require monitoring, and parliamentary oversight can help ensure that policies are implemented effectively and that abuses are prevented. People can file complaints and reports to an ombudsman system, but citizens must be satisfied that they will not be retaliated against and that their reports will be handled seriously. Finally, paying close attention to incentives. Efforts must be taken to persuade individuals, government officials, and political leaders that reform will benefit them, that is, to establish the type of long-term stake in reform mentioned earlier.

By all standards, Nigeria is a failed state. This is because of the absence of almost all indicators of good governance. What holds sway in bad governance. In recent times, following the intrusion of the coronavirus pandemic, people have experienced greater fear and worries over its adverse effects in Nigeria. However, the poor management and control of coronavirus are due to bad governance. To stem this tide, the following are considered:

1. **Citizens Participation and Engagement:** Governance in Nigeria is elitist rather than populist. It reflects the interest of those who make policies for their own practical and personal interest. Hence, there is a need for active consultation and participation of the people in governance for the achievement of collective goals. Therefore, good governance necessitates mass participation, engagement, and empowerment of the people in the democratic governance process.
2. **Institutionalizing the Rule of Law:** The fundamental truth is that the country has always been ruled on emotions and sentiments. It has always been governed by the rule of men rather than the rule of law, where legal domination, legitimate authority, and constitutionalizing should be prevalent. There is, therefore, an overriding need to institutionalize the rule of law for the conduct of government business, and where government institutions and private actors should be subjected to the rules and regulations which is common in the state.
3. **Stronger Enforcement of Accountability and Transparency:** The problem in Nigeria, however, is that there is corruption everywhere. Corruption has been a key problem in Nigeria since 1960, and since then, it has continued to be reinforced owing to a lack of accountability and transparency in governance. Accountability and transparency should be stronger enforced in the public office to ensure openness, scrutiny, probity, and availability of information in government decisions and actions to reduce corruption. Stronger institutions of accountability and transparency should be encouraged.
4. **Responsiveness and Consensus Orientation:** Bad governance is the main factor that made the Nigerian leaders undermine responsiveness and consensus orientation in governance. There is a need for government programs to serve and yield to the needs and welfare of the people. This is because the essence of creating government is the provision of the good life to

the citizenry who are the stakeholders of the state. To realize this, there should be an agreement of opinion and reconciliation of various interests in the state.

5. **Equity and Inclusiveness:** There is no doubt that Nigeria is deficient on the issue of equity and inclusiveness. When the government fails to care about equity and inclusiveness in governance, by to be an agent of distributive justice, especially where oppression, suppression, and exploitation follow neglect, marginalization, and exclusionism, and refuses to dialogue, aggrieved groups may create non-state actors to challenge the state position and raise issues on the national question. This is more accountable for the failure of Nigeria to have a dialogue with aggrieved groups in Nigeria as a way of resolving issues peacefully and building peace and confidence in the state.
6. **Efficient Social Service Delivery:** The fact is that bad governance is the main reason or factor that led to poor social service delivery by the state. There is still no steady electricity, the supply of pipe-borne water has remained very poor, most of our roads are impassable and constitute, death traps, health centers are dysfunctional, unemployment remains high, salaries are not paid to workers which continue to spread poverty, hardship, and death and increase in crime and insecurity,

This study will further recommend that in future studies relating to governance, researchers must focus on the various elements like corruption, nepotism that constitutes the canker of bad governance and highlight the dire impacts it has on the citizens.

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