



Research Article

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Post *Endsars* Protest: Exploring Subjective Perception of Police Victims in Lagos, Nigeria

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Abstract

This study examined public perception of police in post *endsars* mass protest. The aim of the study was to verify public relationship with police as spillover from violent mass protest. The study was hinged on value-added theory. Six-hundred respondents were surveyed and criteria for inclusion was victim of police brutality. Exploratory design was adopted using quantitative method. Sampling method consisted of purposive and accidental. Lagos was purposively chosen as epicentre of *endsars* protest; victims of police brutality were chosen purposively. Accidental method applied to select participants in the study. Data were collected and analysed quantitatively using descriptive and inferential statistics. Analytically, 78.5% male participated in the survey, mean age of respondents was 44.5. Subjective perception of police in pre-*endsars* was classified and consisted of fine officer (21.3%), disgusted officer (33.0%) and compromising officer (45.7%). Police rating in post *endsars* protest was classified. Thus, 71.5% rated police as partially law abiding and 18.3% felt police misconduct persisted. In the post protest, Level of police brutality was rated low given the score mark 40%. Using regression model, demographic characteristics predicted victims' intention to participate in violent protest against police brutality ($R_{.324}$, $R_2 .50$). The model was significant at $p < .000$. Victims' age (mean=1.5), occupation (mean=2.4), income (mean=1.9) and sex (mean=4.1) predicted protest intention against police. Level of police brutality in post Lagos *endsars* protest was low, consequent upon *endsars* protest. It is recommended that treatment of offenders by police should be guided by rules and regulations. Police require sound training to uphold ethnic of policing.

Keywords: Police brutality, treatment of offenders, victims, mass protest, subjective perception

1. Introduction

The surge of mass protest against activities of police in Nigeria has been described as spillover anger that spanned several decades (Amnesty International [AI], 2020). The slogan *endSars* was derived from activities of public citizens who agitate against police brutality, extrajudicial killings, extortion and violation of law at the expense of unsuspecting victims. Nigeria Police Force constituted Special Anti-Robbery Squad also known as SARS to combat nefarious activities of men of the underworld (Human Right Watch, 2007; Jacob, 2020). The central objective of this police operatives was to square up and firm police control to protect life and properties of citizens, check deadly attacks on public infrastructure and engage proactive response to arrest arm robbers in neighbourhood and high way

roads (Uwazuruike, 2020). The police unit was indeed fantastic scientific approach which engaged modern security equipment to track crimes, scan criminals and forestall robberies (Society Justice Initiative, 2010). SARS was established some decades before 2020 prior to eruption of mass protest. The operation of the police unit was commendable and recognized by members of Nigerian society on account that the services were readily available, citizens relied on capability to tackle high way robberies and operations cut across nook and cranny of Nigeria (Amnesty International, 2020). Police SARS was dreaded and formidable for criminals; it was indeed first point of call for many citizens who trusted the capacity to match arm robberies and arm criminals on street corridors of Nigeria. The coming of SARS was a major relief to rid off civil life criminal activities which posed monster to safety. According to official statistics, crime statistics in post SARS establishment showed that there was drastic fall in violent crimes, high way robberies, public assaults and murder due to robust activities and complementary operation of the police formation (National Bureau of Statistics [NBS], 2019; Nigeria Police Crime Statistics, 2018). The improvement in security of life and properties in post SARS establishment endear the citizens' interest and trust for this police unit.

Unfortunately, the turns of event in the life cycle of SARS were compromise of rules and regulation that established it. It was a compromise in all fronts for SARS covering method and boundary of operation, reckless public approach, extortion, violation of citizens' rights, brutality and unruly action against the law (Abraham, 2019; AI, 2020). The once admired police SRAS soon became object of ridicules in public sphere. Evidently, public encounter of the police unit degenerated to hatred, fear of monster, abuse of human right and pathological officer that needed reformation. The series of human right abuses and victimization imposed on citizens were enough to draw battle dots in the circle police community relations. Interestingly, police hierarchy realized enormity of public hatred for SARS, set up action committee to reform the police unit (Human Right Watch, 2007; Society Justice Initiative, 2010). It was first in the approach to compel officers and men of the unit to constantly wear unique uniform designated for SARS for purpose of public identification and identity of officers. This order was issued due to reckless behaviour of officers who constantly clad in muftis to impose serious injuries on victims, engage in extortion, violate human rights, tortures and extrajudicial killings (AI, 2020). Police commands across federation and Area Commands implemented official order and compel officers to operate within ambit of law, wearing of designated uniforms for identification and act according to regulation (Police Diary, 2018). Soon after this order was handed, the turns of events aggravated. Officers posted to SARS had sustained atrocities against public citizens, brutality and torture of unsuspecting victims now became way of life fat-belly corrupt officers and police hierarchy had looked other way (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2020a). This scenario built up significant tension and public outcry which eventually led to mass protest. The protest also known as *EndSars* triggered like wildfire that consumed dangerously. Across length and breadth of Nigeria was shaken to the brim; there was uncontrollable confrontation against police; public asset and infrastructure were torched in a bid to send signal to government for poor response to checkmate accumulated abuses of police (BBC, 2020b). It was estimated that *EndSars* protest led to destruction of public assets worth one-trillion naira (NBS, 2021). This was in addition to loss of lives which consisted of police officers and citizens. The protest was mother of all protest in the post 1999 democratic dispensation.

Against this backdrop, this study was triggered to verify public perception of police activities in the post era of the defunct SARS. Coincidentally, police SARS was disbanded to give public assurances of government proactive response to checkmate police brutality. Against the background of this statement above, some specific objectives were captured. This consisted of subjective perception of police in the pre-SARS life cycle and public rating of police in post SARS era.

2. Literature Review

The rise of #EndSARS was triggered as a call for disbandment of Nigeria's Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS). This is a special unit of the Nigeria Police Force that is notorious for brutality and violations

of human rights (Uwazuruike, 2020). *Ensars* was first used in the year 2018 to create awareness of allegations of misconducts and exploitation by officers who operated as SARS (British Broadcasting Corporation News [BBC], 2020). Initially, government was proactive and announced structural changes to SARS. Yet, the alleged human rights violations and extortion had continued. Unfortunately, October 2020, there was report of an unprovoked shooting of a boy in Delta State by SARS operatives, the report was shared on social media (BBC, 2020b). In the preliminary, Nigerian Police denied the shooting in this particular case, it was however not enough to prevent public anger as more videos of police shootings were shared across social media platforms. Media celebrities, activists, practitioners and international community rallied for support on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. Consequently, protesters had lined the streets of Lagos, Abuja and other metropolitan areas demanding an end to SARS. In response to the publicity the protests generated, government swiftly disbanded SARS.

The step taken by government to announce disbandment was not enough to appeal protesters in light of similar pronouncements made previously by government. An example, in December 2017, the Inspector General of Police announced similarly banning SARS from conducting stop and search operations following several reports of misconducts. The ban was publicly announced by police hierarchy in 2018 and 2020, reflecting the ineffectiveness of previous orders. Also in 2018, the vice president, acting on behalf of the president, announced an overhaul of SARS, stating that the National Human Rights Commission would investigate cases of abuse. This statement was followed by announcement of centralized Federal Special Anti-Robbery Squad (FSARS) which was to come under the supervision of the Inspector General of Police as opposed to the previous version which was under state commands (Uwazuruike, 2020). Subsequently, the IGP announced disbandment of FSARS, stating the unit would return to decentralized status and controlled by state command (Jacob, 2020). Unfortunately, the past practices and disappointments hurt citizens, fueled aggression against the police, thereby called for compensation of victims of SARS brutality, retraining of police officers, and trials of indicted SARS officials.

2.1 Human Rights Violations by SARS

Special antirobbery squad also known as SARS was established in 1992. This was in response to violent crime and armed robbery. Unfortunately, this police unit is notorious for high-handed tactics and gross violations of human rights (Amnesty International [AI], 2016; Society Justice Initiative, 2010). The transgressions of this police squad cut across range of human rights abuses including the right to life, freedom from torture, right to a fair trial, right to privacy, and freedom of assembly, all these are rights protected by the Nigerian constitution.

2.1.1 Right to Life

Violations of the right to life occurred in various forms which consisted of extrajudicial killings, shooting of protesters and other random and unprovoked killings. According to Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI) in its 2010 report, extrajudicial executions are routine practice of policing in Nigeria (Society Justice Initiative, 2010). Human Rights Watch estimated that at least 10,000 people were killed by Nigerian police between 2000 and 2007 (Human Rights Watch, 2007). One of the SARS officials secretly disclosed to group of researchers also known as Network on Police Reform in Nigeria that he ordered the extrajudicial executions of only persons whom he knew to be guilty (Society Justice Initiative, 2010). But these killings do not always happen secretly, hidden away in police cells and dungeons. According to Samson (2019), evidence of extrajudicial killings surfaced in a video showing men of the Nigerian police force executing arrested suspects in the streets of Lagos. It was alleged by police that the suspects belonged to a criminal ring that disguised themselves as phone buyers to lure and rob unsuspecting victims. Samson pointed that, police arrested two of the suspects and summarily executed them. Video clips of the police shooting the victims in the full glare of the

public went viral. In reaction, the Nigerian police announced the arrest of the officers involved (Samson, 2019).

2.1.2 Freedom from torture

SARS officers routinely tortured suspects for confessions. The Society Justice Initiative (SJI) report clarified that the practice of torture was common in many police stations, such that there were designated staff who oversees torture of detainees and cell rooms set aside for the practice. Likewise, police personnel have slangs for various methods of torture (Society Justice Initiative, 2010). Interestingly, Amnesty International documented cases of torture, most of which emanated from detainees in SARS custody (Amnesty International (AI), 2016). Police use various forms of brutality, such as sexual violence against detainees and suspects (AI, 2016). Some former detainees reported they were bound and suspended mid-air in painful positions, kicked and beaten with machetes, gun butts, boots, fists, electrical wires, animal hides, and other instruments (AI, 2016). Others described being shot in limbs, assaulted by police officers while in custody, suffering multiple fractures, or being forced to perform painful calisthenics. Sex workers in particular reported being rounded up by the police to be raped (Abraham, 2019). Acknowledging the routine nature of sexual violence by police, one police officer referred to it simply as a “fringe benefit” of certain patrols (Society Justice Initiative, 2010).

The British Broadcasting Commission (BBC) Africa in February 2020 published a damning and mind-bugging documentary on the use of torture techniques by Nigerian security forces (BBC, 2020c). The video focused on the wide and uniform use of a technique known as Tabay. The technique involves binding detainees in a crude and painful fashion: the arms are forced back and tied at the elbows, cutting circulation to the hands and immobilizing the victim. The feet are then tied back, arching the spine and contorting the body into a triangle. Victims can be suspended, forcing the full weight of the body unto the arms. A heavy block, usually wood or concrete, is often placed on the victim’s back to intensify the pain. The documentary implicated several arms of the Nigerian security forces including the Nigerian Army, the Nigerian Mobile Police, the Nigerian Air Force, the Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps and, of course, the notorious Special Anti-Robbery Squad. In the documentary, a man identified as a Nigerian police officer gives a harrowing account of the use of Tabay by SARS: They call it ‘Hawan Keke’ (bicycle ride). The description: the room is dark. Your hands are tied up from behind. If it is not tight enough, the elbows are tied in a way that stops the blood from circulating. Your legs are tied to a chair so you cannot move. Then they torture you in whatever way they want, either by beating or electrocution. It is found everywhere there is SARS office (BBC, 2020c).

2.1.3 Right to Liberty

SARS, as well as other units of the Nigerian Police, routinely lock up suspects, sometimes for years, without trial. The average length of pre-trial detention in Nigeria is three years and ten months (Society Justice Initiative, 2010). Such prolonged detentions are usually done through the use of a ‘holding charge’ whereby the police bring a charge against an accused before a lower court lacking jurisdiction to try the offence, pending advice from the Director of Public Prosecutions. The Nigerian Court has held this practice to be unconstitutional, though the practice persists (Nigeria Appeal Court, 2007)

2.1.4 Right to Privacy and Family Life

SARS personnel, ironically hired to tackle violent crimes, have recently assumed the mandate of fishing out so-called “Yahoo boys” (internet fraudsters). This they do by stopping mainly young men in the streets and demanding to go through their phones. Mere ownership of an iPhone is enough to

make one a suspect. Victims have reported being arrested for owning iPhones and laptops or for refusing to grant the police access to their phones (Peace Hyde and Forbes Africa, 2020)

2.2 The Government Response

In response to #EndSARS protests, government swiftly announced disbandment of SARS and proposed replacement with a new Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) team. This announcement provoked protesters who were concerned that SARS personnel would be redeployed to the new SWAT team. The creation of SWAT was expected to douse tension and reduced protests, the announcement rather intensified public demonstrations across several states in Nigeria. In October 20, 2020, the Nigerian government cracked down on the protesters. The crackdown was preceded by the declaration of curfews in nine states across the country. One of these states was Lagos, the commercial hub of Nigeria. At nightfall, the Nigerian army opened fire on peaceful protesters at Lekki Toll Gate, Lagos, the symbolic centre of the protest. Videos of soldiers shooting and protesters trying to revive fallen compatriots were broadcast on Instagram Live and viewed in real time by hundreds of thousands. Forty-nine persons were reported to have died in clashes across the country (Uwazuruike, 2020).

2.3 EndSars Protest: Constructing A Theoretical Framework

Literature evidence and facts showed that public protest against police brutality in Nigeria was accumulation of anger and retaliation against excessiveness of police. Constructively, public retaliation can be understood as collective behaviour against public order. This means public outcry in which amorphous individuals are involved. Against this background, the study adopted Emergent Norm Theory, developed by Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian in 1957. The emergent norm theory addresses the breakdown of norms where collective behaviour occurs. According to this theory, each individual in a crowd has different emotions and attitudes that help influence their behaviour. In a crowd situation, individuals tend to look to others for clues about how to act and what is acceptable (Scott, 2007). According to Turner and Killian (1991), when a crowd comes together, there is no norm and no leader in control of the crowd. The attention of the crowd is instead drawn towards those that act in a unique manner. This unique behaviour slowly emerges as the norm. As time passes, the norm becomes well accepted and there is pressure from the crowd to conform to the new norm (Turner and Killian 1991). If similar interests draw people together, distinctive patterns of behaviour will emerge in the crowd (Scott, 2007). In a prison scenario, unique actions such as yelling and fighting become the norm. The crowd then conforms to the norm and yelling and fighting become accepted behaviour.

In the case of *endsars* protest, the norm was public yelling against police brutality, violation of freedom of association, extortion, torture of deadly nature, extrajudicial killings and lack of respect to rules of police public engagement, all which combined together to find common place injustices in the perception of the public. There was norm which offered direction of activities for protesters. This norm was successfully internalized, mobilized and integrated in collective goal against the police. Unfortunately, protest broke out in collective front and there was little government could do to quench the raging fire.

3. Methodology

This study adopted exploratory survey research design. The method applied cross sectional study and quantitative method. The survey was targeted at victims who had unsavory encounters with Nigeria police. A cross section of respondents in demographic characteristics were captured within specific period of the survey. The study was conducted in Lagos, the epicentre of *endsars* protest. Respondents were surveyed through application of online questionnaire in compliance with covid-19

protocols which prohibited face-to-face contact as at the time of the study. study population consisted of police victims; sample size was 600 derived using purposive method of saturation. This method applies where population sample reach the size adequate to make generalization about population (Yamane, 2013). Sampling technique was purposive and accidental. The online survey stipulated criteria of participants such as victims of police brutality. Similarly, it was expected that every respondent who had access to online internet service and could access this questionnaire within particular period of time was qualified to respond.

Method of data collection was quantitative. This applied question items labeled or coded in numeric to generate statistical data. Instrument of data collection was structured close ended questionnaire. The instrument contained question items covering SARS regime and post SARS disbandment. Method of analysis was quantitative. This applied computer application in which quantitative data were entered or input using command in Statistical Package of Social Science (SPSS) version 23.1. Data were processed in the computer software and manipulated to yield data set output in tables, frequency counts, regression and cross tabulation. Descriptive and inferential parametric statistics were applied. Reliability of instrument was tested in pilot survey of 45 respondents in test re-test survey. Cronbach reliability was applied and it was sufficient at 0.79. Validity was conducted using content method. Each item on the questionnaire was crosschecked against variables measured. This consisted of brutality, extortion, extrajudicial killing, physical assaults, application of abusive language, torture rape. This study excluded respondents less than 18 years who are considered below adult age in Nigeria Constitution.

4. Results and Discussion

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Question	Option	Frequency N=600	Percentage %=100
Sex?	Male	451	78.5
	Female	129	21.5
Age range (in years)	>30	103	17.2
	30-39	172	28.7
	40-49	111	18.5
	50-59	195	32.5
	60 years and above	19	3.2
Marital status	Single	130	21.7
	Married	289	48.2
	Divorced	59	9.8
	Single parent	29	4.8
	Separated	32	5.3
	Widow(er)	61	12.2
Monthly income (in naira)	less than 10,000	71	11.8
	10000-20000	129	21.5
	20001-30000	196	32.7
	30001-40000	100	16.7
	40001-50000	59	9.8
	Above 50000	45	7.5
Religious affiliation	Traditional religion	30	5.0
	Islam	271	45.2
	Christian	299	49.8
Ethnic origin	Yoruba	429	71.5
	Igbo	110	18.3
	Hausa	31	5.2
	Others	30	5.0

Question	Option	Frequency N=600	Percentage %=100
Occupation	Artisans	128	21.3
	Traders	198	33.3
	Civil servants	102	17.0
	Students	86	14.3
	Professionals	83	13.8

Source: Researcher’s Field Survey, 2021

Demographic characteristics of respondents that participated in this study is listed in Table 1. Demographic offered lucid identity of research participants which infers frame of reference in discussion of findings. In this study, 78.5% were male; 21.5% were female that participated in the survey. Age distribution of respondents was listed and consisted of 17.2% covering victims that were under 30 years; 28.7% were less than 39 years; 18.5% were below 49 years; 32.5% were less than 59 years; and 3.2 were above 60 years. On aggregate, 64.4% of participants in the survey were less than 50 years. This age range is active economic and social participation (Micah, 2013). Besides, people of the age range are motivated at high achievement, risk taking, adventures and highly instrumental (Micah, 2013). This perhaps accounted for high presence of this population group in the endsars mass protest. At the level of marital status, 21.7% were single, 48.2% were married and 9.8% were divorced. Also, 4.8% were single parent, 5.3% were separated and 12.2% indicated widow(er). Similarly, victims of police brutality cut across individuals of marital status in the study and it was universal phenomenon.

Income distribution of respondents in this survey was classified and consisted of less than N10,000 (11.8%), less than N20,000 (21.5%), below N30,000 (32.7%) and 16.7% earned less than N40,000. Also, 9.8% earned less than N50,000 and 7.5% earned above N50,000. More than three-quarter of the respondents surveyed earned less than N50,000 monthly income, an equivalent of \$111 at N450 exchange rate as at the time of this study. This indicates that majority of the respondents earned less than \$3 per day. Unfortunately, these were the people victimized by police. At the level of religious affiliation, 49.8% were Christians, 45.2% practiced Islam and 5.0% were affiliated with traditional religion. Ethnic affiliation of respondents consisted of Yoruba (71.5%), Igbo (18.3%) and Hausa (5.2%). Lagos is Yoruba dominated and majority of population residents are Yoruba speaking origin. The occupation of respondents consisted of artisans (21.3%), traders (33.3%), civil servants (17.0%) and professionals (13.8%). Other respondents were students (14.3%) that were largely unemployed.

Table 2: Subjective Perception of Police in Pre-EndSars Protest

Question	Option	Frequency N=600	Percentage %=100
Have you had encounter with Nigeria police before	Yes	600	100.0
	No	---	---
How would you describe the encounter?	Assault	103	17.2
	Abusive	172	28.7
	Violent	111	18.5
	Extortionate	195	32.5
	Cordial	19	3.2
In your encounter as above, how would you describe ranks of police officers that you had encounter with?	Top level rank	32	5.3
	Middle level rank	289	48.2
	Bottom level rank	279	46.5
What do you think motivated police to engage in unprofessional encounters with public?	Lack of respect for human right	71	11.8
	Lack of knowledge of Nigeria constitution	129	21.5
	Cover-up by police authority	196	32.7
	Judicial compromise	100	16.7
	Public fear of unknown	59	9.8
	Poor reportage	45	7.5

Question	Option	Frequency N=600	Percentage %=100
How would you describe police brutalities and unprofessional acts before endsars protest?	Rampant	299	49.8
	Occurs at interval	271	45.2
	Rarely	30	5.0
Was occurrence of police brutality widely known?	Yes	429	71.5
	Not sure	110	18.3
	No	61	10.2
What is your perception of police before endsars mass protest?	Fine officer	128	21.3
	Disgusted officer	198	33.0
	Compromising officer	274	45.7

Source: Researcher’s Field Survey, 2021

Table 2 listed subjective experience of victims of police brutality. The target of this objective was to identify police activities in the study area which hampered public interest and trust in the relationship with police. Respondents were asked about encounter with police. Every respondent that participated in the survey (100.0%) had encounter with police. Respondents described police encounter as assaults (17.2%), abusive (28.7%), violent (18.5%) and extortionate (32.5%). Only 3.2% identified cordial encounter. In the pre mass protest against the police, dominant form of encounter was injurious to public interest and this elicited public angers. Unfortunately, victims’ encounter with police brutality was found among top ranked officers (5.3%), middle ranked (48.2%) and bottom ranked (46.5%). Victims of police brutality identified factors that triggered unprofessional misconducts of police officers. This consisted of lack of respect for human right (11.8%), lack of knowledge of Nigerian constitution (21.5%), police cover-up (32.7%), judicial compromise (16.7%), public fear of unknown (9.8%) and poor reportage (7.5%). Preceding studies identified aid and abet associated with police profession and top-level cover-up by senior police officers (AI, 2020; BBC, 2020 b,c). The act of negligence in the case of this study was due to police compromise which endured officers to leverage and abuse public interest.

Unfortunately, 49.8% reported that police brutality was rampant in the build up to mass protest; 45.2% indicated that police brutality occurred at interval and 5.0% identified that such act occurred rarely. On aggregate, more than three-quarter submitted that police brutality occurred frequently or at regular interval. This again, was partly responsibility for mass mobilization of victims that participated in the protest. Respondents (71.5%) felt that police brutality was widely known and common place in the study location. This indicated more than half of the study survey felt police brutality was rampant or wide occurrence. Against this backdrop, 45.1% described police as compromising officers; 33.3% described police as disgusted officer and 21.3% felt police were fine officers. This description can be classified. Less than a quarter felt police were fine officers. More than three-quarter felt police were either disgusting or compromise. Dominant views were that police activities were comprising, unprofessional, misconduct and anti-public interest. This subsisting attitude against police activities moderated quick response and mobilization of protest against police.

Table 3: Public Rating of Police in Post SARS Era

Question	Option	Frequency N=600	Percentage %=100
Did you participate in endsars protest	Yes	600	100.0
	No	---	---
What forms of participation did you engage?	Physical mass protest	298	49.7
	Online mobilization	191	31.9
	House to house protest	111	18.5
What triggered your interest to participate in the mass movement against police?	Police brutality	130	21.7
	Police extortion	289	48.2
	Extrajudicial killings	59	9.8
	Police torture	29	4.8
	Public assaults	32	5.3
	Violation of victims’ rights	61	12.2

Question	Option	Frequency N=600	Percentage %=100
Was movement against police borne out of genuine interest to demand lawful police operation?	Yes	520	86.7
	Not sure	20	3.3
	No	60	10.0
Do you think the mass movement against police achieved the target it was designed for	Partially successful	30	5.0
	Moderately successful	271	45.2
	Not successful	299	49.8
How would describe police activities in post mass protest	Partially law abiding	429	71.5
	Misconduct persists	110	18.3
	Not sure	61	10.2
How would you rate police brutality in post endsars protest?	High	128	21.3
	Moderate	198	33.3
	Low	271	45.1

Source: Researcher’s Field Survey, 2021

Rating of police in post mass protest was designated objective to check public perception of police activities. The endsars protest was aimed to issue stern information about nefarious police activities and humiliation victims suffered (AI, 2020; BBC, 2020c; Peace Hyde and Forbes Africa, 2020). It was mass protest staged to check police excessiveness. Against this backdrop, participants in the survey were asked about participation in the movement against police. Interestingly, all participants in the survey were involved in mass protest that shook the stability of Nigeria. The protests were carried out across all southern states and in most parts of northern Nigeria (AI, 2020; Uwazuruike, 2020). It was the protest or mass movement which brought down entire fabric of Nigerian state to its kneel; leading to destruction of multibillion properties and loss of life. Protest methods adopted by participants in this study consisted of physical protest (49.7%), online protest (31.9%) and house to house protest (18.5%). Victims of police brutality were keen to participate in the protest notwithstanding the risk they were subjected to. Some participated physically, some engaged internet platform to voice aggression and others engaged house to house campaign. Respondents identified factors that triggered real participation in the mass protest. This consisted of police brutality (21.7%), police extortion (48.2%), extrajudicial killings (9.8%), police torture (4.8%), public assaults (5.3%) and violation of victims’ rights (12.2%).

Similarly, 86.7% reported that participation in the mass protest against police was borne out of genuine interest to demand lawful police operation. Against this backdrop, 5.0% held that endsars protest partially achieved the target it was designated; 45.2% identified that the movement was moderately successful to correct anomalies of police brutality and 49.8% believed it was not successful since police anomalies still persist after the mass protest. On aggregate, only half of the respondents felt mass protest against police was successful. This proportion was less than three quarter and this presupposed mixed perception against continuous police misconducts. Substantively, 71.5% felt that police were partially law abiding in post mass protest; 18.3% felt police misconducts persisted. In this case, police brutality in post endsars was rated high (21.3%), moderate (33.3%) and low (45.1%). Prior to this study, literature demonstrated activities of police highly brutal, lack of respect for human rights, common place extrajudicial killing, shameless extortion and rampant torture (AI, 2020; BBC, 2020 a,c). Although previous writers did not quantify measure of police brutality, it was deduced such acts were frequent. In the case of the current finding, respondents showed that there was caution which constrained police to engage brazenly in public brutality.

Table 4: Level of Police Brutality in Post Mass Protest

N	Valid	600
	Missing	0
Median		1.0000 OR 0.4
Mode		1.00 OR 0.4
Percentiles	25	1.0000 OR 0.4
	50	1.0000 OR 0.4
	75	1.0000 OR 0.4

The above table designated measure of occurrence of police brutality. The intention was to measure possibility of occurrence that particular proportion or average identified police brutality in post endsars. Grading scoring was measured at percentiles using scores 25, 50 and 75 to indicate low, moderate and high respectively. The minimum score obtained was 25. Estimating at 25 score, 0.4 or 40 score was obtained. This score was greater than 25 but less 50 or 75 score. The range fell between 25 and below 50. Level of police brutality in post endsars was therefore low. The mass protests had consciously imposed restraints on activities of police in the study area.

Table 5: Demographic Constraint on Police Brutality

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change statistics				
					R square change	F change	df1	df2	Sig. F change
1	.324 ^a	.50	.016	.30315	.050	1.403	9	240	.187

a. Predictors: (constant), age, occupation, income, ethnic, and sex

Table 5 tested regression estimates for demographic characteristics and constraint on police brutality. The intention was to estimate predictive tendency that demographic characteristics of victims were predictor of preponderance to involve in mass protest as check on police brutality. Using regression estimate (R.324, R².50), it is stated that there was possible prediction or possibility that demographic occurrence predicted mass protest against police brutality. There was 0.32 or 32% confidence that demographic characteristics predicted preponderance of endsars protests. The prediction was therefore 50 times possible or variance of occurrence that predicted the mass protest.

Table 6: Coefficients(a)

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error
1	(Constant)	1.031	.150		6.885	.000
	Age	.042	.040	.069	1.049	.295
	Occupation	.007	.016	.032	.418	.676
	Income	.007	.021	.026	.353	.724
	Ethnic	.017	.014	.085	1.245	.214
	Sex	.010	.016	.041	.613	.541

a Dependent Variable: police brutality

Using coefficient estimates above, demographic components were significant $p < .000$. This corroborated regression model above which established predictive causal possibility between demographic and mass protest. At the level of standardized Beta coefficients, demographic items individually contributed to volatility of prediction. In this case, beta value was summarized for age (6.9%), occupation (3.2%), income (2.6%), ethnic (8.5%) and sex (4.1%). Although none of the demographic item was significant at p value or standardized error, these factors collectively joined as

predictor of mass protest. This means that endsars protest was triggered due to demographic volatility of respondents as victims and extreme bearer of police misconducts.

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Are you victims of police brutality?	1.0560	.30535	600
Age	1.4760	.50043	600
Occupation	2.4440	1.47225	600
Income	1.8520	1.07458	600
Ethnic	2.6400	1.53094	600
Sex	4.1320	1.24933	600

Table 7 listed descriptive mean estimates of demographic characteristics as predictor of mass protest against police brutality. Mean estimates indicated that age was 1.5 times possible to predict mass protest, occupation was 2.4 times possible and income was 1.9 times likely to trigger victims' protest against police brutality. Again, ethnic was 2.6 times possible, whereas sex was 4.1 times possible to motivate victims' action against police.

5. Conclusion

This study established that police brutality was rampant and occurred on dangerous trend prior to endsars protest in the study area. Cases of police extortions, brutality, extrajudicial killings, tortures, assaults and language abuse were rampant with police activities. This corroborated with literature which found misconducts as regular practice of police activities (Al, 2020; BBC, 2020 a,b,c). The post endsars protest was major check on police misconducts. Prior to the mass protest, police misconducts were common place and perceptively rated high (Society Justice Initiative, 2010; Uwazuruike, 2020). The rating in post mass protest showed that misconducts among police in Lagos had significantly reduced. There was low occurrence of police brutality in the aftermath of protest against police. Demographic characteristics of victims were predictor of protest intention which served as check and balance on police conducts in public space. Unfortunately, traces of police brutality persisted in Lagos and this posed serious threat to public order in this location as may be the case in other location.

Against this backdrop, the following recommendations are identified.

1. Police brutality and misconducts were perpetrated by officers of top, middle and bottom ranks in Lagos. This is serious threat to public stability. It is recommended that police should create transparent punishment measure against erring officers, the measure should be seen as effectively practiced to the public and create flexible avenues for victims to report erring officers
2. The rating of police brutality in post mass protest was low in Lagos. This marked significance that police were more conscious and cautious to observe and obey laws guiding public treatment. It is recommended that treatment of offenders by police should be guided by rules and regulations. Yet officers and men of the police force require sound training to uphold rules and ethnic of policing.

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