

## MANAGING THE ENDSARS PROTEST IN NIGERIA: OUTCOMES AND IMPLICATIONS

**Olayinka AKANLE\* and Olakunle Adeboye SHOKOYA**

Department of Sociology,  
Faculty of Social sciences,  
University of Ibadan, Ibadan,  
Oyo state, Nigeria

Email: [yakanle@yahoo.com](mailto:yakanle@yahoo.com) and [shokoyaolakunle99@Gmail.com](mailto:shokoyaolakunle99@Gmail.com)

Telephone: +2348136695268 & +2348131130914

Orcide ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7760-2339>

\*(Corresponding author)

**ABSTRACT**

*This study examines the management and outcomes of the EndSARS protest in Nigeria, focusing on the government's response, protest organization, and socio-political consequences. Using a mixed-method approach, data were collected through questionnaires and interviews with protesters, law enforcement officials, policymakers, and civil society representatives. The study explores the effectiveness of government crisis management strategies, public perceptions of police reform efforts, and the broader implications for governance and human rights in Nigeria. Findings indicate that the protest was largely driven by youth dissatisfaction with police brutality, poor governance, and economic hardship. While the disbandment of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was a key outcome, many respondents expressed skepticism about the sincerity of government reforms. Interviews with protesters revealed a strong desire for justice, accountability, and institutional change, whereas government officials highlighted security concerns and the need for law enforcement restructuring. The study also found that the protest exposed significant weaknesses in crisis management, communication, and governance responsiveness. This research concludes that sustainable reform requires inclusive dialogue, transparent governance, and improved law enforcement oversight. It recommends comprehensive police reforms, youth engagement in governance, and better protest management strategies to prevent future unrest and enhance democratic accountability in Nigeria.*

*Keyword: Endsars, Management, Outcome, Protest, Governance Response, Youth Movement.*

**INTRODUCTION****Background of the Study**

Peaceful protests are vital to a robust democracy. Protests have historically functioned as a means for the promotion of fundamental human rights worldwide (Tilly, 1978; United Nations, 2012). However, in numerous countries, protesters encounter repression. Numerous studies link protests to governmental repression, defined as the application of physical or legal means to suppress demonstrations (e.g., Davenport & Armstrong, 2004; INCLO, 2013). Protesters frequently focus on governments, as these entities are the authorised institutions accountable for implementing policies and are answerable to the populace. Governments exhibit a diverse array of responses, with some suppressing protests while others acquiesce to the demands of demonstrators.

Protest is a fundamental human right and it's a form of social demonstration that is done everywhere in the world. Social protest is a means by which individual or group of individual tend to demand for or reject a social change. This is the process where people voice out their grievances or move to press their demand in demanding for an alternative to the status quo or a planned alteration of the status quo which the people might regard to be socially unfriendly. Social protest is a common phenomenon in all known human societies to protest against behaviours that are perceived to be unruly and unacceptable by the people. Social protest is a phenomenon that is peculiar to both the public sector and the private sector. However, mass demonstration is witnessed the most against the government over issues bothering on governance. Social protest is a mass demonstration that is witnessed throughout the whole world, be it the more developing countries or the less developing countries in the third world. People who aim to make their



displeasure and grievances known do so by mobilizing people who share same sentiments to support their cause (Adekoya, 2021). Achieving such lofty goals cannot be possible without having the support of the generality of the people (Adekoya, 2021). Globally, major disruptive events such as civil disobedience, social protest and politically motivated violence have been established to have forced a major reform and governmental intervention in issues affecting the general populace of which the mass demonstration was centered on (Ochi and Mark, 2021).

Recent research indicates that an increasing number of middle-class individuals are participating in protests in both emerging and high-income countries (Chen & Suen, 2017; della Porta, 2017). Oortiz et al. (2024) discovered that individuals of all ages, along with grassroots movements, are increasingly participating. During the Arab Spring, the "yellow vest" and "Indignados" movements in Europe, the "Occupy" movement in the United States, and the "Estallido Social" in Chile and other Latin American nations, individuals have taken to the streets en masse. Unions have led some of the most consequential demonstrations in history.

In Africa, protest date to the colonial era where mass demonstration was shown against slavery and colonial rulership. These protests were fundamental and pivotal in the abolishment of the slave trade and the decolonization of colonies in several African countries (Ochi and Mark, 2021). Also, in the post-colonial era and during the development of democratic style of governance, protests have been utilized to kick against gestapo style of leadership of some African head of state/president, dictatorship and undemocratic system of governance that have plagued several African countries as a result of military coup that has characterized several African states shortly after their independence (Ochi and Mark, 2021).

Protest is not new to Nigeria; it has been a phenomenon that could be traced far back to the pre-colonial era with the Aba women riot, the Egba women protest and several mass movements against colonial rule in Nigeria. In the post-colonial era, several protests have been staged to challenge military regime and unfavorable and unsustainable style of government of some past civilian governments. Since independence of the most populous Black nation on earth in 1960 from Britain its former colonial master, series of protest have been demonstrated particularly in the forms of boycotts, general strikes and mass demonstration organized by social activist, opposition politicians/political parties, labour union and youth movements to press several grievances and demands. These protests were influenced largely by poor living conditions, high poverty rate, high rate of unemployment, corruption, lack of infrastructure, bad governmental policy, insecurity and freedom from repressive style of government (Hari, 2014).

The increase in reported instances of police brutality was one of the primary issues that led to the most recent protest in Nigerian history. The protest was primarily driven by widespread allegations of human rights abuses, extrajudicial killings, and corruption attributed to SARS. The #EndSARS protest had profound implications for Nigeria's national security and development. The demonstrations highlighted systemic issues within the country's security architecture, prompting calls for comprehensive reforms.

## **Aim**

**The study examined the regional manifestation of the protest across different regions in Nigeria and how the social movement was managed.**

## **Research Objectives**

- i. To ascertain the management of the EndSARS protest.
- ii. To examine the outcomes of the Endsars protest.



## LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous studies have not examined the EndSars protest contextually, rather the few studies conducted on the EndSars protest have only examined the role of social media during the protest, the cause and effect of the protest on Nigeria. Therefore, there is paucity of data on the EndSars protest generally. Thus, the study by Orabueze, Ukaogo, Ojukwu, Eze and Orabueze (2021) employs a historical theoretical framework along with quantitative and qualitative research methodologies to determine whether the protest has some connection, even in a minor way, to the various agitations, such as Boko Haram, that have waged war on the nation.

In a slightly different study Ochi and Mark (2021) examined the Effect the EndSars protest has on the Nigeria Economy. The study also looked at the causes of the protest, how it affected Nigeria, and offered practical answers to the problems that led to the EndSars protest in Nigeria. The desk review research technique was used to acquire data while the structural-functionalist theory served as the study's theoretical foundation. As a result, the research approach was qualitative. Information was obtained from trustworthy secondary sources, including journal publications, newspapers, and other websites. The study's conclusions demonstrated that SARS is well known for its violence, violations of human rights, and lack of accountability. The study also discovered that the protest has a serious implication on the Nigeria economy and most especially the economy of Lagos due to the grounding of economic activities in the state for days and the destruction of private and public infrastructure during the protest.

The #EndSARS campaign's limitations are critically examined by Dambo, Ersoy, Auwal, Olurunsola, Olonode, Arikewuyo, and Joseph (2020), who only used secondary data. They do this by investigating how Nigeria's political climate may act as a potential impediment to effective movements.

The Nigerian youth movement and the EndSARS protest were both examined in the Yusuf & Benisheikh (2021) research. The difficulties facing Nigerian youths are explored, as well as whether the protest adhered to due process. In order to acquire information for the study, verifiable secondary sources were used, the content of which was then examined to draw results and conclusions. It became clear that the EndSARS protest's objectives include not just the abolition of SARS but also the reformation of the whole Nigerian Police Force and other apathetic policies of the government toward Nigerian youngsters.

Hari (2014) examined the evolution of social protest in Nigeria, focussing on the Occupy Nigeria movement and the role of social media. We utilised interviews and an examination of newspaper articles as primary sources, while additionally referencing additional sources for secondary data. The study indicates that societal involvement, particularly on platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, was a characteristic of the orchestrated mass rallies coordinated by unions and a coalition of civil society organisations. Their objective was to convince the government to support the abolition of fuel subsidies.

Omotayo and Folorunsho's (2020) research specifically investigated how young individuals in Oyo State, Nigeria, participate in political activism via social media, the nature of political activities conducted on these platforms, and the factors that affect this activity. This investigation employed a survey research design. The data was collected from 322 pupils across three distinct schools in Nigeria who completed a questionnaire.

The Adekoya (2021) research looked at the ways in which social media was utilised to spread accurate and false information during the #EndSARS protest in Nigeria. The research design for the study was a descriptive survey. Information was gathered from a sample of 609 social media users in Nigeria using a quantitative research approach. Findings demonstrated that social media was utilised for a variety of purposes throughout the demonstration, including receiving news updates about it, learning about its origins, and determining the degree of police brutality at the time. Social media had a significant role in the protest.



The Endsars protest is relatively novel in Nigeria history; however, few studies have been carried out to examine the protest of which none of the studies in the public domain so far have examined the social context of the protest within the purview of how it was managed and the outcome of the protest. Hence, not much exist in literature about the Endsars protest focus on the management and outcome of the protest. Gap therefore; persist on the empirical investigation of the management and implication of the Endsars protest. It is against this backdrop that this study examined the management of the protest and the outcome of the protest.

### **Management of the Endsars protest**

The management of a protest of any kind requires a detailed understanding of the source of such a protest (Adetola, 2024). In this case, therefore, the central source of the Endsars protest can be traced to the fractured structure of Nigeria and the way and manner in which the men of the police act with impunity. It is a fractured nation because it has been unable to provide effective and efficient means of livelihood for the majority of its citizens in its sixty-one years of independence (Adetola, 2021). In support of the assertion raised by Adetola (2024), Pastor Tunde Bakare while delivering his state of the nation address following the attack of the protesters at the Lekki Toll Gate opined that "At the root of the issues that confront our nation is a fundamental problem of nationhood that has to remain pervasive from one administration to another and provided a conducive environment for the defunct SARS". He spoke further that "Until this foundational problem of nationhood is addressed, the call to Endsars will persist for a long time after the disbandment of SARS".

The demonstrators presented the government with a five-point agenda that included:

- a) Justice for all people killed as a result of police violence, along with recompense for their families.
- b) The immediate release of all Nigerian demonstrators who have been detained.
- c) Establishing a team of independent investigators to look into and prosecute any allegations of police wrongdoing in Nigeria.
- d) Assessing the officers of the disbanded SARS psychologically before redeploying them.
- a) Finally, increase police officer salaries commensurately (Krystal Strong, 2020).

Through their spokespeople, the youths made these five requests known to the government. On November 10, 2020, the government abolished the SARS police force in order to handle the protest, and the then-Inspector General of Police announced the creation of a new organisation called Special Weapons and Tactics Unit (SWAT) in its stead (Human Right commission, 2020; Eteng, 2020). The protest was managed or controlled by the use of force and ideology. One of the vital steps taken by the government to manage the protest was the Disbandment of SARS and the meeting of the five point's agenda of the protesters. However, it must be stated that protest management in a multi-ethnic and diverse country like Nigeria is a difficult task to engage but not impossible and it involves the presence of active leadership that shares the sentiments of the protesters. The president in his desire to curtail the protest and efficiently manage it asked his cabinet members of the federal executive council to relocate back to their home states to douse the tension created by the Endsars protest. The cabinet members arrived at their respective states on a peace mission by meeting with all stakeholders and the youth on stability and peace. The setting of a panel of inquiry in several states was a major response by the government in managing the protest.

### **Outcome of the Endsars protest**

The protest has ignited a mixed reaction from different individuals and amongst different quarters of the country. The outcome of the protest has been in two ways; there have been several reforms in the Nigerian police force and on the other hand, the atrocities committed by some group of people in disguise of the Endsars protest hurt the Nigerian Economy. The destruction of private and public infrastructure and the attack and killings of some of the protesters are the negative



consequences of the protest. However, the consequences of the protest have not been negative as the five demands of the Endsars protesters have been addressed by the government and the creation of a Panel of inquiry by the states government to investigate cases of SARS brutality. There has been a drastic decrease in reported cases of police brutality. The greatest outcome of the Endsars protest is the scrapping of SARS by the federal government of Nigeria.

On October 17, 2020, the Endsars demonstration was devoid of genuine vigour as sponsored assailants attacked the peaceful protesters. Ochi and Mark (2021) report that assailants assaulted demonstrators on October 17, 2020, in the Kubwa district of Abuja, the nation's capital. Two days ago, assailants attacked protesters at the Lagos State government office in Alausa, Ikeja. Following many days of protests, individuals infiltrated warehouses nationwide, appropriating COVID-19 relief supplies, while also vandalising and looting private enterprises and public institutions (Ochi and Mark, 2021). Nationwide, reports emerged regarding the dismantling of numerous paramilitary installations, patrol vehicles, and armoured personnel carriers (APCs) (Nkasi, 2020).

Law enforcement officials are among those who have perished due to the protests. A greater number of criminals and cults exploited the situation to disrupt the state and its populace. According to Premium Times (2020), there were 78 fatalities, including 6 police officers, from October 17, 2020, to October 29, 2020. It is alleged that individuals masquerading as protesters during the EndSARS demonstrations in Abia, Edo, and Oyo States stole and vandalised 16 police stations, comprising four in Lagos, six in Edo, one in Osun, one in Ekiti, and one in Abuja-FCT (Wanep News, 2020).

The #Endsars protest cast uncertainty on Nigeria's economy, leading many to question its growth. It resulted in delays, disturbances, and the subsequent closure of Lagos, the nation's commercial and economic hub, for two weeks. Individuals lost their lives, residences, livelihoods, and sources of sustenance due to the Endsars protest (Ochi and Mark, 2021). Economists have enumerated the immediate challenges that the Endsars protest inflicted on Nigeria's already ailing economy, with significant harm resulting from the destruction of private and public enterprises and assets. According to the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the protest-affected state of Lagos incurred a loss of 700 billion Naira over 12 days, averaging 58 billion Naira per day. The Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2020) projected that the government incurred a loss of 234 million Naira (18 million Naira a day) in toll income as a result of the 13-day protest. Alongside these losses, the protest witnessed numerous incidents of looting and vandalism, including the following: the obliteration of the Lekki Toll Gate; the devastation of multiple police stations; the incursion into traditional institutions; the wreckage of public and private transportation; and a series of looting and vandalism at various shopping malls within the state (Ochi and Mark, 2021). Economists assert that the demonstration adversely impacted the economy of Lagos State and the nation, resulting in projected billions of dollars in increased insurance premiums (Olubiyi, 2020; Nkasi, 2020). The Endsars protest elicited diverse opinions among the populace, resulting in considerable social, political, and economic upheaval in Nigeria.

The Endsars protest evidently exerted a considerable adverse effect on the economy. Primero Transport Services (PTS) Ltd., proprietors of BRT Buses, incurred losses over N100 million within a mere six days as a result of the protests that have engulfed the state, which boasts Nigeria's largest economy (Abuede, 2020). Likewise, consumers experienced theft of their possessions and burglaries in retail establishments across. Their destruction affected both public and private properties in Lagos, including the Palace of the Oba of Lagos, the Ajeromi Ifelodun Local Government secretariat, the Oyingbo BRT terminus, the Lagos High Court in Igbosere, the Ojodu Berger BRT terminus, the Lagos State Public Works Corporation in Ojodu Berger, the Vehicle





Inspection Office in Ojodu Berger, numerous luxury shops in Surulere, Lagos City Hall, Circle Mall in Lekki, as well as The Nation Newspaper, TVC, and Shoprite Lekki (Ochi and Mark, 2021). A total of 80 buses were incinerated in the flames, with an estimated worth of N3.9 billion (Nairametrics, 2020). The medium-sized BRT buses were valued at \$100,000 each, whereas the larger buses were valued at \$200,000. A fire occurred at 25 police stations in Lagos State: Amukoko, Orile, Ikotun, Layeni, Ilesamaja, Elemoro, Gbagada, Igando, Onilekere, Makinde, Onipanu, Cele, Isokoko Ajah, Ebute Ero, Alade, Pen-Cinema, Igbo-Elerin, Makinyo, Makoko, Daleko, Asahun, Shibiri, Amuwo-Odofin, Anti-Kidnapping, Surulere. Aside from those that were incinerated, the following police stations were defaced: Ojo, Mowo, Ojodu, Morogbo, and PPL (LCCI, 2020).

Residents of Plateau State reported the destruction of stores and banks. Participants in the Endsars demonstration in Enugu disrupted all state-wide activities. Criminals masquerading as protesters attacked at least twenty-one police divisions in Anambra state, igniting fires in seven of those divisions, as reported by SP Haruna Mohammed, the spokesperson for the Anambra State Police Command. The Zik Statue at the DMGS roundabout in Onitsha was defaced, while the Idemili North Local Government Secretariat and the Federal High Court in Ogidi were among the other governmental facilities that were destroyed or incinerated. The regions of Ogun, Kano, Abuja, Plateau, and Oyo reported incidents of looting and casualties. A bunch of youths looted stuff and incinerated multiple residences and enterprises while rampaging through the suburbs of Kano state. Reports indicated the presence of several incinerated vehicles (Fagbo, 2020).

On October 11, 2020, President Muhammadu Buhari declared the dissolution of SARS in reaction to the extensive demands for its disbandment on social media, utilising the hashtag #ENDSARS. The disbandment of the unit and the retraining and reassignment of its officers to a newly established task force were further aspects of his announcement. Protests and social media campaigns continued, with numerous individuals asserting that the disbandment of SARS was insufficient and advocating for additional reforms, including holding officers accountable for previous misconduct and enhancing their wages to mitigate corruption. Military and security personnel have reportedly killed numerous protestors since the government initiated a crackdown on protests in mid-October (Congressional Research Centre, 2020).

## METHODOLOGY

This study employs a mixed-methods research design, combining quantitative analysis of survey responses from 359 participants with qualitative insights from interviews to comprehensively examine the management and outcomes of the EndSARS protest in Nigeria, where the quantitative approach involves a structured questionnaire that captures public perception, the effectiveness of protest management strategies, the consequences of the protest, and the government's response, using a semi-structured format to assess varying degrees of agreement, while the data is collected through online and offline surveys and analyzed using descriptive statistics such as frequency distribution, percentages, and mean scores using SPSS software for reliability and accuracy, whereas the qualitative component employs a purposive sampling technique to select 20 key informants, including protest leaders, victims of police brutality, police, government officials, security personnel, journalists, and civil society representatives, with data gathered through Key informant interview and in-depth interview that explore themes such as protest organization and leadership dynamics, government strategies and security responses, public sentiment before, during, and after the protest, media influence, and the long-term policy impact of the EndSARS movement, with all qualitative data being audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed thematically to identify key patterns, while ethical considerations ensure that informed consent is obtained from all participants, confidentiality is maintained, and participants are allowed to withdraw at any time, with data security measures in place to protect sensitive



information, and the validity and reliability of the study are ensured through pre-testing the survey instrument in a pilot study with 30 respondents, triangulating qualitative data by comparing responses from different participant categories, and ensuring inter-coder reliability during thematic analysis, and by integrating both quantitative and qualitative methods, this study provides a holistic and rigorous examination of the management and outcomes of the EndSARS protest, capturing both statistical trends and in-depth narratives that contribute to a nuanced understanding of the movement and its impact

## RESULTS

### **The management of Endsars protest**

Findings from this study showed that the Endsars protest was managed poorly by the government as the government resort to different method which involves the use of ideological state apparatus and coercive state apparatus in managing the protest. The findings from this study showed that the government didn't manage the protest well and that was why the protest escalated to resorting to destructions of public and private properties, loss of lives and injuries to several.

#### **According to one of the respondents:**

"The federal government like I told you before did not manage this well, did not manage it well at all, infact they few things that they did, they were, they were under the duress, we have to push a lot for them to even agreed to do those things. Lagos state of all states in Nigeria manage these perfectly well, the governor did not seize for one day to address these people"

**(KII/Male/member Lagos judicial panel of enquiry/Police reform Advocate/ Eti-Osa/ 21/03/2024)**

#### **Emerging from another respondent:**

"They mismanaged it and they are still mismanaging it, when you send armed soldiers to go and be dispersing unarmed civilians with clear orders to use deadly force, and then you killed civilians in unknown number and then you have an organized state response to deny the murder, how do you, how else do you describe that beyond to say that it was vastly mismanaged, not learnt the lessons they needed to have learnt and it's still just merely speculating beneath the surface and will eventually come up again sooner or later, so they mismanaged it end of story"

**(KII/Male/Human Right Activist/Lawyer/16/03/2024)**

#### **Another respondent supported the claim that government mismanaged the Protest:**

"The government did not manage the End SARS protest well, they actually failed, the government had opportunity to be able to meet with the, with the youths of the nation, and the, engine house of the nation and be able to use that energy and convert it towards working for the nation and they failed, and they use the normal brutal tactics that they are able to".

**(KII/Female/Human Right Activist/Trader/21/03/2024)**

#### **Another respondent argued that:**



“Government actually handled the protest very well by meeting the demands of the protesters and ending SARS. It was the protesters who started attacking us the police officers which was why the protest turned out to be what it was. If the protesters had ended the protest when the demands were met everything would have been so smooth”. **(KII/Female/Police officer)**

### **Coercive and Non-Coercive method adopted by the Government in managing the Endsars protest**

There are several ways at which government can handle protest. In the case of the Endsars protest, different methods were adopted by the government in the handling and managing of the protest. The protesters made some requests which was met by the government but base on the previous occurrence where government failed to implement what they promised to do, the protesters continued protesting which led to counter protest against the Endsars protesters, the unleash of thugs on the peaceful protesters by unscrupulous elements and the eventual use of force by the government. Findings showed that both coercive and non-coercive method was adopted by the government in managing the protest which was deemed to be undemocratic and unlawful. As part of the Non-coercive method was the urgent need to resolve the lingering Asuu strike then which was a move to move the youth which majority of them were students away from the street to the classroom. There were instances where bank account of individuals were frozen as well.

### **According to one of the Respondents:**

“The tactics used by the government which includes sponsoring of thugs, the police and the army, in other to stop the peaceful protest that was going on. And like you also made mention of some of the things the government did as at then , which involve the policies, the policies that were being introduces , the end of the Asuu strike and the like it happens , this are different tactics, this are different methods that was being employed as at then in order to stop the peaceful protest”. **(KII/Male/Youth Leader/Journalist/Ikorodu/ 08/03/2024)**

### **Emerging from another respondent:**

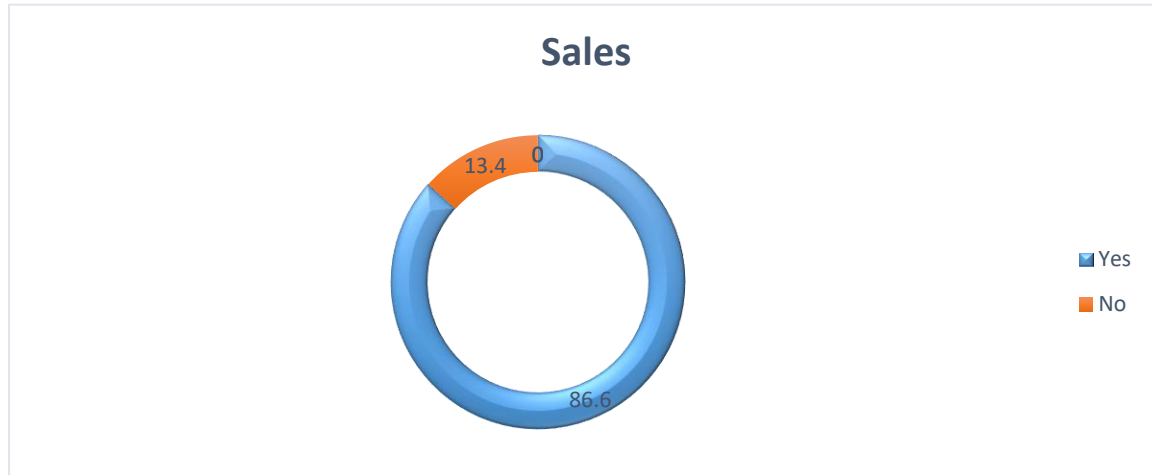
“look I want to look at it from one or two perspective ehn, one, we need to succeed in managing the protest depends on what definition we place on management, when the government chooses to send thugs into the street like we saw in Abuja on the second and third day of the protest and there were pictorials, videos of ehnnn, federal government vehicles particularly of the police and the department of state security dropping thugs you know thugs, and the thick stones cordials and don't forget to we also lost a protester ehn from Delta state in Abuja, who was stabbed, who was stabbed by one, by one of these thugs ehnn to disrupt and to break up legitimate lawful protest of you know, of Nigerian youths, suggest that the government manages the protest the wrong way, the wrong way. Two, if management means the government was responsible to the demands of you know, of the youths, don't forget it took President Buhari fourteen days, fourteen days to respond to the demands of Nigerians, ehn, when, when he did, when he did respond, he virtually poured petrol on you know, on the fire”

**(KII/Male/Human Right Activist/Lawyer/16/03/2024)**



### The outcome of the Endsars protest

**Figure 1: The EndSARS protest created a disruption in the social and economic activities in the affected States**



The pie chart shows that majority of the respondents 86.6% noted that the EndSARS protest created a disruption in the social and economic activities in the affected States.

**Table 1: The outcome of the Endsars protest**

	Frequency <i>n=359</i>	Percentage (%)
<b>The Endsars protest led to calls by the international community for the protection and respect for human rights</b>		
No	31	8.6
Yes	328	91.4
<b>The Endsars protest awoke the political consciousness of the Nigerian youth</b>		
No	30	8.4
Yes	329	91.6
<b>The Endsars protest has led to the increasing call for good governance by the Nigerian Youths</b>		
No	24	6.7
Yes	335	93.3
<b>Consequences of the Endsars Protest</b>		
Destruction of public and private	77	21.4
Economic sabotage	54	15.0

Loss of lives	151	42.1
Rise in insecurity	27	7.5
Twitter Ban	50	13.9
<b>Public perception of the Endsars protest</b>		
No	217	60.4
Yes	142	39.6
<b>Positive Outcome of the panel of Enquiry on Sars and other matters</b>		
No	221	61.6
Yes	138	38.4

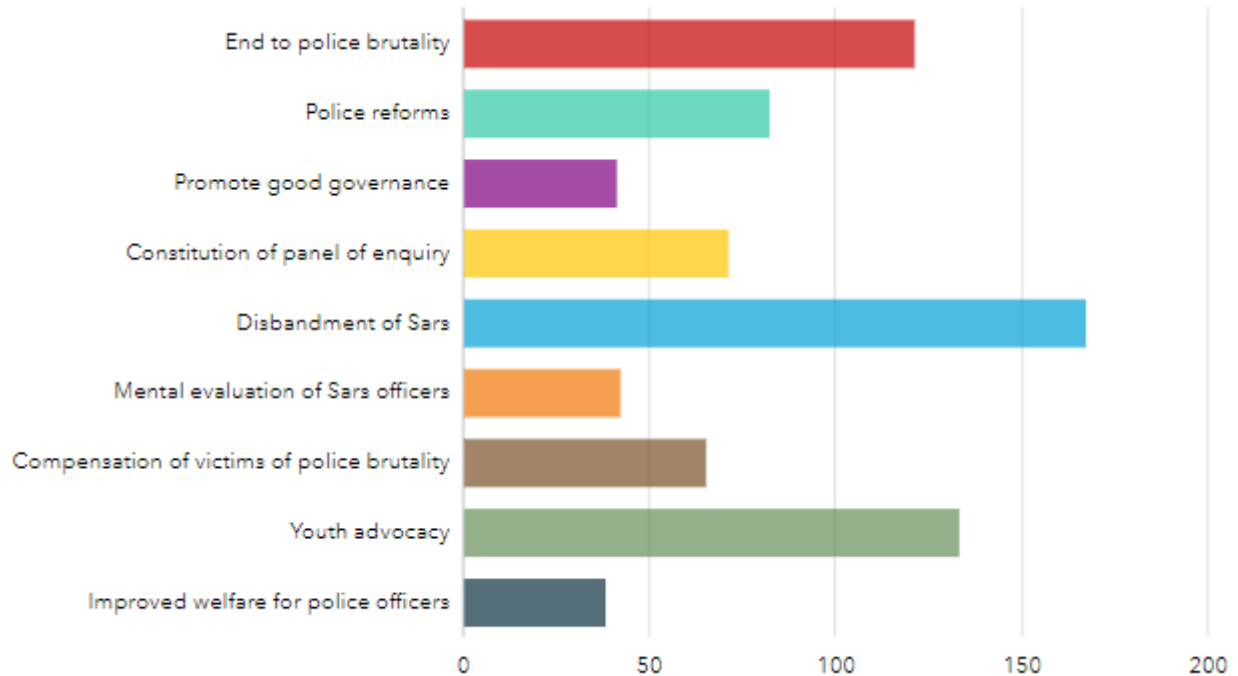
**Source:** Field Work (2024)

The table shows that majority of the respondent narrated that The Endsars protest led to calls by the international community for the protection and respect for human rights. Also, the table depict that 91.6% of the respondents agreed that the Endsars protest have awoke the political consciousness of the Nigerian Youth. A large percentage of the respondents 93.3% agreed that The Endsars protest have led to the increasing call for good governance by the Nigerian Youths.

The table also shows that majority of the respondents totaling 60.4% disagreed on the notion that the general populace has a wrong perception about the Endsars protest. This shows that the general society never had a wrong idea about the Endsars protest.

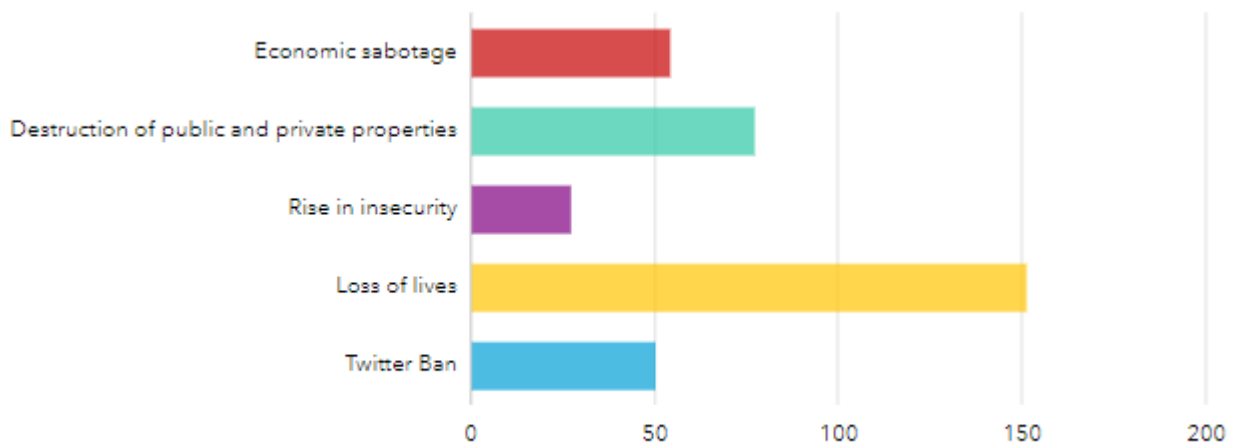
Finally, the table shows that majority of the respondents 61.6% believed there has not been any positive outcome from the constituted panel of enquiry on Sars and other matters.

**Figure 2: Advocacy of the Endsars movement been able to achieved in its course**



The figure 2 shows that majority of the respondents believed that the disbandment of Sars has led to the movement achieving its course while others claimed the movement has brought an end to police brutality, instigated police reforms, youth advocacy, promote good governance among others has shown in the chart above.

**Figure 3: Consequences of the Endsars protest**



The figure 3 depicts that majority of the respondent indicated the loss of lives during the protest was the consequences of the Endsars protest while some believed that it is economic sabotage, rise in insecurity, and twitter ban.

### **The outcome of the Endsars protest**

### **The advocacy of the Endsars movement been effective in its course**



Generally, the findings of this study showed that the outcome of the protest isn't what the protesters really agitated for but there are some positive developments from the protest. The Endsars protest has ignited a paradigm shift whereby the Nigerian youths now have close interest in politics and governance.

**Emerging from one of the Participants:**

"The protester they achieved partially, partially, why I said partially, what the protesters wanted was, the brutality of the SARS, the SARS should be removed totally, but the government played a kind of logic that they changed the SARS to SWAT and they're still using the same force, the same everything. So there's nothing, but only what is achieved there was, the name was just changes that are all, the name was just changed. There has been no end to police brutality; police are still doing the way they were doing, if not more than what they were doing before".

**(Idi/Male/religious Leader/Ikorodu/ 24/03/2024)**

**Another respondent opined that:**

"I have seen nothing changed, have seen the government conceded nothing, have seen the govern, oh the only thing that as happened is that government as deepened the scepticism of the people, the mistrust, government as deepened it so it become easier to understand that you will not get anything meaningful out of this government. So even though that might not appear to be advantageous I would argue more, I think it is very advantageous, because it helps to clear the doubt of those who we presume to protest tomorrow, so if you must protest tomorrow you know you are protesting to the deaf, so if they are already aware that the person to whom you are protesting is deaf, then you then have to go and write down what you want to say to the deaf at a minimum, you are not going to stand in front of him and be shouting you already know he's not going to hear you, so if nothing else you will have to go and write it down so he will see what you have said if he cannot hear you, so I don't know how this will play out eventually, but what I do know is that it's been positive, I believe is positive"

**(Kil/Male/Human Right Activist/Lawyer/16/03/2024)**

**Consequences of the Endsars protest**

Against the aftermath of the destruction of private and public businesses and properties during the Endsars protest, several losses were recorded while economic experts have itemized the immediate problems the crises created against Nigeria's struggling economy. However, findings of this study showed that the destruction of properties recorded during the protest was not a direct effect or consequence of the Endsars protest but an action by individuals who took advantage of the protest to perpetuate crime and unleash mayhem on the citizens. The major consequence of the Endsars protest was the disruption of economic activities. From the findings, it is evident that there are positive and negative feedbacks to those advocating for the Endsars. Meanwhile, the ban of twitter does not have anything to do with Endsars protest as found out by this study, however, findings showed that economic sabotage, killings of protesters and police officer, destruction of properties are all consequences of the Endsars protest.

**Emerging from one of the interviewees:**

"One of the consequences of the Endsars protest is economic problem. in Lagos where the, I can say is majorly head, a lot of economic activities was affected, they burnt a lot of, about 80 or more than BRT buses, which should have been source of income to government, some secretariat buildings, and above all the security effect, the endsars protest has given room to good number of.. large number of youth, carrying out cultism



activities in various areas, in nukes and crane of Lagos you'd be hearing about cultism activities, it's not that they were not existing, but it was because of the presence of the SARS, they were a bit cautioned. but now when they see that there is no, everywhere both in the afternoon and in the night, they carry out a lot of robbery, raping, ritual killing and you understand that it was after the endsars protest that all these ritual killing is now rampant, the cultism activity is now rampant, which is not too good, that is a major, what I think to me is that is two major, consequences of the Endsars protest".

**(Idi/Youth Leader/Male/Farmer/ Ikorodu/ 09/03/2024)**

**Another respondent opined that:**

"If the state had managed the protest very well by not recruiting thugs, you know, recruiting thugs into the street. They would not have been shut down, evidence in this country, in Abuja, the state mobilize thugs into our streets and when the thugs came into, into the street succeeded in posing aids you know, in the genuine struggle of you know of Nigerian youths, what did the youths do, not to cause further harms to you know, to the movement, they withdrew themselves from the streets of our country, who were left, who were now left in the street of our country, the very thugs that were sponsored by the government into our streets, and when they got into, into our streets, they saw the truths in the demands of the peaceful protesters, and because you have youths who are largely, thugs who are largely uneducated, thugs who were driven by emotions, thugs who are interested in burning and looting, we ended facing the consequences of what we experienced, what we experienced in 2020 across our country, this thugs were people sponsored by the government to our streets, and when they got into our streets they found the truths that those they drove out of the streets were actually fighting for truths and in an attempt to enforce their own truth, their own truth, symbolic institutions of state became victims, if you stretch the argument very well you know, when citizens begin to burn court buildings and that, there is an interrogation of how justice is dispense here, courts have become symbolic Institutions that aids injustice **(KII/Male/Human Right Activist/Lawyer/16/03/2024)**

**According to a police officer:**

"The consequence of the protest is the destruction of properties, most especially police stations which were burnt down and my colleagues who were killed and to those who were injured. The loss of lives of the protesters is also a consequences but all of these wouldn't have happened if the protesters and the government agreed on the way forward and how to deal with the issue of police brutality". **(KII/Male/Police officer).**

**Another respondent said:**

"There is more than sufficient reason and basis and evidence for squarely laying the blame for the violence on the head of the government and its agencies who brought guns to come and be shooting innocent protesters, government when did the protest go violent and the looting begin began it was on the 21st of October, the day after the killing in Lekki, the violent did not start until the day after, so who, where were the true protest, Ikeja and Lekki, were those not the protest ground, did you hear of any violent in either places aside from the killings done by the government, so how do we go around and say that it was the protesters, so I disagree violently with you on that point, it had nothing to do with the protesters, it was the Nigerian state





and is rulers that were busy disseminating violence, they were the purveyors of violence, and you do violence to the memories of those who have died, if you do not properly pinned that blame on the right channel, on that protesters did not at any point in time employ violence, it was the state that employ violence” (KII/Male/Human right Activist/Lawyer/16/03/2024).

## DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The protest was managed or controlled by the use of force and ideology. One of the vital step taken by the government to manage the protest was the Disbandment of SARS and the meeting of the five point's agenda of the protesters. However, it must be stated that protest management in a multi-ethnic and diverse country like Nigeria is a difficult task to engage but not impossible and it involves the presence of active leadership that shares the sentiments of the protesters. There are several ways at which government can handle protest. In the case of the Endsars protest, different methods were adopted by the government in the handling and managing of the protest. The protesters made some requests which was met by the government but base on the previous occurrence where government failed to implement what they promised to do, the protesters continued protesting which led to counter protest against the Endsars protesters, the unleash of thugs on the peaceful protesters by unscrupulous elements and the eventual use of force by the government. Findings showed that both coercive and non-coercive method was adopted by the government in managing the protest which was deemed to be undemocratic and unlawful. As part of the Non-coercive method was the urgent need to resolve the lingering Asuu strike then which was a move to move the youth which majority of them were students away from the street to the classroom. There were instances where bank accounts of individuals were frozen as well. The findings of this study support that of Adetola (2024) that the management of the Endsars protest by the federal government was flawed.

The Endsars protest created a disruption in the social and economic activities in the affected states. This research supports the assertion made by Ochi and Mark (2021) that the #EndSars protest cast a shadow of doubt over Nigeria's economy and undermined confidence in the country's ability to develop economically, leading to Lagos, the nation's commercial and economic hub, being disrupted and slowed before being shut down for a period of two weeks as a result of the protesters' actions. The Endsars protest led to the loss of means of livelihood, revenues, properties, and ultimately the loss of lives during the Endsars protest (Ochi and Mark, 2021). The protest was reported by economic analysts to have caused several economic implications for Lagos state economy and the nation's economy in general and as increased insurance premium in billions as estimate (Olubiyi, 2020, Nkasi, 2020). The Endsars protest had a lot of mixed reaction for the people and it created a lot of problems, sociologically, politically and economically for Nigeria.

The Endsars protest has both positive and negative feedbacks. The protests hasn't really achieved its cause because police brutality is still a menace today, however, the Endsars protest awoke the political consciousness of the Nigerian youth, Endsars protest has led to the increasing call for good governance by the Nigerian Youths, and the advocacy has led to the disbandment of SARS and ensured the reformation of the police force.

The already-vulnerable Nigerian economy suffered a significant setback as a result of the EndSARS protest. The oil sector was attempting to recover from the catastrophic COVID-19 pandemic, rendering a recession unavoidable (Ochi and Mark, 2021). Since the inception of the EndSARS demonstrations, Nigeria's economy has incurred a loss of around N700 billion, as reported by the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI, 2020). Fagbo (2020) indicates that the direct economic costs to the population increased as the protest advanced. A significant result was a reduction in consumer discretionary spending. Demonstrators obstructed key routes, thereby disrupting commerce and immobilising the majority of flights at Nigeria's main airport (Ochi and Mark, 2021).

Government revenue declined consumer confidence in banks diminished, and the economy further deteriorated due to the ENDSARS protest (BusinessDay, October 22nd, 2020). Despite



insufficient infrastructure, the administration is dedicated to addressing pressing social issues, including eradicating poverty, combating corruption, and fulfilling the fundamental needs of the populace. However, protests and increasing discontent among individuals across all sectors have hindered the nation's economic recovery. Significant, unexpected, and incomprehensible impacts on Nigeria's economy have ensued from the Endsars protest. Included in the list is a lack of attractiveness. The issue may substantially hinder the economy's recovery, prompting rating agencies to consider downgrading it. Primero Transport Services (PTS) Ltd, proprietor of BRT Buses, and corporate communications head Mutiu Yekeen, indicated that the six-day protest incurred an estimated cost of N100 million for the company (Abuede, 2020).

A multitude of individuals across various regions of the country have reacted differently to the event. Despite the Nigerian police force implementing some reforms in response to the rally, the Nigerian economy suffered due to the actions of a small minority masquerading as demonstrators. The demonstration has resulted in the vandalism of both public and private property, as well as the violent attack and murder of multiple demonstrators. The government's response to the five demands of the Endsars protesters and the establishment of a state investigation body to probe charges of SARS brutality have mitigated any negative effects of the rally. Incidents of police violence have markedly decreased. The eradication of SARS by the Nigerian federal government is the most notable outcome of the Endsars protest. Nevertheless, the primary objective of the march was to eradicate the pervasive issue of police brutality. Despite the police force experiencing certain modifications due to the protest, this process remains incomplete. The Endsar protest successfully heightened political and social consciousness among individuals. Despite the protest's outcome not aligning with the demonstrators' expectations, the study did reveal several positive developments that emerged from it. The Nigerian youth have developed a significant interest in politics and governance since the Endsars protest, which initiated a paradigm shift.

## Conclusion

The EndSARS protest in Nigeria was a significant socio-political movement that emerged as a response to police brutality, specifically targeting the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS). The protest, which began as a peaceful demonstration, escalated due to inadequate governmental response, poor crisis management strategies, and violent crackdowns by security forces. The widespread mobilization of youths, both online and offline, demonstrated the power of social media in modern activism and governance. The government's handling of the protest raised critical questions about democratic governance, human rights, and law enforcement accountability in Nigeria. While the dissolution of SARS was a notable outcome, broader concerns regarding police reform, justice for victims, and systemic governance failures remained unresolved. Additionally, the protest's aftermath—marked by reported human rights violations, economic disruptions, and international condemnation—emphasized the need for institutional reforms and improved civic engagement mechanisms. In essence, the EndSARS protest underscored the deep-seated grievances of Nigerian youths and the necessity for a more transparent and responsive governance framework. Moving forward, strategic reforms in law enforcement, dialogue-based conflict resolution, and enhanced youth participation in governance are crucial to preventing future unrest of similar magnitude.

## Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are proposed:

### Comprehensive Police Reform



The Nigerian government must implement holistic police reforms beyond the disbandment of SARS. This should include improved recruitment standards, training in human rights and conflict resolution, and the establishment of independent oversight mechanisms to monitor police conduct.

### **Strengthening Civic Engagement and Public Dialogue**

The government should create institutionalized platforms for dialogue between policymakers and civil society, particularly the youth. Regular town halls, policy consultations, and digital platforms for feedback can bridge the communication gap between citizens and the state.

### **Accountability for Human Rights Violations**

Independent investigations into the reported killings, injuries, and rights violations during the protest should be conducted, and perpetrators must be held accountable. Transparent judicial processes will enhance public trust in the justice system.

### **Reforming Protest and Crisis Management Strategies**

Security agencies should adopt a non-violent approach to managing protests, emphasizing negotiation and de-escalation rather than force. Law enforcement should be trained to respect the right to peaceful assembly in accordance with democratic principles.

### **Youth Inclusion in Governance**

The government should actively promote youth participation in decision-making through appointments in governance, youth-focused policies, and the encouragement of political involvement. This will address the generational disconnect that contributed to the protests.

### **Leveraging Technology for Good Governance**

Given the role of social media in mobilizing the EndSARS movement, the government should harness digital platforms for civic engagement rather than seeking to regulate or suppress them. Transparency initiatives, e-governance systems, and online grievance mechanisms can foster greater accountability.

### **Economic and Social Reforms**

Addressing the socio-economic issues underlying youth dissatisfaction—such as unemployment, poverty, and lack of access to quality education—is critical. Government policies should prioritize job creation, skill development, and youth entrepreneurship programs. By implementing these recommendations, Nigeria can move towards a more democratic, just, and stable society where grievances are addressed through institutional mechanisms rather than mass protests.

**REFERENCES**

- Adekoya (2021). Information and Misinformation during the #EndSARS Protest in Nigeria: An Assessment of the Role of Social Media. *Covenant Journal of Library & Information Science (CJLIS)* 4 (1); 1-11.
- Adetola B.O (2022). *Protest against Police Brutality in Nigeria*. Gratia Associates International, Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State, Nigeria
- Brannen, S., Haig, C., & Schmidt, K. (2020). *The age of mass protests: Understanding an escalating global trend*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).
- Caren, N., Gaby, S., & Herrold, C. (2017). Economic breakdown and collective action. *Social Problems*, 64(1), 133–155.
- Carothers, T., & Youngs, R. (2015). *The complexities of global protests*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Chen, H., & Suen, W. (2017). Aspiring for change: A theory of middle-class activism. *The Economic Journal*, 127(603), 1318–1347.
- CIVICUS. (2020a). *People power under attack: A 2020 report based on the CIVICUS Monitor*. CIVICUS. Retrieved from <https://civicus.contentfiles.net/media/assets/file/GlobalReport2020.pdf>.
- CIVICUS. (2020b). *CIVICUS Monitor*. CIVICUS. Retrieved from <https://monitor.civicus.org>.
- Davenport, C., & Armstrong, D. A. (2004). Democracy and the violation of human rights: A statistical analysis from 1976–1996. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(3), 538–554.
- della Porta, D. (Ed.). (2017). *Global diffusion of protest: Riding the protest wave in the neoliberal crisis*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU). (2020). *Democracy index 2019: A year of democratic setbacks and popular protest*. The Economist.
- Hari (2014). The Evolution of Social Protest in Nigeria: The Role of Social Media in the “#OccupyNigeria” Protest. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*
- International Network of Civil Liberties Organizations (INCLO). (2013). *Take back the streets: Repression and criminalization of protest around the world*. International Network of Civil Liberties Organizations.
- Nkasi, W. (2020). Nigerians cry out against Police Brutality, Nkasi online, October 16, 2021. Retrieved 18th November, 2021. [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)
- Ochi and Mark (2021). Effect of the Endsars Protest on the Nigerian ECONOMY. *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol.9, No.3, pp.1-15, 2021
- Orabueze, Ukaogo, David-Ojukwu, Eze and Orabueze (2021). Reminiscence on #EndSARS Protests of 2020 in Nigeria. *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, 13 (1); 1-15 DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.21659/rupkatha.v13n1.11>
- Ortiz, I., Burke, S., Berrada, M., & Saenz Cortés, H. (2021). *World Protests: A Study of Key Protest Issues in the 21st Century*. Springer.
- Oxfam. (2020). *Time to care: Unpaid and underpaid care work and the global inequality crisis*. Oxfam International. Available at <https://oxfamlibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620928/bp-time-to-care-inequality-200120-en.pdf>. Last accessed 24 May 2024.
- Oxfam. (2021). *The inequality virus: Bringing together a world torn apart by coronavirus through a fair, just, and sustainable economy*. Oxfam International. Available at <https://oxfamlibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621149/bp-the-inequality-virus-250121-en.pdf>. Last accessed 24 May 2024.



- Puschra, W., & Burke, S. (Eds.). (2013). *The future we the people need: Voices from new social movements in North Africa, Middle East, Europe & North America*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Available at <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/global/09610-20130215.pdf>. Last accessed 24 May 2024.
- Qureshi, S. (2017). *The forgotten awaken: ICT's evolving role in the roots of mass discontent*. Information Technology for Development, 23(1), 1–17.
- Schiffrin, A., & Kircher-Allen, E. (2012). *From Cairo to Wall Street: Voices from the Global Spring*. The New Press.
- Tilly, C. (1978). *From mobilization to revolution*. Addison-Wesley.
- Tilly, C., Tilly, L., & Tilly, R. (1975). *The rebellious century, 1830-1930*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- United Nations. (2012). *Report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and association*. UN Human Rights Council A/HRC/20/27.
- United Nations. (2019). *World population prospects 2019*. Online Edition. Rev. 1. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- United Nations. (2020). *World social report 2020: Inequality in a rapidly changing world*. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- Wanep News (2020) Situation Tracking on EndSARS protest by WANEP-Nigeria, October 3-16, 2020. Retrieved from <http://www.wanepnigeria>
- Yusuf and Benisheikh (2021) Youths Movement: An Examination of End Special Anti-Robbery Squad (EndSARS) Protests and Challenges Facing the Nigerian Youths. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Volume 11, Issue 2.

**Conflict:** Authors declare No conflict of interest

**Funding:** Authors receive NO funding for this study.

**Data Availability:** The datasets generated and analysed during the current study are available from the Lead author upon reasonable request.