

**Endsars Protest and Resource Security in Nigeria:
Reflections on the 2020 Covid Era**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31920/2634-3665/2025/v14n1a1>

Kelechi Johnmary Ani

*School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy,
University of Johannesburg
South Africa
kani4christ@gmail.com.*

Angela Ogochukwu Odo

*Department of History and Strategic Studies
Alex Ekwueme Federal University Ndufu-Alike
Nigeria
angelamichael300@gmail.com; angela.ogochukwu@funai.edu.ng*

Abstract

Public protests are usually sparked by dissatisfaction with public policies, unacceptable policy implementations, oppression by public office holders, disconnection with the needs of the masses and other reasons that are peculiar to each society. The EndSARS protest of October 2020 has become a landmark event which formed an indelible part of Nigerian history due to its causes and magnitude. This paper seeks to interrogate the widespread discontent of Nigerians due to the human rights abuses and extra-judicial killings by the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) of the Nigeria Police Force, which climaxed into the EndSARS protest of 2020. It also investigates how the protests affected both human and resource security in Nigeria. The frustration-aggression theory was used in the study to explain aggressive response to frustration as perceived in the case of the EndSARS protests. The study adopts a narrative methodology with a bit of impact analysis, in which data was

sourced from primary sources including the news media like television, newspapers and magazines, as well as written sources which include journal publications and internet sources. Few written works that focus on protests in other climes were also found handy for this research especially for the purpose of inference and comparison. In the end, this research found that the EndSARS protest affected Nigeria's national peace in multiple ways. The study is therefore an additional literature on the historical protest. It further recommends the transformation of policing culture in Nigeria.

Keywords: *police brutality, SARS, protests, human resource, corruption*

Introduction

Perfection is a rare asset in human life and by extension, it is rare in every state in the world. World history is replete with unending struggles and agitations either for political independence or for rights hitherto denied. Optimum growth and development have remained a work in progress in every nation -state and no nation have so far attained the perfection status., This is because unsatisfied citizens form a major chunk of the population. This group in most cases, would rise in opposition of obnoxious leadership. As a result, social discontent becomes the root cause of conflicts, among other causes across states. Nation-building may sometimes be attained with heavy costs to human lives and properties. In fact, a grand revolution may be required to attain much desired great leap forward.

The federal structure of the Nigerian State coupled with its ethnic diversity had been so fraught with multifarious challenges that a revolution was imminent and only waiting for a trigger. Some analysts had steadily warned that the country is progressively sitting on a keg of gunpowder. And so, it came as no surprise to many when the Nigerian youths who form the bulk of the population took to the streets on 8 October 2020 to protest police brutality and extra judicial killings by the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) unit of the Nigeria police. That unit was accused of bad security governance, ineptitude and impunity of public office, which had been ongoing for decades. Despite all the glaring reasons proffered by the protesting youths, the major ones were the very endemic issue of overwhelming unemployment and underemployment of Nigeria's vast human and natural resources. Incidentally however, the 2020 protests commenced in the midst of the Covid-19 lockdown.

In the words of Justine Welby, the Archbishop of Canterbury, heroism for Nigeria must come from Nigeria. Foreigners cannot bring it even if they may encourage it. Outsiders cannot create the heroism of reconciliation and peacebuilding, although they may support it. It is there- I say again, I cry out with passion, it is there in Nigeria (Welby, 2020). In agreement, Femi Falana (SAN) averred that Nigeria is indeed rich in heroism, what it lacks is patriotism (Falana, “The Morning Show”, Oct 2020). This heroism was demonstrated in the 2020 protest. In the EndSARS protest, citizens from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds put aside every diversity and spoke with one voice against a common enemy. The overall desire for all-round peace and security in the country was exhibited in the tranquil way the protest was originally conducted. A close observation may thus reveal a reasonable display of heroism and patriotism by Nigerian youths. While the gallantry of Nigerian youths was being applauded, there's no denying the unforeseen costs to the nation.

This study focuses on that END SARS protests within the Covid 19 period of 2020. The body of the study is divided into six sections. The first part was the introduction, followed by the methodology. Then the theoretical basis of the study was presented and the literature review that was followed by the findings on causes and impact analysis of the protest, before the conclusion.

Methodology

This paper deals with a recent phenomenon about which a few written works have been done. It relies for the most part on primary sources of information, notably the news media. The media does come in handy because much of the news were eyewitness accounts of the field reporters. Few scholarly works have so far been done on this topic and they were used to provide additional information on the historic event under study. Some literature which border on protests in other societies were found worthwhile and used for comparative analysis and for inference. And ultimately, this study offers a different perspective to available analyses of a landmark event that is akin to a revolution.

Theoretical Framework

This study is predicated on the frustration-aggression hypothesis which presupposes that aggressive behavior is usually a function of the blockage

of people's needs or objectives. In some cases, a group may be most deprived, most oppressed and most in need, yet may not resort to aggressive behavior to express their feelings (Rummel, 2020). But there's no denying the fact that frustration remains a major cause of civic unrests. Breuer and Elson (2017) succinctly stated that "the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration, and contrariwise that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (Breuer & Elson, 2017, 1-2). This is a clear contradiction of Rummel (2020) position that frustration may not always lead to aggression.

Aggressive response to frustration may sometimes be overblown in the sense that some victims of the actions may not in any way be the cause of frustration and this leads to misplaced aggression (Rummel, 2020). Mentovich (2010) postulates that frustration-aggression theory may be viewed as aggressive behavior which is prompted by frustration of goals. Such a behaviour sometimes occurs as a result of pent-up frustration, perhaps due to a protracted economic crisis. Frustrated groups like the protesting Nigerian youths may unleash their anger on a targeted minority (Mentovich, 2010). The targeted minority in this case was the Nigeria Police Force, not just SARS.

Literature Review on Nigeria and Formation of (SARS)

Widespread discontent and public complaints against corruption and despotic governance have trailed Nigeria's existence since independence. Many have blamed this ugly trend on the 1914 amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates which merged so many diverse groups under a single geopolitical entity. Tribal politics and ethnic bigotry have since become an indelible cog on the wheels of political and economic progress with the attendant disequilibrium in regional and state development. As the country ran a federal system with excessive power at the center, the largely neglected and downtrodden young population expressed their grievances and antipathy through various means such as the social media. But the high handedness of the nation's security apparatus seemed to a large extent have placed a lid over the "boiling pot". One may rightly guess that this was so due to their possession of deadly weapons with which they exercised coercive power over their numerous Nigerian victims. It is noteworthy that a placard carried by one of the protesters had the following inscription, "The power of the people

is greater than the people in power". A popular maxim says that when a goat is pushed to the wall, it roars back to a lion.

Notable examples of anti-people's policies of the government include the 1978 increase in fuel price from 8.4 kobo to 15.37 kobo during the regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo. The petrol price later rose to 20 kobo under Shehu Shagari, to 39.5 kobo in March 1986 and to 60 kobo in April 1988 under General Ibrahim Babangida. Gradually, it has landed up to 670 naira per litre and still shows tendency of skyrocketing. Several human rights and pressure groups staged a protest in opposition to the steady rise in the price of an essential commodity (Apeloko & Olajide, 2012).

Basically, it is the duty of every government to protect the lives and properties of its citizens as well as enforce law and order. Ironically, the Nigerian police became a "necessary evil" needed to quell any breakdown of law and order or a threat of anarchy. Such chaotic situations are unequivocally inimical to national development (Apeloko & Olajide, 2012). Apeloko and Olajide (2012) went on to aver that corruption among the Nigerian police runs deep and is a sad consequence of their unsavory conditions of service occasioned by unpalatable government policies (Apeloko & Olajide, 2012). Perhaps the police are among the least paid of civil servants in Nigeria. It is no wonder then that this poorly remunerated security personnel have steadily unleashed their frustration on the masses through forceful extortion and other forms of human rights violation purportedly to make ends meet. Truly, there's a limit to human endurance.

In retrospect, modern policing in Nigeria began in 1861 with the British annexation of Lagos. The British introduced armed police to protect the Europeans from the uncompliant traditional rulers. The earliest indigenous police comprised young Hausa men who received meager rewards. With their inadequate earnings, they supplemented their pay by extorting from the local population (Abosede, 2020). The colonial enterprise of the British left behind a culture of applying excessive force to control Nigerians. As a result, after Nigeria's independence in 1960, military coups became the norm. In line with that status quo, the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was created in 1992, purportedly to clamp down on the rising incidents of armed robbery. They were originally successful due to their secret mode of operation. A certain Superintendent Simeon Danladi Midenda maintained that the secret behind the success of the original SARS was its facelessness and its mode of operation. We operate in plain clothes and used plain vehicles that

could not be associated with security or any government agency (Chow, 2020).

Midenda had previously recorded numerous successes in combating crime as head of the anti-robbery unit of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) in Benin City, Edo State. He was thus saddled with the task of breaking the strongholds of armed bandits in Lagos State (Chow, 2020). In carrying out this task, he formed the SARS in 1992 by integrating other anti-robbery units of the police in Lagos. Originally, it existed and operated only in Lagos till 2002 when it spread to the other states in Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory (Dami, 2021). It appears as though the reasons for SARS' success was equally responsible for its proscription by the Nigerian people. As a result of their facelessness, they became a terror to the masses. They could strike without warning on innocent citizens.

President Muhammadu Buhari, during a press conference stated that "the disbandment of SARS is only the first step in our commitment to extensive police reform". For a country whose leaders have failed the people repeatedly, that was an incredible statement. In the past three decades, the government had made similar promises to Nigerians about reforming the police. But each time, the problem persisted and even exacerbated (Abosede, 2020).

Findings on the Causes and Drivers of the Protest

Similarly, was another driver of the protest. Moreover, it was public knowledge that a group of Nigerian philanthropists and nongovernmental organizations collectively known as Coalition Against Covid-19 (CACOVID) made huge donations running into billions of naira to help fight the virus and to cushion the effects of the "stay at home" order on the very poor citizens. The news media was agog with news of generous donations of food, drugs and money by local and international philanthropists. This brought hope to the very poor citizens. But not much evidence was provided to show transparency and accountability in the distribution of the palliatives so provided. As the citizens chewed on the unfolding events, complaints of hunger, starvation and negligence were rife. Sadly, those complaints seemed to have fallen on deaf ears as the situation was not redressed. Apparently, that was a big blunder. As though government's gross nonchalance to the plight of hungry Nigerians was not enough provocation, the impudent brutality and extrajudicial killings of SARS officers fueled the chagrin of

Nigerian youths. It is on this premise that the frustration-aggression theory is brought to bear on the protest.

William J. Aceves defined extrajudicial killing as an intentional act by a public official or other person acting in an official capacity which results in one or more deaths. Usually, the perpetrator fails to comply with any legal standards regarding the use of force (Aceves, 2018). With regard to this definition, the immediate trigger for the EndSARS protest was a video which showed a SARS officer shooting a young motorist, dragging his dead body out of his car and zooming off in the Lexus SUV. This incident occurred in Ughelli Delta State on 4 October 2020 (Abosede, 2020). A second footage showed SARS officers dragging two men from a hotel and shooting one of them (Kede, 2020). Those were extrajudicial killings and a violation of Nigerian national and international law and norms.

Following these incidents, Nigerian youths were mobilized through the social media, and they poured out en-masse into the streets to demand the abolition of SARS. While the protests rocked the nation, it attracted the sympathy of the international community. Celebrities such as Kanye West, Cardi B. (musicians), actor John Bodega, footballers Odion Ighalo, Mezut Ozil and female influencers and celebrities like Hillary Clinton, Beyoncé, Rihanna and others all expressed their support for the course of the protest (Enyiazu, 2023). Meanwhile, Nigerians in diaspora also lent their voices in solidarity for the mass protests. Admittedly, the SARS unit was disbanded on 11 October 2020 but its impacts have continued to haunt the nation (Usman & Oghuvbu, 2021). The quick mobilization of the Nigerian youths begs the question of how “free” an average Nigerian youth would be to respond so quickly to a call to protest. Simply put, the underlying factor was the massive unemployment of the Nigerian youth as well as enormous human and material resources wasting by the Nigerian political elite.

This discussion readily calls to mind a similar protest held in the United States over the coldblooded murder of 46-year-old George Floyd on 25 May, 2020. He was accused of using a fake \$20 bill to purchase cigarettes. The police arrived shortly after being alerted by an employee of the store. One of the policemen named Derek Chauvin knelt on the neck of the African American for over eighth minutes while the other three watched and did nothing. Floyd repeatedly screamed that he couldn't breathe and eventually died from the onslaught (Fetrow & Veras, 2020).

This coldblooded murder, apparently on racial grounds, sparked both local and international protests against police brutality, extra-judicial killings and racial prejudice. It gave rise to the "Black Lives Matter" movement and protests which were held throughout the United States and in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Denmark, Syria, Italy, Brazil, Australia, Mexico, Ireland, New Zealand, Canada, Poland and other countries not mentioned here (Fetrow & Veras, 2020). It is noteworthy that despite the nation-wide magnitude of the US protests, coupled with its global dimension, the costs of the protests were minimal. This may be because police brutality in the US is not as brazen as it was in Nigeria.

In a study carried out in Nairobi, Kenya it was found that extrajudicial killings had been an enduring concern and were widespread. Unlike Nigeria, they were not isolated actions of a few killer cops. They are rather part of a larger general state-sanctioned strategy of killing instead of arresting and investigating. In Kenya, poverty had been so criminalized that instead of a "war on crime", the police waged a "war on the poor" (Jones, 2019). Causes of the killings range from suspicions of petty theft to mistaken identity. The killings were so common that they became part of their daily existence especially in informal settlements. And to cover up and legitimize such killings of innocent people, the police often claimed that they found illicit drugs on the victims or that they committed theft or rape. In some cases, weapons were planted on the victims to make them seem dangerous, guilty and deserving of death. Those killings had gone unchallenged and thus, no public protest had been organized against it. It was rather church based organizations that raised an awareness to curb it (Jones, 2019). Clearly, cases of extrajudicial killings by the police force are not peculiar to Nigeria.

Undoubtedly, the Covid-19 pandemic claimed over a million lives globally. But it may be considered a revolutionary pandemic, given that the accompanying lockdown served to expose the good, the bad and the ugly in world politics. In view of that, the EndSARS protest occurred during the pandemic. Poon and Patino, quoting Marcia Chatelain wrote that what protests have been effective in doing is raising the public consciousness about the level of public violence that communities experience. They have also exposed the amount of money that have been spent on police forces and weapons, and have helped expose the level of brutality (Poon & Patino, 2020). Indeed, those words capture the very essence of the EndSARS protest.



Image of the EndSARS protest. Source: Aljazeera News (20 October 2022)

Discussion on Impact of EndSARS Protest

Without doubt, sound health is an unavoidable necessity for human resource development. In a bid to protect the masses from the deadly Corona Virus, the Nigeria Center for Disease Control (NCDC) put out some guidelines for public interaction as a means of containing its spread. Some of those guidelines included maintenance of a social distance of at least one meter between two persons, washing one's hands within twenty minutes' interval, sneezing and coughing into a handkerchief or the bent elbow, wearing a face mask in public, etc.

During the mass protest, it was quite impossible to keep to any of those guidelines. The Director General of the NCDC, Dr Chike Ihekweazu who observed the precarious nature of the protests pointed out the looming danger during a media briefing of the Presidential Task Force on Covid-19 in Abuja on Monday, 26 October 2020. He said that Nigeria must expect a spike in Covid-19 cases in the next fortnight. In his words, The reasons are obvious; we have gathered in our masses for whatever reason and now we have to keep our eyes open for the consequences (Adepegba. & Baiyewu, 2020). This point was evident in the NCDC report of Tuesday 27 October, 2020 that Nigeria recorded 133 new cases of Covid-19, bringing the total number of infections to 62,224. Three more deaths were recorded thus bringing the total fatalities from the disease to 1,135 (Onyeji, 2020).

The news media reported multiple cases of vandalization and looting of warehouses in many states in which Covid-19 palliatives were stored, by suspected hoodlums. This happened while the EndSARS protest was ongoing. During the looting spree, medical facilities were not spared and quite a few equipment were carted away by the rampaging youths. As a matter of fact, such wanton attacks on health facilities really impacted negatively on the work force on the long run and equally had a demoralizing effect on the medical personnel. The then Cross River State Commissioner for Health, Dr Mrs. Betta Edu reported with dismay the vandalization of the Infectious Disease Hospital in Calabar by suspected hoodlums. She expressed her shock at seeing that Covid-19 testing equipment were carted away including blood samples collected for testing (AIT News, Tuesday, 27 October, 2020). It is believed that this was an expression of anger and frustration at an oppressive and suppressive administration, but it can only offer momentary gratification to the perpetrators and equally exacerbate the rot in the polity. A productive population must necessarily be a healthy population.

The EndSARS protest have dealt a second but heavier blow on the economy after the Covid-19. It began just when Nigeria was struggling to rise from the ruins of the global pandemic. During the protests, major economic activities in the country was shut down and as such, consumer spending on nonessential commodities plummeted. Lagos State was the worst hit in the mayhem that trailed the nation-wide remonstrance. The estimated cost of rebuilding the state according to analysts was about one trillion naira. In many other states in Nigeria, including the Federal Capital Territory, several business outfits including Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) were vandalized, looted and destroyed (Fagbo, 2020)

Economic experts estimated that with the assets replacement cost which ran into trillions of naira, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) may fall by about 6.91%; there would be a quick rise in inflation accompanied by job losses and high poverty rate (Fagbo, 2020). Those economic woes were synonymous with Nigeria nonetheless.

It is no longer news that the two-week peaceful protests gave way to mass looting, vandalism, arson and killing of security agents by angry Nigerian youths. This unforeseen turn of events was sparked by the coldblooded shooting of peaceful protesters at the Lekki Toll Gate in Lagos State on 20 October 2020. That action further infuriated the already angry, hungry and unemployed youths who promptly reacted by wreaking havoc on both public and private properties. Luxury buses parked at the Oyingbo Bus Terminal were torched; a private Show Room which employed over twenty-five youths was looted and razed down; Television Continental (TVC) Office complex was partially burnt along with every vehicle within the office premises; several police stations in Lagos and in many other states were razed down. Quite a few policemen were murdered, and the list of wanton destruction and carnage goes on (Arise News, 25 Oct).

The violent actions mentioned above further plummeted an already low employment rate in the country. Tanyi et al in a study, noted that the protest was further provoked by the general economic hardship and poor living condition of the common man in the street (Tanyi et al, 2022). They stressed further that the government promotes unemployment by discouraging skills acquisition and youth empowerment. In that regard, they observed that issues about activities of government for youth in Nigeria are mostly skewed to the educated and individual with certificates while youth with limited educational opportunities are often denied and hence been used as thugs and hoodlums attacking households...if the government is sincere, they can make concerted efforts to improve the youth, especially in designing various strategies that could be utilized to help youths in the country (Tanyi et al, 2022).

The Director General of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI), Dr Muda Yusuf agreed that the protest was indeed crippling on Nigeria's businesses and economy. Its toll was heavier on the Small and Medium Enterprises which survive by daily income. He therefore suggested that the government should act fast and engage the protesters in a dialogue with the intent to forging a functional economy. Additionally, Okechukwu Unegbu, an economist and former Chairman of Council, Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria (CIBN), opined

that the economic losses would be temporary and the economy could recover fast if the expected reforms were implemented. His position stemmed from the already poor state of the economy prior to the EndSARS protest. Inflation had been on the rise and loan defaults in banks kept exacerbating as most businesses were unable to repay bank loans. Moreover, the naira had been experiencing a free fall. He believed that if the demands of the protest were met, there'll be an increase in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). In other words, foreign investors would flood the country with their capital (Nweze, C, Nov 2020).

The Southern and Middle Belt Forum (SMBF) which comprises notable leaders and elders from the South and Middle Belt regions of Nigeria, after a meeting held in Abuja on 4 November, unanimously agreed that restructuring was the best option for Nigeria. This is due to the country's multiethnic structure (Elumoye & Shiklam 2020).

Action does speak louder than words and no doubt, the message of Nigerian youths was loud and clear. At this juncture, the question that may agitate the minds of local and international observers is, how does violence contribute to Nation-Building? Violence, as implied in this question refers to that meted on Nigerian youths by the government and its institution. The violence so implied was succinctly captured by Enyiazu (2023) when he argued that Nigeria's Independence Day is 1st October, 1960. But 20th October 2020, will go down in Nigerian history as the day the whole world saw images of the green-white-green flag of Nigeria stained with the blood of her citizens, bludgeoned by the forces of the Nigerian state, which is a crime under the international law. Those hoodlums imported by state actors to do pro-SARS protest and other criminal elements on the fringe took over the streets in many states, for days anarchy reigned (Enyiazu, 2023).

Enyiazu (2023) observation corroborates that of Tanyi et al who earlier noted that the government use the unschooled youths as thugs and hoodlums still to destroy private and public facilities. For example, the pro-SARS protesters allegedly recruited by state actors were instructed to loot peacefully. In Abuja, they were told to spare some places because "BABA" had interest in them (Enyiazu, 2023)). Whereby the youths, the very population from whom innovation, invention and bright economic ideas springs are so dehumanized, the prospect of increased employment simply withers away.

In a 2020 report of the Congressional Research Service, T. F. Husted noted that protests against police brutality arose sequel to several documented evidence of human rights abuses by SARS personnel and

other police officers by advocates and researchers. Amnesty International, in a 2016 report stressed that SARS officers habitually tortured and abused their detainees, many of whom were randomly arrested, detained and forced to “confess” or pay some bribe to secure their release (Husted, 2020). It is public knowledge that the Nationwide protest was held against the brutality, abuse of power and extra-judicial killings by the SARS unit of the Nigeria Police Force. Nigerians were told that the Federal Government promptly disbanded the atrocious SARS. But as miscreants hijacked the peaceful protests, the immediate results turned out to be even more appalling than the cause. In just few days the country witnessed such mammoth destruction that have never been seen outside a war (The Nation Newspaper Editorial, 2 Nov, 2020). According to Husted, the 2020 protests became noteworthy for its size, duration and reach (Husted, 2020).

The EndSARS protest was undoubtedly a hard blow on the police force who seemed to be the worst hit. They were so demoralized and broken that they were off the roads for several days after the protests. Having watched their colleagues killed with some burnt in broad daylight, their offices burnt, prisoners and detainees released and many of their weapons carted away, they feared for their own lives and security. It is quite an irony that security agents charged with the duty of maintenance of internal security felt so insecure. This should come as no surprise as those very policemen were once an enormous threat to people's security. It is said that there's a limit to human endurance. The feeling of insecurity by the police force was so much that they informed the Nigerian public that they were "on their own" during the coming Yuletide season (Omobude, 2020). It was quite hilarious that such warning came from an agency whose performance was apathetic in the first place. With the rampaging marauders having a field day, the lives and properties of Nigerians could only be in the Hands of God.

According to media reports, several warehouses containing Covid-19 palliatives were vandalized and looted by angry youths, clear evidence of the cosmic poverty and hunger in the land. For few days, the protest and even hoodlums' attacks were abandoned for the sake of the more important stomach infrastructure. As a matter of fact, that spontaneous act could only provide a temporary solution to an endemic problem. Newspaper accounts revealed that the looting for food went beyond the warehouses. Mr Peter Dama, Chairman of the Rice Millers Association of Nigeria (RIMAN) reported an attack on Shamad Rice Mill in Yola, Adamawa State and on Glams Foods, Lagos State by suspected

hoodlums. Tons of milled rice, paddy, machines and equipment were looted and operational vehicles were destroyed. Additionally, parts of the buildings were set ablaze. With such monumental destruction, Dama warned that the attacks would result in deficits in output by its members. Simply put, food security in the country was in jeopardy. It all boils down to the almost nationwide breakdown of law and order occasioned by the direct attack on the police (Agbo, 2020). Pastor Tunde Bakare of the Citadel of Global Community Church captured the state of insecurity in the country by stating that a constitution that cannot bend will be broken (Tunde Bakare on "The Morning Show," Arise News, 2 November, 2020). Mr. Dama already called for help from the government to rebuild and restock the Rice Mills (Agbo, 2020). But to a government that was saddled with the humongous task of rebuilding the nation, such a call was a tall order.

Conclusion

The study presents the place of EndSARS protest in Nigeria within the period of the pandemic. It traces the origins of SARS and the causes and impact of the protest, which was worsened by the push and pull effects of the Covid 19. Aside from the points clearly stated above, the Covid 19 pandemic necessitated a global lockdown where offices and business outfits were shut down to curtail further spread of the deadly virus. Needless to say, where businesses are shut down with the accompanying heavy losses, retrenchment of employees become the inevitable outcome. Sequel to this, unemployment continues to soar.

Progressive suggestions have been put forward by a number of good-spirited Nigerians. The original protesters never anticipated the ugly twist that came after their well-organized peaceful protest. Perhaps it is better to say that no one expected that Nigerian soldiers would be ordered to shoot and kill innocent and peaceful protesters. Be that as it may, any suggestions or projections may be premature at the time given. While the nation continues to count the costs and benefits of the grand protest, time will tell what the long run outcome might be. Sometimes events shape history and at other times, history just happens. However, what is fundamental is the need for training and retraining as well as the deployment of advanced technology that will aid the transformation of the *modus operandi* of the Nigerian police.

References

- Abosedo, G. (2020), "The Roots of The EndSARS Protests in Nigeria", *The Washington Post*, 25 October. Available at www.washingtonpost.com, accessed on 28 October.
- Aceves, W. J. (2018) "When Death Becomes Murder: A Primer On Extrajudicial Killing", *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 50(1), 144-145. Derived from www.hrlr.law.columbia.edu. Accessed on 26 September 2023.
- Adepegba, F. O. A. & Baiyewu, L., (2020), *The Punch*, 27 October, available at www.punching.com, accessed on 28 October.
- Agbo, J. (2020), "RIMAN Warns Against Food Insecurity", in *The Nation*, 2 November, available at [www.thenationonline ng.com](http://www.thenationonline.ng.com), accessed on 2 November.
- AIT News, Tuesday, 27 October, 2020.
- Apeloko D. O. & Olajide O. J. (2019) "Newspaper Coverage of Oil Subsidy Removal Remonstrations: A Thoughtful Analysis of 2012 Experience in Nigeria" in Ani, K. J. (ed) *Environmental Conflicts And Peace Building in Africa: A Festschrift For Victor Ojaborotu*, (London: Academica Press), 129.
- Arise News, 25 Oct, 2020.
- Breuer, J. & Elson, M., (2017), "Frustration-Aggression Theory" in Peter Sturmey (ed), *The Wiley Handbook of Violence And Aggression*, available at www.researchgate.net, 1-2, accessed on 4 November, 2020.
- Chow, A. R. (2020), "#EndSARS And The History of Nigeria's Failed Police Reforms" in *Time*, 28 October, Available at www.time.com, accessed on 4 November.
- Cohen, J., (2020), *AAAS Science Magazine*, 10 July. Available at www.sciencemag.org, accessed on 26 October.
- Dami, C. D. (2021), "the #EndSARS Protests, Corruption and Insecurity Debates in Nigeria" in *Ikenga Journal of African Studies*, 22(2), June 2021, 164, available at www.ikengajournal.com.ng. accessed on 26 September, 2023.
- Editorial, (2020) "Anarchic Actions" in *The Nation*, 2 November, available at www.thenationonline ng.com, accessed on 2 November.
- Elumoye, D. and Shiklam, J. (2020), "Northern Governors Monarchs' Meeting Divisive, Say Southern M'Belt Leaders" in *This Day*, 5 November. Available at www.thisdsylive.com, accessed on 5 November.

- Enyiazu C. (2023) "The October 2020 #EndSARS Protest and The Transformation of The Nigerian State" in *Journal of Political Science And International Relations* 6(1), 21-25. Available at www.article.sciencepublishinggroup.com. Accessed on 26 September, 2023.
- Fagbo, F. (2020), "The Effect of The EndSARS Protest on Businesses And The Nigerian Economy" in *Entrepreneurs*, available at www.entrepreneurs.ng. accessed on 3 November, 2020.
- Falana F.(2020) "The Morning Show" on Arise News, 26 Oct, 2020.
- Fetrow, J. & Veras, N. (2020), "The Murder of George Floyd and its Aftermath" in *The Tower*, available at www.cuatower.com, accessed on 28 October.
- Husted T. F. (2023) "Nigeria: #EndSARS Protests Against Police Brutality", derived from www.everycrsreport.com. Accessed on 26 September 2023.
- Kede, S., (2020) "#EndSARS Protest Hit Nigerian Business But Activists Call For Further Action" in *African Business Magazine*, 14 October, available at www.africanbusinessmagazine.com, accessed on 5 November, 2020.
- Mentovich, A., (2010), *Encyclopedia Britannica*, (SAGE Publications), available at www.britannica.com , accessed on 4 November, 2020
- Nweze, C., (2020) "Businesses Lose N10b Daily to #EndSARS Protests say Experts" in *The Nation*, 19 October, 2020, available at www.thenationonline.ng, accessed on 3 November, 2020.
- Omobude, T., (2020), "EndSARS: Governor Obaseki Visits Police Headquarters, Charges CP To Forget Scars" in *Daily Post*, 2 November, available at <https://dailypost.ng>. accessed on 4 November.
- Onyeji, E. (2020), *Premium Times*, 28 October, available at www.premiumtimesng.com, accessed on 28 October.
- Peris S. J., (2019), "A New Model of Social Activism: A Study of Social Movements Against Extrajudicial Killings in Nairobi's Informal Settlements"; A thesis supervised by Peris Sean Jones, 2019, 26-29. Derived from www.duo.uio.no. accessed on 27 September 2023.
- Poon, L. & Patino, M. (2020), "Citylab University: A Timeline of US Police Protests" in *Citylab Daily*, 9 June. Available at www.bloomberg.com, accessed on 31 October.
- Rummel, R. J. (2020) "Frustration, Deprivation, Aggression and the Conflict Helix" in *Understanding Conflict And War: Conflict in Perspective*; Vol 3. Available at www.hawaii.edu, accessed on 4 November, 2020.

- Tanyi, P., Abang, V., Ozomgbachi D., Duru O., & Nzegwu J., (2022) "The 2020 "EndSARS " Protest: Propelling Factors and Government Approach to managing the protest in Lagos State, Nigeria", *Journal Of Social Work In Developing Societies* 4(1), August 2022, 57.
- Tunde Bakare, (2020) "The Morning Show" on Arise News, 2 November, 2020
- Usman, C. & Oghuvbu E. A., (2021), "The Impact of the Media on the #EndSARS Protests in Nigeria" in *International Journal of New Economics And Social Sciences* 2 (14), 2021, 156; available at www.ijoness.com. Accessed on 26 September 2023.
- Welby J. , (2020) "A Time For Heroes," *This Day*, back page, 26 October. Available at www.thisdaylive.com, accessed on 26 October.