



PERCEPTION SURVEY ON #ENDSARS

A REPORT BY THE INITIATIVE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

NOVEMBER 2020

Content

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|---|----|
| EXECUTIVE SUMMARY | 2 | FINDINGS | 20 |
| LIST OF ACRONYMS | 3 | Part 1: Perceptions on why the #EndSARS movement began | 20 |
| LIST OF TABLES | 4 | Part 2: Perception of prevalent information sources | 22 |
| LIST OF FIGURES | 5 | Part 3: Perception on the nature of the #EndSARS protest | 25 |
| INTRODUCTION | 6 | Part 4: Trust in the Government | 26 |
| METHODOLOGY | 7 | Part 5: Perceived changes or lack of it in security architecture of Nigeria | 29 |
| Scope | 7 | Part 6: Righting wrongs/Restitution | 31 |
| Data Collection | 7 | CONCLUSION | 34 |
| SURVEY | 14 | REFERENCES | 35 |
| Presentation of the Sample | 14 | ANNEXES | 36 |
| Disaggregation by Members | 14 | QUESTIONNAIRE | 38 |
| Developing the Collection Tools | 14 | | |
| Data Collection | 14 | | |
| Data Analysis | 14 | | |
| Method of Analysis | 14 | | |
| Limitations | 15 | | |
| Ethical Considerations | 15 | | |
| Characteristics of Respondent | 15 | | |
| Location of Respondents | 16 | | |
| Age of respondents | 18 | | |
| Gender of respondents | 19 | | |

Executive Summary

The first weeks of October 2020 saw campaigns against police brutality rock Nigeria's major cities. The peaceful campaign tagged #EndSARS was triggered partly by a video of a young man being brutalized by suspected Policemen in Ughelli, Delta State. The call for an end to police brutality resonated across Nigeria as there are speculations that nearly all young Nigerians between the ages of 18 to 46 have an unpleasant encounter with the Nigerian police.

The police unit accused of going rogue is the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) unit. This unit was created in 1992 to combat armed robbery and other serious crimes. Before its creation, the fight against robbery was a general responsibility of the entire Nigerian Police. From 1984, the SARS units became integrated into different states' criminal investigation departments making them present in every state. In the North-eastern states, they have been instrumental in the fight against terrorism and insecurity.

The Initiative for Equal Rights commissioned SilverchipFox Consulting to conduct quantitative research with more than 300 respondents in different states to shed light on dominant perceptions of the #EndSARS campaign. Persons aged 18 and above were selected and categorized in a generational gap. Also, all 36 states were surveyed to be representative of the country's diverse geographic, socioeconomic, tribal and ethnic contexts. The subject matter itself added a significant element of danger to the researchers as at the time of carrying out this research, Government actors were targeting and arresting leading voices in the campaign to end police brutality in Nigeria. Utilizing the depth of SilverchipFox's network and experience, full risk mitigation measures were integrated into the research methodology to minimize the danger to enumerators.

While 85.8% of the respondents understand why the #EndSARS

movement began, only 77% believed it was a peaceful protest. The answer to this may be found in the availability of information to respondents. 60% of the respondents receive information via WhatsApp. The Government had pushed through a narrative of a tumultuous protest using social media. The BBC has highlighted the role of WhatsApp in the quick spread of information in Nigeria (BBC, 2018).

The findings highlight the public distrust in Government actors including but not limited to security actors and underscores the role of new technologies in calls to action and access to information in Nigeria.

List of Acronyms

| | |
|-------|----------------------------------|
| SARS | Special Anti-Robbery Squad |
| TIERs | The Initiative for Equal Rights |
| NPF | Nigerian Police Force |
| FCT | Federal Capital Territory |
| APC | All Progressives Congress |
| PDP | People's Democratic Party |
| CNN | Cable News Network |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| IGP | Inspector General of Police |

List of Tables

| | | |
|-----------|---|----|
| Table 1: | States with pronounced protests | 8 |
| Table 2: | Breakdown of states by geopolitical zone | 16 |
| Table 3: | Age of respondents | 18 |
| Table 4: | Gender of Respondents | 19 |
| Table 5: | Public awareness | 20 |
| Table 6: | Information Sources | 22 |
| Table 7: | Breakdown of responses on the nature of the protests | 25 |
| Table 8: | Breakdown of responses of government involvement | 26 |
| Table 9: | Breakdown of responses on government and army involvement | 27 |
| Table 10: | Perception of the President's Speech | 28 |
| Table 11: | Breakdown of responses on police attitude | 29 |
| Table 12: | Breakdown of responses on salary increment | 30 |

List of Figures

| | | |
|------------|---|----|
| Figure 1: | Location of Respondents | 17 |
| Figure 2: | Breakdown of responses by geopolitical zone | 21 |
| Figure 3: | Breakdown of information sources by region | 24 |
| Figure 4: | Regional Perception | 25 |
| Figure 5: | Regional Breakdown of responses on government involvement | 27 |
| Figure 6: | Regional Breakdown of perceptions on army's involvement | 28 |
| Figure 7: | Regional breakdown of perceptions on the President's speech | 29 |
| Figure 8: | Regional breakdown of perceptions on changes in police attitude | 30 |
| Figure 9: | Regional breakdown on perceptions on salary increments for the police | 31 |
| Figure 10: | Regional breakdown of perceptions on restitution by government | 32 |
| Figure 11: | Regional breakdown of perceptions on restitution | 33 |

Introduction

Throughout the history of Nigeria, agitations, protests and confrontations have occurred at different times spurred on by different causes. Dating back to the pro-independent movement of the colonial era and post-independence, the country has witnessed series of protests in the forms of general strikes, boycotts and mass demonstrations organized and led by different organizations including labour unions, youth movements and social activists with a variety of demands for change in the country (Guardian, 2020). These actions have sometimes led to changes in the system or sparked conversations at the expense of forces who oppose the call for change and at other times, have resulted in negative outcomes for some of the protesters.

The Nigerian State has had a history of negative reactions to protests dating back to the era of military dictatorship which was characterized by violent repression and police brutality which led often to the deaths of protesters, imprisonment of some protest leaders, and proscription of labour movements and other youth groups (Hari, 2014).

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was formed in 1992 to tackle armed robbery and other serious crimes, a role that was solely the responsibility of the Nigerian Police Force. The SARS officers were tasked to operate undercover, dressed in plain clothes and plain vehicles without security or Government insignias, with their main responsibilities including monitoring radio communications, investigation, prosecution and arrests of suspected armed robbers, murderers, kidnappers, hired assassins and other suspected violent criminals (Aljazeera, 2020).

For a decade, the Squad operated out of Lagos but by 2002, units had been set up in all 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. The squad was listed as one of the 14 units under the

Nigerian Police Force Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department. Over time, the unit moved out from its original mandate and began setting up roadblocks which were alleged to be extorting and harassing citizens; mainly young people (Aljazeera, 2020).

In previous years, numerous calls and attempts have been made for the unit to be disbanded as a result of the numerous human rights violations conducted by its officers, but the Government's response just included it being reintroduced under a different name; the Federal Special Anti-Robbery Squad (FSARS) (Sahara Reporters, 2018). The first instance of an attempt at rebranding came in 2017, following calls for the Government to disband the Squad after years of harassments (Aljazeera, 2017), Nigerians also came out to protest during this time (Bella Naija, 2017). Another call came the following year in 2018, which resulted in the acting President at the time ordering an overhaul and reform of the squad and calling for an independent investigation of the reports made against the unit (Amnesty, 2018).

In January 2019, the IGP ordered a decentralisation of the FSARS; it had been centralised from the police force headquarters in the FCT since its inception. The IGP also stated that the Force Criminal Investigations Department and Commissioners of Police in each state the would be held accountable for actions of the SARS (Daily Post Nigeria, 2019).

The abuse and murder of innocent Nigerian citizens continued unchecked and in October 2020, Nigerians, mostly youths, began protesting again and calling for the unit to be disbanded after a video documenting the fatal shooting of a young man by SARS officers circulated online (Aljazeera, 2020).

Methodology



DATA COLLECTION

SAMPLE SELECTION SIZE

In selecting the sample size, a percentage of the total adult population in Nigeria was selected, this was calculated with a 95% confidence interval and a 5.63% margin of error given the estimates of the total adult population. It is important to note that the total sample size selected is not representative of the whole population but to be representative, every state surveyed at least 1 participant. In making up the sample size, 500 people in total were contacted with an equal number of men and women. 318 persons opted in; 304 people completed the survey while 14 people opted out midway.

SCOPE

This research focuses on the 2020 wave of #EndSARS protests in Nigeria spanning across 36 states and the FCT with respondents aged 18 to 46+ years. This study aims to assess the reach, knowledge and awareness of the target demography on the #EndSARS protests.



Table 1: States with pronounced protests

| States | Region | Characteristics |
|---------|-------------|---|
| Anambra | South-East | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dominant Political Party: All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) <p>Cases of Police brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 23-year-old was detained, of food for 40 days under suspicion of a stolen laptop. <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The #EndSARS protests in Anambra were pronounced as the SARS office located in Awkuzu town is notorious for officers who treat its citizens in the most inhumane ways. • The presence of popular musicians with huge followings from Anambra including Flavour, Phyno and KCee also led to large turnouts. • On 22nd October, 24-hour curfew declared by the State Governor. |
| Edo | South-South | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dominant Political Party: Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) <p>Cases of Police brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Young man arrested in 2011 for alleged kidnapping by SARS officials. Till date, he has remained in custody without legal representation. <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protests turned vicious in Benin City following clashes between protesters and armed hoodlums. • 20th October, prison breaks occur and the government orders a 24-hour curfew. |

| States | Region | Characteristics |
|--------|-------------|--|
| Delta | South-South | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) <p>Cases of Police Brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• On the 3rd of October 2020, a SARS police officer allegedly shot a young Nigerian in front of Wetland Hotel, Ughelli, Delta State, igniting reaction on social media and a protest against police brutality <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• On the 9th of October, a police officer shot another young man as they attempted to disperse protesters.• 48-hour curfew ordered by state governor on the 22nd of October. |
| Ekiti | South-West | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: All Progressives Congress (APC) <p>Cases of Police brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reports of SARS officials opening fire on a hotel bar and killing a young man. <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hijack of End SARS protests leading to alleged gang rape of 3 female protesters.• Government orders 24-hour curfew. |

| States | Region | Characteristics |
|--------|---------------|--|
| FCT | North Central | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: PDP <p>Cases of Police brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• October 2018: 24-year-old arrested, detained and tortured for 5 weeks under suspicion of accused robbery with no access to medical and legal services. <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tear gas fired by policemen at protesters to disrupt them.• 6 protesters arrested and held in custody.• Thugs attack protesters with sticks and knives and burn their cars. |
| Ondo | South-West | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: APC <p>Cases of Police brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 2017 reports of the killing of a young man after being detained at the SARS detention center in Akure. <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Prison breaks, arson attempts and looting by hoodlums in the State.• Protests halted following the curfew imposed by the Governor.• 24-hour curfew imposed on the 20th of October. |

| States | Region | Characteristics |
|--------|------------|---|
| Oyo | South-West | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: PDP <p>Cases of Police brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reports of a 50-year-old photographer tortured to death. <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A young man was killed by a SARS official during the protests in Ogbomosho.• Protesters arrested for unlawful assembly.• 24-hour curfew ordered by State Governor on the 20th of October. |
| Ogun | South-West | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: APC <p>Cases of Police brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Killing of local football player in March 2020 amidst claims by SARS officials of attempted suicide. Eyewitness accounts claim he was pushed out of a moving vehicle by SARS officials. <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 15 protesters were arrested, detained and denied access to bail.• 24-hour curfew ordered by State Governor on the 20th of October. |

| States | Region | Characteristics |
|--------|------------|--|
| Kano | North-West | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: APC <p>Cases of Police brutality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 2016 Shooting of a 42-year-old man. <p>Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Protests intensified following the killing of 17-year-old Saifullah by SARS officials.• Protesters are attacked by unknown persons armed with knives and sticks. |
| Lagos | South-West | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: APC <p>Cases of Police brutality and Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lagos had faced numerous reports of violations of young Nigerians by SARS officials in the State.• September 2019: Reports of SARS officials shooting a civilian during a routine patrol circulated online. After calls for justice, four officers were arrested.• Lagos was the epicentre of the #EndSARS protests and thus suffered the most casualties including the Lekki toll gate massacre.• 24-hour curfew declared by Governor on the 20th of October following looting and destruction of property in the state. |

| States | Region | Characteristics |
|--------|-------------|--|
| Rivers | South-South | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant Political Party: APC <p>Cases of Police brutality and Protest History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lagos had faced numerous reports of violations of young Nigerians by SARS officials in the State.• September 2019: Reports of SARS officials shooting a civilian during a routine patrol circulated online. After calls for justice, four officers were arrested.• Lagos was the epicentre of the #EndSARS protests and thus suffered the most casualties including the Lekki toll gate massacre.• 24-hour curfew declared by Governor on the 20th of October following looting and destruction of property in the state. |

Survey

This research utilizes a quantitative method with primary data collection. Surveys were chosen as the data collection tool for this research and conducted over the phone, as it is a quick, effective and reliable method of collecting information from respondents within a short period. Using telephone surveys is relevant and suitable for research like this which aims to access perceptions and poll using public opinion.

Telephone surveys were chosen also due to the sensitivity of the topic and given the period within which the study was conducted. To ensure that the right audience was reached, a random sampling approach was utilized to collect data from the 300 respondents. The respondents were contacted based on their fit with the target population and their contact information was provided. The surveys were conducted by three enumerators who telephoned the participants and entered their responses into a secure google document which only the enumerators had access to.

The survey had 10 general questions on the events of the #EndSARS protests targeted at the sample population.

PRESENTATION OF SAMPLES

Movements in Nigeria represent different levels of generational ideologies. For this study to be representative of the age of persons who have lived through military leadership and persons who have only lived through democratic leadership, the selection was made from different age groups, 18-24, 25-36, 37 and above, with at least one person from each age group. To be representative of our ethnic perceptions and diversity, at least one person was selected from each state in Nigeria.

A total of 318 calls were made after the test phase with 304 responses recorded. 14 respondents opted out midway due to the sensitive

nature of the topic. The survey response rate was 95.6%.

DISAGREGATION BY GENDER

A total of 200 men and 104 women participated in the study representing 65.7% and 34.3% respectively.

DEVELOPING THE DATA CONNECTION TOOL

The survey questionnaire was designed by the research team and shared with The Initiative for Equal Rights (TIERs) for feedback and adjustments. The questionnaire was piloted with random persons in Abia, Abuja, and Lagos. The final questions were refined and deployed by the research team. The research team made use of pre-trained enumerators to collect responses.

DATA COLLECTION

The questionnaire comprised ten questions: both close-ended questions, and multi-choice questions. It is sufficiently short for surveyors to learn it by heart and be able to register responses through easy codes on the Google sheet.

Data collection began on the 10th of November and lasted for 4 days. All respondents in the survey spoke in terms of anonymity. Each interview lasted around five to ten minutes and was conducted in English, Pidgin, Igbo and Hausa.

DATA ANALYSIS

The quantitative data obtained from the survey were analysed using Excel 2019 version 16.0.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Within the sample population, disaggregating results by gender reveals little variance between the two groups. It was thus considered irrelevant to analyse each separately. On the contrary, the variance between respondents was highly significant in some questions depending on the state of residence, thus the analysis was focused on this divide accordingly.

LIMITATIONS

Representation: The sample size of respondents represents a limited percentage of the target population and cannot be cited as a truly representative sample of this population. Additionally, as this is a perception survey, results cannot be taken as fact but rather as perception.

Sensitivity: Given the nature of the events and the Government response to the protests, there was a general sense of distrust surrounding participating in a survey of this kind. Some participants felt like they were being monitored and might be penalized for their responses on questions related to the Government.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The ethical concerns that we considered during this research project included that of informed consent and anonymization.

Informed Consent: The respondents were informed of the objectives of the survey at initial contact and they gave their consent to participate. The names and ages of the participants have also been kept confidential.

Anonymization: The survey responses were anonymized, and the identities and exact ages of the respondents not recorded. The respondents were also not coerced into answering any of the survey

questions and were given the option to opt-out at any stage of the survey

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

This section presents the characteristics of the survey respondents including location, age group and gender.



LOCATION OF RESPONDENTS.

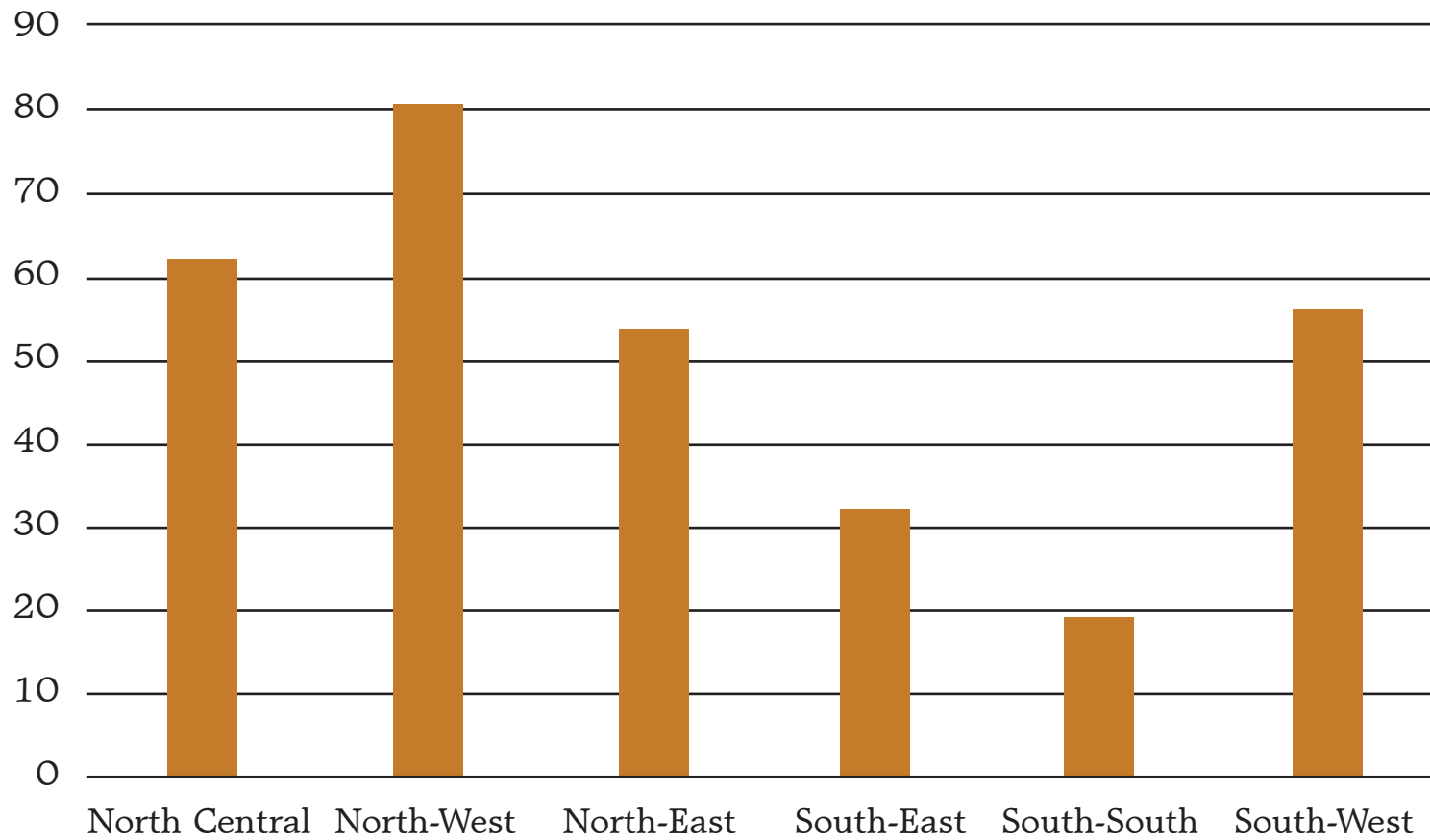
The respondents were categorized into the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria.

Table 2: Breakdown of states by geopolitical zone

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| <p>North-Central</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Benue Kogi Kwara Nasarawa Niger Plateau Federal Capital Territory (FCT) | <p>North-East</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adamawa Bauchi Borno Gombe Taraba Yobe | <p>North-West</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jigawa Kano Kaduna Katsina Kebbi Sokoto Zamfara | <p>South-East</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abia Anambra Ebonyi Enugu Imo |
| <p>South-South</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Akwa-Ibom Bayelsa Cross River Rivers Delta Edo | <p>Geopolitical zones in Nigeria</p> | <p>South-West</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ekiti Lagos Ogun Lagos Ondo Osun Oyo | |

Below is a breakdown of the respondents by geopolitical zones.

Figure 1: Location of Respondents



See the breakdown for the 36 states in the Annex

AGE OF RESPONDENTS

The age groups of respondents are between 18- 46+. Most respondents fell within the 18- 29 age bracket at 61.2%, followed by the 30-35 age group with 22.7%. Some participants declined to disclose their age and were categorized in an “undisclosed” category.

Table 3: Age of respondents

| Age group | Frequency |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| 18-24 | 105 |
| 25-29 | 81 |
| 30-35 | 69 |
| 36-45 | 14 |
| 46+ | 7 |
| Undisclosed | 28 |
| | Total (N)= 304 |

GENDER OF RESPONDENTS

Over 65% of the participants were male. See the table below showing the breakdown of respondents by sex.

Table 4: Gender of Respondents

| | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Male | 200 | 65.7% |
| Female | 104 | 34.3% |
| | Total (N)= 304 | 100% |

Findings

This section presents the findings from the survey conducted.

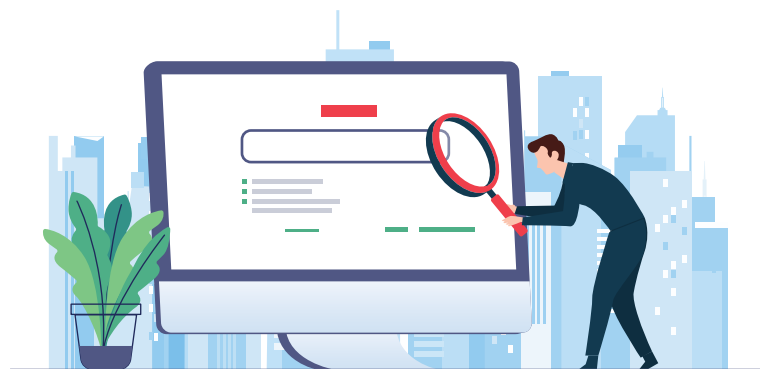
PART 1: PERCEPTIONS ON WHY THE #ENDSARS MOVEMENT BEGAN

PUBLIC AWARENESS

Respondents were asked “Do you know why Nigerians are calling for an end to SARS?” and were required to mention the reason for the call if they answered, “Yes”. Over 85% of respondents were aware of the reason for the call for #EndSARS, some of the responses included an End to Police Brutality, End to Bad Governance, and an End to both police brutality and bad governance.

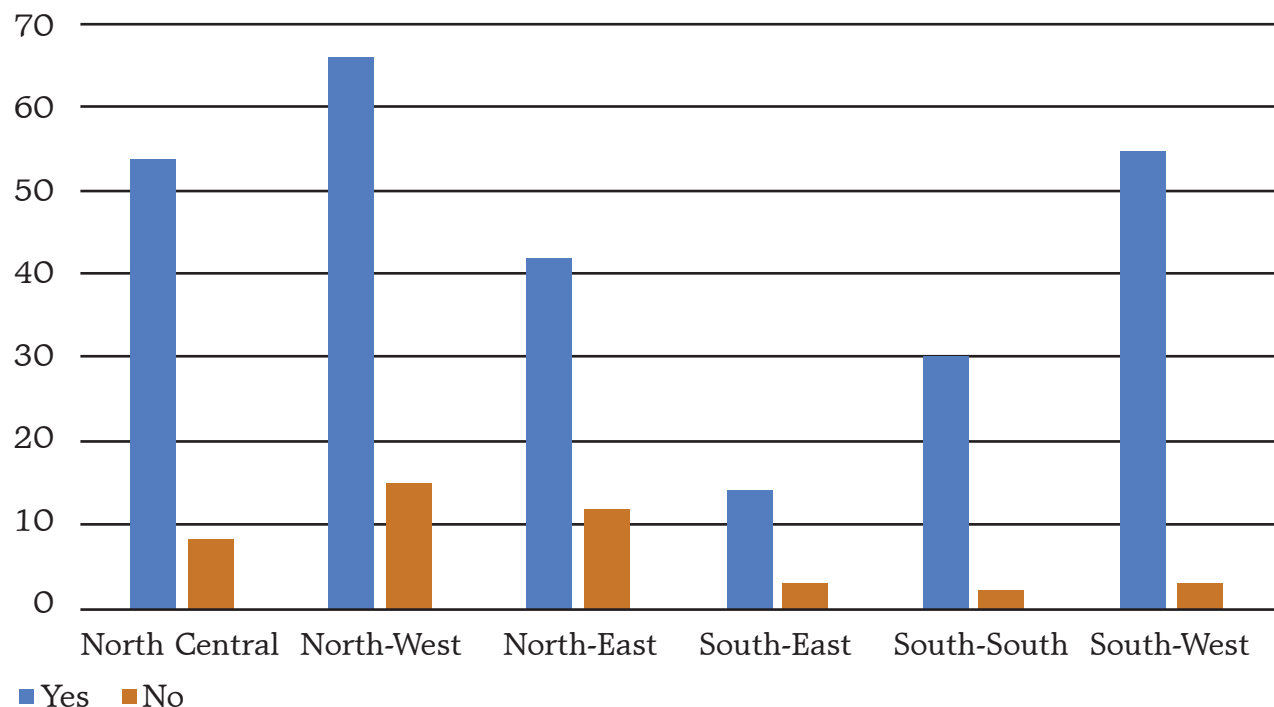
Table 5: Public awareness

| | | |
|-----|-----|-------------------------------|
| Yes | 261 | 85.8% |
| No | 43 | 14.1% |
| | | No of respondents= 304 |



This response correlates to the multiple calls for an end to police brutality that have been made in the country over the past few years. The earliest calls date back to 2017 when the ‘End SARS’ slogan came into existence. The movement gathered momentum on the social media platform, Twitter, with the hashtag; #EndSARS. Many Nigerians recounted their experiences and testimonies of encounters with SARS officers.

Figure 2: Breakdown of responses by geopolitical zone



The percentage of negative responses given the number of respondents by region was highest in the North-East. 22% of responders from the region answered “No”, when asked the question on knowledge of the reasons for the call for an End to SARS. The North-Eastern region comprises 6 states: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. These States have been hit with a humanitarian crisis for over a decade and that region is still struggling to rebuild from the impacts of the Boko Haram

insurgency that plagued those areas. Despite this, over 77% of respondents from the region were aware of the calls for an end to SARS.

The South West region which includes Lagos, the epicentre of the protests, had the most positive responses to the question on knowledge of the reasons for the End SARS movement with 94.6% of respondents answering yes. It is followed by the South-East region with 93.8%, and the North-Central region with 87.1%.

PART 2: PERCEPTION OF PREVALENT INFORMATION SOURCES

What is your main source of information on the End SARS protest? (Select all that apply)

Table 6: Information Sources

| Source of Information | Percentage (%) |
|---|----------------|
| Twitter | 59.2% |
| Instagram | 47.4% |
| Facebook | 26.3% |
| WhatsApp | 60.0% |
| Television | 49.7% |
| Newspaper | 3.3% |
| Radio | 39.1% |
| Other | 3.6% |
| - Word of mouth | |
| - Friends and family | |
| - Personal experience/Insider information | |
| - Internet sources | |
| - Didn't hear about it | |

The most common sources for information on the protests according to respondents are WhatsApp, Twitter, Television and Instagram. People are migrating to the use of smartphones and social media, which is fast becoming the most engaging and interactive form of communication and social media platforms allowed for real-time updates of events, and the documentation of crucial moments during the protests.

Although previous research has cited a shift in media sources people use to seek information deviation, respondents appear to still rely heavily on traditional media sources for information. Respondents mentioned using television and radio in their top 4 choices of information sources.

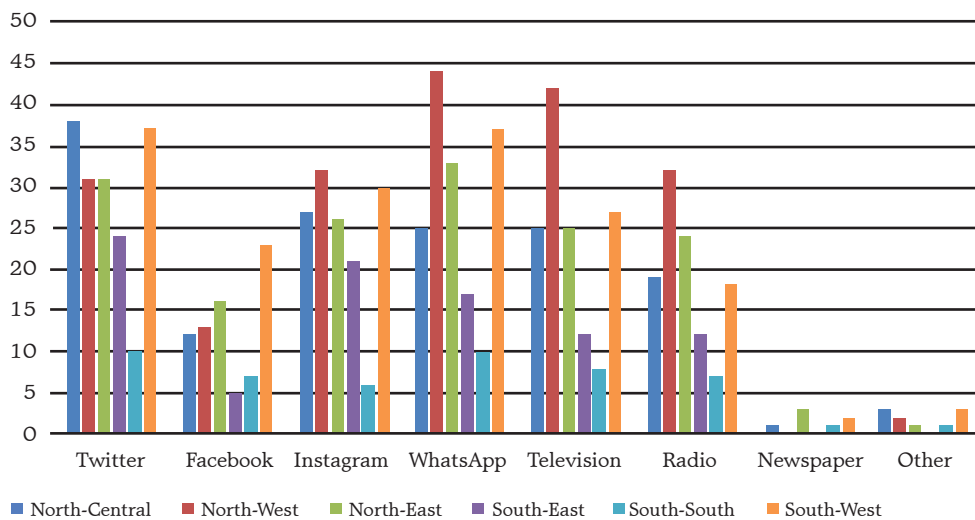


Figure 3: Breakdown of information sources by region

Twitter is the most utilized platform for information seeking in four regions: The North-Central, and all regions in the South. At least 50% of respondents from those regions acknowledged using Twitter as one of their primary sources of information on the protests. The

South-East and South-West recorded the highest number of Twitter users with 75% and 70% respectively. Instagram was the 2nd most used platform in the North Central and South East with 43.5% and 65.6% respectively.

In the North-Eastern and North-Western regions, WhatsApp is the most utilized platform for getting information with 54% of respondents from the North-West region and 61% from the North-East selecting it as an option. 52% of respondents from the North-West selected television as one of their top information sources.

The social media platform, Twitter, has served as a pivotal tool in the organisation and rallying for the End SARS movement since its inception. Twitter gives its users more autonomy over their news feed through the localization of trending topics, which allows for filtering news specific to their location. In addition to public support of the End SARS by the CEO of Twitter, Jack Dorsey, the platform also played a huge role in the mobilization of funds, technical support and legal aid to the protesters by the Feminist Coalition.

Instagram features were used by many protesters to amplify the movement, most noteworthy being the “Live” feature which allows users to broadcast and watch live videos from any location. This feature has proven crucial in for evidence gathering especially for the night of the 20th of October 2020 referred to as the Lekki Toll Gate Massacre. Catherine Udeh; popularly known as DJ Switch broadcasted the incidences at the toll gate to her Instagram Live and the video has now been used as evidence against the Nigerian Army and Nigerian Government who maintain that the Lekki Massacre is a hoax.

With the increase in social media usage, a new challenge has also emerged; verifying the information circulated on these platforms. The protests and their aftermath have seen an uptick in fake news and disinformation. It is alleged that political powers have begun to weaponize disinformation to discredit eyewitness testimonies and evidence.

The Government has come under criticism numerous times on their attempts to regulate social media which violates the constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of speech. A Social Media Bill was presented before the Nigerian Senate for the second reading in 2019. The Bill would prohibit and criminalise statements on social media that “may diminish public confidence” in the Nigerian Government and proposed the offences be punishable by a fine, a prison sentence of up to 3 years, or both. The Bill was halted after outcries from the public and activists and a social media hashtag #SayToNoSocialMediaBill trended as a response to the calls on social media platforms. Following the protests, many members of the Nigerian Government publicly showed their support for a law that would regulate social media.

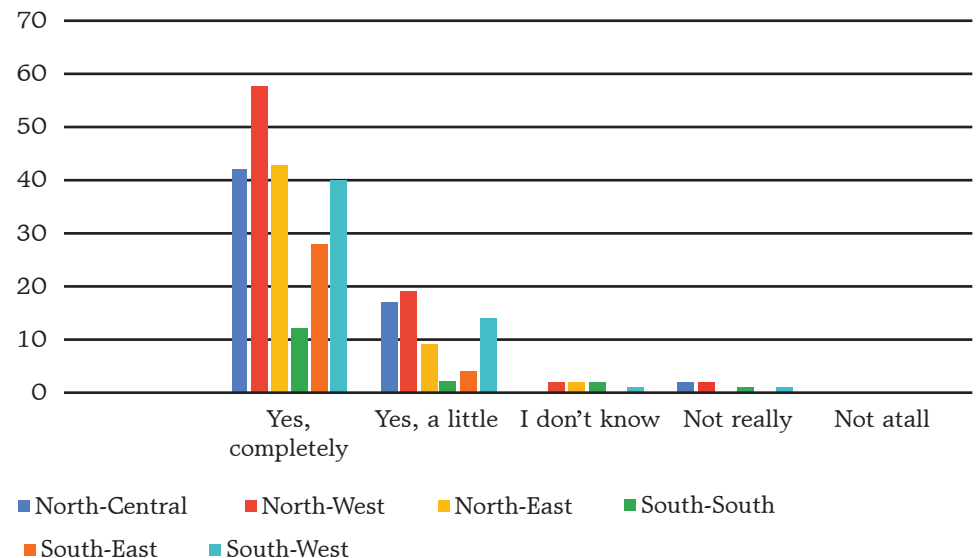


PART 3: PERCEPTION ON THE NATURE OF THE #ENDSARS PROTEST

When asked the question “In your opinion, were the protesters peaceful”, the majority of respondents answered “Yes, completely” followed by “Yes, a little”. There were no respondents who responded with the option, “Not at all”.

Table 7: Breakdown of responses on the nature of the protests

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|
| Yes, completely | 226 | 74.3% |
| Yes, a little | 65 | 21.4% |
| I don't know | 8 | 2.63% |
| Not really | 5 | 1.64% |
| Not at all | 0 | 0% |
| N= 304 | | |



74% of respondents believed the protesters were completely peaceful. This correlates with the claims by the protesters and members of the public that the protests were peaceful.

Despite the testimonies and evidence available, contrary claims have been published in the media accusing the protesters of violence. Various Government officials have also come out with statements claiming that the protesters were responsible for violence across the country.

About 22% of respondents across all regions answered: "Yes, a little" to the question. The North-Central region recorded the highest number with 27.6% of responders believing that the protests were a little peaceful followed by the South-West region with 25%.

The South-East region recorded the highest number of respondents who believe that the protests were completely peaceful with 87.5%, followed by 79.6% from the North-East region

PART 4: TRUST IN THE GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROTEST

The Nigerian Government has come under scrutiny multiple times after outcries from the people concerning a lack of infrastructure and worsening conditions of the country. The general perception of the people is that the Government appears inattentive to the requests and only aims to benefit and reprioritize funds. Reports of decades of mismanagement have resulted in decreased trust in the Government. This is evident in the response to the question "Do you believe that the Government sent thugs to disrupt the protests?"

Only less than 1% of the respondents believe that the Government played no role in disrupting the protests. 1.3% of respondents fell into the "Other" category, believing that while the Government may not have played a direct role in the disruption, they knew the parties that

initiated the disruption. 78% of respondents believed the Government played a role, while 20% were unsure of what to believe.

Table 8: Breakdown of responses of government involvement

| Responses | Frequency |
|------------------|---------------|
| Yes, they did | 237 |
| No, they did not | 1 |
| I don't know | 63 |
| Other | 4 |
| | N= 304 |

Over 80% of respondents from most of the southern regions responded positively when asked about the Government's involvement in the disruption of the protests; with 84.4% of respondents from the South-East, and 82.1% from the South-West answering Yes. The South-South region appeared the most unsure with 31.5% of respondents answering, "I don't know" when asked about the role of the Government. The Northern regions also appeared unsure with 27.4% of respondents from the North-Central and 22.2% from the North East answering "I don't know" when asked about Government participation. The respondents from North West region also believed strongly that the Government disrupted the protests with 81.5% answering "Yes, they did".

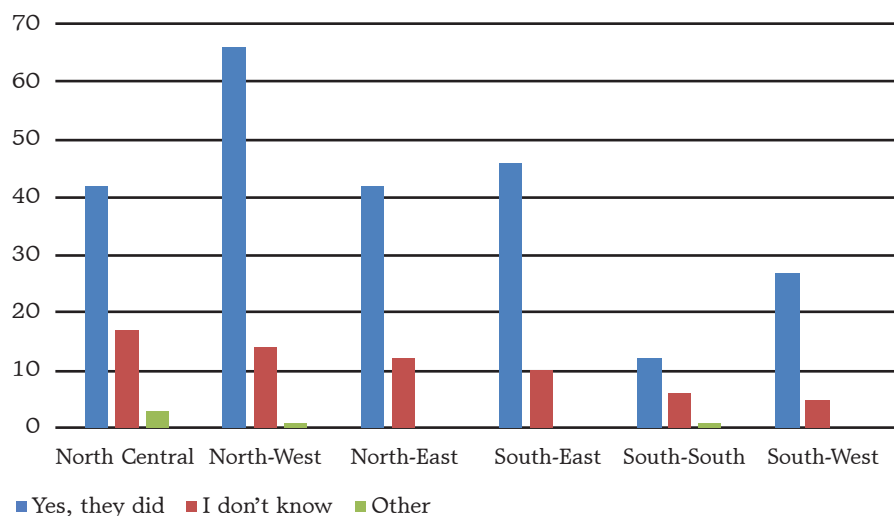


Figure 5: Regional Breakdown of responses on government involvement

The events of the night of the Lekki Toll Gate Massacre have come under much scrutiny and analysis amidst the varying reports and statements from the Lagos State Governor, Babajide Sanwo-Olu, the Nigerian Army and the Presidency. The State Governor initially denied claims of the Army’s involvement and alleged that no killings had occurred. He later admitted during an interview with CNN that the Nigerian Army was involved in the incident. Lagos State set up a panel of inquiry with the expectations that the panel would, through eyewitness accounts and video evidence, provide a detailed timeline of the events that led to the incident at the toll gate resulting in the death of protesters.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND ARMY’S INVOLVEMENT

Responders were asked “Do you believe that the Government sent the army/police to the Lekki toll gate? And the army killed protesters?”, 83% believed that the Government was involved and that there were casualties in the aftermath, while 16% of respondents were unsure.

The Nigerian Army has admitted to being present at the Lekki Tollgate on the evening of October 20, 2020. While the Army denies casualties and intentions of causing harm, it admits to its soldiers firing weapons while insisting they fired blank shots. A documentary by CNN chronicling the events of that day highlights the signs which indicate that the shots may not have been blanks.

Table 9: Breakdown of responses on government and army involvement

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage |
|--|---------------|------------|
| Yes, I believe. And that some Nigerians died | 253 | 83.2 |
| Yes, I believe. But nobody died | 3 | 1 |
| No. I don't believe it. It is all fake news | 0 | 0 |
| I don't know what to believe | 48 | 15.8 |
| | N= 304 | |

The northern regions appeared the most unsure when asked about the role of the Government and the death of some of the protesters. 21% of respondents from the North-Central answered “I don’t know what to believe” followed by 18.5% from both the North-East and North-West regions.

The Southern regions appeared to have the least doubt on the role of the army and the Government in the deaths of some protesters. 12.5% from the South-East region, 10.5% from the South-South and 7.1% from the South-West answered “I don’t know what to believe” to the question.

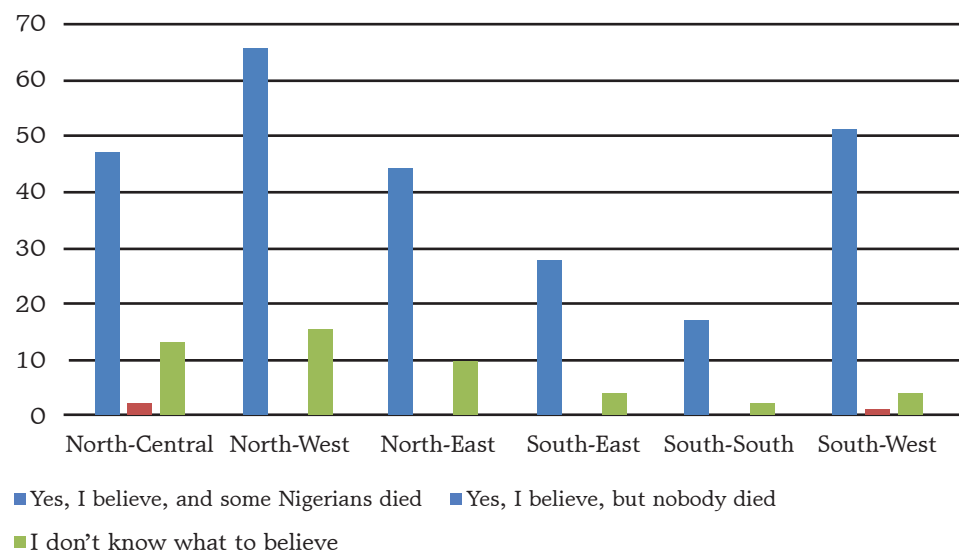


Figure 6: Regional Breakdown of perceptions on army's involvement

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

On the 22nd of October 2020, two days after the Lekki Massacre, The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari

finally addressed the nation after numerous calls from the public to say something. There had been no prior acknowledgement of the protests from him since the protests took off in early October. During the President's speech, different aspects related to the protests and the demands of the protests were addressed but the events of the Lekki massacre was not mentioned.

Respondents were asked, “Do you think the president's speech sufficiently addressed the real issues Nigerians were advocating for?”. 80.5% of respondents said “No, he didn't address any of the real issues”, this response correlates with the feedback from the public and media publications.

Table 10: Perception of the President's Speech

| Perception of the President's speech | Percentage |
|--|------------|
| Yes, he addressed everything | 0% |
| Yes, but he only addressed some | 10.90% |
| No, he didn't address any of the real issues | 80.50% |
| I don't know | 7.90% |

About 11% of respondents believed some of the issues were addressed and 8% did not know what to believe. Of the respondents who believed the President's speech addressed some of the real issues, 30% are from the North-East region and 24% from both the North-Central and North-West regions. The Southern regions of the country recorded the least number of respondents who believed the real issues were addressed.

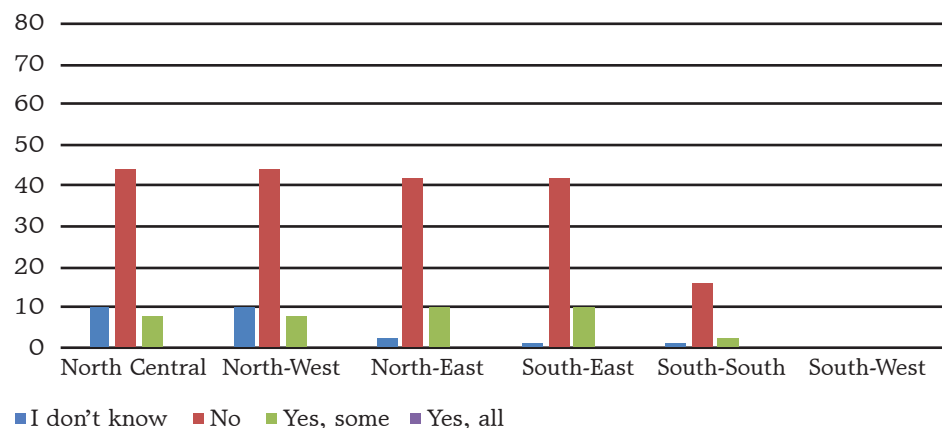


Figure 7: Regional breakdown of perceptions on the President's speech

PART 5: PERCEIVED CHANGES OR LACK OF IT IN THE SECURITY ARCHITECTURE OF NIGERIA

PERCIEVED CHANGE IN POLICE ATTITUDE

Due to decades of mistreatments and abuse of power by its officers, the relationship between the Nigerian Police Force and its citizens has led to a general lack of trust and reliance in their capabilities to protect its people. This appears to have led to indifference by many members of the public and is evident in the response to the question "Since Buhari's speech do you think the police's attitude has changed towards Nigerians?".

66% of responders said the police attitude has remained the same, 30% of responders claimed the attitude from the police has worsened and 1% believed that the attitude change was positive.

Table 11: Breakdown of responses on police attitude

| Responses | Frequency | Percentage% |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Yes, for the better | 3 | 1 |
| Yes, for the worse | 91 | 30 |
| It is still the same | 201 | 66.1 |
| I don't know | 9 | 3 |
| N=304 | | |

Three regions; the North-Central, South-West and South-South recorded a small percentage of respondents who believed that the attitude of the police had changed for the better since the President's speech. The South-South region had 5% of respondents with that belief while the South-West and North-Central regions recorded less than 2%.

All regions recorded respondents who believed the police's attitude had changed for the worse with at least 20% of respondents from every region responding with that answer. The North-East region had the most, with 40% of responses from that region believing that the attitudes had worsened and 34% of respondents from the South-West region believing the same.

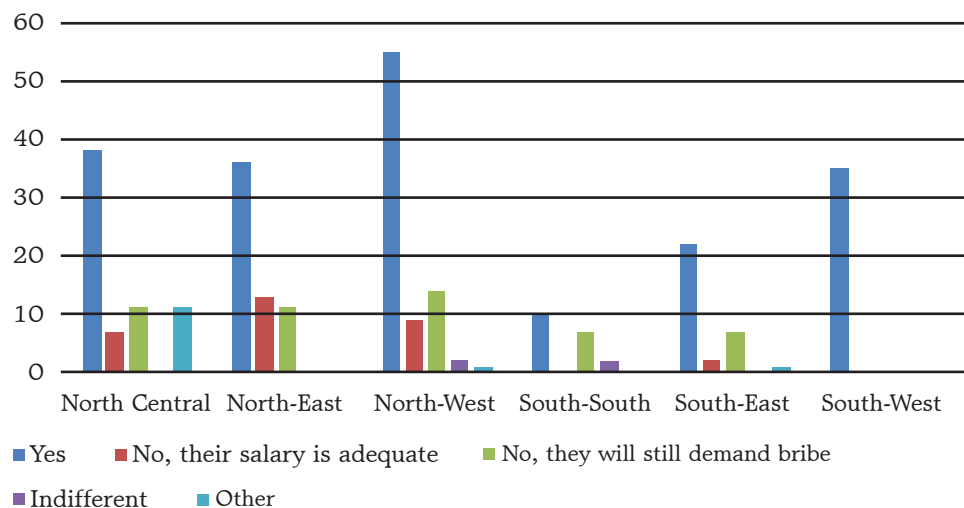


Figure 8: Regional breakdown of perceptions on changes in police attitude

SALARY INCREMENT

The Nigeria Police Trust Fund Act was signed into force in 2019 and detailed plans for the Nigeria Police Trust Fund which aims to improve police welfare by providing funding which in part would be allocated for the training and retraining of officers and personnel of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF). Since its enactment, there has been little clarity on plans for its implementation; the Board of Trustees and the Chairman of the Board were elected and approved by the President in May 2020.

This Act is following decades of underfunding for the NPF which has resulted in the ability to perform its primary function of safeguarding the people and upholding peace.

Salaries are low which leads to low retention rates and an understaffed force in many States, thus despite the lack of trust in the police by some members of the public, when asked “Should the

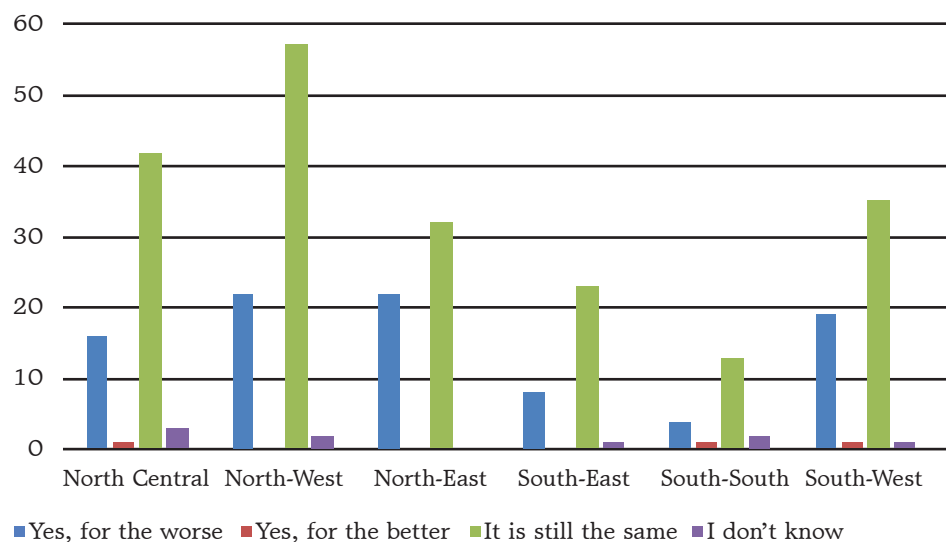
Government increase the salaries of policemen?”, 64% of responders answered “Yes”.

18% of responders believed the policemen would still demand bribe and no salary increments were appropriate and 11% of responders believed the police are paid adequately, 4% of respondents answered “Other” with reasons including that all sectors are underfunded and called for a pay raise for all essential workers and reforms before the salaries increment are applied.

Table 12: Breakdown of responses on salary increment

| Responses | Frequency |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Yes | 196 |
| No. Their salary is adequate | 34 |
| No. they will still demand bribe | 58 |
| Indifferent | 4 |
| Other | 12 |
| | N=304 |

About 25% of respondents from the North-Eastern region believed that the salaries of policemen were adequate and thus a salary increase was not required followed by 11% of respondents from the North-West and North-Central regions. The Southern regions recorded lower percentages of respondents who believed policemen were paid adequately.



5. An increase in the salaries of personnel of the Nigerian Police Force
 When respondents were asked “Do you believe the government should start dismissing and prosecuting policemen who have been killing Nigerians?”, 81% of respondents answered yes while 17% were indifferent to the question.

Figure 9: Regional breakdown on perceptions on salary increments for the police

PART 6: RIGHTING WRONGS/RESTITUTION

#5FOR5

The protesters made 5 demands to be met by the Nigerian government on October 11, 2020 and they included:

1. The immediate release of all arrested protesters
2. Justice and compensation for all deceased victims and families of police brutality
3. An independent body for the investigation and prosecution of reports of police misconduct
4. In line with the new Police Act, psychological evaluation and retraining of disbanded SARS officials before they are redeployed

Table 7: Thoughts on Prosecution of erring Police officers

| Options | N | Percentage% |
|---|-----|-------------|
| Yes, I do | 247 | 81.30 |
| Yes, but the Government is already doing that | 1 | 0.32 |
| No, Nigerians need heavy handedness from police | 52 | 17.10 |
| Other | 3 | 1 |

from the Government. The “Other” thoughts expressed by respondents included receiving an apology or compensation because it is the right thing to do and additional compensation should be to yield to the demands for which the victims died.

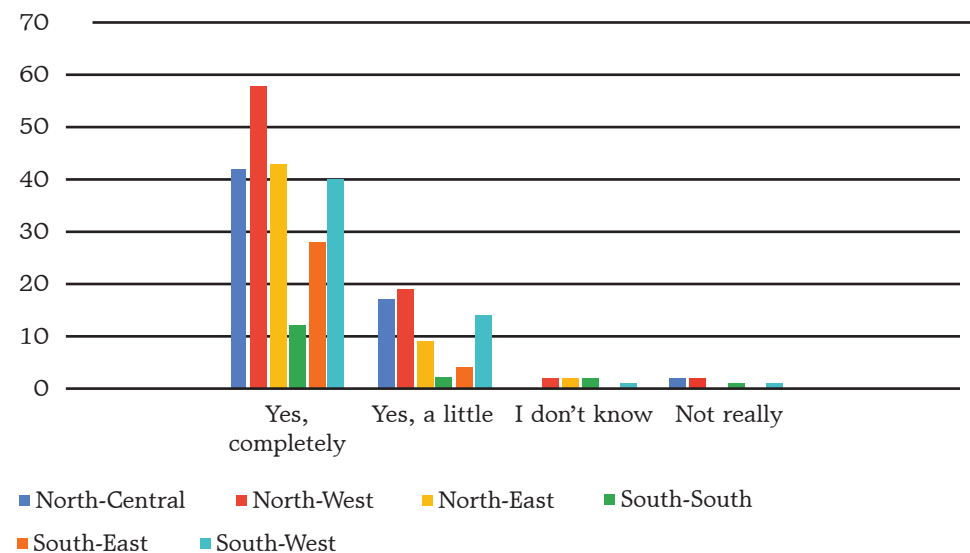


Figure 10: Regional breakdown of perceptions on restitution by Government

The Northern regions appeared the most indifferent to the question on dismissing and prosecuting policemen with 9% from the North-East, 11% from the North-West and 13% from the North-Central. The Southern regions recorded between 5 and 7% for indifference to the question.

RESTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT

Respondents were asked, “Should the families of dead Nigerians receive an apology and compensation from the Government?”. 88% of responders said they should get both an apology and compensation, while 5% of responders claimed indifference. No respondent believed that the victims were not entitled to an apology and compensation. 40% of respondents who selected the “Other” option said they didn’t know if the victims should receive anything

Table 8: Thoughts on Restitution

| Options | N |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Yes, they should get both | 268 |
| Yes, but only an apology | 7 |
| Indifferent | 17 |
| No, they shouldn't | 0 |
| Other | 12 |

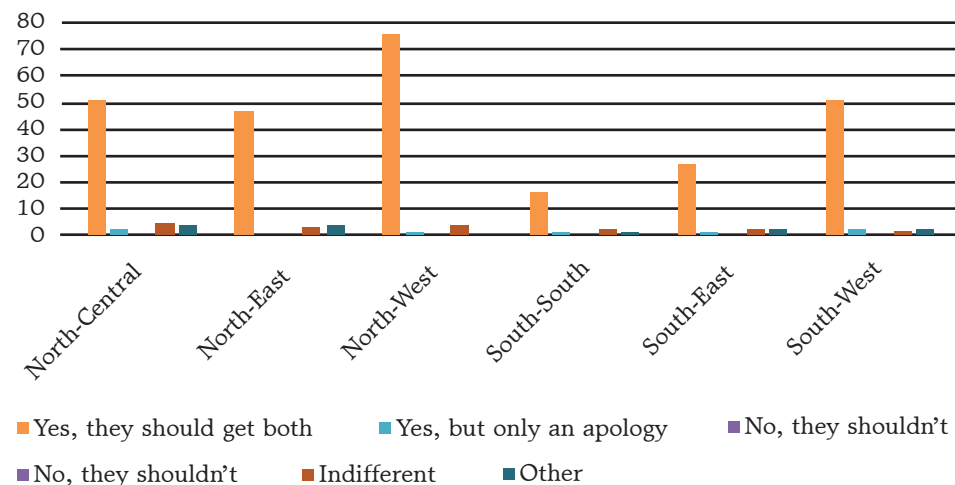


Figure 11: Regional breakdown of perceptions on restitution

Over 80% of respondents from each region believed that victims should receive both an apology and compensation from the Government. The North-West region reported the most affirmative responses with 93.8% followed by the South-West with 91%. Respondents from the South-South region appeared the most indifferent with 10.5% of respondents selecting that option followed by 8% from the North-Central and 6% from the South-East region.

Conclusion

The October 2020 EndSARS protests saw a global call for the end to police brutality following years of experiences with the SARS unit. Respondents of the survey were sourced from all 36 states of the Federation to garner a sense of the general public's understanding and perceptions on the protests and the Government's role and response.

This awakening of the Nigerian people comes following the overall sense of distrust felt towards the Government even amidst the woes during the COVID crisis and lockdown. The protests occurred in various states in the country and thus the majority of respondents were aware of the reasons for the call to EndSARS. Social media platforms were highly utilised for information seeking with WhatsApp and Twitter coming out as the top 2 sources used for information by the respondents. Twitter was at the forefront during the platform and was used in strategizing and mobilising funds. It was also used as a means of circulating the news to a global audience and garnering supports from international parties.

Despite the general displeasure felt towards the police, most respondents believed that they were underpaid and a salary increase was necessary. Respondents also believed that restitution was necessary for the victims of police brutality.

This research illuminates the perceptions of the people on an event that has become a part of the history of Nigeria while speaking to the consistent lack of accountability displayed by the Government.

References

- Aljazeera.com. 2017. Aljazeera. [online] Available at:
<<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/15/nigerians-want-polices-sars-force-scrapped/>>
[Accessed 2 December 2020].
- Aljazeera.com. 2020. Aljazeera. [online] Available at:
<<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2020/10/22/sars-a-brief-history-of-a-rogue-unit>>
[Accessed 2 December 2020].
- Amnesty.org. 2018. Amnesty. [online] Available at:
<<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/08/nigeria-sars-overhaul-is-positive-step-but-reforms-must-be-robust/>> [Accessed 2 December 2020].
- BBC News. 2018. BBC. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-46138284>>
[Accessed 2 December 2020]
- BellaNaija. 2017. Bellanaija. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bellanaija.com/2017/12/sars-nigerians-take-streets-protest/>> [Accessed 2 December 2020].
- Daily Post Nigeria. 2019. Daily Post Nigeria. [online] Available at:
<<https://dailypost.ng/2019/01/21/breaking-igp-adamu-disbands-f-sars/>>
[Accessed 2 December 2020].
- Hari, S., 2014. The Evolution of Social Protest in Nigeria: The Role of Social Media in the “#OccupyNigeria” Protest. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 3(9), pp.33-39.
- Sahara Reporters. 2018. Sahara Reporters. [online] Available at:
<<http://saharareporters.com/2018/08/14/after-osinbajos-order-police-rename-sars-federal-special-anti-robbery-squad-fsars>> [Accessed 2 December 2020].
- The Guardian Nigeria News - Nigeria and World News. 2020. Guardian. [online] Available at:
<<https://guardian.ng/life/history-of-protests-in-nigeria-reactions-and-consequences-2/>> [Accessed 2 December 2020].

Annexes

The table below shows the total number of respondents by State and the state-wide breakdown of responses to the question, “Do you know why Nigerians are calling for an end to SARS?”.

| States | Yes | No | N(No of Respondents) |
|-------------|-----|----|----------------------|
| Abia | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Adamawa | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Akwa Ibom | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Anambra | 17 | 0 | 17 |
| Bauchi | 9 | 1 | 10 |
| Bayelsa | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Benue | 11 | 2 | 13 |
| Borno | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Cross River | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Delta | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Ebonyi | 2 | 1 | 3 |

| States | Yes | No | N(No of Respondents) |
|---------|-----|----|----------------------|
| Edo | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Ekiti | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Enugu | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Gombe | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Imo | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Jigawa | 3 | 15 | 18 |
| Kaduna | 11 | 2 | 13 |
| Kano | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Katsina | 22 | 5 | 27 |
| Kebbi | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| Kogi | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Kwara | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Lagos | 36 | 2 | 38 |

| States | Yes | No | N(No of Respondents) |
|----------|-----|----|----------------------|
| Nasarawa | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Niger | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| Ogun | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Ondo | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Osun | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Oyo | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Plateau | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Rivers | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Sokoto | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Taraba | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Yobe | 9 | 3 | 12 |
| Zamfara | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| FCT | 17 | 0 | 17 |
| | | | 304 |

Questionnaire

#ENDSARS PROTESTS TELEPHONE SURVEY QUESTIONS

[Good morning/afternoon]

My name is (insert name) from Silverchip fox Consulting. A firm based in Abuja and in collaboration with The Initiative for Equal Rights (TIERS), we are conducting research on the EndSARS protests that occurred across the country over the past month.

I am contacting you because we would like to know your opinion with regards to the Protests. We would just like to know your thoughts on the events that occurred during that time.

Please note that your personal information and responses will not be shared with anyone outside our organisation and TIERS and if at any point during this survey you would like to discontinue please feel free to do so.

Do I have your consent to proceed with the questions?

Now to begin...]

Questions

1. Do you know why Nigerians are calling for an end to SARS?

- a. Yes (say what it is)
- b. No

2. What is your main source of information on the End SARS protest? [select all that apply]

- a. Twitter
- b. Facebook
- c. WhatsApp
- d. Instagram
- e. Radio
- f. Television
- g. Newspapers
- h. Other (please specify)

3. In your opinion, were the EndSARS protesters peaceful?

- a. Yes completely
- b. Yes, a little
- c. I don't know
- d. Not really
- e. Not at all

4. Do you believe that the government sent thugs to disrupt the protests?

- a. Yes, they did
- b. No they did not
- c. I don't know

5. Do you believe that the government sent the army/police to the Lekki toll gate? And the army killed protesters?

- a. Yes, I believe. And that some Nigerians died
- b. Yes, I believe. But nobody died
- c. No, I don't believe it. It is all fake news
- d. I don't know what to believe

6. Do you think the president's speech sufficiently addressed the real issues Nigerians were advocating for?

- a. Yes, he addressed everything
- b. Yes, he only addressed some
- c. No, he didn't address any of the real issues
- d. I don't know
- e. Other

7. Since Buhari's speech do you think the police attitude has changed towards Nigerians?

- a. Yes (for the worse)

- b. Yes for the better
- c. It is still the same

8. Do you believe the government should start dismissing and prosecuting policemen who have been killing Nigerians?

- a. Yes, I do.
- b. Yes, but the government is already doing that.
- c. Indifferent.
- d. No, Nigerians need heavy handedness from police.
- e. Other

9. Should the families of dead Nigerians receive an apology and compensation from the government?

- a. Yes, they should get both
- b. Yes, but only an apology.
- c. Indifferent
- d. No, they shouldn't.
- e. Other

10. Should the government increase the salaries of policemen?

- a. Yes.
- b. No. Their salary is adequate.
- c. No. They will still demand bribe
- c. Indifferent.
- d. other

[That's all the questions I have for you. Thank you for participating in this survey.]

- b. Yes, a little



ABOUT SILVERCHIP FOX CONSULTING

Silverchip Fox Consulting is our communal effort and an independent consultancy offering evidential support for decision-making, public and legal affairs services across a range of sectors in Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

Our Media

- Facebook: Silverchipfox Consulting
- Twitter: SilverchipFoxC
- Instagram: SilverchipFoxC

Our Contact

info@silverchipfox.com
+2347054515096

ABOUT THE INITIATIVE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

The Initiative for Equal Rights (TIERs) is a Nigeria-based registered non-for-profit organisation working to create a society where human rights are guaranteed regardless of status, identity, orientation and affiliation. We exist to protect, uphold and promote the rights and humanity of all Nigerians through advocacy, empowerment, education, and the provision of safe platforms of convergence. We were founded in 2005 as a response to the discrimination and marginalisation of sexual minorities in both HIV prevention programming, human rights protection, advocacy, and mainstream human rights work.

Our Media

- Facebook: TIERs Nigeria
- Twitter: @TIERsNigeria
- Instagram: @TIERsNigeria
- Website – www.theinitiativeforequalrights.org

Our Contact

info@initiative4equality.org



www.theinitiativeforequalrights.org