

INNOVATIONS

The Paradox of Non-Violent Movement in Covid 19 pandemic era. The study of 2020 #EndSARS# protest in Nigeria

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Abstract

The study examined the paradox of the non-violence movement in the Covid 19 pandemic era with a focus on the #EndSARS# protest in Nigeria. Nonviolent protest is not limited to Nigeria but a universal phenomenon. It has been used against empires, foreign entities, and dictatorial regimes even in modern states. The #EndSARS# protest commenced with a demand for the dissolution of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) unit in Nigeria occasioned by police brutality and other criminal activities alleged by Nigerian youth. However, the #EndSARS# protest coincided with the period of socio-economic challenges emanating from the Covid -19 pandemic lockdown. The peaceful protest later metamorphosed into violence arising from the shooting of the armless group protestants at Lekki tollgate in Lagos State by Nigerian soldiers. This extra-judicial killing triggered violence in some parts of Nigeria, and the subsequent looting of undistributed palliatives stocked in secret locations in some states, destruction of government infrastructure, the killing of Police officers, burning of police stations, destruction of personal properties, among others. The paper adopted Gene Sharps theory of Power as its theoretical construct. The triangulation method of data gathering techniques were used. The study unravelled that the protest was hijacked by a secessionist group in some parts of Rivers State. Second, the increase in unemployment and socioeconomic challenges in Nigeria arising from lockdown contributed to the breakdown of law and order. The study recommends amongst others that the state should reform the security institutions and create jobs to positively engage Nigerian youth.

Keywords: 1.Covid-19 2. #EndSARs# 3.Nonviolent 4. Protest 5.security agents.

1. Introduction

There are limited areas where the use of paradox is treasured as it is in peace and conflict studies. This is predicated on the fact that the “international system has witnessed dramatic changes in the recent past. Questions relating to how and when ordinary citizens can stand against oppression,

injustice, and abuse without resorting to violence” (United States Institute of Peace (USIP, 2009, p.2). The nonviolent struggle has occurred in widely differing cultures, periods of history, and political conditions. The nonviolent protest occurred in the West and East, practiced under constitutional democracies and against empires, foreign occupation, and dictatorial systems (Sharps, 2005). It has been used and tested by ordinary people throughout history to resist barbarous acts that are capable of instilling fear and impeding want. In the modern state, the civil resistant approach has become grandeur in modern democratic societies that is predicated on freedom of expression, association, equity, equality, justice, among others are invaluable.

Historically, the nonviolent method of struggle was first introduced by Henry David Thoreau (1817-1864). Thoreau was viewed as an anarchist. Thoreau rationalized civil disobedience and the idea of breaking laws in protest against social injustices. Though he was later arrested and detained for tax evasion in July 1846. He deliberately refused to remit tax in protest against the prosecution of the American-Mexican war at taxpayers' expense. Thoreau maintained that justice is imperative to the state, however, not all States are just, which to a large extent present a challenge to the citizenry. Thoreau revealed that “Unjust laws exist; shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavour to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?... just because the state is carrying out a particular policy doesn't mean that the individual is obligated to sit quietly and accept it if it is just” (cited in Oyebade, 2020). Other protagonists of civil resistance such as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) who championed the struggle against foreign occupation in India; Leo Tolstoy (1824-1990); Richard Gregg (1885-1994), also used nonviolence to bring down tyrannical regimes. These men justified civil disobedience as a legitimate path to social change. The words and actions of these men and movements have played crucial roles in shaping and deepening peace studies.

In recent times, there have been several instances where the nonviolent struggle has been used to address burning issues in society such as racial segregation and oppressive regimes. The Arab Spring in Northern Africa and the '#BlackLives#' Matters in the United States of America. Another instance was the extrajudicial murder of George Floyd by the racist US Police Officers. The brutal murder led to widespread peaceful protest against racism in the United State of America. Issues related to injustices and oppression of coloured people in the United State of America was resurrected again.

Retrospectively, there are several peaceful protests that have metamorphosed into violent attacks against the protesters by the agents of the Nigerian state. They include the struggle against the military dictatorship in the 1990s by civil society groups in Nigeria, protest against the annulment of the June 12 presidential election in 1993, protest against hike in the price of fuel, among others. The Niger Delta region has witnessed several cases where a peaceful protest against environmental degradation by multinational oil companies have metamorphosed into violent conflict. One of them was the Ogoni peaceful protest against the degradation of the environment by the Multinational oil companies (Shell). The Ogoni's peaceful protest resulted in a low-intensity conflict - villages were destroyed, artefacts were carted away, women were raped, and other forms of human rights abuse. Several Ogoni inhabitants became refugees, while others were forced into exile for the fear of their lives.

The recent #EndSARS# protest was organized by the Nigerian youths to register displeasure against police brutality, extortions, and extrajudicial killing of the Special Anti-Robbery (SARs) Unit of the

Nigeria Police Force. The #EndSARS# mass protest attracted solidarity and demonstration by Nigerians in diaspora and sympathizers globally. On the 11th October 2020, the Inspector General of Police, Mohammed Abubakar Adamu dissolved the SARS Unit. Nevertheless, the protest continued despite the dissolution of SARS. The protesters further included other items such as good governance, devolution of power, true federalism, among others in their list. The civil disobedience to curfew policy by the Lagos State government led to the shooting at Lekki Tollgate by armed soldiers. Consequently, the peaceful protest turned violence leading to several casualties and deaths, destruction and looting of properties, among others, particularly in Lagos and Rivers States respectively. Sharp (2005, p.375) noted that “nonviolent resistance is commonly met with repression when the opponents are unwilling or unable to grant the resisters demand. Repression is not a sign that the resisters are weak or will be defeated. Repression is an acknowledgement by the opponents of the seriousness of the challenge posed by the resistance.” Given the above, the study interrogates why the #EndSARS# protest resulted in violence and looting of properties in Nigeria.

2. Conceptual issues

Nonviolent Movement

Nonviolent movement or civil disobedience is considered an act of disobedience to the laws of constituted authority. The refusal to obey certain laws, orders and commands, demands of a government or cooperate organization or other constituted authority by citizens of a group of individuals. This form of protest is not in nature but a peaceful way of registering your displeasure over certain policies. The nonviolent movement has been used interchangeably by various protagonists. Martin Luther King and Mohandas Gandhi, both used the term “nonviolence” several times. At the same time, they were both rooted in a deep faith tradition and so for people who share that faith tradition, that word “nonviolence” is probably going to resonate with them. The word “nonviolence” is tied to these iconic leaders, when people hear the word “nonviolence,” they immediately conjure up images of these successful nonviolent movements. But at the same time, this word is rooted in a faith tradition, if you are not a person of faith or if you are not as interested in nonviolence as an ethical or principled way of life, but more so nonviolent action as a way to struggle against an adversary. The term “nonviolence” may not resonate with you as much. Another powerful term is *people power*. “People power” is a term that was coined by Filipinos during the People Power Movement that removed the Marcos dictatorship. Another term is *apopular struggle*. This is a term that Palestinians started to use during the First Intifada, in large part because popular committees were an integral part of this social movement, and so they adopted that use of the word popular, attached it with struggle and ergo we have a popular struggle. Another term is *Satyagraha*, which is a term that Gandhi used and developed, so there is a deep history with that term. *Satyagraha* means “truth force,” so you might come across that. The term *nonviolent civic mobilization* resonates more with civil society groups or with individuals and organizations that are working with civil society groups. Barash and Webel (2014) argued that nonviolent offer hope for the survival of humankind, whereas violence does not. Nonviolent is not limited to tactics of defending a given people, rather, it is directed toward overthrowing an entire system of relationships based on violence, oppression, and the unjust exploitation of the great majority of humans by privileged elites. Nonviolence is directly relevant not only to prevent war but also to the establishment of social justice, environmental protection, and the defence of human rights. Furthermore, Barash and Webel (2014) opine that for those deeply committed to nonviolence; the legitimate outrage against violence is sometimes carried to excess.

Covid 19 Pandemic

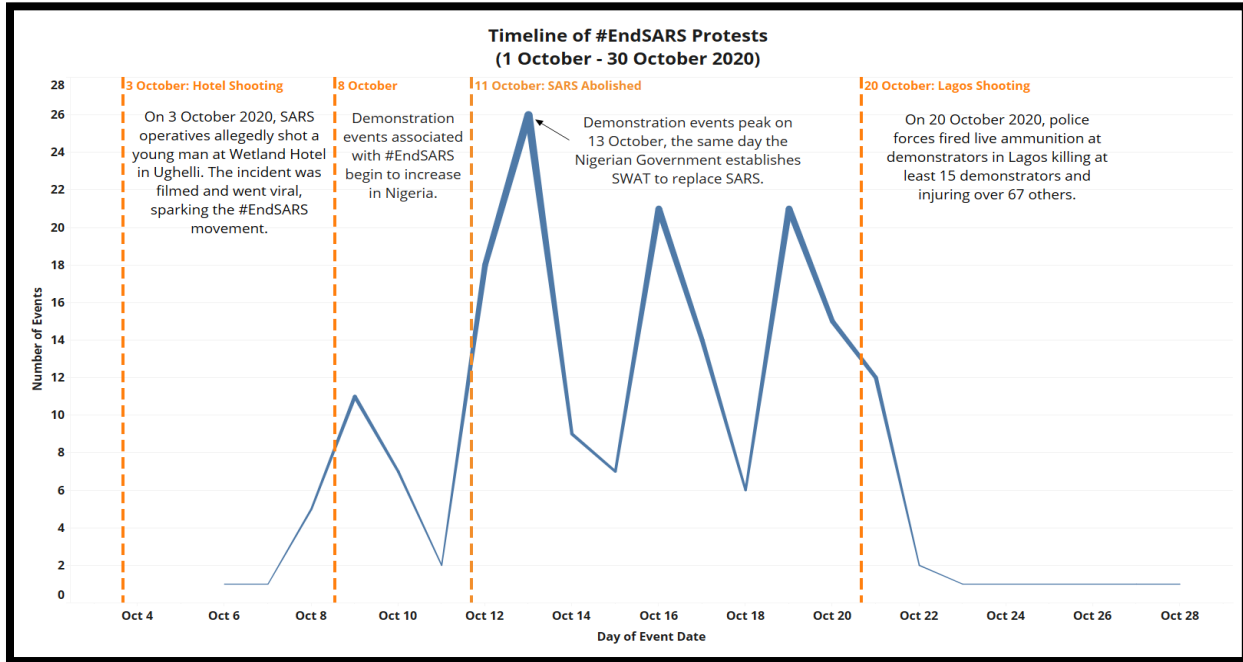
Several scholarly articles have been written on the emergence of Coronavirus and its devastating effects on sovereign state governments (Ogele, 2020; Masters and Perlman; Zaki, van Boheemen, Bestebroer, Osterhaus and Fouchier, 2012; Cui, Li and Shi, 2019). The coronaviruses belonged to the family of viruses that attacks the health of humans and animals. There are seven different kinds of Coronaviruses found in humans, including those responsible for SARS, MERS and COVID 19 epidemics. Human coronaviruses lead to cause mild disease akin to a common cold, while others cause more serious disease such as SARS – Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome and MERS - Middle East Respiratory Syndrome” (UK Research and Innovation, 2020). The Covid 19 pandemic emerged in Wuhan, China, and spread to Europe and the United States of America leaving many dead. “Globally, Covid-19 led to an adverse impact on human security, such as the closure of schools, jobs, restriction of movement, among others. Since the cure to the pandemic was unbeknown, most countries adopted lockdown as a major strategy to contain the spread of the Covid-19” (Ogele and Lolo -Fubara, 2021, p.23). The lockdown strategy was aimed at reducing the spread of the Covid 19 pandemic (Ogele, 2021) however, increased unemployment and poverty levels in most affected developing countries.

Police brutality: SARS Unit Operations and Protest in Nigeria

Prearranged police brutality is a global issue. It happens in every society whether developed or developing. The state police are vested with the power to enforce laws. However, overtime the police abused these powers bestowed on them. There are several cases of torture, brutality and killing of innocent citizens by the Nigeria Police. A 2016 report on world policing indicates that Nigeria Police Force is on the list of 127 countries where police abuse human rights. Sanya Osha argued that “the Nigerian Police Force grew out of this acrimonious context, in which violence, suppression, duplicity and impunity merged in the bid to maintain colonial power. It was never a force created to protect locals and foster harmonious community relations. Instead, it had been formed as an occupation force for a narrow and specific reason: to maintain the power of the state even if the state is illegitimate” (Osha, 2020, p.1). In recent times, the Nigeria Police Force has recorded several extrajudicial arising from brutality including using live bullets against innocent citizens. Abati (2020) revealed that “the CSP Simeon Danladi Midenda (assisted by DSP Taiwo Lakanu) who helped to set up the unit as a default strategy at the time, is on record as having said that the unit, one of 14 in Nigeria Police Crime and Intelligence Division, has “deviated from the original concept.” “Young men merely walking on the streets were stopped, frisked and dispossessed of their phones to view the contents. SARS operatives invariably demanded bribes and those who failed to comply were beaten and humiliated in public. Women, even the elderly among them, were not exempt from the terror of SARS in the form of beatings and torture” (Osha, 2020, p.1). The SARS unit was “originally set up to operate independently to target criminal groups, the unit’s success hinged on its anonymity and mode of operation. SARS operatives conducted covert operations in plain clothes and unmarked vehicles to support police operations responding to community distress calls on armed robberies and other serious crimes” (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), 2021)

The #EndSARS# protest was traced to the incident of the SARS shooting of a young motorist in Ughelli, Delta State. The body of the young man was pushed out of his Lexus SUV car on the 4th October 2020. However, this incident was recorded and the video went viral on social media. Afterwards, the crowd

of young people gathered in various cities in Nigeria and began to demand the dissolution of the SARS Unit. The diagram below indicates the beginning and end of the protest.



Source: Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED). 2021

4. Theoretical Underpinning

The study adopted the Gene Sharps theory of Power as its theoretical construct. The theory was propounded in his book titled *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973). Gene Sharps theory defined the relationship between the ruler and subjects. The theory of power is divided into two—the monolithic and the pluralistic models of power. The monolithic theory of power, power in any society is fixed—it’s monolithic—and it tends to be concentrated at the top of the power pyramid, meaning whoever is in charge (the regime, group of elites) in any society have all the power [and] control everyone else below them. So, power flows from top to bottom, and it’s fixed. While the pluralistic theory of power holds that power is not fixed in any society. It is fluid and it is dispersed throughout society. Power flows from the bottom to the top and that people—ordinary people in any society—if they stop obeying and they engage in organized non-cooperation en masse, this makes it very, very difficult—and at times impossible—for the power holder to remain in control. The power of the ruler in a democratic regime is unequivocally derived from the consent of the subjects. Hence, civil resistance is a polite way of withdrawing such consent or used to challenge problems associated with tyrannical regimes, dictatorship, war, genocide, among others. Sharp’s theory of power identified two key concepts. First, the rule-subject classification. Second, the consent. The ruler includes “not only chief executives but also ruling groups and all bodies in command of the State structure” (Sharps, 1980, p. 22). The theory explains that the state structures such as state bureaucracy, military and police, are under the command of the ruler or persons that occupies the position of the head of

state (Sharps, 1980, p. 316). While others besides the rulers are the subjects. Sharps analysis is predicated on the fact that power is not a monolithic entity that resides on one person or position occupied or ruling body but pluralistic. That is, power resides with a variety of groups and in various locations, which he described as 'loci of power'. The loci of power provide a scenario where countervailing force opposes the power of the ruler, particularly when such loci of power are in numbers and enjoys spread in the society. Furthermore, Sharps theory maintained that power is sourced from authority, skill and knowledge, human resources, material resources, intangible factors, and sanctions (Sharps, 1973, pp. 1112). Sharp posits that the sources of the ruler's power intimately reside upon the submission and cooperation of the subjects (Sharp, 1973, p. 12). Sharp referred to this as the consent theory of power. This implies that if the ruler lacks the consent of the subjects, then the ruler will have limited power and little basis for the rule. Consequently, Sharp buttressed that the civil resistance constitutes a refusal by the subjects to obey, and the power of the ruler will breakdown if consent is withdrawn actively. Rulers are not threatened by alienation, grumbling or critical analyses alone by empirical actions. Hence, Sharp's theory of power laid a foundation for analyzing methods of nonviolent action, making challenges, building discipline and support, and redistribution of power. The theory of power is considered vital to this study because it explains the relationship between the statecraft and her citizens in a democratic dispensation. The #EndSARS# protest was a polite way of withdrawing democratic consent and enthroning civil disobedience particularly when the protesters refused to leave the Lekki Tollgate after the Lagos State government declare 24 hours' curfew.

5. Methodology

The study adopted a survey research design and triangulation methods of data gathering techniques. They include questionnaires and interviews. A total of 1500 questionnaire was administered among young people, 1420 were retrieved, and 43 were not properly filled while 1377 were valid for the study. The researchers employed three research assistants that administered these copies of the questionnaires to respondents. The study population covers three local governments in Rivers State where the #EndSARS# protest was pronounced. They include Port Harcourt City, Obio/Akpor, and Oyigbo local government areas. The questionnaire focused on obtaining the perceptions and opinions of youths about nonviolent movement in Nigeria using the #EndSARs# protest as a case. The paper adopted a content analysis for the data collected from the internet and library. The data analyses were aided using percentages.

6. Data presentation and analysis

The study examined the data derived from the questionnaire. The analysis was in two phases. The first was the bio-data (demographic) of the respondents were analyzed; second, the data under investigation were analyzed in the graphs. The results of the tests for reliability are presented as follows:

Descriptive Analysis

Table-1: Respondents' Demographic Data Analysis -1

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Gender			
Male	919	0.67	67
Female	458	0.33	100
Total	1377	100	
Age			
18-25 yrs	406	0.29	29
26-30yrs	678	0.49	78
31-35yrs	190	0.14	92
36 yrs and above	103	0.8	100
Total	1377	100	
Educational qualification			
Primary	253	0.18	18
Secondary	398	0.29	47
Technical	187	0.14	61
Tertiary	539	0.39	100
Total	1377	100	

Source: Field Survey, 2021

The abovetableindicates that 919 respondents were male, while 458 respondents were female, corresponding to 67% and 33% respectively. 406respondents were aged 18-25 years corresponding to 0.29%, while 678, 190, and 103 respondents were aged 26-30, 31-35years and 36 years & above respectively. The table further shows that 253 respondents had primary educational qualifications which correspond to 0.18%, while 398, 187, and 539 respondents had secondary, technical, and tertiary educational qualifications corresponding to 0.29%, 0.14%, and 0.39% respectively.

Participants of the #EndSARS# protest

The bar chart below justifies the response generated from the fourth question on the questionnaire, which sought to ascertain if the respondents participated in the #ENDSARS# protest in Rivers State.

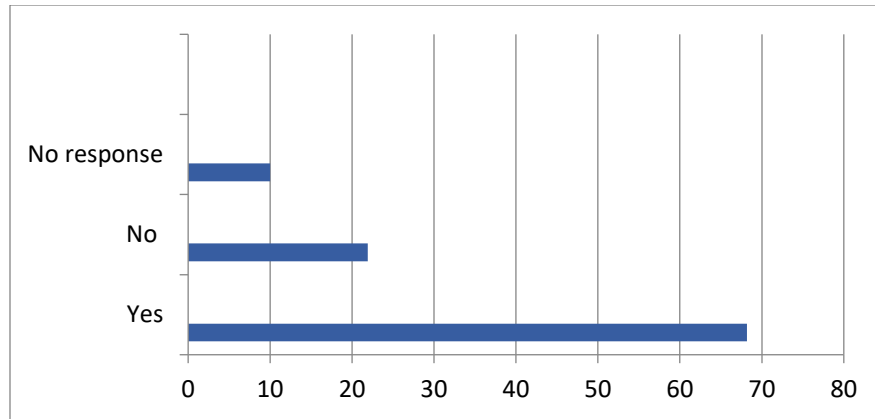


Fig 1. Bar chart indicates the respondents that participated in the ENDSARS protest in Rivers State.

The responses above are as follows: 68.2% indicated that they participated in the #EndSARS# protest, 21.9% indicated that they did not participate in the ENDSARS protest in Rivers State, while 10% did not respond. Based on the responses, the majority of the respondents participated in the #EndSARS# protest in Rivers State.

Source of information about #EndSARS#protest

The column below justifies the response generated from the fifth question on the questionnaire, which sought to ascertain the source of information about #EndSARS# protest in Rivers State.

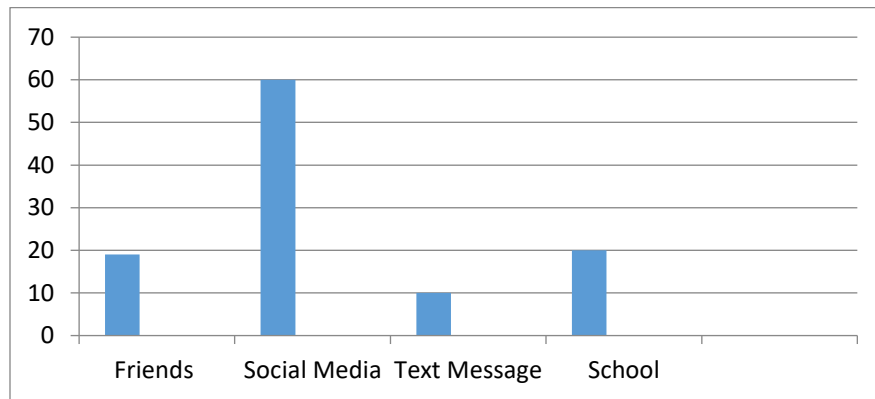


Fig 2. Column chart indicates the source of information about #EndSARS# protest in Rivers -State.

The responses above are as follows: 19% indicated they were informed by their friends, 60% indicated that social media was their source of information, 20% said they got the information in the school, while 10% said they got the information through text message. Based on the responses, the majority of the #EndSARS# protesters in Rivers State were mobilized through social media.

ENDSARS had no defined leadership structure

The Pie Chart below justifies the response generated from the sixth question on the questionnaire, which sought to ascertain if the #EndSARS# had a leadership structure that managed the protesters.

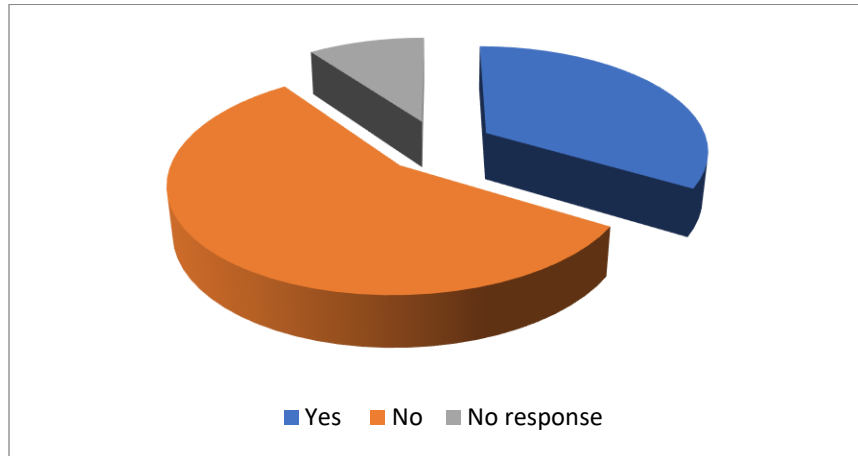


Fig 3. The pie chart indicates ENDSARS protest had no leadership structure.

The responses above are as follows: 56.4% indicated that there was no leadership structure, 33.6% indicated that there was leadership structure, while 10% did not respond. Based on the responses, the majority of the #EndSARS# protesters in Rivers State did not have a leadership structure.

#EndSARS# protesters achieved their goal

The pie chart below justifies the response generated from the eighth question on the questionnaire, which sought to ascertain if the #EndSARS# protesters achieved their goal.

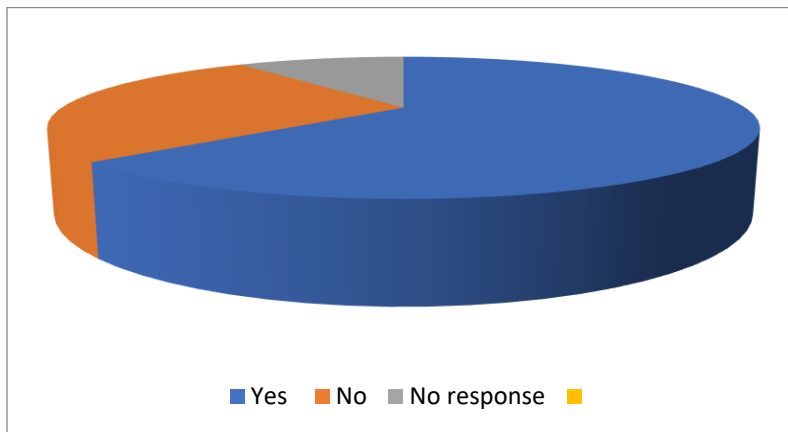


Fig 4. The pie chart indicates that the #EndSARS# protest was successful.

The responses above are as follows: 63.2% agreed, 26.8% disagreed, while 10% did not respond. Based on the responses, the majority of the respondents agreed that the protesters achieved their goal.

7. Discussion of Findings

Our findings revealed that most nonviolent peaceful movements in Nigeria resulted in violence leaving many protesters dead and several others injured including the destruction of properties. The findings offer support to previous studies on nonviolent movement by Sharp (2005, p.45) who argued that “past struggles have rarely been well planned and prepared and have usually lacked a strategy plan.” The #EndSARS# protest commenced without a clearly defined leadership structure, hence, lacked the strategic plans to contain the opponent or demobilize protesters when dangers were perceived from the opponent. From our findings, the 24 hours’ curfew was imposed in Lagos State began at about 4.00 pm, there was attempt to demobilize protesters at Lekki Tollgate until the arrival of the soldiers at about 9.00pm. The reason deduced for the imposition of the curfew was to end the nonviolent protest whose initial aim was to dissolution the SARS unit of the Nigerian Police Force. Afterwards other demands began to emerge such as devolution of power, fiscal federalism, social welfare, among others.

Our findings revealed that the continuous protest adversely impacted the Lagos State economy and beyond. Disobedience to civil authority has been tested and proven as the main strategy that emasculates the economy. Sharp (2005, p.23) noted that “the power of rulers and hierarchical systems, in turn, depends on the willingness of the population and a multitude of assistants to consent by their actions or inaction to support the rulers. People may obey and cooperate because they positively approve of the rulers or their orders, or they may obey and cooperate because they are intimidated into submission by the fear punishment.” The refusal to comply with the 24 hours’ curfew imposed by the Lagos State government led to the deployment of soldiers that shot at the protesters in the night. An allegation the Nigerian Army has continually denied. During the cross-examination at the Lagos Judicial Panel set up to investigate the Lekki Tollgate protesters shooting, “Brig. Gen. Ahmed Taiwo, admitted that while deployed troops had both live and blank bullets, they only fired the latter because the threat level was minimal” (ThisDay, November 23, 2020). Shridharani (1973, p.305) opined that “the tyrant has the power to inflict only that which they lack the strength to resist.”

Our findings revealed the emergence of social media has been a veritable tool for mobilizing nonviolent protesters in the 21st century. The Arab Spring and #BlackLiveMatters# mobilizations were effective and productive through the use of social media. The majority of the #EndSARS# protesters were mobilized through social media. The continuous mobilization of youths in various cities in Nigeria and beyond was facilitated through the use of social media that gave update reports of the activities to acquaint the protesters and spectators. It is on record that “about 28 million tweets bearing the hashtag was accumulated on Twitter alone” (<https://twentytendaily.com/how-twitter-promoted-movements-in-nigeria-part-2/>). For instance, the video of Lekki Tollgate shooting at the protesters was uploaded in social media. One of the effects of video of Lekki Tollgate shooting was a nationwide violence protest. There was looting, killings, arsons, destruction of properties belonging to the government, private sector, political class, among others in major cities in Nigeria.” (See Appendix 1). There was a global condemnation of the shooting of the protesters.

Indeed, three factors are attributed to post-Lekki tollgate nationwide violence. They include an increase in poverty and unemployment levels, a secessionist movement in South-Eastern Nigeria, and extreme hatred for the political class in Nigeria. The Covid -19 pandemic lockdown increased poverty occasioned by the high cost of living and redundancy. Petty businesses and other businesses were closed leading to an increase in untold hardship experienced by the citizens during the lockdown period. Second, in Oyigbo Local Government Area, Rivers State, the protest was hijacked by IPOB secessionists who were aggrieved with the situation in the country, hence, vented their anger on the Security Agents, and private businesses that are owned by Hausa/Fulani extraction. The yam market was looted, lorry conveying onions, rice, and other food items were burnt. The Oyigbo Police Station was burnt. The fight between the Hausa/Fulani and the IPOB secessionists continued until the Rivers State government declared dusk to dawn curfew in Oyigbo Local Government Area. The #EndSARS# protest provided opportunities for the mass looting of government/private properties and warehouses where Covid-19 palliatives were stockpiled for several months without distribution.

Conclusion

The study examined the paradox of the nonviolent movement in Nigeria regarding the #EndSARS# protest in 2001. The protest commenced in a peaceful atmosphere with the demand for the dissolution of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), whose *modus operandi* was considered as a threat to the lives and property of their victims. The protesters achieved their initial objective when the federal government disbanded SARS and setup SWAT. However, the protesters began to make other demands other than their initial goal. Consequently, Nigerians in the diaspora joined in the protest. Considering the socio-economic challenges occasioned by the protest, the Lagos state government imposed a curfew. The civil disobedience led to military mobilization against the protesters at about 9.00am at Lekki Tollgate. The military men shot sporadically leading to the death of a few protesters. Afterwards, the protest metamorphosed into violence in various parts of the country. There was a breakdown of law and order in some parts of the country. Several lives were lost and property worth billions of Naira were looted, jailbreak and prisoners freed, destroyed police stations, among others. Hence, some states imposed 24 hours' curfew to end the protest and looting of government and private properties. There is no doubt the movement achieved its initial aim, however, lack of proper coordination and defined leadership structure undermined the principles of the nonviolent movement.

Recommendations.

1. There should be security sector reforms in Nigeria. The colonial way of policing is still inherent in our country. There should be a comprehensive reform to purge uncivilized ways of policing which are considered contrary to international best practice.
2. Failure to plan for success. There was no proper planning and coordination of the protesters. The success of nonviolent movement should not be left to chance.
3. In a situation where there is a high degree of unemployment, the organizers of nonviolent movements should be able to identify who their members are and how to manage those who were not part of the initial plan.

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Appendix 1

List of activities that engulfed lives and properties during #EndSARS# protest.				
S/N	Date	Attacks on facilities (Jailbreaks in Nigeria)	No of inmates that escaped	State
1	Monday, 19 October 2020.	Oko and Benin Correctional Centre	1,993	Edo state
2	22 October	Some vehicles and properties destroyed. Staff injured in the premises	58	Okitipupa LGA of Ondo State
3	22 October	A combined team of correctional officers and soldiers foiled the attempted jailbreak	Nil	Ikoyi Prison in Lagos.
Some of Private Businesses Attacked				
1	Mosque at PigbaSama area of Apo			Abuja
2	A church in the Waru area			Abuja
3	Warehouses of affiliate associations			Adamawa
4	110 tractors, farm implements, foodstuffs, office equipment and documents			Adamawa
5	Nigerian Red Cross,			Calabar
6	First Bank's 8 Miles and Mayne Avenue branches			Calabar
7	Valuemart Supermarket at Marian Road			Calabar
8	Garment Factory along Goodluck Jonathan bypass			Calabar
9	Agro Mall			Ilorin
10	Galaxy Mall			Kano
11	Chicken Republic, SabonGari area			Kano
12	71 vehicles belonging to individuals			Kano
13	The Nation Newspaper office at FataiAtere Street Mushin			Lagos
14	Access Bank, GTBank and Ebeano Supermarket at Victoria Island			Lagos
15	Outlets at AdeniranOgunsanya street, Surulere			Lagos
16	Oriental Hotel, Victoria Island			Lagos
17	Shoprite Mall, Lekki			Lagos
18	Zenith Bank, Admiralty Way, Lekki			Lagos
19	Lekki Toll Gate			Lagos
20	Television Continental (TVC), Ikosi Road			Lagos
21	Lekki Concession Company (LCC)			Lagos
22	GTB, Admiralty Way, Lekki			Lagos
23	Polaris Bank, Admiralty Way			Lagos
24	Shops looted at Orile, Ijora and Mushin			Lagos
25	Circle Mall, Lekki			Lagos
26	15 motorcycles and 65 tricycles at various locations			Lagos
27	Shoprite Malls at Ajah			Lagos
28	LTV 8, Alausa, Ikeja			Lagos
29	Samsung Outlet at Apple Roundabout, Festac			Lagos
30	Samsung Office Oyingbo,			Lagos

31	Shoprite at Festac	Lagos
32	Private warehouses in Jalingo	Taraba
33	Private school belonging to a Jalingo based businessman	Taraba
Some Public Properties		
1	Street lights in Aba and Umuahia City	Abia
2	102 government and private-owned vehicles	Abia
3	Abia State Fire Service building at Aba	Abia
4	Aba South Town Hall and the Church therein	Abia
5	One Magistrate Court attacked	Abia
6	One High Court attacked	Abia
7	Five banks attacked	Abia
8	A building housing unit of the Police at old Zone 6 Annex Aba.	Abia
9	58 police vehicles were burnt and 13 vandalised	Calabar
10	Calabar office of the West African Examinations Council (WAEC)	Calabar
11	Cross-River Newspaper Corporation (Chronicle)	Calabar
12	State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA),	Calabar
13	Tinapa Business Resort	Calabar
14	Nigerian Ports Authority, Harbour	Calabar
15	Federal Psychiatric Hospital, Calabar Road	Calabar
16	Municipal Zonal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) at Marian Road	Calabar
17	Agricultural Development Project office along the Lokoja-Okene Road	Kogi
18	84 BRT Buses burnt	Lagos
19	AjeromiIfelodun Local Government secretariat	Lagos
20	Palace of the Oba of Lagos	Lagos
21	Lagos High Court, Igbosere	Lagos
22	Oyingbo BRT terminus,	Lagos
23	Ojodu Berger BRT terminus	Lagos
24	Vehicle Inspection Office, Ojodu Berger	Lagos
25	Lagos State Public Works Corporation, Ojodu Berger	Lagos
26	Lagos City Hall	Lagos
27	Nigeria Ports Authority (NPA) Building, Marina	Lagos
28	Nigerian Customs Office	Lagos
29	High Court Complex Igbosere	Lagos
30	Lagos State DNA and Forensic Centre, Broad Street	Lagos
31	Ejigbo LCDA Secretariat	Lagos
32	BRT Terminal Iddo (where 67 buses were burnt)	Lagos
33	City Hall, Lagos Island	Lagos
34	OrileIganmu Divisional Police Station along Lagos BadagryExpressWay burnt down and two police officers killed	Lagos
35	Two civilians shot dead by the Ojoo Roundabout	Lagos
36	BRT Terminals at Ojodu and Ikotun	Lagos
37	AjeromiIfelodun LG Secretariat	Lagos

38	FRSC/VIO Office at Ojodu	Lagos
39	Police Station in Afam, Oyigbo LGA	Rivers
40	A Police station, leaving 2 officers dead in Ibadan	Oyo
41	Taraba State Broadcasting Corporation (TSBS), Jalingo	Taraba
42	NYSC Camp, National Center for Disease Control (NCDC) Isolation Centre in Jalingo	Taraba
43	National Orientation Agency (NOA),	Taraba
44	Ministry of Poverty Alleviation and Cooperatives	Taraba
45	Port Health Services (Yellow Card Center)	Taraba
46	Ministry of environment	Taraba
Some Individuals affected		
1	Senator BasseyEwaHenshaw's private residence	Calabar
2	Senator Gershom Bassey's family residence at Mayne Avenue in Calabar and personal residence at AsariEso Layout	Calabar
3	Senator Victor Ndoma-Egba's residence at AsariEso Layout	Calabar
4	Governor BabjideSanwo-Olu's family house in Surulere	Lagos
5	Senator Teslim Folarin's Ibadan residence and looters took with the 1,100 empowerment items, including 350 motorcycles, 400 deep freezers, generators, grinding machines, food items, among other things.	Oyo
Co6vid-19 Palliative Locations looted		
1	Warehouse at Yola	Adamawa
2	Warehouse	Anambra
3	Warehouse	Calabar
4	warehouse at Medical Stores Road, Benin City	Edo
5		
6	Warehouse on Medical Store Road, Uselu, Benin City	Edo
7	Some hoodlums attempted at the Arts and Culture Centre in Area10, but they were repelled by policemen	FCT
8	Warehouse, located at Gwari Avenue in Barnawa area of Kaduna metropolis	Kaduna
9	Warehouse at the Ilorin airport	Kwara
10	COVID-19 Warehouse at Monkey Village	Lagos
11	Warehouse at Mazamaza	Lagos
12	Warehouse at TAEN junction in Bukuru, Jos	Plateau
13	Warehouse in Jalingo	Tarabar
Curfews Imposed		

1	Time	Date	Curfew	State
2	From 4 pm	20-24 th October	24-hour curfew	Lagos
3	Thursday	22 th October,	48-hours curfew	Delta
4	from 8pm on Thursday	22 th October	24-hour curfew	Anambra
5	from 6:30pm on Tuesday	21 October	24-hour curfew	Rivers
6	from 11.59 pm, Tuesday	20 October	24-hour curfew	Osun
7	from 6pm on Tuesday	20 October	24-hour curfew in Aba and Umuahia	Abia
8	on Monday	19 October	24-hour curfew across the state until further notice	Edo
9	With effect from 8:00pm on Tuesday	October 20	24-hour curfew in Jos South and Jos North LGAs	Plateau
10	12 midnight Tuesday	20 October	24 hours curfew in all parts of the state	Ondo
11	starting from 10.00 pm Tuesday	20 October	24-hour curfew	Ekiti
12	from 12 midnight Tuesday	20 October	24-hour curfew	Imo

Source: compiled by the author, 2021