

ENDSARS: ASSESSING THE EFFECTS OF THE RIPPLES OF YOUTH PROTESTS ON EFFECTIVE POLICING IN NIGERIA

AKOMOLEDE ODUNAYO TOLUPE (PhD)

Department of Criminology and Security Studies
Federal University, Oye Ekiti
Ekiti State, Nigeria

Email: Odunayo.ojo@fuoye.edu.ng

&

ADEGOKE, NIYI (PhD) (LL.B)

Criminology and Security Studies Department
Open University, Nigeria

Email: dradegokeadeniyi@yahoo.com

&

OJIEZELE, MONDAY ORIABURE

Department of Criminology and Security Studies
Federal University, Oye Ekiti
Ekiti State, Nigeria

Email: monday.ojiele@fuoye.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

This study assessed the remote and immediate causes of the riot tagged #EndSARS in Nigeria and to examine the Dimension and level of police brutality in Nigeria before #EndSARS. The study adopted mixed method of data collection technique and Purposive sampling technique was used in selecting southwestern region and 4 states in the region due to the severity of the riot and the upshot in the region while Multistage sampling procedure was used in selecting 668 respondents. Also relevant legal documents on #EndSARS Protest were also used to support primary data. Finding from the study revealed incessant killing of innocent citizens; police harassment and unfair treatment by some police officers towards citizens as the immediate causes of the protest. Correspondingly, 65.7% of the respondents viewed the lock-down as the immediate causes of the protest. Finally, it was discovered that SARS now SWAT after the dissolution became worse in their handling of youth, as the respondents were of the opinion that the dissolution was just in name not in character, as majority (72%) of the respondents claimed that police brutality in the areas was enormous. Hence, the study concluded that the protest did not have substantial effect on curbing police brutality. Thus, the study recommended that Police Authority should be conducting regular checks on SWAT activities to reduce abuse of power and to avoid re-occurrence of #EndSARS Protest.

Keywords: SWAT Harassment, Spiritual Fortification; Human Degradation; Mass Protest; Human Rights.

Introduction

Mass protest has been erupting across time and clime in the contemporary era, though the volume of occurrence and frequency of each protest varies from country to country. The remote and immediate causes of each of the protests within each country has its own unique context, among which are common grievances, government - related issues such as ineffective

governance and corruption, human degradation and abuse of human right etc (Zeynep 2014). Mass protest usually serves as a key signal within the country reflecting a changing relationship between governments and the citizens. Implication of such protest in most countries shows that citizens are losing faith in current leaders, elites or institutions and taking to the streets in frustration or distrust. This is an expression of non-satisfaction in government decision or a response to government, elites or institutional action or steps.

It should be noted that in most of the mass protests, police officers statutorily perform their duties of maintaining law and order and protecting human lives and properties. However, the a unit of Nigeria police force, special Anti-rubbery Squad (SARS) had been alleged of bypassing the rules, from protecting human lives to abusing human rights by the series of degrading human treatment and cases of brutality that have been experienced and observed by people across the regions with in the country over the years, especially in the urban areas. These severe undermining of rule of law and human right by police officer had seriously deprived citizens of both their civil rights and political rights, thereby affecting human security across the states in Nigeria (Amnesty International, 2021). In spite of the efforts of Human Right activists, government, police service commission, international police reform agencies, amnesty international, among others to put a stop to the situations in which citizens constitutional rights are infringed on by the SAR, the end seems not to be in sight yet.

The police officers are imbued with the constitutional right to enforce law; apprehend offenders; preserve law and order; for prevention and detection of crime and also to protect life and property of the citizens (INTERPOL, 2011). However, in as much as police officers have been performing some of these constitutional duties, a greater number of them have been working contrary to these (Rotimi, 2004). Even though, it has been argued that police can use coercive force on citizen in order to ensure compliance to the state rules and regulation but majority of the officers have failed in applying professionalism in using the force (McLean; Stoughton; & Alpert, 2022). Thus, the police officers whose community members would have preferred to treat them with respect and to give them a chance to explain their situation before action is taken were now seen by the same people as their enemy who were treated with cruelty and assault (Zara, 2020).

Statement of the Problem

Police brutality is not a new phenomenon in Sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria being one of the prominent and populous countries has a long and tough history of gruesome manhandling from the law enforcement agents particularly, the specialised arm of the police force 'Special Anti-robbery Squad (SARS) now called Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) after the dissolution. Also, Pockets of protests in localised areas on some salient issues are not new in Nigeria either but the culmination of protest by youth from different background and languages not under the umbrella of student union or political party were new and unprecedented. Nigeria is a country with serious cases of police officers (SARS) abusing their constitutional powers and violating human rights, which often stimulate intense public outcries. These series of police brutality across the nation culminated into mass protest in Nigeria in 2020, in which the youth protested against the activities of SARS. The police restriction was followed by this riot in many state capitals with government structures razed

and shops looted. The violence and looting rapidly spread to other parts of the country, causing economy hardship, dismal loss of lives. These made some states to declare curfews. Media outlets reported that “hoodlums” had hijacked the protests and were looting stores and malls (Uwazuruike, 2020). Though, the police Authority and government swing into action by dissolving the unit and replaced it with SWAT and several law enforcement agent were deployed to various strategic place to reduce the weight on the security of the country but the activities of the protesters during the protest such setting prisoners free, vandalising government and private property, looting and killing of offices had really put a strain on the security of some states within the country (Uwazuruike, 2020). The #EndSARS protest was driven by deep discontentment and systemic problems perceived by Nigerian citizens (Africa Centre for Strategic Studies Report, 2020).

It is noteworthy that despite the increase in cases of cruel attitude of this arm of Police force (SARS) to the civilians many literatures heavily relied on police reform and government policy as the efficient response to police brutality, but not many empirical studies have been conducted to ascertain the effects on police-citizen relationship and effect of #EndSARS protest on the existing police brutality on Nigeria; this necessity the need to understand the remote and immediate causes of the 2020 civil disturbance labelled #EndSARS in Nigeria therefore, the major focus of the study. Furthermore, the protest definitely was targeted at a purpose. There is therefore, a need to evaluate the presentation and the resultant effects of the protest and other related issues on the 2020 #EndSARS protest in Nigeria.

Concept of Mass Protest

Protest, according to advance English learner dictionary, is a public expression of objection, disapproval or dissent towards an idea or action, typically a political one. Mass protest could be seen as a collective act performed by a fundamental nationalist actor that allows its participants to visualize themselves in movement and thus create and emphasize continuing bonds of solidarity (Casquete, 2016). Hence, it is a collective action, promoting an unrelenting commitment among participants in a social movement and which appears to the participants as an unavoidable precondition to achieve collective goal and eventually to enjoy some impact. Mass protest lies at the heart of this commitment and sense of loyalty of the participant to the protest (Dahlum and Wig, 2020). Mass protest actions require an adequate level of coordination, but vary in their group, magnitude, and period.

Concept of Police Brutality

According to Sherman (1998) cited in Onwunyirimadu (2022), police brutality is conceptualized as the justified and unjustified use of any physical force against citizens by the police. Also, Cao (2013) refers to police brutality as any exercise that violates citizen's right, that limits their freedom, and that infuriates or hassles them or that uses needless and unjustified physical force by the police. More so, Amnesty International (2021) describes police brutality as the abuses by police which might include beatings, racial abuse, torture, unlawful killings or indiscriminate use of force control agents at protests. Therefore, police brutality is an excessive and unwarranted use of force by police officers against an individual or a group of individuals.

The Dimension of Police Brutality in Nigeria before #EndSARS Protest

According to Human Rights Watch investigation in March 2005 in Nigeria argued that the use of torture and other cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment by the Nigerian Police Force to the citizens is widespread and routine. Based on the interviews conducted by the organization in Enugu, Lagos and Kano with some fifty victims and witnesses, it found out that these brutal acts of torture, and Violation of human rights were perpetrated by and with the knowledge of senior police officers, including inspectors, divisional police officers, a deputy superintendent of police and a chief superintendent of police (Omeni, 2022). They opine that these brutal acts were so routine in police practice, that some of these senior officers were known within the police stations by the nickname "Officer in Charge Torture." To the extent that most of their interrogation rooms were equipped for the purpose.

The Root and Immediate causes of #End SARS Protest in Nigeria

The protest of #EndSARS in Nigeria was triggered by a video that showed a SARS officer shooting a young motorist in Ughelli, in Delta state, then pushing his body out of the car and driving off with the dead man's Lexus SUV. Within days, crowds of young people gathered in Nigerian cities to demand the abolition of SARS (George, 2020). In likewise manner, on October 10, a young man, Jimoh Isiaka, was allegedly killed when police opened fire to disperse protesters in Ogbomosho, Oyo State, (Punch newspaper October 11, and Amnesty International, 2020). Despite the confirmation of this incidence by the Oyo State Governor, Seyi Makinde, that three people were killed and at least six others injured during protests in the state. The police command of Oyo state still denied in a statement that they only used tear gas to disperse the protesters and even denied allegations of any shooting on October 10 (Punch newspaper 11, 2020, and Amnesty International Report, 2020).

Theoretical framework

Control- Balance Theory (CBT)

Control balance theory of deviant behaviour was developed by Charles R. Tittle, who presented the initial statement of the theory in his book, Control Balance: Toward a General Theory of Deviance (Tittle 1995, cited under Initial Statement of the Theory). Following its 1995 publication, the book received distinguished scholarship awards from both the American Sociological Association and the American Society of Criminology.

The Basic Tenets of Control Balance Theory

- ❖ The degree to which others and a person's surroundings can limit an individual's behavioural options
- ❖ The extent to which an individual can escape from these controls and exercise such controls over others.
- ❖ The extent of control to which one is subject is relative to the amount of control one can exercise (the control ratio) affects both the probability of deviance as well as the specific form of deviance

The proportion of controls exercised to controls experienced, constitutes the control quotient, which is the central cause of deviance in the theory. The key assertion of Control Balance theory is that when control proportion is unbalanced this will be associated with deviance

because it will lead to an imbalance between motivation toward deviance and constraints on deviance behaviour. Hence, Control imbalances can be of two types:

- (1) Control deficits, which occur when the control that individuals can exercise is exceeded by the amount of control to which they are subject, and
- (2) Control surpluses, which indicate that the controls that individuals can exercise surpass the controls they experience.

Application of CBT to the Study

The Control Balance Theory states that the extent of control to which one is subject is relative to the amount of control one can exercise and this affects both the probability of aberration as well as the specific form of aberration. This explains the reason behind aberration of some members of SARS units of Nigeria police are involved in deviant behaviours such as extra judicial killings, brutality and so on, as the extent of constitution power given to them on civilian were enormous and this resulted into surplus control which created imbalance in the relationship between the SARS and the civilian, that resulted into power tussle and abused of power. This asserts that police (SARS) brutality could be as a result of “power-tussle” and the desire to maximise control over others subject to their authority.

Methodology

The study employed the descriptive cross-sectional research design. The research design entails the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data from a relatively homogenous subject within a period of time. This research design was chosen as it engendered the generation of credible quantitative and qualitative data that were used to adequately test the research questions raised for this study. The quantitative and qualitative data were collected through the use of structured questionnaire and interview guide while the secondary data were collected through the use of relevant journals and newspapers. The overall aim of this research was to understand EndSARS: Assessing the effects of the Ripples of youth protests on effective Policing in Nigeria.

Study Population

The study population for this study comprised of selected police officers in the study areas, particularly the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) formally known as Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and selected youth in selected states in Southwestern Nigeria (comprising, Lagos, Oyo, Ondo and Ekiti). The selected areas were those areas with high records of the protest in Southwestern. All the youths in the selected states were eligible to participate in this study.

Sample Size and Sampling Technique

A multistage sampling Procedure was used. The first stage involved a purposive selection of Lagos, Oyo, Ondo and Ekiti state from the region, making four states in all, this selection was based on the severity (severity in terms of numbers of police station destroy, numbers of death recorded and the extent on the economy) of the protest in each of the states, the second stage involved simple random selection of 18 police officers and 2 heads of units making a total of 20 police officers selected in Lagos state, this is to give each officer the equal opportunity of being selected. Also, 8 police officers were randomly selected and 2 heads of units in Oyo State

making total of 10 police officers. Numbers Officers selected in Lagos and Oyo states was due to severity of the protest in the two states. In addition, 5 police officers were randomly selected each in Ekiti and Ondo States, making a total of 40 Police officers in all the selected states. Also, snowball sampling technique was used to selected 10 youths that participated actively in year 2020 #EndSARS protest in Lagos, 4 in Oyo State and 3 each in Ekiti and Ondo States for interview; making total of 20 youths in all for interview, the selection was based on enormity of the protest in each of the states selected (based on the numbers of deaths recorded and vandalism recorded), to solicit information on remote/immediate causes and effect of the protest on police Brutality. In all, 60 interviewees consisting of 40 police Officers and 20 youths were used.

In addition, Accidental sampling technique was used to select 258 youths in Lagos State, 150 youths in Oyo State due to the rigorousness of the protest in the two states and 100 youths each in Ondo and Ekiti States, making a total of 608 questionnaires. Finally, some relevant documents were used for secondary data to corroborate the primary data on dimension of punishment for police brutality.

Data Collection Method

Mixed research method was employed in this research (primary and secondary method). The data collection methods used under primary method is: questionnaire, In-depth Interview (IDI) and Key Informant Interview (KII). In-depth interviews and key informant interview were used in this research to evaluate individual's perceptions, opinions, facts and forecasts, and their reactions to initial findings. In addition, questionnaire was used to solicit information from youths. The interview guides were pre-tested by doing a role play. During the role play 5 students of federal university Oye Ekiti were selected, and 5 SWAT Officers from Bashiri, Ado-Ekiti division were selected interviewed with the assistant of other two trained researchers using the interview guide, this is to clarify any anomalies that might have caused misrepresentation among the participants. Also, the questionnaire was pre-tested by conducting a pilot study. The pilot study was conducted in Ogbomosho, Oyo State and Ikere, Ekiti State; twenty sampled questionnaires were administered in each town using accidental sampling techniques, this helped to identify those questions that could make participants uncomfortable, those that may be misunderstood, and those that did not adequately capture the concepts under study. After the researcher have ascertained the content validity and reliability of the instrument, permission letter was written to the commissioner of police in each selected state, to collect information from the officers in his jurisdiction, the permission granted and officers were selected: in Lagos State at Bariga-Ilaje, Ikeja and Badagry were interviewed, in Oyo state, Eleyele, Ojoo and Egeda in Ibadan, in Ondo State, SARS office along Oda Road, Oba Adesida Road and Oyemekun road and finally in Ekiti, Oke Ila Division, Okesa police and Police head Quarter Ado-Ekiti for interview. The police units were randomly selected in each of the state, the state capitals were purposively selected due to the aftermath effect of the protest in all the capital towns. The interviews were audio recorded to enable further analysis and interpretation without losing details.

Method of Data Analysis

The descriptive and inferential statistical packages were used in analysing the quantitative data. Such parameters as means, frequency distribution table, percentages, charts, paired sample T-test, Pearson's Correlation and the One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) were used to show the relationship between different variables that explains and identify the determinant of the subject under investigation. The statistical analysis followed three steps: first, univariate analysis was used to highlight the distribution of the surveyed population according to the study variable. Second, bivariate and multivariate analyses were used to examine simple association between the independent variable(s) and the outcome variables. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, version 28.0.1.1) was used in analysing the quantitative data; this software helps to categorise quantitative data such that it is possible to identify trends and strength of responses, while the qualitative data obtained through In-depth Interview and Key informant interview were analysed using individual transcription responses and of categorization of responses using ZY Index Table. The analyses were done in stages through coding and transcription of responses. Also, verbatim quotations were utilized to describe the responses from the qualitative instrument.

Results

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents (Survey)

As aforementioned, questionnaires were administered to 606 respondents. The data revealed that there were more Christian's respondents with 80.4% in the study as against 18.5% which were Muslims and 1.2% who were free thinker. Majority 49.3% of the respondents fell between the ages of 15-20 years of age, 30.0% of the respondents fell within the ages of 21-25 years of age, 5.6% of the respondents fell between the ages of 26-30, and 2.9% fall within the ages of 31-35 while 9.6% of the respondents fell between the ages of 36-40, the 2.6% of the respondents were within the age range 41-45 years of age. Also, there were more female respondents with 56.1% as against their male counterpart 43.9%. Also, data on ethnic group shows that majority 86.6% of the participants were from Yoruba speaking communities, 11.4% were from Igbo speaking communities, and 1.0% were from Hausa speaking communities while the remaining 1.0 % were from other sub-ethnic group in the country. In addition, most of the participants 76.4% were single due to one reason or the other, 1.2% were single due to the death of their spouse while the remaining 23.6% were married. Furthermore, most of the respondents' 51.0% highest level of formal education attained is first degree, while 27.6% had attained either ordinary diploma or NCE and 11.6% were with secondary school certificate, the remaining 9.8 % of the respondents were with post graduate certificate. This indicated that all the respondents are knowledgeable and can read and write.

Table 1: Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents (survey)

Variables		Frequency	percentage
Religion:	Christianity	487	80.3
	Islam	112	18.5
	Free Thinker	7	1.2
Age:	15-20	299	49.3
	21-25	181	29.9
	26-30	34	5.6
	31-35	18	3.0
	36-40	58	9.6
	41-45	16	2.6
Gender:	Female	340	56.1
	Male	266	43.9
Major Ethnic group:	Yoruba	525	86.6
	Igbo	69	11.4
	Hausa	6	1.0
	Others	6	1.0
Marital Status:	Married	143	23.6
	Never married	408	67.3
	Separated	48	7.9
	Widow/widower	7	1.2
Highest Level of Formal Education Attained:	SSCE	70	11.6
	OND/NCE	167	27.6
	First Degree	308	51.0
	Post Graduate	59	9.8

Source: Author's field work, 2022

The Remote and immediate causes of the mass protests tagged #EndSARS in Nigeria

From the table 2 below, the study identified incessant and unwarranted killing of innocent citizen by police; inability of civilians to tolerate the harassment and unfair treatment by the police officers again and the unbearable level at which police officers (SARS) were extorting the citizen as the remote and immediate causes of the 2020 protest tagged #EndSARS in Nigeria, this corroborated the response of an interviewee on what she thought made the youth to stand-up against the police and protest en masse. She retorted that:

...ohyou know "ti won ba sun ewurekanogiri, dandanniki o pa oju da sienina" (meaning: if you frustrate someone too much, such person will definitely revolt)... the men of the Nigeria police especially the SARS

has turned to mini God on Nigeria roads for the youth, and they think they are free to do and undo with their victim, all successful youth in Nigeria are yahoo,..... If they beat you and torture you, you will begin to confess what you did not do.... Imagine (with a serious look) they could not stop kidnapping but they are always on the road to pick yahoo boys..... they will collect money from them, beat them, brutalized the able youth and our Government is not doing anything on it..... so tell me why wont the youth protest against such ungodly act.....

Extract 1: IDI/Female/36 years/Oyo youth

Also, more than half (56.1%) of the respondents opined that the citizens were able to execute the protest due to 2020 lock down, because majority were idle at this period, as majority 65.7% were of the opinion that the lock-down gave people avenue for the civilians to plan together and strategize the appropriate medium through which the protest could be accomplished while about 24.7% of the participants were of the opinion that the lock down exposed most of police unruly behaviour in Nigeria. In addition, majority 54.5% of the participants described the protest as a result of government failure at all level, 24.7% described the protest as a result of pervasive failure of the government to deliver equitable economic prosperity to its citizen while about 17.3% of the respondents described it as the persistent failure of the government to these enraged youths in particular and finally, 2.2% of the respondents described it as the result of the failure of government to reform police, this corroborated the report from Amnesty International, (2014); it was also in tandem with the submission of Aborisade&Fayemi, (2015) that “in spite of the Endless and regular reports received from lawyers, human rights activists, social analysts and journalists among others on police regularly demanding bribes, stealing, extorting money and engaging in different forms of brutality and abuse of rights many a times, officers are unchallenged and complaints are unprocessed on extrajudicial activities by Nigeria Government. In addition, another interviewee affirmed that:’

.....the SARS are more poisonous than snake, crafty than tortoise and their cells are more dangerous than lion’s den, if you ever had encounter with them you will not pray for any of them to live till next day even including all their family memberstheir criminality had touched virtually all families in Nigeria either directly or indirectly, and during that covid 19, things were very tough for virtually everyone in Nigeria and these criminals in uniform would still not allow the commoners to have peace..... So people became frustrated and decided to revolt against them to put an end to all these their criminal acts..... **Extract 2: IDI/Female/32 years/Lagos youth**

However, another key informant was of a contrary opinion. ‘His insistence was that,

“ the police officers are not mad or stupid.....for a suspect to be arrested,there must have been an allegation against

the person to the police officer that shows the crime can actually be traced to him/her.....and since our people are sometimes incorporated Sometimes to make them to say the truth you need to exercise some level of force inform of torture..... don't be surprise that some of them actually committed the crime they are accused of but would not easily own up.....

Extract 2: kII/Male/officer/32 years/Lagos youth

This was in tandem with the work of Ogundola (2020) that although some police officers can show some level of sentiments in discharging their duties, an individual cannot be arrested or detained without prior information about him/her in relation to a particular crime..... (Ogundola, 2020).

Table 2: Distribution of respondents according to their perception on the Remote and Immediate causes of mass protest tagged #End SARS in Nigeria

Variable	Frequency	percentage	mean
why do you think people decided to protest against police:			1.58
• Incessant killing of innocent citizen by police	351	43.2	
• people can longer bear the harassment and unfair treatment by the police	159	19.6	
• the level of extortion of citizen by this SARS has become unbearable	96	11.8	
• harassment and unfair treatment; extortion and Incessant killing of innocent citizen	206	25.4	
Did you see protest as a result of lock down or because of idleness:			1.44
yes	340	56.1	
No	266	43.9	
Give reason for your response:			1.44
• because the lock-down helped people to plan together and strategize on go about it	314	65.7	
• the lock down exposed most of police unruly behaviour	118	24.7	
• many of us were less busy, so there was enough time for protest	46	9.6	
How can you describe #EndSARS protest:			1.45
• the pervasive failure of the government to deliver equitable economic prosperity for its citizen	166	24.7	
• the pervasive failure of the government to these enraged youths in particular	116	17.3	
	15	2.2	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the failure of the government to ensure effective police reform None 	9 366	1.3 54.5	
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The Dimension and level of police brutality in Nigeria before #EndSARS protest

In table 2 below, it is important to understand that 'f' is the test statistic of Levene's test while Sig. is the p-value corresponding to this test statistic. Hence, in the table 4.3.1 below shows the level of police brutality before the 2020 protest in study areas with the p-value of Levene's test is 0.016, since $p < 0.016$ is less than the chosen significant level of α which is $\alpha = 0.005$. It concluded that there is high level of police brutality the study areas before the #EndSARS protest in Nigeria.

Table 3 Respondents Independent Samples Test showing the level of police brutality in the study area before 'End SARS' protest

		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2- tailed)	Mean Differen ce	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Before	variances assumed	0.252	0.016	-0.097	604	0.923	-.01315	-.27911	0.25281
	variances not assumed		- 0.097	597.18 9	0.92 2	- .01315	-.27836	0.2520 6	

Source: Author's field work, 2022

In addition, table 3 below on regression shows the analysis of respondents' faceoff with police and occurrence of police brutality in the study areas with the F-value of 0.009 and P-value of 0.003.

Interpretation:

If $F \leq \alpha$ then, there was a statistically significant difference between the means of the different groups demonstrated by linear regression analysis but if $F \geq \alpha$ then there was no statistically significant difference between the means of the different groups demonstrated by linear regression analysis. ($F(1,604) = 0.009$, $P = 0.003$), hence, from the table 4.3.2 below, there is a statistical difference between those who had face off with police before and level of police brutality in the study area before the protest. Hence, since P value $0.003 < 0.005$. There was high level of police brutality in the study area before the protest.

Table 4 Respondents Regression Analysis showing the level of police brutality in the study area before 'End SARS' protest

Regression Analysis

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	.026	1	0.026	0.009	0.003 ^a
Residual	1669.349	604	2.764		
Total	1669.375	605			

Source: Author's field work, 2022

Also, the information on table 4 below, revealed that there was high level of police brutality among the participant, has p value 0.000 is less than 0.005, that is $p < 0.005$ which showed a high level of police brutality on their victims, also revealed high level of negative experience with the police officers in the study area. This was in tandem with the response of an interviewee on his experience with men of Special Anti-robbery Squad (SARS) with serious anger said in Pidgin English that:

...haaa... oloriburukuniawon SARS yen (the SARS are unfortunate fellows) they beat me eeen, on top my own babe (they beat me because of my lover) the case be that the guy dey eye my babe and as my babe never give face, the guy taught say na because of me. na him and his friend come, come my house that evening, come carry me go station, say I be yahoo boy, ... (Laugh sarcastically) I know no say I don enter whahala I still dey drag it with them, ...like....you know...but by the time I received several slaps, my eyes open, I became gentle and began dey beg them say I no be yahoo, na hustler I be...see this my hand, nadey break ham,...they tie my hand for back, dey come dey beat me as if I be arm robber,... whalahi I dey pray may God take my life, as the punishment dey too much ...my sister to make the matter worst.... The guy still slept with my babe and I still pay them on top everything before they release me from cell... see if I dey talk about them you no go leave this place, dey no be only devil incarnate but satan second in command, in fact they wicked past people wey kill Jesus... **Extract 3:**

IDI/Male/24 years/Ekiti youth

Table5: One sample t-test showing the Level of police brutality in the study area before #EndSARS protest

Variables	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					lower	upper
Have you/your close pals been victims of police brutality before?	26.452	605	0.000	0.536	26.452	605

Negative experience with police officers	28.478	277	0.000	1.540	1.43	1.65
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Source: Author's field work, 2022

Table5: Respondents Distribution on the Dimension and Level of police Brutality in the study area before #EndSARS protest

Variable	Frequency	percentage
What do the Police activities look like in your area?	384	63.4
• Cruel	62	10.2
• Calm	96	15.8
• Good	64	10.6
• Friendly		
What is the rate of Police Brutality in your area?		
• High	236	38.9
• Low	100	16.5
• Moderate	68	11.2
• Enormous	202	33.3
Have you/your close pals been victims of police brutality before?		
Yes	281	46.4
No	325	53.6
If yes, please briefly narrate the experience?		
1 Arrest and Detained without thorough investigation	34	5.6
2 Beaten unjustly	104	17.2
3 Forcefully collected money from me	96	15.8
4 mistaking for rogue	44	7.3
5 Beaten unjustly and Forcefully collected money from me	328	54.1
What can you say about 'End SARS' protest in respect to police brutality?		
• It was as a result of failure of government to protect its citizen	366	60.0
• It was as a result of poor leadership and failure of government to reform police	216	36.0
	15	4.0

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was out of frustration and insensitivity of government to masses' groaning 		
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Source: Author's filed work,2022

The respondents' view on level of police brutality in table 4.3.3 above, graphically represented on the pie charts below revealed that the respondents were of the opinion that the police officers (SARS) in the study areas were very unkind to the masses, as majority 63% of the participants claimed that police activities in the area was cruel, 11% of the respondent claimed that police activities in the study areas is friendly and 16% of the respondents were of the view that police activities in the study areas is good while only 10% claimed police activities in the study is calm. Also, the pie chat revealed that there is high rate of incidence of police brutality in the study areas has the larger 72% population of the respondents asserted that police brutality in the area was massive and only 28% of the respondents were of the viewed that the rate of police brutality in study area is moderate. Finally, majority 60% of the respondents were of the view that the high prevalence of police brutality in Nigeria was due to the failure of Nigeria government to protect her citizens, while 36% of the participants believed the high prevalence of brutality was due to the poor leadership system in Nigeria and inability of Nigeria authority to reform police, finally, about 4% of the participants believed that it was out of frustration and insensitivity of Nigeria government to masses complained. This corroborated a response from one of the protester's that:

..... haaaa.....sister, our government is very wicked and insensitive..... because they usually use them for their evil act, they could not reprimand.....what do we ask from government during the protest, simple thing eradicate SARS and gives us back our citizen's right as Nigerian to work freely on the road without harassment and humiliation but what do we get from government not even to reform them or stop their extrajudicial act but bloodshed,.....what is difficult in telling the owner of a Dog to put his Dog in a cage and allow neighbour to have peace' but instead of that, our leaders turn Nigerian youth to charismas fowl, kill them in dozens.....deprive them of their right and many evil things i can't be mention but I only asked God to judge them according to their evil deed.

Extract 4: IDI/Female/24 years/Lagos youth

Conclusion and Recommendations

The research assessed the #EndSARS protest as an instrument to curb of police brutality in Southwestern Nigeria. This was with a view to identified the remote and immediate causes of

police brutality in Nigeria; to understand the dimension and the level police brutality before #EndSARS protest and evaluate the effect on police operations in Nigeria. The findings revealed Extortions, Assault, incessant killing of innocent, harassment of citizens and false allegation as the various dimensions of police brutality in Nigeria. Hence, recommended that Police authority should restrain the excesses of their men by conducting regular routine checks on their operations by constituting an effective and unbiased monitoring team to ensure their men did not abuse their constitutional power to avoid reoccurrence of protest

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