

**PROTEST MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPACT IN NIGERIA: END SARS AS A
CASE STUDY**

BY

ISRAEL Ehinomen Okosun

ART1801287

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN,
BENIN CITY.**

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify this project was carried out by **ISRAEL EHINOMEN OKOSUN** in the Department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, under my supervision.

MISS. O. OMORUYI
Project Supervisor

DR. ALBERT ONOBHAYEDO
Ag. Head of Department

Date

Date

DEDICATION

To God Almighty for his loving kindness and affections towards me; giving me life, good health and strengths to deliver this project.

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From the depth of my heart, I want to appreciate God Almighty for keeping me this far, the inspiration and strength and for been my source of hope. I am also grateful to my project supervisor, Miss. O. Omoruyi for her kind patient and constructive corrections in the course of this work. Also special thanks goes to my Head of Department Dr. Albert Onobhayedo.

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And with a heart filled with gratitude, I appreciate my parents God, (late)Dr & Mrs G. I. Okosun, for their love, care, support and prayers. My gratitude also goes to my entire family member especially, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Thompson (world best), Ebenezer Okosun (Ebeny), Victor Okosun (star boy) and Eunice Okosun (the canopian).

I cannot fail to appreciate my friends and colleagues in the University of Benin who have acted as my brothers and sisters here in school. In no order of importance. God bless you all in a thousand fold.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Protests of any kind have always been part and parcel of the Nigerian system.¹ Before the colonial era, during the colonial era, through independence and post-independence; these demonstrations have either led to a definite change in the system or further sparked a bigger chain of reactions. Some examples of major protest movements in Nigeria includes: Aba women's riot (27th November, 1929), Ali must go (17th April, 1978), Anti-SAP riots (24th may, 1989), June 12 protest (1993), Occupy Nigeria (2-14th January, 2012), End SARS (2017 - present).²

Abeokuta Ladies Club under the leadership of Madame Olufunmilayo Ransome-Kuti submitted a list of demands to the Alake of Egbaland, Oba Sir Ladapo Ademola II and one of their demands was the abolition of tax on women in Abeokuta amongst other issues around their welfare. Their demands were ignored; Madame Olufunmilayo was arrested and fined 3000 Pounds or risk going to prison.³

On November 29th 1947, she led a protest of 10,000 women to the palace of the Alake of Egbaland. They camped around the palace for more than two days, sleeping, cooking and conducting all their affairs around the palace grounds. The Pressure was so huge on the colonial government that they had to abolish the tax laws and the Alake of Egbaland abdicated the throne on 3rd of January 1949.³

These protests usually have the ability to change the perception of other actors in the international system towards the concerned state and can also affect their relations and interactions with the concerned state. This reveals that beyond causing major changes to world history and the international system, protests also have the capacity to influence state relations within the system.⁴

The Endsars protest was a recent protest event that shook the whole of Nigeria. Thousands of youths filled up major cities in Nigeria to protest against the brutality of the state's police force. News of the protests spread past the borders of the state and resulted in reactions from the international community. This work is on the impact of protest movement in Nigeria. The EndSars protests in Nigeria provides a case study scenario that allows one to ascertain the level of impact protest movement have in Nigeria, while also revealing the heterogeneity in the phenomenon as it was a major protest that occurred within a developing country, located in a third world continent.

Aim and Objectives

The aim of this work is protest movement and its impact in Nigeria, using Endsars as a case study.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the history of protest movement in Nigeria.
2. To examine the origin of the Endsars protests in Nigeria.
3. To examine the nature of the Endsars protests.

4. To examine the impact of protests in Nigeria, using the Endsars protests as a case study.
5. To examine the impact of the EndSars protests on Nigeria international relations

Scope of the Study

This research study examines and gives an in-depth analysis of the impact of protests movement in Nigeria. This research will look at prior protests in Nigeria with a major focus on the Endsars protests of October 2020; its origin, activities, background and its impact on Nigeria. The study will conclude in 2023 with an examination of the impact of the Endsars protest movement in Nigeria. Also, this study will cover the aftermath of the Endsars protests and the politics that evolved from the protests.

Historical Methodology

This research work will rely on data from both primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources: The primary sources will include oral interviews carried and collected from protesters of the Endsars protests. The oral interviews conducted will be semi-structured and unstructured. Tools like a tape recorder, pen and paper will be used to collect information from those who will be interviewed and then transcribed for more intense analysis.

Secondary sources: The secondary sources will include books, journals, newspapers, scholarly reports, articles, press releases, and extant studies on the Endsars protests.

Literature Review

There abounds literature on protests and the impact of protest movement within Nigeria as the review below shows. Yet, there are virtually limited works on the impact of protest movement and its impacts in Nigeria.

In the course of carrying out this research work, we will be taking a good look at various scholars in this field of study such as Thomas Carothers and Richard Youngs's, "*The Complexities Of Global Protests*" published in Washington DC, in the year 2015. In their work, they give us a comprehensive view on the increasing frequency of protests since the second half of the 2000s, the characteristics of the recent wave of protests and the results these protests have yielded or are likely to yield.³

Marc Matera, Misty L. Bastian and Susan Kingsley Kent in their book, "*The Women's War of 1929-Gender Violence In Colonial Nigeria*", maintain that the women's war marked a historical high point in West African resistance to colonialism, not least because of the activities of South-Eastern women during this brief moment of gender rebellion made an indelible impression on all who witnessed it, Britons and Africans alike. Although the authors gave a historical and local view of the Aba women's riots of 1929, they failed to examine the impact of these riots on the international scale. Thereby making this work relevant.⁴

In the work of Shinichi Shigetomi and Kumiko Makino, "*Protests and Social Movements In The Developing World*" the basic theme of the book is the careful examination of the contextual conditions -such as institutions, resources and

organizations- surrounding social movement actors to find what conditions determine the course of action. In the hope to define the space for actors for collective action in developing countries.⁵

James M. Jasper in his work titled *"Protest, A Cultural Introduction To Social Movements"* posits that protest is a fundamental part of human existence and every period in history has the potential to bring about important changes.⁶ In this work, the author gave an introduction to protests and social movements, that highlight action and intention - the subjective- without ignoring structure and constraints.⁷

In Rina Okonkwo's work titled *"Protest movements in Lagos, 1908-1930"*, the author examines the historical events of major protests in Lagos within 1908-1930. There was an escalation of protests in the first decade of the twentieth century. The educated elite, often in alliance with the traditional elite and the masses, fought a rearguard action to maintain their rights in the face of government highhandedness and increasing power. There are seven protests discussed here. The book is also included to highlight the problems of protests in Nigeria today.⁸

In Moisés Arce and Roberta Rice's book titled *"Protest and Democracy"*, the authors posit that in all major protests in recent times, protesters have sidelined political parties, bypassed the mainstream media and rejected formal organizations and traditional leadership structures. They relied instead on the internet and local assemblies in public squares for collective debate and decision making in an open-ended search for new

democratic forms.⁹ The author also goes further to address the impact of the new global protest cycle on politics and policies in their respective countries.¹⁰

According to *"Africa Uprising. Popular Protest and Political Change"*, Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly posit that the Occupy Nigeria protests were a potent demonstration of people power which for two weeks in January 2012, brought political society and civil society together in a powerful, but fragile coalition that briefly threatened to topple the Government. The urban, poor, popular artists and musicians, pro-democracy groups and trade unions, together managed to achieve an unprecedented nationwide reach.¹¹

Allwell Uwazuruike in his work *"#Endsars: The Movement Against Police Brutality In Nigeria"*, published in the *Harvard Human Rights Journal* went on to reveal that the Endsars protests have elicited global sympathy and support, with world leaders such as United Nations Secretary-General; Antonio Guterres and United States secretary of states tweeting in support.¹²

Sada Malumfashi in his article *"Nigeria's SARS: A Brief History Of The Special Anti-Robbery Squad"* published on *Al Jazeera*, provided background and origin to the Endsars protests of 2020, revealing that for ten years, SARS only operated in Lagos, but by 2002, it had spread to all 36 states of the Federation as well as The Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. It was counted as one of the 14 units under the Nigerian Police Force Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department. Its mandate included the arrest, investigation and prosecution of suspected armed robbers and other criminals.

Emboldened by its new powers, the unit moved on from its main function of carrying out covert operations and began to set up roadblocks, extorting money from citizens. Officers remained in plain clothes but started to carry arms in public.¹³

According to Frederick Ifeanyi Obananya in his research article “ A Philosophical Exploration Of The Events Of January 15, 1970, And The #EndSARS Protests In Nigeria” published in *The West African Transitional Justice Center*, it is important to juxtapose the events that led to the thirty month-long Nigerian - Biafran war with the recent “#EndSARS protests” and the event labelled “The Lekki Massacre of October 2020” because though there might be some level of silence, the matter is yet to be successfully laid to rest. This is because a fatal suppression of protests leaves people with the impression that their survival is dependent on continued confrontation and resistance.¹⁴

In his article “The Revolution Generation, #Endsars And The Fight For Nigeria’s Heart,” published in *The Republic*, Ambibola Alaba maintains that there is still no answer to the question of who ordered the military intervention on the 20th of October, 2020. The old tradition of Nigerian soldiers is to stay silent and let their bullets speak for them. However, the cracks are starting to appear on the government's intricate tapestry of fabrications. Inconsistencies and contradictory claims are slowly emerging and the people’s narrative has been given life by a cast-iron CNN investigation published on the 19th of November which has been disputed and summarily dismissed by the minister of information; Lai Mohammed.¹⁵

As much as we agree that these contributions and views have their own merits, towards understanding the impact of the protests within the state and in the global political system, we must also agree that they have not been able to achieve a total study of the impact of protests movement in Nigeria. This body of research work seeks to fill that vacuum that has been created for a long while by various scholars. Nonetheless, the above-highlighted voices and their various works will help in the compilation of this research work as this research work intends to give us a better understanding protest movement in Nigeria using the Endsars protests as a case study.

CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter One: Background To The Study

This chapter is the introduction to the work, it consist of the introduction of the impacts of protest movement in Nigeria.

Chapter Two: History of Protests In Nigeria: An Overview

In this chapter of this research work, emphasis will be made on previous protests in Nigeria before the EndSars protests. How these protests started, how they ended; their impact, and how they tend to form a pattern of the tactics the Nigerian government employs in dealing with protests. These protests include: The “Ali must go” crisis of 1978, The June 12 protests of 1993, and the Occupy Nigeria protests of 2012 and several others.

Chapter Three: The Origin of the Endsars Protest

This chapter would examine the origin of the Endsars protests, the history of police brutality in Nigeria, the formation of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), the protesters' demands and the Nigerian government's response.

Chapter Four: Impact of the EndSars Protest Movement in Nigeria and in International Relations

In this chapter, emphasis will be made on the Impact of the EndSars protest on Nigeria and in international relations, how the protest movement affected various sectors of Nigeria and the actions of International bodies in Nigeria during the course of research work, stating the success and lapses of the protest movement in Nigeria in context of International Relations.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the entire work; it is a summary of the chapters in the research work.

Endnotes

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CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF PROTESTS IN NIGERIA: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

Social unrest has been in existence worldwide since time immemorial. However, the uniqueness of the civil disturbances being witnessed in the 21st century is that they are more systematic in nature involving several countries simultaneously expressing discontent over several of forms of injustice and social ills in the society and demanding that something needs to be done to address the situation.¹ One of the main reasons the recent wave of protests has attracted the attention of experts and the general public is because of its global reach. This is true because between 2011 and 2019, the number of riots, protests, strikes, and anti-government demonstrations increased by 244 percent worldwide.² Causes of such protests range from frustration over government's handling of identified crisis to mounting inequality and corruption.³ It is against this backdrop, this chapter seeks to examine the antecedence of protests in Nigeria.

The Concept of Protest

Several authors and legal authorities have variously defined the term "protest". Before we go into the definition of human rights, it will be right at this juncture to pause for a brief definition and appraisal of the term right. Delbert D. Smith, view protest as a civil disobedience legally permissible action for the citizen to demand their right in government. The author further point out that civil disobedience may be justified under a despotic regime, but not in a democracy where there are legal instruments available for

the redress of grievances and that the substitutes for civil disobedience in a democracy include the court system, and at another level, the legislature.⁴

In another development Emily Howie, identified that since the establishment of the Universal declaration of human rights of the Article 19 of the United Nations, the right to freedom of opinion and expression has been protected in all of the relevant international human rights treaties.⁵ He further maintain that in international law, freedom to express opinions and ideas is considered essential at both an individual level, insofar as it contributes to the full development of a person, and being a foundation stone of democratic society. But social protest and activism are a very important part of modern society. Most people, at one time or another in their lives, support and sometimes participate in collective efforts to change the status quo.⁶ It have been done the success of such initiatives is often difficult to measure, but their very existence draws public attention to important issues and offers new ways of thinking about them. Social protest can therefore be seen as a necessary component for a functioning democratic society. However, various forms of expression and protest may be restricted by government policies (such as asking permission to demonstrate), economic conditions, social structures, or media monopolies.⁷ Where such restrictions are in place, protests can take the form of blatant civil disobedience, a more subtle form of resistance to restrictions. Political protests, on the other hand, consist of a variety of methods used by individuals and groups within the political system to express their dissatisfaction with the status quo. Civil disobedience is a specific form of political protest involving willful violation of the

law in the public interest. Within this broad conceptualization, civil disobedience can take many forms and be motivated by many different causes.⁸

Human rights are standards designed to protect all peoples of the world from serious political, legal and social abuse. Examples of human rights include freedom of religion, the right to a fair trial if accused of a crime, the right not to be tortured, and the right to an education.⁸

Law is the doctrine that the philosophical, legislative, religious and social foundations tend to organize society into a charitable state, where duties and commodities belong to all citizens without distinction, and ethics is social should be horizontal to avoid inequality in Application of Law.⁹ Statutes and regulations arising there from. From a general point of view, there are two kinds of her: basic rights and social rights. Fundamental rights find their origins in France at the end of the 18th century, recognizing that human beings are by their very nature unique and unique, the right to guarantees that lead to harmonious subsystems in the human ecosystem. This doctrine confirms that there is Without prejudice to political, religious, racial, sexual orientation, etc. Human dignity, equality and liberty, the pillars of this right.¹⁰

Political Protest

Political protest is a concept that refers to group action or attempt designed to bring about the stoppage of perceived injury and or injustice in a political system. It describes public expression of critical views, dissent, opposition, dissatisfaction with a policy or action of the government. Such actions especially peaceful ones are not

primarily aimed at violently ousting the political leadership but calling their attention to change a situation that negatively affects a group, a section or the general public.¹¹ Political protests are not revolutions; they are similar to political demonstrations of peaceful assembly that are allowed in democratic societies. Most times, people protest because they consider all other legitimate and traditional means of getting the government to address injuries and injustices meted out to them ineffective. Political protests assume violent and non-violent forms.¹² Protests are said to be non-violent when they are conducted in forms of strike, sit-at-home, peaceful march/demonstration, open letters, press releases. On the other hand, violent protests are public demonstrations that involve destruction of property, inflicting bodily injuries and killings, vandalism of public assets. Non-violent political protesters usually obtain permit from law enforcement agents before embarking upon their activities and are normally powered by activists.¹³

What is more, the use and membership of social media groups generate a sense of engagement or loyalty from members who by reading, watching and or listening to shared contents are incited and mobilized to rise against other groups or even the state. By sharing information and soliciting feedback on collaborative social media handles such as twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, Telegram, YouTube, etc., members of groups post resentful, damaging information, views and hateful ideas that are easily internalized, shared, commented upon in tones that heighten emotions that propel anger and animosity against other groups or the state.¹⁴ That way, hateful actions emanating from governance challenges giving to mass poverty, dysfunctional educational system,

poor access to healthcare delivery, massive graduate unemployment, police brutality, deplorable state of public infrastructure, unbearable socio-economic and political conditions are disseminated and communicated to the people in negative narratives and damaging innuendoes using social media platforms to generate public sympathies that coalesce to mass actions.¹⁵ Hence, generate hateful speeches in resentful narratives that spur and incite group members to rise to confront the perpetrators or even change the status quo in demand for justice and fair share of values in the state.¹⁶

The Concept of Human Rights

When analyzing the concept of human rights, there are various definitions that give different accounts of what human rights encompass. "Human Rights" is one of the most important concepts of our time. Activists, governments, and corporations are using it to create a collective understanding that everyone deserves certain rights and freedoms. , everyone has an inalienable right, no matter how they live.¹⁷

Human rights philosophy addresses questions about the existence, content, nature, universality, justification, and legal status of human rights. The strong claims often made in defense of human rights (for example, that human rights are universal, inalienable, and exist independently of legal action as justified moral standards) are: It often raises skeptical questions and opposition to philosophical arguments in favor of 'human rights'.¹⁸

Human society has not always believed in universal human rights as it does now. The earliest recorded example of something close to human rights comes from the Persian king Cyrus the Great. When he conquered Babylon, he established a set of basic

rights for all. These rights, including freedom from slavery and freedom of religion, are written on clay cylinders in the British Museum far from his former home. "Natural law" was also discussed in ancient Greece and Rome. Over time, natural law expanded to include the idea of "natural rights."¹⁹

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Historical Background of Protests in Nigeria

Agitations, protests and confrontations of any kind have always been part and parcel of the Nigerian system. Way before the country got her independence in 1960, during the colonial era and till now; these actions have either led to a definite change in the system or further sparked a bigger chain of reactions.²¹

Back in the Old Oyo Empire, the Alaafin of Oyo was then a very powerful monarch, but the system of government rested on the Ogboni to avoid excesses by the

Alaafin. The Ogboni played this role very well to the extent that when an Alaafin flouts the separation of powers in place; he is sent a calabash, which by implication is an order to commit suicide. This was the very case of Alaafin Aole (Son of Sango) when he was sent a calabash in 1817 by his famous war general Afonja, who felt he was a weakling and unfit to rule.²²

Protests in Nigeria, however, took a new dimension in 1900 when the masses, who were disgruntled over a government policy, took to the streets to make their grievances known. A new problem required a more proactive approach.²³ Women in the Eastern region of colonial Nigeria stood their grounds and kicked against the intolerable tax levy imposed by the colonial government. This was between 1925-1930. Prior to this time, protest of this kind was unheard of. As a result, many women were assaulted, beaten and arrested. More worrisome was that scores of women were killed at the Opobo riverbank, a stone's throw from Ikot-Abasi, in today's Akwa-Ibom State.²⁴

As soon as the protest started, news soon got to Aba on the 6th of December 1929. It was while in Aba the protest got its name from (Aba Women's Riot). Simultaneously, the entire Eastern region was engulfed by protests ably led by women. In Midsummer of October 1946, the Abeokuta Ladies Club under the leadership of Madame Olufunmilayo Ransome-Kuti submitted a list of demands to the Alake of Egbaland, Oba Sir Ladapo Ademola II and one of their demands was the abolition of tax on women in Abeokuta amongst other issues around their welfare. Their demands were ignored; Madame Olufunmilayo was arrested and fined 3000 Pounds or risk going to prison.²⁵

On November 29th 1947, she led a protest of 10,000 women to the palace of the Alake of Egbaland. They camped around the palace for more than two days, sleeping, cooking and conducting all their affairs around the palace grounds. The Pressure was so huge on the colonial government that they had to abolish the tax laws and the Alake of Egbaland abdicated the throne on 3rd of January 1949.²⁶

The success of the Egba women's revolt was motivated by the teachings of one woman named Alimotu Pelewura.²⁷ Alimotu herself had her share on the fight for a better life for women in Lagos. It was a fight against taxation of women; mostly market women in Lagos. It is on records that the protest was massive. In all, over 7,000 women were in attendance at the Glover Hall on Broad Street. Their protest got support from the nationalist Herbert Macaulay who was a close ally of Alimotu. The exploits of Alimotu Pelewura gave a sense of direction, hope and belonging to women and had their demands met.²⁹

This is not forgetting the exploits of Pa Michael Imodu who led one of the biggest union strikes in the history of Nigeria. While the protest took it heavy tolls, the country was shut down for over four days. More recently are protests that have demanded improved welfare, against oppressive regimes and basically for a fair right to life, right to be heard and right to basic amenities.²⁹

The SAP Riots of 1989, the infamous "Ali Must Go" crisis that rocked the country in 1978. The slogan "Ali Must Go" was adopted against the then Federal Commissioner of Education Col. Ahmadu Ali during the General Olusegun Obasanjo

military regime. Let's not forget that scores of students lost their lives during the protest that started when the Federal Government increased the meal ticket of students in tertiary institutions from 50 Kobo to 1.50 Kobo and then to N2.00. The protests had Akintunde Ojo; a student of Architecture at the University of Lagos killed. Also in the fracas that ensued, eight students of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, were sent to their early graves by the army. The protest was led by the late Segun Okeowo, the National President of Nigerian Union of Students. Segun Okeowo passed on January 28th, 2014 at 73.³⁰ The June 12 protests against the Military regime of General Sani Abacha had scores of people killed; students inclusive. The journey for a better Nigeria it seems would be forged through the series of agitations. A lot of the people who were part of protests in the 70s, 80s, and 90s are probably in their 50s and 60s by now.

However, it should be noted here that since independence, Nigerian polity has witnessed many violent protests that have resulted in loss of many lives, maiming of persons, destruction of properties and widening of trust-gap among the disparate groups. Civilian and military regimes have not been spared of violent revolt by frustrated citizens due to different reasons that are connected to socio-political injustice. Manipulated elections and imposition of unpopular government led to the operation 'wetie' in the west shortly after independence. The imbroglio led to the demise of the first republic and intervention of military in governance with the entrenchment of culture of violence in Nigeria. Government embrace of the use of force and refusal to back-track on unpopular policies has been the breeding ground for public dissidence.³¹ For example, despite

opposition to SAP government went ahead to implement it dictates and unfortunately most empirical studies validated the apprehensions of Nigerians against SAP. Danladi, Naankiel and Naankiel rightly contended that the SAP policies led to the collapse of manufacturing and agricultural industries, heightened unemployment and social insecurity.³²

In the same vein, Nnazor survey revealed that implementation of SAP policies limited access to productive and reproductive resources as well as engendered socio-economic hardship in Nigeria. Perceived injustice in the annulment of June 12, 1993 Presidential election brought about violent conflicts that led to the formation of OPC that unleashed mayhem on the southwest for years. Environmental degradation and inequality to resources form the bases of agitation in the Niger. Delta region. Perceived inequality in access to political and economic opportunities is the central factor in the agitation for secession in the southeast. Neo-liberal economic policies which benefit mostly the rich and enables government to shirk responsibilities to the people under the guise of liberalization, deregulation, commercialization and public-private partnership frustrate the downtrodden masses that see such policies as failure to honour social contract obligations. Protest against hike in the prices of petroleum products is situated within this theoretical frame.³³

Conclusion

It is observed that most of the protests in Nigeria are usually hijacked by opposition elements to push their own political or parochial ethnic agendas in an attempt

to discredit government or wrest power. This postulation became obvious in the #EndSARS protest in 2020 as opposition parties and secessionist promoters gave financial and material supports for the elongation of the protest. How it should be noted here that the solidarity protests and demonstrations by Nigerians in diaspora and sympathizers occurred in many major cities of the world. The protests are notable for its patronage by a demographic that is made of entirely young Nigerians. The movement has since expanded to include demands for good and accountable governance, considering the unprecedented hardship in the country. Thus this will be discussed in the subsequent chapters of this study.

Endnotes

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENDSARS PROTESTS

Introduction

This study examines the historical incidence of ENDSARS in Nigeria. Since the protests began in October 2020, thousands of protesters have crowded Nigerian cities, calling for an end to police brutality in the country and demanding justice for victims of police brutality and extrajudicial killings.¹ Sparking social media outrage against SARS alleged as the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) reportedly shot a young man at Ughelli's Wetland Hotel, wounding him. This incident was filmed and went viral, and people started calling for the police unit to be demolished using the hashtag #EndSARS.²

Meaning and Characteristic features of EndSARS Protest

The concept of excess protest can be referred as a youthful uprising against police brutality in Nigeria. The term “ENDSARS” connotes the disbandment off special anti-robbery squad. This came as a result of the incessant extrajudicial killing arrest and torture of Innocent youth in Nigeria.³ According the Wikipedia definition, define “ENDSARS” as a centralized social movement and a series of mass protests against police brutality in Nigeria. The hashtag, ‘#EndSARs#’, was first seen on Twitter in 2017. After that, the hashtag progressively and notably became a social crusade in Nigeria. However, the social movement took force when a video went viral of SARs officials shooting a young man in a white SUV and stealing his car, leaving him dead on the road. The social media reports of SARS abusing their power and oppressing citizens.⁴

The Rationale and Justification for the EndSARS Protest

For every protest and social movement, there is a reason behind it. The up-rising of ENDSARS was a protest that came as a result of security agent oppression on the citizen of the people. There various reason that necessitate the emergence of the ENDSARS protest and social movement, which led to the outbreak of civil unrest in all part of the town and communities in Nigeria.⁵ One major event that characterizes the outbreak of ENDSARS protest happened in the morning of October 3rd, two days after Nigeria celebrated 60 years of independence, a tweet by Chinyelugo (@AfricaOfficial2) went viral, sounding an alarm that “SARS just shot a young boy dead.” Hours later, mobile phone recordings with the hashtag #EndSARS began trending, documenting the gruesome scene of the unidentified young man’s lifeless body abandoned on the roadside and citizens pursuing the officers, who they witnessed steal the man’s Lexus SUV.⁶ Although the Nigerian Police denied the shooting in this particular case, it was not enough to quell public anger as more videos of police shootings were shared across social media platforms.

With the series of social media videos of police shootings, celebrities and activists began to rallied for support on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook and, in a matter of days, protesters were lined up in the streets of Lagos Abuja and other states demanding an end to SARS. Pressured of publicity the protesters had generated, led to the Nigerian government swiftly announced the disbandment of SARS.⁷ The move of the Nigerian government, however, was not enough to appease the protesters to leave the street in light

of similar pronouncements made previously by the government. For instance, in December 2017, the then Inspector General of Police (IGP) announced that SARS had been banned from conducting stop and search operations following several reports of harassment.⁸ This ban was publicly re-announced by the IGP in 2018 and 2020, reflecting the ineffectiveness of previous orders. Similarly, in 2018, Nigeria's acting president announced an overhaul of SARS, stating that the National Human Rights Commission would investigate cases of abuse. This statement was followed shortly by the announcement of a centralised FSARS (Federal Special Anti-Robbery Squad) which would come under the supervision of the Inspector General of Police as opposed to the previous version which was under state Commissioners of Police.⁹

The State, End SARS Protests and Human Rights Violation in Nigeria

Nigeria is arguably the most populous country in Africa, with an estimated population of over 207 million in 2020, according to World meter. The country is also said to have the largest economy on the continent and is dubbed the giant of Africa by some political schools of thought. Despite all these positive aspects, however, the country is plagued with a plethora of problems ranging from poverty, pollution, unemployment, corruption, poor governance, insecurity to police brutality and extrajudicial killings, among others.¹⁰ This led to the outbreak of protests and multiple actions by civil society groups and government officials. In contemporary democratized societies of the Nigerian state, protest against unruly behavior in governance is a recurring theme. People who

intend to show their anger at nefarious activities within the national administrative system achieve their goals by mobilizing people who support their intentions.¹¹

The history of police brutality in Nigeria dates back to the colonial period. The purpose of creating the police at that time was to advance the economic and political agenda of the settlers. In many communities where colonial rule was resisting, police carried out brutal attacks to put down their resistance. The force was first raised for the colony of Lagos in 1861 and other agents were established in what was then called the Northern and Southern Protectorate. The use of force by the police to suppress the people from the very beginning created a disconnect between the people and the force; this has defined law enforcement practices in Nigeria since that period.¹²

In 1992, the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was created to combat armed robbery and other serious crimes. Before that, burglar alarm was the responsibility of the Nigerian police.

Violence in general, although since 1984, burglar alarm units have existed separately as part of various states' criminal investigation divisions. Other special units, which have had different names at different times, included the Intelligence Team, the Special Tactical Team, the Anti-Terrorism Unit and the Armed Forces Intelligence Unit, established after the end of the Nigerian Civil War in 1970 to deal with the growing fight against violent crime. During the unity days, the combat-ready SARS officers operated undercover in plain clothes and plain vehicles without any government security or insignia, and did not carry weapons in public.¹³ Their main job was to monitor radio

communications and facilitate the successful arrest of criminals and armed robbers such as Chukwudi Onuamadike, better known as "Evans", who was arrested in 2017 after police followed him for five years and received 30 million naira (Naira). \$80,000).reward on his head.¹⁴

For 10 years, SARS was only active in Lagos, but by 2002 it had spread to all 36 states plus the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja. It was counted as one of 14 units of the Nigerian Criminal Police and Intelligence Department. Its mandate included the arrest, investigation and prosecution of gunmen, murderers, kidnappers, contract killers and other suspected violent criminals. Emboldened by its newfound powers, the unit abandoned its primary function of conducting covert operations and began setting up roadblocks to extort money from citizens. Officers remained in civilian clothes but began to carry weapons in public. Officers remained in plainclothes but started to carry arms in public.¹⁵Over time, the unit has been implicated in widespread human rights abuses, extrajudicial executions, torture, arbitrary arrests, unlawful detentions and extortion. SARS officials then allegedly targeted and detained young men for cybercrimes or as "online scammers" simply on proof that they owned a laptop or smartphone, then demanded excessive bail fees for the prevent letting go.¹⁶

In 2016, Amnesty International documented its own visit to one of the SARS detention centers in Abuja, located in a disused slaughterhouse. There she found 130 detainees living in overcrowded cells and regularly subjected to torture methods such as hanging, starvation, beatings, shootings and mock executions. Since 2017, protests have

grown across Nigeria, ranging from online advocacy to street protests. Anger over the unit's activities culminated in a nationwide protest on the streets of twenty one states this month after a SARS officer allegedly shot and killed a young man in Delta State.¹⁷

Historically, police officers who have allegedly unlawfully killed Nigerians have faced little or no repercussions. Amnesty International has reported cases of unlawful killings and police brutality by law enforcement agencies in Nigeria for years. Reports of human rights violations by SARS continue to rise, despite repeated promises of reform and accountability by the Nigerian government. The police set up a Complaint Response Unit (CRU) in November 2015, where the police can process complaints from the public. To date, no SARS officer has been held responsible for torture, ill-treatment of detainees or unlawful killings.¹⁸

The following year, in 2016, Amnesty International documented eight two cases of torture, ill-treatment and extrajudicial killings attributed to SARS, mostly young people between the ages of 18 and 35, who were involved in street raids against the perpetrators. Act. Like going to a football match or drinking at a bar. In March 2017, SARS arrested and detained 23-year-old Miracle Ifeanchukwu Okpara in Anambra State, Eastern Nigeria, on charges of laptop theft. sent specially. The International reported that he was tortured and barely ate for 40 days. Before he could appear in court, he was arrested and charged with armed robbery. The judge resigns case for lack of evidence.¹⁹ Also, in 2017, Nigerians launched a social media campaign using the hashtag #EndSARS,

documenting abuse and extortion by SARS agents and calling for the unit to be completely overhauled or disbanded.²⁰

The #Endsars campaign started with the posting of a petition by organizer Segun Awosanya. It was signed by 10,195 Nigerians and submitted to the National Assembly of Nigeria to call for the abolition of police stations. The Twitter campaign began on December 2, 2017, when a video surfaced online of police shooting into a department, killing one person. The campaign became a trending topic on Twitter, garnering over 400,000 tweets within 12 hours. Nigerians use 280 characters to describe their horrifying and terrifying experiences with SARS, a terrifying police force created to fight bandits. Before the campaign, there were isolated incidents of police brutality across the country.²¹

However, the damage caused by this brutality was revealed during the campaign. According to the campaign organizers, the campaign also showed the extent of corruption in the police department. The campaign also showed that the police have no recognized structure without an organized operating system and that the police act arbitrarily with little or no respect for the basic human rights of civilians, especially vulnerable youth. The government's promise was renewed. In December 2017, the Nigeria Police Service announced plans to reorganize SARS units.²²

In Nigeria, on August 2018 Vice President and Acting President Yemi Osinbajo has ordered a review of SARS but Allegations of abuse by SARS agents continued throughout the year. Then, in early October, the first protests against the infamous police

force began. Nigerian youths in particular gathered outside the Lagos State House of Representatives to demand an end to division following the death of a young man at the hands of SARS officials in Delta State. Within days, thousands of protesters gathered in 100 cities around the world and #EndSARS went global. Protests go beyond the narrow scope of police brutality and turn into broader interactions of governance processes, raising questions about how the system works. During the #EndSARS protests, Nigerians protested the indifference of their leaders.²³ Concerns about police brutality fueled public outrage against corruption and social inequality. It is the result of outrage at inhumane government policies, mismanagement, injustice, hunger and high energy and fuel costs. The cumulative effect of this is one. Across the country, from the business capital Lagos to the administrative capital Abuja, most major cities like Port Harcourt, Kano, Kaduna, Ibadan and Calabar have been gripped by scandalous orgies.²⁴

The protests in Nigeria were peaceful, but the security forces responded brutally. Police fired tear gas and water at the protesters across the street in nation. Gunmen also broke up the rally, attacked protesters and chased away organizers. Employ personal security to prevent attacks. Jimoh Isiak, a 20-year-old student Shot dead during #EndSARS protests in Southwest Oyo State on October 11, 2020Niger. Siak Lee was shot and killed by a police officer monitoring the protest. Protesters with live ammunition. On October 12, police in Lagos opened fire.He killed 55-year-old Ikechukwu Ilohamauzo and dozens of others to disperse protesters the protesters. On October 16, police sprayed tear gas and water at protesters.²⁵In Abuja. Police attacked journalist Kimba Kakanda,

injuring him and beating his colleague. He rang and blew a tire on the car. In a Time article about his experience, Kakanda said: He said, “I said my last prayer. I really thought my life was over.”²⁶

On Tuesday, October 20, 2020, the situation was quickly derailed by the “revolution” that broke out in Nigeria when soldiers stormed the Lekki Toll Plaza in Lagos and opened fire in the air. However, the reports were conflicting and shocking. The protesters claimed they were victims and that the attack was premeditated. Authorities were confident there were no casualties or bodies.²⁷ There can only be one. But the truth, Abati points out, is that even if a person dies, the charges are good enough, as the state claims. There is no justification for anyone being killed or shot for taking patriotic action to protest injustice, police brutality, impunity or bad governance. The #EndSARS protest was about justice and good governance. The protesters were peaceful.²⁸

Protesters at the Lekki Tollgate in Lagos knelt as soldiers stormed the scene. They waved the Nigerian flag and sang the national anthem. The Lekki incident in Lagos reversed this principle. The most poignant image of Lekki is the Nigerian flag soaked in blood, real or symbolic but still a symbol of the Nigerian government's repression of young Nigerians exercising their rights under Articles 35, 39 and 40 of the 1999 Constitution (Amendment).²⁹

Amnesty International and other civil society organizations reported that more than 56 people were killed in indiscriminate shootings, physical attacks and vandalism. It

is so disastrous, embarrassing and shameful that even the military authorities do not admit that they have sent soldiers into the streets. Suddenly, Nigeria is going back to the past, the military era, the bad days of bespectacled generals, the Abacha era when human life was meaningless. The Nigerians disappeared in broad daylight. The country has declared that it will not tolerate any kind of conflict. The return to the military era has been complicated by the reluctance of Nigeria's leader, Muhammadu Buhari, to appeal to the people.³⁰

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CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF THE ENDSARS PROTEST MOVEMENT IN NIGERIA

Introduction

The ENDSARS protest which was aimed at ending police brutality ended up having effect in all sphere of life including the small and medium enterprises sector in Nigeria.¹ Based on this foregoing, this chapter investigates the impact of ENDSARS protest on all sector in Nigeria.

The negative impact of the ENDSARS manifests seriously on the economic and business activities in Nigeria. This is because SMEs are still battling the effect of the COVID-19 as a result of the lockdown and shutdown of business transactions in the country.² The ENDSARS protest added more damaging effect to this sector, as many small scale owners lost their resources through looting and vandalism of business shops, and resources in the hand of miscreants who hijack the ENDSARS protest.³

1) Impact of Endsar Protest on the Economy

The EndSARS protest had a devastating impact on the fragile Nigerian economy. With an oil economy trying to pick up from the ruins of the Covid-19 pandemic, a recession was already looming and unavoidable. The Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI, 2020) disclosed that Nigeria lost more than N700 billion in economic value since the EndSARS protests started. Fagbo, asserts that, while the protest went on, the short-term economic consequences for the people began to mount.⁴ A drop in consumer spending on non-essential goods was one of the most visible signs of its impact.

The protest shut down major activities of Nigeria's busiest airport with major roads blocked and economic activities brought to a halt.⁵

Nonetheless, most businesses, from Multinational Corporations to informal businesses in Nigeria and across the globe faced a lot of dwindling economic fortunes in 2020. Notable among such economic crises was the Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent precautionary measures of government on trade due to closure of both local and international borders and most recently the EndSARS protests which halted smooth operations of major economic activities across the Nation. However, it should be noted that while our concern in this paper is to point out the effect of the EndSARS protest on the Nigerian economy, it is equally important to note some of the effects of Covid-19 pandemic and other regulatory policies on Nigerian businesses because they are interconnected.⁶

2) Impact of EndSARS Protest on Businesses

Lock-downs due to the Covid-19 pandemic disrupted production activities, supply chains, reduced demand for non-essential goods, posed security challenges and reduced revenue across all sectors of the economy. For most businesses, recovery has been sluggish; for businesses that source their raw materials or products from abroad, the border closure policy and the restriction on foreign exchange made their recovery tougher.⁷ The economic cost of the looting spree that engulfed Nigeria in the last week of October as a result of negative consequences of EndSars protest compounded these problems. Food costs, already higher than normal due to government policies, were

worsened by the destruction of storage houses and warehouses. In addition to these warehouses, commercial properties such as bank ATMs and restaurants were vandalized.⁸

At the backdrop of the destruction of public and private properties and businesses in the wake of the EndSARS protests after the Lekki massacre of EndSars protesters, businesses counted their losses while economic experts listed the immediate challenges the crises threw-up against Nigeria's struggling economy.⁹ For instance, in Lagos State which was the epic centre of the protest, the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry put the estimated economic loss at N700 billion in 12 days, meaning a loss of N58 billion daily. Similarly, toll revenue loss is also estimated at about N234 million in 13 days, showing that N18 million was lost daily to the protest activities.¹⁰

These losses were also accompanied by several lootings and vandalism at several shopping malls in Lagos, including Lekki ShopRite Mall, Circle Mall, Montaigne Mall, Lagos City Mall, the razing of the Lekki Toll Gate, state-owned buildings and facilities, the setting ablaze of several police stations, local government councils, invading traditional institutions, public and private transport and other facilities by some hoodlums who are said to have hijacked the peaceful protests to create chaos and a state of anarchy across the federation. Economic analysts lamented the impact of the aftermath of the protest, which has ravaged the nation's economy as well as raised insurance premium estimated in billions.¹¹

On social media, a lot of young Nigerians recounted gory stories of their encounters with the squad, with some reporting cases of brutality, abduction, extortion,

extrajudicial killings and false imprisonment. These stories corroborate a 2020 Amnesty International (AI) report detailing patterns of human rights violations committed by SARS.¹² SARS in their operations are known to wear plain clothes and carrying assault weapons. On Tuesday 20th October 2020, in Jos, Plateau State, while the protest was ongoing, thugs hauled the Jos city biggest market, Terminus, where they burned cars, hauled shops and attacked unarmed EndSARS protesters.¹³

3) Impact of EndSARS Protest Government Revenue

The ENDSARS protest therefore resulted in drop in government revenue and consumer confidence on the financial markets and the already worsening economy. Overcoming the challenges of poverty, fighting corruption, meeting the basic needs of the people in the face of inadequate and inefficient infrastructure are critical social challenges that government is determined to address.¹⁴ However, protests and increased disenchantment of citizens across different sectors have continued to have negative effects on the economy of the Nation.

In addition, retail stores across the countries were looted and goods carted away. The long list of destroyed public and private property in Lagos includes Ajeromi Ifelodun Local Government secretariat; Palace of the Oba of Lagos; Lagos High Court, Igbosere; Oyingbo BRT terminus; Ojodu Berger BRT terminus; Vehicle Inspection Office, Ojodu Berger; Lagos State Public Works Corporation, Ojodu Berger; Lagos City Hall and Circle Mall, Lekki; numerous luxury shops in Surulere, The Nation Newspaper, TVC, and Shoprite Lekki. The destroyed BRT vehicles cost \$200,000 each, while 57 of them

cost \$100,000 each, all totaling about N3.9 billion.¹⁵ According to the police, the 25 stations burnt in Lagos are Orile, Amukoko, Layeni, Ilasamaja, Ikotun, Ajah, Igando, Elemoro, Makinde, Onipanu, EbuteEro, Pen-Cinema, Isokoko, Alade, Cele, Igbo-Elerin, Shibiri, Gbagada, Onilekere, Makoko, Daleko, Asahun, Makinyo, Amuwo-Odofin, Anti-Kidnapping, Surulere. Other police stations that were vandalized but not burnt were Ojo, Ojodu, Mowo, PPL, and Morogbo.¹⁶

In other affected areas, Airport Road, Sarkin Yaki, Court Road, Burma Road, and Zungeru Road, business activities were brought to a standstill. In Plateau state, banks and shops were destroyed. In Enugu, Youths participating in the #EndSARS protest grounded the state capital. Motorists were prevented from getting to their destination on time. Thousands of youths supporting President Muhammadu Buhari and scores of others calling for an end to police brutality staged multiple protests in different parts of Port Harcourt, Rivers State, bringing social and economic activities to a standstill.¹⁷

Other states apart from those mentioned above also experienced huge negative effect on their businesses, resulting from the EndSARS protest. A release by the Anambra State Police Command's Public Relations Officer, SP Haruna Mohammed showed that 21 police divisions were attacked by hoodlums who disguised as protesters, while seven of them were burnt down. Other government property burnt or destroyed were, the High Court Ogidi, Idemili North LG Secretariat, while Zik Statue at DMGS roundabout, Onitsha was vandalized. Also, the nation's capital, Abuja, Kano, Oyo, Ogun and Plateau states witnessed destruction, death and looting. In Kano state, rampaging

youths went after shops and homes of residents in the area carting away valuables and setting some ablaze. Several vehicles were also burnt.¹⁸

4) Effect of Endsars Protest on Micro, Small, and Medium Scale Businesses in Kwara State

One of the disadvantages of a group of people protesting in any state is the interruption of people's movements and enterprises. There are various motivators for people to protest, and one of the most important is a change to something nice and better than the ills to which they have been subjected.¹⁹ Protestors against the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), marched peacefully through some streets of Ilorin, Kwara state capital, on Thursday, October 8, 2020, demanding that SARS operations be outright banned by the Nigerian police. Protesters encircled the Kwara State government house on October 12, 2020, when the Deputy Governor, Kayode Alabi, told them that their grievances had been heard on behalf of Governor AbdulRahman AbdulRazaq.

The Kwara State Government imposed a 24-hour curfew in all regions of the state at exactly 11:49 a.m. on Monday, October 12, 2020, to prevent property destruction by hoodlums during the state's EndSARS rally. During the EndSARS protests, micro, small, and medium businesses were destroyed and looted.²⁰ This has resulted in the loss of important resources and property belonging to the shoplifting victims. The demonstrators' obstruction of roads and the state government of Kwara' declaration of a curfew limited movement, contributing to a decrease in demand and supply in businesses and high transit fares. The majority of business owners haven't recovered from the effects of the

Covid-19 lockdown, and some are still in the midst of financial crisis, hoping that once the lockdown ban is lifted, they will be able to make some sales and cover up some debts incurred during the lockdown, but the opposite is the case when some hoodlums hijack the protest and use it as an avenue to loots some MSMEs properties, causing a huge setback for their business.²¹

5) Impact of ENDSARS Protest on Health Facilities

During the 2020 “ENDSARS” protest in Nigeria, there were reports of destruction of health facilities and abandonment by staff for safety concerns; theft of TB diagnostic GeneXpert machine and sputum samples of TB patients, raising concerns of potential outbreak.²²

6) COVID-19 and EndSars Youth Protest

The Covid-19 pandemic in Nigeria, which resulted to the lockdown in most of the major cities in Nigeria, Nigerians that are force to stayed at home, suffered hunger, deprivation and even the palliatives the government claim they distributed, was hoard by greedy politicians and their family, Nigeria citizen’s did not relent and even discovered and wafted the ware house where these palliatives were kept by various state governments. In the mist of this, the Nigerian Police Force engaged in human rights violations and brutality on Nigerians mostly youth and this led to the outbreak of the Endsar protest. It should be noted here that another major event that shaped the Nigeria state in 2020 was the #EndSARS protests that spread from Delta state to many states in Nigeria.²⁵

7) International Response to the EndSARS

The #EndSARS protests elicited global sympathy and support, with world leaders such as United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres and United States Secretary of State Mike Pompeo tweeting in support. Other political figures and celebrities have also used the hashtag or referenced the movement to either support the protests or demand an end to the government crackdown on protestors.²³ These include former United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, U.S. president-elect Joe Biden, boxing heavyweight champion Anthony Joshua, Arsenal footballer Mesut Ozil, and American rapper Kanye West. For several days in October, the hashtag #EndSARS was the number one trending topic on global Twitter with Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey launching a special Emoji for the movement.²⁴

Figure I



Photo showing Nigerians protesting against Police brutality and Bad governance:
Retrieved from <http://endsar.com>

From Lagos to Osun, Ondo to Rivers, all the way down to the federal capital territory (FCT), Nigerians took to the streets to call for the disbandment of the now-defunct special anti-robbery squad (SARS). The protest started on October 10 after the alleged harassment of a young man in Delta state, and the brutalisation of another person in Lagos. The protesters, who took over major streets across Nigerian cities, demonstrated against police brutality and human rights abuses.²⁶



Photo showing Nigerians protesting in Areas Command in Lagos, Retrieved from <http://pendsar.com>

8) Hotels, Catering, and Food Services

The EndSars protest severely affected hotels, restaurants, and catering services. Movement Restrictions included bans on visiting restaurants. The lack of a “food delivery culture” in Nigeria implied a near-total shutdown of urban food services during the lockdown period. In 20th of May 2022, Channel Television interviewed an Hotel owner, Mrs. Bola Owoyele, in Lagos, she narrated how she was begging for money to pay her staff and even buy food stuff. She lamented that since outbreak of the EndSars protest started she has not made in gain from her hotel business. That guests visited her hotel in the month of April and in the beginning of May 2020.²⁷

The protest which became deadly was as a result of the inhumane attitude of a section of the Nigerian police called SARS towards its victims. It was discovered that the EndSars protest did not only achieve its aims of SARs disbandment but also had important non-institutional outcomes using non-institutional mechanisms of drawing global attention to the menace of police brutality in Nigeria and increased public concern for good governance and accountability for an improved economy. EndSars protest has left memories not just on the Nigerian people and her economy but on the global community on issues of police brutality in Nigeria. Economic crises have been a major problem particularly in Third World Nations with attendant high poverty level, unemployment, high illiteracy, hunger, disease and problem of industrialization.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study investigated the EndSARS protest movement and its impact in Nigeria; the study also tackled government's approaches in the management of the EndSARS protest in Lagos State and other states in Nigeria as perceived by protesters and how some of the demands of the EndSARS protesters are addressed. Evidence from the results of the study suggests that there is a magnitude of needs, desires, and concerns of protesters during the EndSARS protest in Lagos state. The study results highlighted the concerns and desires that sustained the protest and the expectations from the government in addressing the concerns. The result from the responses of the respondents indicated the concerns and desires that stimulated the action which pointed to the bottled issues around poor general welfare of young persons in the country, unemployment, limited economic opportunities, and police brutality against Nigerian residents.

The study observed that the adverse effect of youth unemployment was a result of poor social support and frustration among the youth population which promoted the protest. Creating economic opportunities for Nigerian youth was identified as one of the key ingredients for good governance. Okoye, et al, reported that introducing entrepreneurship engagement would improve youth employability and help in the reduction of youth unemployment. It is argued that government policy initiatives should be directed at promoting entrepreneurship from secondary school. However, this has suffered a major setback due to corruption, inefficient infrastructural facilities, and poor

maladministration, a situation that has stagnated youth development and promoted restiveness among the youth population. The study result highlighted that police brutality was among the major problems affecting good governance in Nigeria. The avalanche of reports of extrajudicial killings by police and other human rights violations have called to question the protocols and rules of engagement for police officers, as well as their efficiency and capacity to deal with the civilian population. Furthermore, the study results brought to light some of the expectations which centered on economic improvement such as the provision of grants to young persons to establish businesses and ensuring sustainable intervention across different sectors of the economy.

The study also reported that the EndSARS protest served as an avenue of reminding those in power about the inconsistencies and horrors in the lives of marginalized groups (Amnesty International, 2020). This approach appeared in principle as an excellent one enhancing good governance in the country and youth restiveness in the future, however, in practice, there seemed as though nothing has been done.

In addition, the study finding indicated that government should be intentional with its actions in assisting people on the street and providing more platforms where people can discuss their concerns, thoughts, and desires with the government. The study respondents expressed that they expect and anticipate a life filled with several economic opportunities with the provision of social rehabilitation programs that would make positive changes in the life of their family and they do not expect law enforcement agencies especially police

to interfere in domestic issues like family problems because they are only meant to stay on the street and protect the community.

The study had obvious limitations that the researchers take into cognizance. The EndSARS protest had a national outlook and took place in all the state capitals and major cities in Nigeria, hence, conducting this study in Lagos state alone may not give a comprehensive understanding of what happened in other states. It is also important to note that the study samples were limited to 12 respondents, as such, it may not reflect the generality of the views of the EndSARS protesters.

Findings from this study indicated to importance of good governance in the management of persistent protest in any country. The EndSARS protest was an eye-opener for the government and the international committee to this truth which will likely prevent further reoccurrence. The study also highlighted some of the factors that fueled and sustained the protest in the country including police brutality. The study further revealed that creating economic opportunities for young persons is key to the promotion of entrepreneurship spirit in them and in reducing youth unemployment in the country. In addition, the study reported that youth participation in politics is germane in promoting good governance in the country.

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