

**Nonviolence Mechanism and Conflict Resolution: Study of the EndSARS Movement  
in Nigeria**

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## **Certification**

This is to certify that **Oyewumi Joel Ogunmakin** with matriculation number LCU/PG/0001436 carried out this research work titled “**Nonviolence as a Mechanism of Conflict Resolution: Study of EndSARS Movement in Nigeria**” in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo state, for the award of Master Degree (M.SC) in Peace and Conflict Studies and that this has not been previously submitted.

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to God who made it possible for me to complete this programme in good health.

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### **Acknowledgement**

My profound gratitude goes to Lead City University for giving me the academic space to learn my desired course. I will also thank all the members of staff at the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, for imparting peace knowledge in me. I acknowledged the usefulness of the university library for the resources used in gathering information. In addition to that, I am also grateful to International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC) for giving me the platform to search for reliable data on the topic.

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“Even though the above-mentioned institutions and persons have assisted in the process of this research work, I alone stand responsible for the errors, if any, found in the work”.

## **Abstract**

In every democratic system of government, the state through its security agencies is saddled with the responsibility of ensuring the welfare of its citizens irrespective of their ethnic and religious identities. Nigerian youths have been experiencing different forms of abuse such as extra judicial killings, illegal detention and extortion, and so on from the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and the members of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF). On 8<sup>th</sup> of October, 2020, the youth expressed their frustration and dissatisfactions by protesting in strategic government places. Although, the use of protest is one out of many other methods of nonviolence as a potent means of conflict resolution and social transformation. The study relied on secondary sources of data, hence, the historical and explanatory research design was used to elicit information on EndSARS movement in Nigeria and how nonviolence can be used as a mechanism of conflict resolution. However, the findings of this research revealed that unemployment, poverty, injustice, lack of rule of law, complete disregard for education and bad governance are the conflictual issues that led to the EndSARS protest. In addition to that, the success of nonviolent movement in other countries could serve as effective means of conflict resolution in Nigeria. The study, therefore, conclude that the adoption of nonviolent methods such as protest, strikes, boycotts and so on is capable of forcing desired social change in Nigeria. The study recommends that the ‘ruling elite’ need to ensure that adequate empowerment and development is done for the youth if truly they are to be the leaders of tomorrow.

**Keywords:** Conflict, Nonviolence, Democracy, Nigeria, EndSARS,

**Word Count:** 258

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#### **List of Acronyms**

##### **Abbreviation**

##### **Meaning**

AI	Amnesty International
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APC	All Progressives Congress
ASUP	Academic Staff Union of Polytechnics
ASUU	Academic Staff Union of Universities
AU	African Union
BBOG	Bring Back Our Girls
EIE	Enough Is Enough
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPI	Global Poverty Index
IEC	Igbo Elder's Council
IGP	Inspector General of Police
ILO	International Labour Organization
IRG	Intelligence Response Team
LCC	Lekki Concession Company
LCCI	Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MDA	Ministries, Departments, and Agencies
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAVCO	Nonviolent and Violent Conflict Outcome
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NPF	Nigerian Police Force
PRONACO	Pro-National Conference Organization
SAN	Senior Advocate of Nigeria
SARS	Special Anti-Robbery Squad
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
STS	Special Tactical Squad
SWAT	Special Weapon and Tactics Team
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children Educational Fund

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**Chapter One**

**Introduction**

## 1.1 Background to the Study

Conflict is a phenomenon that is accepted as inevitable in any given society. Conflicts can have a variety of causes which may be political, economic, and cultural but they are always part of life in the society. Since the United Nations was created 77 years ago, the nature of war and violence between states and terrorist groups has radically morphed<sup>1</sup>. Conflicts today are less lethal and are fought more often between domestic groups than between governments. Although, the number of deaths has declined globally since 1946, despite this, conflict and violence are on the rise with many wars now fought by non-state actors such as political militias, criminal organizations, and international terrorist groups<sup>2</sup>.

However, regional conflicts that remain unresolved, a collapse of political institutions, illegal economic gain, and resource shortages worsened by climate change are now considered as the main causes of conflict in the world today. The World Bank reported in 2016 that, most violent conflicts in the world took place five years ago which was a record-breaking year. Conflicts are thus becoming increasingly dispersed and because of the Syrian Civil War, the number of armed organizations has risen from eight to several thousand since the conflict began<sup>3</sup>. Violence or crime kill more people nowadays than war. In 2017, the United Nations reported that homicides claimed the lives of over half a million individuals throughout the world faster than 89,000 people who were murdered in active wars and 19,000 people who were killed in various terrorist acts<sup>4,5</sup>.

In Africa, conflict is endemic and systemic. It is endemic because it is constantly present on the continent. It is also systemic because the systems structures and institutions in most African countries encourage conflict<sup>6</sup>. Structural violence which was first discussed in 1969 is defined to mean inequality, particularly when it comes to the distribution of power in a social structure. As a result, structural violence occurs when necessities for a society's

survival, such as healthcare and medication, education, adequate food and water, and security are restricted to the wealthy or powerful<sup>7</sup>.

Conflicts in Africa are largely the result of national governance crises, lack of dividends of democracy, and the failure of African governments to mediate conflict in an effective manner. In the Sahel region, both Burkina Faso and Mali's administrations are fragile, as seen by the spike in violence this year in both nations. Other states in Africa are lacking behind the ladder of development. For example, many of these states are still at the mercy of China either for loans, debt relief, or developmental projects. At the institutional level, the 'silencing the guns' initiative by the African Union (AU) aimed at all conflict, civil wars, gender-based violence, and preventing genocide on the continent by 2020 still needs a miracle for its achievement on the continent<sup>8</sup>.

In Nigeria, the situation is extremely bad to the extent that most of the citizens tend to lack faith in the current system or trust in the government because their safety is not guaranteed in any region of the country. This and many more issues made Former President Olusegun Obasanjo described the country as a state currently soaked in "dripping bitterness and sadness". He further reiterated that bad leadership has made the country unachievable<sup>9</sup>. It must however be pointed out that, Nigeria is 'neck-deep' by multiple challenges which this research will not be able to list.

Poverty and lack of integration or unity, corruption, banditry, kidnapping, farmer-herders crisis and/conflict, political competition and ethnic crisis, religious crisis, regional separatist agitation and high unemployment rate, and terrorism are some of the problems and issues facing the development of Nigeria<sup>10</sup>. For example, the Igbo Elders of Council (IEC) in the South East recently alleged that more than 5000 Igbo youths and over 10,000 others have

been killed and thrown into detention camps in the ongoing special security operations in the region<sup>11</sup>.

The level of insecurity in Nigeria challenges the country's foundation. With every attack, human lives are lost or permanently harmed, and trust in democracy and the country is decreasing. Since the beginning of Nigeria's newest and lucrative business of abduction in March 2020, at least 1409 pupils have been abducted from their classrooms. The kidnapping in Zamfara state is one among the 19 cases in which 17 instructors/teachers, together with their kids, were kidnapped and at least ₦220 million in ransom was paid<sup>12</sup>. Sadly enough, 16 of the victims have died. In his legendary book "The Trouble With Nigeria", the author emphasized that the problem with Nigeria is purely leadership failure and nothing more<sup>13</sup>.

Every political power grows at the barrel of the gun and this means most authoritarian regimes use political power or gun to intimidate citizens. Nigerians, most especially the youths, have had enough of illegal arrest and unemployment, illegal detention, lack of trust in political office holders and elected representatives and the growing insecurity in the country. The killing of a young man in a viral video in Delta state triggered the EndSARS protest that was launched in all parts of the country except in some northern states<sup>14</sup>. Protest, sit-ins, strikes, displaying placards, banners, and posters which were used during the EndSARS protest are methods, techniques and tactics of nonviolence.

Nonviolence in this context is however conceived as the employment of nonviolent means, rather than force, to effect political or social change<sup>15</sup>. In other words, civil resistance or nonviolent action is the technique of accomplishing goals without resorting to any form of violence. This is done through mass protests, symbolic demonstrations, civil disobedience, economic or political noncooperation, and other means. This

technique has been useful in forcing social change and regime change in some of the countries of the world. For example, nonviolence technique toppled the administration of Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia. In Philippines, the people, power, movement ousted Marcos Ferdinand in 1986, the singing revolution in Estonia, and the Orange Revolution that annulled the previous fraud election in Ukraine<sup>15</sup>.

It is also important to explain that nonviolence as a method of enforcing social change has failed in some cases such as the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989, the Russian Revolution and the Algerian Revolution. Some are of the opinion that nonviolence work when trying to seek environmental reform or racial discrimination in a country and it does not really work when trying to force a social or political change. Moreover, it is important emphasize that no government in the world can withstand it if 3.5% or 5% of their population stand against them<sup>16</sup>. Hence, people power movement or nonviolence provide avenue for every citizens to participate in the affairs of their country.

Once civil resistance or nonviolence attract diverse participation, it is most guaranteed that the movement will then link to security forces, civilians, bureaucrats, education elite, state media, religious authorities and so on. This was the case with the EndSARS protest that started on 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2020 in Lagos. This mass demonstrations against police brutality later spread to other states in the country to express their frustrations and dissatisfaction on the activities of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS).

The EndSARS protest adopt a mix of online and offline techniques and was popularly associated with the hashtag #EndSARS or #EndPoliceBrutality in Nigeria. During the protest, over hundreds of thousands signed and submitted an online petition calling for the disbandment of the SARS operation and citing their reasons for calling for such actions<sup>17</sup>.

To attest their support for the protest, major celebrities and human right activists joined the

protest. During the protest, the economic activities of the country were down and Nigeria lost lots of millions if not billions to the inability of the people to move from one place to another. Meanwhile, Nigeria was just recovering from the negative effect of covid-19 that has significant effect to the economy, the EndSARS protest had more salt to the injury when restriction, lockdown and curfew were placed on the movement of the people. The controversial killings of peaceful protesters on October 20, 2020 erupt a mix feeling on whether nonviolence or civil resistance can be viewed as a method of conflict resolution. It is against this backdrop that this research examine the EndSARS protest and how nonviolence can be used as a method of conflict resolution in Nigeria.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

In every democratic system of government, the state through its security agencies is saddled with the responsibility of ensuring the welfare of its citizens irrespective of their ethnic and religious identity. After years of horrible stories of extortion, human right abuse, extra judicial killings and detentions in the hands of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and the members of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), the youth took the streets to protest their dissatisfaction in the activities of these security forces. On 8<sup>th</sup> of October, 2020, the most famous and historic protest in Nigeria started in Lagos with the sole aim of calling for the dissolution of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS).

However, peaceful methods of resolving disputes include protest, boycotts, sit-ins, and large-scale rallies. Therefore, the use of nonviolent measures rather than force to bring about political or social change is referred to as nonviolence. SARS officials in Nigeria frequently target and jail young people by accusing them of being cyber-fraudsters based only on the fact that they own a smartphone and a laptop. Additionally, SARS personnel frequently kidnap citizens and demand absurd ATM withdrawals in payment for their release.

Meanwhile, the two weeks EndSARS protest had a negative impact on the economy of the country because there was a sharp drop in the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the country and the recovering of the assets burnt and vandalized cost the government a lot of money which would have been used for development project. Previous research has been done on the impact of EndSARS protest on the Nigeria economy but none has been done on EndSARS protest and how nonviolence can be used as a method of conflict resolution, using the EndSARS protest as the case study. Hence, this research filled the gap by contributing to the existing knowledge in this area.

### **1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The core focus of the study is to examine EndSARS protest and how nonviolence can be used as a method of conflict resolution in Nigeria. Specifically, the objectives of the study are:

- i. identify the conflictual issues that led to the emergence of the protest.
- ii. examine how effective is nonviolence as a mechanism of social change in Nigeria.
- iii. investigate the effect of the nonviolent EndSARS protest on the Nigeria economy.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. what are the conflictual issues that led to the emergence of the protest?
- ii. how effective is nonviolence as a mechanism of social change in Nigeria
- iii. what are the effect of nonviolent EndSARS protest have on the economy of Nigeria?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

Youths in are considered to be the embodiment of advancement and transformation in any civilization. Their power, creativity, energy, and innovation are priceless assets that, when used effectively, may reposition a country on the verge of socio-economic, and political revolution. The crux of this research is to examine the EndSARS protest and how nonviolence can be used as a mechanism of conflict resolution and social change in the

Nigeria political space. This research is significant because it will contribute to the already existing literature on nonviolence. It is also significant because it will strengthen democratic values and promote human dignity in Nigeria. Furthermore, the finding of this research will be of immense benefits to government Ministries, Department, Agencies and state and federal house of assembly on how nonviolence can be used as a mechanism of social change.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The major aim of this research is to study EndSARS protest and how nonviolence can be used as a method of conflict resolution in Nigeria. The EndSARS protest is a series of mass demonstration against police brutality and bad governance in Nigeria. The scope of this research be confined to Nigeria which is the area of study. Specifically, the study will cover a period of six (6) years which will be from 2015-2021.

### **1.7 Limitations to the Study**

Limitations are common features of any scientific research especially in the social sciences where researchers are directly involved in the phenomenon under study, One of the limitations that confronted this research is the inability to easily locate relevant and reliable scholarly publications as well as government reports and publications on the topic. However, these limitations did not impede on the realization of the objectives of this study.

### **1.8 Operational Definition of Terms**

**Conflict:** Conflict is known to be any form of tension felt when one individual believes his or her desire or aspirations are going to be hindered or disappointed. Conflict is described as a mismatch of objectives or values between two or more participants in a relationship, along with attempts to dominate each other and antagonistic sentiments toward each other.

**Nonviolence:** In the context of this study, nonviolence is described as the employment of nonviolent means, rather than force, to effect political or social change. It involves a collective activity in the pursuit of social or political objectives. It is nonviolence because, these actions or movements do not support the physical use of force or the threat of physical force(s) against human beings. It must also be noted that the concept of nonviolence is used interchangeably with civil resistance or civil disobedience.

**Violence:** Violence in this study is conceived as a behaviour done with the intent to hurt, damage, and destroy people, institutions and structures. In other words, it involves the use of physical force, weapons and other dangerous materials that can inflict pain and agony to people. It is also the use of power to threaten, destroy and destabilize a group, community and a movement.

**Democracy:** Democracy is a system of government in which the majority rule through their elected representatives. It is described as a system of government in which the power to rule is held by the people and for the people. It is the most widely used system of government because there is no alternative to it.

**Nigeria:** In this study, Nigeria is seen as a state that has a defined territory, a population, a system of government, and that has the ability and capacity to interact with other states within the international system. It is one of the countries that domiciles in the Western part of the African continent. Even though its democratic values are not solid, nevertheless, the country still operates a democratic system of government.

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## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

#### **2.1 Conceptual Review**

##### **2.1.1 Conflict**

The concept of conflict has been studied and reviewed by different scholars, politicians, diplomats, and conflict management practitioners. Despite this conceptual review, there is no consensus on the meaning/definition of the concept. The reason for this assertion is because disputes differ greatly based on the culture of a specific civilization<sup>1</sup>. In a simple form, a conflict is known to be any form of tension felt when one individual believes his or her desire or aspirations are going to be hindered or disappointed. Conflict is described as a mismatch of objectives or values between two or more participants in a relationship, along with attempts to dominate each other and antagonistic sentiments toward each other<sup>2</sup>.

While looking at the definition from the perspective of the people, a scholar noted that the concept of is defined as the practice of disagreeing on public problems that impact the lives of groups, primarily over the methods and objectives of their mutual connections, various interests, and beliefs, as well as their institutions and organizations<sup>3</sup>. In a similar vein to the preceding point, conflict is defined as a disagreement between or among two or more nations, persons, groups, or organizations attempting to achieve acceptance of one's ideas or aims over those of others<sup>4</sup>.

From the above reasons, conflict may be defined as a contradiction or dispute between two or more parties caused by misunderstandings, rivalry for resources, power, and prestige<sup>1</sup>. Conflict may also be defined as a contradiction or dispute between two or more

parties caused by misunderstandings, rivalry for resources, power, and prestige. In other words, it is a disagreement and friction that arise within a group when the belief or actions of members groups are either resisted or unacceptable to one or more members of another group. Conflicts can occur at the individual, group, or organizational levels.

Most definitions of conflict view it as the pursuit of incompatible goals. It is on this premise that some scholars view conflict as a disagreement in the pursuit of incompatible or conflicting requirements, desires, ideas, interests, or individuals. To these scholars, conflict tends to occur when people or groups meet goals that neither party can achieve satisfactorily<sup>5</sup>. A completely different definition was given by another scholar where he emphasized that conflict is a “process that begins when one party thinks another party has negatively impacted or is about to negatively impact something that the first party cares about”. This is definition forced more on perception rather than facts of human interactions as the basis of conflict in society<sup>6</sup>. To be in conflict implies to be opposed to one another. It refers to a conflict between individuals or members of an organization. This type of dispute is present in all human interactions.

In another definition, conflict is seen as the pursuit of incompatible interests and goals by different groups. Armed conflict is the resort to the use of force and armed violence in the pursuit of incompatible and particular interests and goals. The worst form of armed conflict is mass murder and genocide against unarmed civilians. A typical example of mass murder is the killing of 72 people in Benue state in 2018 in a fight between nomadic herdsmen and farmers<sup>7</sup>. Conflict resolution scholars have also argued that conflict has an ontological basis in human needs and it is the denial that causes violent conflicts or causes re-solvable differences to degenerate into armed violence and conflict. The conception of conflict, its management, and resolution has led to terms such as conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and so on.

Conflict may take many different shapes. That is, its nature varies greatly, ranging from nonviolent grievance expression to structural problems and injustice, to blatant use of physical force or violence. Specifically, depending on the conditions, the parties participating in the conflict, and the methods used to resolve disagreements or conflict, the parties involved in the conflict might range from relatively calm institutionalized ethnic conflict to violent struggle, civil war, and ethnic cleansing<sup>8</sup>. Thus, poor communication, rivalry for common but limited resources, contradictory objectives and wants, inequality and social discrimination, access to competitive possibilities, or increasing desire for dominance, power, or status are all possible drivers of conflict<sup>9</sup>.

In other words, conflict is divided into two types: destructive (negative) and productive (positive). Constructive conflicts tackle an issue, generate clarification, enhance problem-solving equity, boost participation and give greater spontaneity in communication, begin growth and build a connection, and increase efficiency<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, in a constructive conflict resolution, partners focus on present concerns rather than previous difficulties, communicate both good and negative sentiments, offer information openly, accept reciprocal blame, and look for commonalities. Both parties benefit, and as a consequence, closeness and trust in the relationship improve<sup>11</sup>.

Destructive conflict, on the other hand, takes energy away from the main goal, damage morale, polarize individuals and organizations and deepen differences, block cooperative activities, cause irresponsible conduct, engender suspicion and distrust, and reduce productivity. In a destructive conflict resolution technique, partners bring up old issues, express only negative sentiments, divulge selective information, focus on individuals rather than issues, and highlight differences, all to reduce change. Some academics likewise avoid categorizing conflict as either helpful or harmful. They want to assume a neutral stance. The social frame of reference is based on the premise that conflict is

normal and unavoidable in all human interactions. Due to the vast variety of potential differences between individuals, the lack of conflict generally indicates the absence of meaningful contact. The method in which conflict is managed, on the other hand, determines whether it is productive or harmful.

From the above definitions, it can be deduced that conflict may be defined as a contradiction or dispute between two or more parties caused by misunderstandings, rivalry for resources, power, and prestige. However, human society's experience has proven that there are degrees of variance in disputes. Intra-personal conflict, inter-personal conflict, inter-group conflict, familial conflict, intra-state conflict, and inter-state conflict are all forms of conflict. This will be explained later.

### **2.1.2 Stages of Conflict**

The stages of the conflict are closely connected to the conflict background. Each conflict has its dynamics, which are defined by many stages and phases of change and transformation. This is because conflict is an expressive, dynamic, and dialectical phenomenon rather than an astatic one. There are five stages of a conflict, which are as follows:

1. **Pre-conflict Stage:** This is a time when the aims of the parties are irreconcilable, which may lead to open confrontation. At this point, the dispute is not well known since the parties involved are attempting to keep it hidden from public view, but communication between them is strained<sup>12</sup>. At this point, there must be a dispute or difference over anything, which might be tangible or immaterial, and when this occurs, conflict begins to emerge and escalate. During this stage, neither the shadow nor the interested parties begin to take sides since the problem in dispute

might be addressed promptly by the two sides or they could join together and establish a common stance to bury their differences.

2. **Confrontation:** This is the conflict's second stage. At this point, the tension becomes apparent. This is characterized by occasional conflict, low levels of violence, parties' quest for allies, resource mobilization, strained relations, and polarization.
3. **Crisis:** This is the third stage of conflict. This represents the peak of the conflict. In violent conflict, this is the stage of the war and intense fighting, leading to killings, injuries, large-scale population displacements and the use of small arms and light weapons and so on<sup>12</sup>.
4. The fourth stage is the belief in the **result/outcome** stage. There is a notion that all disputes will, in some way, pass through this stage. Either one side wins, the other loses, or a cease-fire is proclaimed; one side surrenders, or the government or other third-party intervening forces stronger than the warring parties intervene to enforce a settlement and end the conflict. The key thing at this point is that the violence has subsided, allowing for some conversation or alternate ways of resolving the problem to begin.

### **2.1.3 Outcome of Conflict**

Countries suffer from a wide range of effects as a result of a violent war. The violent conflict kills individuals in a variety of ways, and it is frequently impossible to quantify how many are killed. Civilians and troops are killed in conflict; individuals die as a result of increased illness incidence and violent crime. Wars cause widespread migration and have economic ramifications. It causes unemployment and revenue loss as a result of economic upheaval, infrastructure devastation, uncertainty, increased company costs, and capital flight<sup>13</sup>. In general, given the debates over the constructive and destructive natures

of conflict, it is clear that conflict is neither always constructive nor always harmful. Conflict management is the process of decreasing a conflict's negative and destructive capacity using a variety of tactics and by working with and through the people engaged in the conflict<sup>14</sup>. While conflict is universal, the methods it is communicated and dealt with are not. If we want to learn how to successfully deal with conflict on our own and with others, we must first understand our cultural beliefs about conflict and conflict resolution processes.

#### **2.1.4 Nigeria: An Overview of Structural Conflicts**

Structural conflict in Nigeria is a severe societal disturbance that compels the present system to adapt or modify dramatically to satisfy the alienated and unsatisfied. With special relevance to Nigeria, the structural crisis is manifested in persistent social conflicts that have continued to threaten national integration and unity due to the difficulty of unequal resource distribution and some of the problems such as poverty, mismanagement, police brutality, ethno-religious upheavals, political unrest, boundary disputes, and weak management, to name a few, that encourage and exacerbate conflicts in the country<sup>15</sup>.

One of the fathers of peace studies explained that the core of the structural conflict is that, conflicts are built into society in the form of 'political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, illness, exploitation, inequality, and so on, as sources of conflict'. They are deeply embedded in the social structure and can have negative repercussions since they are politically and economically oppressive in the form of exclusionary and discriminating actions towards specific groups<sup>16,17</sup>.

The depth of the disputes and conflagrations that have accompanied the country's post-independence social interactions indicates that Nigeria is facing an exceedingly

significant structural problem. These manifest as a perceived lack of true federalism and regional autonomy; resource/tax control; the national revenue allocation formula; the establishment of state police forces; the implementation of shariah criminal law in certain northern Nigerian states; and calls for a national conference as evidence of the country's structural conflicts.

The Nigerian society is a social structure characterized by contentious demands for few resources, particularly in the political and economic spheres. It is a civilization characterized by national schisms and man-made conflicts. National ethnic group membership and occupational specialties are challenged by the growing interest of other multiple users in the same or adjacent ecological zones, which creates the conditions for conflict to arise<sup>18</sup>.

The severity or scale of violence, demographic explosion, social fragmentation and decay, sectarian upheaval, communalization of political practice, catastrophic balance between ethnic groups, economic and political fissures and suppressions, and explication of primordial and class interests" are always on the rise. These structural issues contributed to the violent Nigerian civil war as well as other violent conflicts like the Ife/Modakeke conflict, the Jos-Plateau conflict, the Kaduna dispute, the Kafanchan conflict, the Zango/Kataf conflict, the Tiv/Jukun/Fulani conflict, the Aguleri/Umuleri conflict, and the Ezza/Ezzilo conflict and so on.

The structural conflicts have also manifested in agitations by the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Maitatsine uprising and various violent extremisms in Northern Nigeria, including the Boko Haram insurgency, the secessionist agitations and the Niger Delta crises, which have raged in various forms for over five decades. It might be argued that systemic violence began with the discovery

of commercially viable oil resources in the Olobiri village in present-day Bayelsa state in 1958. This and other discoveries fueled what the ‘father of peace’ called characterizes as the “unavoidable impairment of essential human wants,” or “the impairment of human existence that lowers the real degree to which someone is able to fulfill the needs below that which would otherwise be feasible”<sup>16</sup>. This was due to the fact that oil activities began with little respect for the difficulty that the marshy terrain and fragile ecosystem would offer to countries if disrupted, and second, no thought was given to ultimate loss<sup>19</sup>. Significantly, these crises followed a distinct pattern that called into question basic structural concerns pertaining to the country’s budgetary, governance, security, and constitutional systems. However, it is clear that the worries are not necessarily related to public policies or institutional frameworks, but rather to the implementation of public policies and the administration of institutional frameworks.

### **2.1.5 Nonviolence**

In order to understand the concept of nonviolence, it is imperative to associate nonviolence with historical events such as India’s independence struggle on August 15, 1947, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the end of apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994. Nonviolence has also been linked to historical figures such as Mahatma Gandhi of India, Martin Luther King Jr, Nelson Mandela, Aung San Suu Kyi, and the late John Lewis. All of them have the tremendous advantage of providing instances that clearly identify paradigms or phases of development that are unique and distinct from other ideological models that are contemporary with the dominating narrative of violence. Despite the extensive coverage it has gotten in the media in recent decades.

Many academic, diplomats and practitioners have defined nonviolence. It is imperative to understand that nonviolence has two closely related meanings. In the first place, it can

refer to a broad concept of abstaining from violence for moral or religious reasons. Secondly, it can relate to people's peaceful behavior. The Oxford Dictionary defined nonviolence as "the employment of nonviolent means, rather than force, to effect political or social change"<sup>20</sup>. In other words, civil resistance or nonviolent action is the technique of accomplishing goals without resorting to violence. This is done through mass protests, symbolic demonstrations, civil disobedience, economic or political noncooperation, and other means.

As the name implies, nonviolence or nonviolent action is active, that is, it involves a collective activity in the pursuit of social or political objectives. It is nonviolence because, these actions or movements does not support the physical use of force or the threat of physical force(s) against human beings. Specifically, nonviolence entails an active process of applying political, economic, social, emotional, or moral pressure to the wielding of power in contentious interactions between collective actors<sup>21</sup>.

Nonviolent action is non-institutional. This means that, it operates outside the bounds of institutionalized and it is commonly associated with civil resistance. The fundamental principles of nonviolence include refraining from employing physical force to attain a goal or an objective, as well as active participation in fighting oppression, elite dominance, and other types of injustice. As a result, it may be used to resist both direct physical violence and systemic violence.

In an article themed, "*Ghandi's Nonviolence Concept: A Panacea for Peaceful Coexistence in Contemporary Nigeria*", the author defined the concept of nonviolence in two different ways. Firstly, the author sees nonviolence as avoiding the utilization of physical violence particularly as a way of objection or protest. Secondly, she affirmed that nonviolence is the lack of or flexibility from physical violence. She draws her

conclusion that nonviolence is a philosophy that is deeply rooted in the idea that “God is harmless”<sup>22</sup>. Non-violence is directly the negation of physical violence. It entails the use of peace to bring social and political change.

Nonviolence has also been articulated in terms of “unarmed civilian power”. Nonviolence is defined in this context as the application or the use of “unarmed civilian power” through peaceful means such as protests, boycotts, marches, demonstrations, and so on, without employing or inciting physical injury to the adversary. Nonviolence was additionally specified from the point of view of an “unarmed noncombatant power”. From this viewpoint, nonviolence is developed as the application of unarmed power of the citizens making use of nonviolent strategies such as demonstrations, boycotts, demos, strikes and more without utilizing or endangering physical injury versus the challenger<sup>23</sup>.

One of the founding scholars of the concept defined nonviolence the personal habit of being innocuous to oneself and others in all circumstances. It refers to a general concept of abstinence from violence based on moral, religious, or spiritual grounds and stems from the conviction that harming people, animals, or the environment is unnecessary to attain a goal<sup>24</sup>. In another definition, nonviolence is conceived as the act of “resisting injustice” as a response to social demonstrations or a protest against injustice<sup>25</sup>.

From the foregoing, this study concludes that, nonviolence is a peaceful technique of waging conflict using active, nonviolent means such as sit-in, boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience, satire and so on to achieve a goal. Nonviolence is a way of life for activist. Thus, people who live a peaceful style of life express their lives in a certain way based on strong ideals about living a virtuous existence. Cautiously, this idea, nevertheless, does not indicate that all peaceful activities should be nonviolent. Nonviolence may be

characterized as a direct alternative to violent behavior: it comprises the deliberate avoidance of violence in the context of conflict between two or more opponents.

There have been instances of nonviolent actions in a plethora of cultures, historical eras, as well as political contexts. Both the East and the West have experienced it. Both industrialized, developing and less-developed nations have experience some forms of nonviolent action. It has been used in modern democratic systems and in opposition to dictatorships, imperialism, and foreign occupations. A wide variety of causes, groups, and even goals that many people disagree with have been fought for using nonviolence resistance. Additionally, it has been employed to suppress and support societal change. Its usage has occasionally been combined with mild violence, although this has not happened very often.

Nonviolent resistance have involved a variety of issues which varied from the unimportant to the essential issues. This kind of conflict, though largely ignored by scholars, is unquestionably a very old phenomena. The majority of the history of this approach has probably been lost, and what has survived has mostly been disregarded. There are several instances where the practice of peaceful action has little to no connection to governments.

Conflicts between employees and management are a recent example, as are attempts to impose or oppose societal conformity demands. However, nonviolence has also been employed in many other contexts, such as clashes between students and university management, in addition to racial and religious conflicts. Important disputes between the civilian populace and governments have also frequently seen one side using nonviolent action.

#### **2.1.6 Types or Forms of Nonviolence**

In his book, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, published in 1973, Gene Sharp listed about 198 approaches or forms of nonviolence. Since then, nonviolent practitioners and activists have been using these approaches to enforce a social change in their community, society, and states<sup>26,27</sup>. It must be emphasized that these approaches are categorized into three broad areas which are:

### **Nonviolence Protest and Persuasion**

1. Signed Public Statement
2. Institutional declaration
3. Letter in support or opposition
4. Public Speech
5. Mass petition
6. Symbols and Slogans
7. Displaying Placards, Banners, and posters.
8. Television, radio and Records
9. Mock award and Picketing
10. Display of symbolic colours and flags
11. Symbolic colors and painting
12. Protest meetings, Prayers and worship and so on<sup>28</sup>.

### **Noncooperation**

1. Social Disobedience
2. Student/workers strike action
3. Boycotting social affairs
4. Social institution withdrawal
5. Sit-ins/stay-at-home/collective disappearance

6. Customer's boycotts
7. General Strike, Protest strike and Selective strike<sup>28</sup>.

### **Nonviolent Interventions**

1. Sit-in/Stand-in/Pray-in
2. Nonviolent occupation
3. New social patterns
4. Alternative social institutions and communication
5. Dumping
6. Seeking imprisonment<sup>28</sup>.

#### **2.1.7 The Distinction Between Nonviolence and Peace**

In this research, it is important to discuss and make distinction about nonviolence and peace. Firstly, it must be pointed out that both terms are used interchangeably in scholarship. Peace stands for the utmost objective, that is, what one pursues. Peace can also be viewed as a high quality or a perfect state of being, to ensure that a society or community or individual is at peace. However, the distinction between both concept is that, a person, community, or society is never at nonviolence; instead, nonviolence leads a way to achieving justice, social justice and peace. As enunciated in the previous explanations, nonviolence is methods or approach, the technique or the roadway that brings about the objective of peace<sup>29</sup>.

A founding father of peace, claims that a society would certainly understand its "ideal peace" when everyone had the ability to attain their complete physical as well as psychological capacity. This means that, everybody's fundamental needs would certainly be fulfilled and nurtured. In his explanation, he details these needs as survival/security,

identification, health as well as flexibility. While the battle to meet these demands is never-ending, the practice of nonviolence brings the person and community closer to its realization<sup>30</sup>.

Illustrating nonviolence as the method to peace does not always reduce it to a method or weapon of political expediency. Going along the nonviolent path might mean adopting an ideology, as well as making a long-term commitment to an ideal of peace that includes both negative and positive peace notions. In this sense, positive peace is the result of removing the potential for violence, whereas negative peace is the absence of violence. The latter requires the decrease of weapons of mass destruction such as disarmament and the establishment of institutions and norms that allow individuals to meet their full spectrum of fundamental needs while limiting other people's ability to do so<sup>31</sup>.

Nonviolence offers a standard procedure through which an individual or group can look to structure their life, locate their identification, provide their lives a purpose, and also aid to construct to a society towards favorable positive peace.

### **2.1.8 Mahatma Gandhi's Exposition of Nonviolence**

In his attempts to obtain independence from the British, Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi popularized and demonstrated the effectiveness of contemporary nonviolent resistance. Notable proponents of nonviolence include Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, Andrei Sakharov, Martin Luther King, Jr., Vaclav Havel, Gene Sharp, and Lech Walesa. The chronicle of the twentieth century is replete with examples of vehement opposition towards unfair power regimes, tyrants, or external occupation, as witnessed, for example, in the Chinese and Russian Uprisings or liberation battles in Africa and Asia.

In Gandhi's exposition of nonviolence, the word "*Ahimsa*" was regularly used. So, what is Ahimsa? Ahimsa is a Sanskrit phrase that means "not to damage". The term originated

from the Sanskrit root *hims* which mean to-strike; *himsa* on the other hand mean to damage or harm, and *a-himsa* is the inverse, means “to produce no damage”, or “do not harm”<sup>32</sup>. Ahimsa otherwise known as nonviolence, is herein seen as a holistic notion motivated by the assumption that all living creatures do have flare of divine power and that to harm another being is to harm oneself. Gandhi’s Ahimsa has also been linked to the idea that every action, especially aggression, has bad karmic repercussions. Suffice it to say that the notion of ‘Ahimsa’ rose to great prominence in Mahatma Gandhi’s ethical philosophy, which was heavily inspired by the theological precepts of Jainism, an Indian religion. In another explanation, Mahatma Gandhi’s Ahimsa has two meanings. Firstly, it is seen as a type of protest and secondly as a form of anti-violence protest<sup>33</sup>.

As previously stated, Gandhi's ideology is based on the principle of nonviolence and for him, nonviolence, implies ‘love’: love for all living things. This indicates that nonviolence should be practiced by all sentient beings. When the concept of nonviolence in Gandhi’s philosophy is analyzed closely, three fundamental principles emerge:

1. It has a universal appeal.
2. It encourages the development of other moral characteristics such as patience, understanding, and tolerance.
3. It has no limitations in terms of applicability. This indicates that its use is multifaceted<sup>34</sup>.

The Indian mentioned that the Divine Spark exists within most men and also, we should frequently seek to maintain to life or keep that Divine Spark. As a result, he considered nonviolence to be the regulation or the law of our every human being. Nonviolence is the formation of favorable attitude towards the direction of living beings. It stands for the important as well as standard high qualities of the human race and also. For this reason, it

represents mankind's critical and necessary characteristics, and if nonviolence expresses person's life, then violence expresses human's death-instinct<sup>35</sup>.

Truth as well as Non-violence are two concepts linked to the late Indian leader Gandhi and these concepts are two indivisible terms. In the concept of Sanskrit, nonviolence as well as truth are Ahimsa and Satya specifically. These two components serve as the foundation for Gandhi's ideology. He strengthened that There is absolutely nothing besides Truth. Both Truth and also God stands for the greatest fact or the supreme truth. Therefore, both can be determined with each other. No person in the world can reject Truth. Since the atheist does not think in God, God can be rejected or denied but the undeniable truth is that, the atheist cannot reject the power of Truth. Hence, God is recognized with truth<sup>36</sup>.

Ahimsa in the context of nonviolence is a morally aware and engaged person's requirement, not a cowardly reaction to oppression and exploitation. Gandhi thinks that evil may be defeated by virtue and, always, a reverence for life's sacredness. Love is at the heart of nonviolence. Satyagraha, in fact, appears to be a religious quest. It is based on the theological idea that it is only one God who is behind everything and everyone, and as a result, special thought should be given to harmonious interactions with everyone. Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy stresses treating all living things with love. When compassion is prioritized in all that is thought or done, this stress on the sanctity of life is understood. He concisely stated, when reflecting more about sanctity of life<sup>37</sup>.

It appears that the sanctity of human life has been overlooked. The greatest objective is ahimsa. It is only for the courageous, not the fearful or the weak. It is pure self-deception to profit off the deaths of others while deluding oneself into believing that one is being extremely holy and non-violent. It must be noted that, the exposition of nonviolence is a

symbol of infinite love, empathy, and humanism that encompasses a positive holistic attitude toward the creation of a new society or humankind based on love. This is how the principle might be summarized:

1. Respect for one another
2. Comprehending
3. Acceptance
4. Recognizing and accepting diversity/individuality
5. The truth and the completeness of the truth
6. Suffering absorption
7. Nonviolence
8. Trusteeship and Positive Action<sup>37</sup>.

Mahatma Gandhi's above-mentioned concepts may be applied to people of all ages. Another respected proponent of nonviolence Martin Luther King, in his promoting principles of nonviolence for Conflict Resolution campaign to obtain civil rights for African Americans, adopted Gandhi's nonviolent approach. However, it has also been marked by several significant nonviolent struggles. Some are well-known, for example, Gandhi's fights in India and South Africa, Nelson Mandela's apartheid struggle in South Africa, and Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil rights campaign in the United States, while many others are still completely neglected by the general public and academic community. Despite the fact that nonviolent appears to be a weak and ineffective tool in the face of severe power imbalances, it has proven to be a very strategic tool in the hands of marginalized and vulnerable populations seeking to redress structural imbalances and assert entitlement to justice<sup>38</sup>.

The context and settings in which the concept of nonviolence can lead to successful and long-term conflict transformation processes are questions that have yet to be thoroughly investigated, and which this research aims to answer. The dedication to 'social change' and enhanced fairness by peaceful methods is shared by nonviolence and conflict transformation tactics. In reality, peace protests and social justice advocacy spawned the field of conflict management in many countries.

One can suggest that there has actually been a sharp separation between the revolutionaries and also resolutionaries camps, which appear to have actually expanded in common ignorance-developing their unique as well as very own collections of activist and also professionals, scholars as well as concepts, interpretative frameworks and also arrays of methods, research study and also education and learning programs, companies and also discussion forums, constituencies and also institutional allies<sup>39</sup>.

Nonviolence is the most powerful tool at mankind's disposal. It is more powerful than any dangerous weapon developed by human intellect. Justice is the primary requirement of nonviolence. Nonviolence may develop with the mind if it is to be a dominant influence amongst activists. Nonviolence of the body alone, without the participation of the mind, is nonviolence of the timid or fearful, and thus has no power. This does not imply passivity or inactivity. The consequences of one's inactivity might often be just as bad as the consequences of one's action. For this reason, nonviolence entails deliberately and generously participating in an outward battle or movement for justice, freedom, and peace<sup>40</sup>.

Nonviolence is now not only ethically and morally important, but it is also a must for human existence and ecological responsibility. Put differently, nonviolence is intrinsically related to ordinary individuals' democratic engagement in things that touch

their lives; the more an issue affects a segment of the population, the greater their influence in influencing it must be. Nonviolence is a critical component in helping to reinstate profound meaning to what we would now refer to as democracy, as well as a constructive response to the world's resounding howls or screams of misery. Before activist take nonviolent direct action, they must first recognize that violence is frequently the result of greed, intolerance, and illusion<sup>41</sup>.

At present, non-violence is not merely ethically and morally pertinent and essential: it is the very prerequisite for human survival and environmental sustainability. Put another way, non-violence is closely related to the democratic participation of ordinary citizens in matters that affect their lives, the more an issue impacts a group of people, the more influence that group must have in influencing it. Non-violence is a crucial way to help restore meaning and substance to what we call democracy today, to constructively answer the reverberating wails or cries of suffering in the world. Before we engage in non-violent direct action, we first need to understand that violence is often the culmination of greed, hatred and delusion. Equally important, simultaneously with the cultivation of seeds of peace within, we need to envisage and struggle for alternative futures, relying on non-violence<sup>42</sup>.

### **2.1.9 Historical Trends of Nonviolence in the World**

From the late eighteenth century through the twentieth century, the technique of nonviolent action was widely used in colonial rebellions, international political and economic conflicts, and anti-slavery resistance<sup>43</sup>. This technique has been aimed to secure worker's rights to organize, women's rights, universal manhood suffrage, and woman suffrage. This type of struggle has been used to gain national independence, to generate

economic gains, to resist genocide, to undermine dictatorship, to gain civil rights, to end segregation, and to resist foreign occupation and coup.

In the twentieth century, nonviolent action rose to unprecedented political significance throughout the world. People or activist using this technique amassed major achievements, of course, experience failure at times. Higher wages and improved working conditions were won. Oppressive traditions and practices were abolished<sup>43</sup>. Both men and women won the right to vote in several countries in part by using this technique. Government policies were changed, laws repealed, new legislation enacted, and governmental reforms instituted. Invaders were frustrated and armies defeated. Nonviolent actions was used against extreme dictatorship, including both Nazi and Communist systems.

Cases of the use of this technique in the twentieth century included major elements of the 1905 Russian Revolution. In various countries growing trade unions widely use the strike and economic boycott. Chinese boycotts of the Japanese products occurred in 1908, 1915, and 1919. Germans used nonviolence against the Kapp Putsch in 1920 and against the French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in 1923. In the 1920s and in the 1930s, Indian nationalist used nonviolent actions in their struggles against British rule, under the leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi. Likewise, Muslims Pashtuns in what was the North-West Frontier Province of British India now Pakistan also used nonviolent actions against British rule under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan<sup>44</sup>.

From 1940 to 1945, people in various European countries, especially in Norway, Denmark, and Netherlands, used nonviolence to resist Nazi occupation and rule. Nonviolence action was used to save Jews from the Holocaust in Berlin, Bulgaria, Denmark and elsewhere<sup>45</sup>. The military dictators of El Salvador and Guatemala were

ousted in brief nonviolent struggles in the spring of 1944. The American civil rights nonviolent action against racial segregation, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, changed laws and long-established policies in the U.S South<sup>46</sup>. In April 1961, noncooperation by French conscript soldiers in the French colony in Algeria, combined with popular demonstration in France and defiance by the Debre-de Gaulle government, defeated the military coup in Algiers before a related coup in Paris could be launched<sup>47</sup>.

In 1968 and 1969, following the Warsaw Pact invasion, Czechs and Slovaks held off full Soviet control for eight months with improvised nonviolent actions and refusal of collaboration. From 1953 to 1991, dissidents in Communist-ruled countries in Eastern Europe, especially in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, repeatedly used nonviolent actions for increased freedom. The Solidarity struggle in Poland in 1980 with strikes to support the demand of a legal free trade union, and concluded in 1989 with the end of the Polish Communist regime<sup>48</sup>. Nonviolent protest and mass resistance were also highly important in undermining the apartheid policies and European domination in South Africa, especially between 1950 and 1990. The Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines was destroyed by a nonviolent uprising in 1986.

In July and August 1988, Burmese democrats protested against the military dictatorship with marches and defiance and brought down three governments, but this struggle finally succumbed to a new military rule coup d'etat and mass slaughter. In 1989, Chinese students and other in over three hundred cities which include the Tiananmen Square protest in Beijing conducted a historic and symbolic protest against government corruption and oppression, but the protests finally ended following massive killings by the military<sup>49</sup>.

Nonviolence action also brought the end of Communist dictatorship in Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1989 and in East Germany, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1991. Noncooperation and defiance against the attempted “hard line” coup by the KGB, the Communist party and the Soviet Army in 1991, blocked the attempted seizure of the Soviet State. In Kosovo, the Albanian population between 1990 and 1999 conducted a widespread noncooperation campaign against repressive Serbian rule. When the de facto Kosovo government lacked a nonviolent strategy for gaining de jure independence, a guerrilla Kosovo Liberation Army violence. This was followed by extreme Serbian repression and massive slaughter by so-called ethnic cleansing, which led to NATO bombing and intervention<sup>50</sup>.

Starting in November 1996, Serbs conducted daily parades and protests in Belgrade and other cities against the autocratic governance of president Milosevic and secured correction of electoral fraud in mid-January 1997<sup>51</sup>. At that time, however, Serbs democrats lacked a strategy to press the struggle further and failed to launch a campaign to bring down the Milosevic dictatorship. In early October 2000, the Otpor movement and other democrats rose up against Milosevic in a carefully planned nonviolent action and the dictatorship collapsed<sup>52</sup>. In early 2001, President Estrada, who had been accused of corruption, was ousted by Filipinos in a “People Power Two” campaign.

### **2.1.10 Trends of Youth Demonstrations in Africa**

In Africa and since the Arab Spring uprising, numerous young folks have protested against authoritarian regimes, elongation of presidential term and constitutional amendment, lack of accountability throughout elections, and undesirable or unwanted socio-economic strategies<sup>53</sup>. Youth uprisings have also had remarkable achievements in several of these protests in terms of ousting corrupt and

unwanted political leaders and changing policies, but they have been unable to bring about long-term political, social, and economic reform leading to a shortage of power in post-protest politics and administration.

In Khartoum, after ousting Omar al-Bashir in 2019, demonstrations resulted in the creation of a military-led coalition administration and a plan for installing an interim government through elections. However, over the past ten years, it has been challenging for many resistance groups in Africa to have an impact on post-protest politics and development. The experience in Sudan can be seen as a step toward a peaceful demonstration movement's ability to influence post-protest politics and development by fulfilling the people's desire and ultimate intention of putting an end to the dictatorial rule as well as establishing a new Sudan with just a democratically elected government. This can also result in political and socio-economic expansion.

These generation battles for democratic, social, and economic liberation should always be understood from the perspective of the rising rise of young demonstrations, which culminated in the phrase “enough”. African youth struggle to make ends-means that are the most impacted by high underemployment and unemployment in various countries. They are underprivileged and confined to ‘waithood’, which is described as a protracted state of interruption in which people's availability of social adulthood is restricted or withheld<sup>55</sup>.

Regardless of their class or origin, many young people are often unable to create families and homes, become totally independent, or participate in the rights and obligations of adulthood. In addition to a lack of monetary resources, "waithood" is characterized by political exclusion, a lack of voice, and a feelings of shame<sup>56</sup>. Through alternative means, such as foraging into the unofficial economy, emigrating to other nations, or getting

engaged in criminal activity, young people have sought to overcome this trap. Some even turn to joining violent extremist organizations like Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab and many others in order to exist.

Meanwhile, youths and adults in most part of Africa have turned to protests as a powerful means of speaking their minds on a spectrum of problems, regardless of the existence of numerous platforms for interaction and the expression of disgruntlement, such as creating or joining political parties and taking part in local elections, or creating civil society organizations. This is probably due to the fact that alternative channels are not as successful as protests; either no outcomes are seen right once, or the youth are used for manipulation or capture. This may help to explain how some young folks, despite their large population, frequently abstain from participating in elections as candidates or voters.

People have a sense of exclusion and underrepresentation and have grieved even more from voting results despite experiencing a significant shift in their way of life. Because youth lack the ability that is often dictated by income and rank, joining political parties and having an impact on power structures is exceedingly difficult for many young people in Africa. Political party structural constraints are also difficult to get beyond. In addition, due to a history of lack of faith with the election process, voting might well have lost its relative significance as a democratic right among young Africans. This has frequently led to violence both before and after elections<sup>57</sup>.

Some authors are of the opinion that, using digital platforms to voice one's opinion on a given policy or participating in mass demonstrations are more encompassing for young people than using traditional political pathways because they are more perpendicular to the surface, transparent, and engaged in addressing relevant issues that affect the group. She also believes that political parties are extremely hierarchical and structurally

structured, which makes it difficult for young people to completely benefit from this institution. Even if political parties have youth wings, difficulties including the high expense of party politics, the preference for party loyalists over competent people, and insufficient technical skills among young inhibit participation and discourage interests.

During protests in Africa for decades, youth have always been at the frontline. Youth organizations have been organizing protests against authoritarianism in nations including Tunisia, Egypt, Burkina Faso, Senegal, and Sudan throughout Africa. The long-term administrations of Former president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Muhammad Hosni El Sayed Mubarak, Blaise Compaoré, Abdoulaye Wade, and Omar Bashir, respectively, came to an end with these revolutions. Young people in Africa have protested against constitutional revisions to prolong constitutional reforms proposed by presidents such as Joseph Kabila in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Alpha Condé in Guinea, the late Pierre Nkurunziza in Burundi, and Compaoré of Burkina Faso. However, in South Africa, youths demonstrated in support of the #FeesMustFall movement against a hike in college tuition. In 2018, there were also demonstrations in Sudan over austerity policies and the shortage of affordable, which subsequently turned into anti-government demonstrations against Bashir<sup>58</sup>. Such demonstrations against ineffective governmental economic and political decisions are typical in many African nations.

Due to the large concentration of young people in metropolitan regions, where they face different socio-economic issues including unemployment and a high cost of living, political movement and protest groups are common in urban areas, especially in capital cities. Since most of them have internet connectivity and digital sites, it is simpler to mobilize these young people who live in cities.

The social media platforms are used by the youth to mobilize and plan events. Through posting and major social networking sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, TikTok, as well as Instagram, young people provide each other solidarity and encouragement during demonstrations. Prominent youth-led organizations leading protests include Y'en a Marre (Fed Up) from Senegal, Le Balai Citoyen (The Citizen's Broom) from Burkina Faso, the #FeesMustFall movement from South Africa, the Forces of Freedom and Change from Sudan and #EndSARS movement in Nigeria<sup>59</sup>. Young individuals have inspired protesters, activists, singers, and celebrities across the continent.

Youth protests have not given them the opportunity to directly affect the administrations that followed them. Even new activists find it difficult to transform the uprising organizations' political complaints into a more expansive political agenda. The majority of these demonstrations struggle to keep up their energy and find long-term answers to their original goals. This can be ascribed to the fact that the majority of young groups are born out of unhappiness, are organized and grown on the streets, and have limited funding<sup>60</sup>. As a result, they lack the power to overthrow and untangle existing systems, which are often made up of radical political parties which have been active for a long time and have struggled for autonomy. Such democratic institutions are well-funded, well-organized, and have sway over several local, regional, and multinational companies; as a result, young are vulnerable to infiltration and manipulation and cannot continue to be engaged in the streets eternally. Such young protests are typically put down by violent tactics, such as violence from the police and the military.

### **2.1.11 The Concept of Democracy**

Democracy is held up as the best, if not only, political doctrine that could solve all problems of mankind, be it social, economic or political. As such, all nations of the world

must embrace democracy. Since the Neolithic Athenians era to the present, democracies has been viewed as a form of governance that is designed to meet the needs of the populace. Its lexical origin, “demos and Kratos”, which means “ruling or governance by the populace”, provides the fundamental basis for this idea<sup>61</sup>. The Greek playwright Euripides explicitly defined democracy as a state in which the citizens are in charge through representatives who are accountable to them.

They went on to mention the perspective of one of the social contract theory on this matter as the people's governance for the General Will. This only signifies that government activity ought to be in accordance with popular will, which is obviously to promote the general well-being of the citizens<sup>62, 63</sup>. In reality, the government must uphold the rule of law and provide the populace with an educational system that instills in young people the notion that their identification with the state is what makes them truly unique -a form of citizenship education.

The contemporary notions of democracy are rooted in the fundamental concepts of representative government and shared decision, where individuals or representatives who ruled are held accountable for their actions in a variety of ways. We must know that, democracy is understood to be a type of government where the citizens engage their governing authority directly or through representatives who are intermittently chosen by the public<sup>64</sup>.

Democracy really does have a long history but has continued to develop, giving it different meanings to different people. Examples include People's Democracy, Direct Democracy, and People's Democratic Dictatorship as in the case of China. In contrast to monarchs, oligarchies, and gerontocracies, a scholar claimed in his own addition that the term "democracy" also denotes a situation in which there is some degree of political

equality amongst the people. He continued by saying that the foundation of democracy is the right of the people to freely elect their representatives and to participate in adult suffrage worldwide<sup>65</sup>. Because of this, only a democratically elected government that was founded with the permission of the governed and in conformity with their shared moral principles can be considered the rightful representative of the people.

Therefore, democracy has been supported on the premises that it satisfies a variety of essential principles and aims, including egalitarianism, liberty, the improvement of one's moral character, the common good, individual rights, social usefulness, the satisfying of desires, and effective decision-making. An impartial democratic umpire, a powerful and efficient judiciary, an informed people, a vigorous and independent press, democratic culture and climate of peace and security are absolutely necessary for there to be genuine democracy on the ground.

Democracy is not a way of governing, whether by majority or otherwise, but primarily a way of determining who shall govern and broadly, to what ends. The only way in which the people, all the people, can determine who shall govern is by referring the question to public opinion and accepting on each occasion the verdict of the polls. Apart from this activity of the people, there is no way to distinguish democracy from other forms of government.

However, researchers, professionals, and bureaucrats have used a variety of democratic systems, or democracy with adjectives, in addition to this fundamental consensus. These definitions can be generally divided into three different categories: the first is the procedural democracy, the second is liberal democracy, and the third is social democracy are the three types of democracy, with the distinction between them mostly based on how

certain rights safeguards are included together with an unified approach to democratic principles and participatory decision<sup>66</sup>.

Recognizing these various forms of democracy and how much different categories of individual rights are embedded into them has an impact on how both metrics may be and have been utilized in empirical study. In the research on democracy and human rights, and in those studies that use measures of either term in their modeling methodologies, analysis of these lines of overlap has resulted in both theoretical and empirical uncertainty<sup>67</sup>.

The two characteristics of disagreements and cooperation are included in practical conceptions of democracy, which are particularly intimately correlated with the articulation in Polyarchy. As a principle, contestation assumes the legitimacy of a sizable and organized resistance, the right to challenge incumbents, preservation of both the dual liberties of speech and association, the occurrence of free and impartial elections, and a centralized political party system. Contestation captures the uncertain peaceful competitive pressure essential for democratic rule. Such a procedural definition of democracy may serve as a starting point and a minimal bar for evaluating and counting the number of democracies across the world<sup>68</sup>. The Liberal versions of democracy maintain the concepts of debate and participation found in conventional definitions but also explicitly mention extra human rights protections. Thus, institutional and rights dimensions are included in definitions of liberal democracy.

The institutional dimension of democracy encompasses the concept of popular sovereignty and is congruent with the 'polyarchy' model described above in terms of accountability, restraint of leaders, representation of citizens, and widespread involvement. The rule of law upholds the rights dimension, which covers political,

property, and minority rights. Such a definition is considered deeper since it also takes into consideration legal restrictions on the use of power in addition to the popular components of power's origin and responsibility<sup>69</sup>.

The social definitions of the concept of democracy maintained that the rights and institutional dimension of democracy also expand its scope of the sorts of rights that need to be upheld is expanded to encompass social, economic, and cultural rights. The democratic ideal is extended beyond the political to the social, or more specifically, economic, sector in this enlarged type of democracy. In the language used here, social democracy refers to the gradual realization of economic and social rights as well as the provision of social and economic wellbeing. This could also be contended that it covers the protection of cultural rights, which cover matters like native tongue language, ceremonial land rights, and intellectual property rights associated with cultural practices (such as indigenous healing techniques and remedies that might be of interest to multinational corporations)<sup>70</sup>.

In respect of democratic practice at home in Nigeria, we claim that the 1999 constitution as modified serves as the main instrument of democracy today. Do we truly have a true democratic government or civilian administration, and what is real or consolidated democracy? Is a question we have asked often since 1999. Given that none of democracy's fundamental components are present, the clear response to the first question is "no democratic government."

These characteristics are included in the definition of consolidated democracy, which, to someone, is determined by how frequently and fairly elections are held, how actively citizens participate in the electoral process, and how openly candidates are chosen (or elected), among other factors. In fact, if we follow the constitution, the regimes in place

since 1999 cannot be characterized as unified democratic rule; instead, we must evaluate their accomplishments in light of the by-products of consolidated democracy, such as stability, accountability, responsiveness, compliance to the "rules of the game" and adherence to the rule of law, respect for human rights and the rule of law, democratic accountability, and the checks and balances system<sup>71</sup>.

It is really regrettable that democratic values have not been entrenched in Nigeria despite nearly twenty-three years of democratic experimentation. Civilian dictatorship is pervasive and presents itself in blatant abuses of the human rights of the nation's common citizens. In Nigeria, the idea of power separation, which helps democracy function, is a fantasy. The "executive" arbitrarily flexes its muscles and invariably cows the "legislative" and "judicial," reducing them to nothing more than puppets. In Nigeria, the legislative and judicial branches merely carry out the executive's wish<sup>71</sup>.

The growth of democracy has always been associated with the free discussion of political issues, with the right to differ concerning them, with the settlement of the difference, not by force majeure but by resort to the counting of votes. It has always been associated with the growing authority of some assembly of the people or of the people's representatives. It was a necessary condition of democracy everywhere that opposing doctrines remained free to express themselves, to seek converts, to form organizations, and so to compete for success before the tribunal of public opinion.

### **2.1.12 Democracy and Freedom of Expression**

Some authors expressed the conventional view that democracy constitutionally guarantees certain fundamental rights to all citizens. Apart from these rights, the right to think and believe after one's own mind and heart, the right to express one's opinions and to organize for their furtherance, the right to vote according to one's opinions, and so

forth- democracy cannot exist<sup>72</sup>. But the right in question is not the same thing as a form of government. They may properly be made a test of its existence but they do not constitute it. Historically and logically, it is an order that, to establish the right of opinion gives free opinion itself a politically creative role. In other words, the government must be dependent on and responsive to changes of public opinion. More closely, each successive administration is voted into office by an election or series of elections at which the people freely express their effective preference for one group of candidates over another group or other groups<sup>73</sup>.

In order that this process may be constitutionally possible, the law must bind the relations of men in areas to which it applies but must not bind their opinions in any areas. The apparent exceptions to this principle are libel, slander, incitement to violence, among others. In a democracy, those who oppose the policies of the government lose no civil rights and those who support its policies acquire thereby no civil rights. In a democracy, minority opinion remains as untrammelled as majority opinion.

The importance of the creative role assigned to public opinion under democracy lies primarily in the fact that if opinion is free, then the whole cultural life of man is free. If opinion is free, then belief is free and science is free and art and philosophy and all the variant styles and modes in which men manifest and develop their values and taste and ways of living - always up to the limit where they endeavor by oppression or violence to deprive their fellowmen of these same prerogatives. Democracy alone assures the citadel of human personality against the deadly invasion of power. If only we could comprehend what this means, we would never let our disappointments with the defects and weaknesses that the workings of democracy may reveal blind us to the intrinsic superiority of democracy over all other system of government<sup>74</sup>.

### 2.1.13 Influence and Impact of Non-violence

Since non-violent protest has been practiced for millennia, countless individuals now take part in marches, boycotts, strikes, and a variety of other protest-related activities. Some individuals deliberate deeply about how to improve the effectiveness of their acts, while others strive to construct theories to explain these behaviors and gather data. The former Indian philosopher made several influential contributions to the study of nonviolence. His leadership of the Indian independence struggle and personal example inspired both activists and academics, and this process of inspiration is still going on now.

For the comprehension of nonviolence, his notion of nonviolent action and its application as a deliberate strategy for social change are essential. Before the former Indian philosopher's conception, people often peaceful action techniques. He integrated theory and practice well than anyone else. Although he had a keen sense about what would work in practice, he was devoted to nonviolence out of ethical reasons, a strategy now known as principled nonviolence<sup>75</sup>.

A well-known expert on the subject wrote extensively but did not organize his concepts. But his writings inspired others and provided the hopeless a vision. He served as an inspiration for many others to study and practice nonviolence. Future generations now have a wide range of opportunities to explore novel literary terrain. One of the author's followers took on the responsibility of explaining concepts and methods to different audiences<sup>76</sup>.

The Power of Nonviolence, written by one of Gandhi's disciples and published in 1934, is a powerful presentation and assessment of Gandhi's tactics for Western audiences, enhanced by the author's personal observations. He discusses nonviolent action instances, mass nonviolent action efficacy, nonviolence as a conflict resolution method,

nonviolence and the state, and nonviolence training. One of the most well-known nonviolent authors explained the many forms and techniques of nonviolence in great depth<sup>77</sup>.

Additionally, he established a structure for the trajectories of peaceful protests with a number of typical different phases, including setting the stage for nonviolent tactics, posing challenges, which typically results in repression, maintaining discipline and solidarity to resist repression, trying to succeed through conversion, accommodation, or nonviolent coercion, and redistributing power. He divides nonviolence into three main categories which are symbolic action, noncooperation, and intervention<sup>78</sup>. Within each of these categories are numerous subcategories, such as industrial action and boycotts as forms of noncooperation, and a variety of specific tactics, such as farmer strikes and trader boycotts.

Nonviolent strategies and actions have proved effective in the modern era for social protest and revolutionary social and political transformation. They are used in several instances. The author's assessment may be discovered in the sections on nonviolent revolution, civic resistance, and nonviolent resistance. Leading a decade-long peaceful campaign against British colonial rule in India, which finally supported India in gaining its freedom in 1947, is one movement that was strongly impacted by a nonviolent ideology. The peaceful protests by Chavez in the 1960s to decry the exploitation of agricultural workers in California, as well as the use of nonviolent tactics by Martin Luther King in the fight to obtain civil rights for African Americans.

One of the most important nonviolent movements in 1989 was the velvet revolution which overthrew the communist regime in the former Czechoslovakia<sup>79</sup>. After a fourteen-year civil war, Leymah and the Liberian women's peaceful protest also

contributed to the establishment of peace. An expert argued in an essay for the use of nonviolence to destroy the global war machine<sup>80</sup>. In essence, we need to understand that nonviolence is a tool that the people utilize to successfully bring about the desired change.

It is crucial to note that nonviolence has the capacity to transform participants by addressing their low self-esteem as former subordinates and, through the growth of self-reliance and courage, providing them with a sense of control over oneself. This ability of nonviolence to empower marginalized and vulnerable populations to exert more control over their own lives is referred to as the “power of the helpless”, a phrase that is frequently used<sup>81</sup>. Two iconic figures such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr committed nonviolence, both had a positive outlook on conflict, viewing it as a chance to engage the other party, alter society, and transform oneself.

While the author wanted his immediate objective of India's liberation to succeed—winning is not entirely discarded, after all—the ultimate goal is to achieve mutual advantages where there is no compromising of position or lowering of expectations but rather a better degree of adjustment. This nonviolent approach has a lot in common with integrative problem-solving approaches, where the importance of the ultimate solution is overshadowed by the effectiveness of the process that leads to it. Great writers from the past have a role to play in moving society away from its narrow viewpoints and toward the development of global citizens<sup>82</sup>.

People naturally dread things they do not understand or things that are unfamiliar to them. Based on criteria including place of origin, race, and attractiveness, bigotry develops. Even though it is obvious that discrimination and other types of hatred are pervasive in society, the causes of such strong feelings are sometimes obscure and complex. The smart must keep up their good work and never give up. History has consistently favored

nonviolent protest. People who use nonviolence display dignity. There are dreadful repercussions when racial animosity is resolved by violence.

Individuals who have had success fighting bigotry concur that one must remain steadfast no matter how fierce the resistance or dismal the circumstance, and inevitably animosity in the form of racial discrimination and many other intolerance may be defeated. Violence simply perpetuates more violence. Violence lacks any human compassion. It humiliates the offender and oppresses the victim. However, nonviolence is strength. The twentieth century showed how ineffective violence is, but it also harkens back to historical movements that increasingly persuaded people that nonviolence is a force more powerful politically<sup>83</sup>.

Three leaders and activist spring to mind when talking about the influence and value of nonviolence as a tool for social change, but sadly, they are all absent. The first three are Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Mandela. Each of these influential people was either born into the Christian religion or, like in the case of Gandhi, was greatly influenced by Christian life and teachings. But scores of other individuals and groups have also demonstrated the effectiveness of nonviolence, while being less noticeable on the global stage<sup>84</sup>. Power that is collaborative and inclusive is nonviolence. Instead of being power over, it is relational-power with.

Additionally, its application to politics is predicated on the unchangeable axiom that management of the people is only feasible so much as they accept to be controlled, either consciously or subconsciously. Nonviolence does not first and foremost ask us to refrain from acting violently, which is a demand that too readily leads to a position of inaction. A scholar created the term “satyagraha”, which means “adhering to the truth”, in response to the challenge of getting over the quiescent implications of nonviolence<sup>85</sup>. Nonviolence

is an assertive activity that is knit into the fundamental structure of justice and makes up a whole program. We must end injustice if we wish to end violence.

While looking at it from the structural angle, nonviolence is associated with justice when it promotes personal, socio-cultural dignity, provides enough food and shelter, inspires political and developmental participation in one's own destiny in both individuals and the wider community; and adopts a position of vulnerability toward the ruling authorities (religious and secular), which goes hand in hand with instead of endangering life, nonviolence creates it. The nonviolent community devotes its entire existence to it, which makes up a whole cultural environment<sup>86</sup>.

The limits of nonviolence extend beyond voluntary collaboration to that which is life-enhancing. The justification for nonviolence is “activity” in conjunction with discourse. Where individuals are with others, in pure human connection, this enlightening aspect of speech and behavior comes to the fore. Without identifying the agent, an action loses its unique quality and turns into another type of accomplishment.

#### **2.1.14 Nonviolent Protest and the Experience of Black Lives Matter in USA**

The long-awaited national confrontation with racial discrimination and police violence was not inescapable. In addition to organizing a long-lasting campaign against police brutality targeting people of color, activists and community representatives had to deal with how the Black Lives Matter movement was depicted in the press. Ever since George Zimmerman, the white policeman who gunned down Trayvon Martin, was found not guilty in 2013, the slogan and hashtag #blacklivesmatter trended on social media, igniting a grassroots campaign to combat institutionalized racism<sup>87</sup>. The Black Lives Matter movement, which was founded by three black women, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and

Opal Tometi, persisted in 2014 and demanded equality for the countless Americans and other people who have been the victims of police misconduct abroad as well as in the United States.

Evidence of excessive use of force as well as the death of nonviolent Black men and women began to resurface as societal clamor for police reform grew. The police continue to kill Black people while they are engaged in routine activities like wearing hoodies, using cellphones, or sleeping in their homes, continuing the long and sad history of police brutality in the United States. Black lives matter demonstrators in Ferguson were faced with armed opposition with police from local and state agencies when they started nonviolent demonstrations in the form of marches, holding posters and banners, and shouting 'black lives matter'<sup>88</sup>.

Similar demonstrations broke out in Baltimore in 2015 when Freddie Gray was arrested but later passed away from injuries received whilst still in police detention. Once more, there were clashes between police and demonstrators. An emergency situation was proclaimed, and the National Guard was brought in to assist and regain control. Since these events and many more, Black Lives Matter started utilizing social media, especially Twitter and Facebook, to coordinate rallies denouncing police violence against African Americans since more innocent Black men and women continued to be slain by police in different regions throughout the nation<sup>89</sup>. Over thirty (30) sections of Black Lives Matter exist across the nation, having developed from a single incident into a national movement. Applicants for government position have used the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter; it has also been used in episodes of shows like Empire and Law and Order. It has also been printed on t-shirts, coffee mugs, and badges<sup>90</sup>.

The murder of George Floyd, a 46-year-old black man who had been apprehended by Minneapolis policeman on suspicion of possessing a false \$20 note, was among the most arresting incidents that sparked a global movement and protest. The cop, Derek Chauvin, was shown on eyewitness recordings kneeling on George Floyd's neck for more than nine minutes while the victim begged the police and others to help him breathe. Following a string of heinous crimes against black people, including the murders of black residents who repeatedly brought attention to the necessity of the Black Lives Matter movement, Floyd was brutally and publicly killed<sup>91</sup>.

The Black Live Matter movement made the American people aware of the trend of needless police misconduct against the Negro community and compelled them to connect the links. As a result, the movement launched the biggest mass mobilization campaign in American history, with millions of individuals participating in demonstrations both domestically and abroad. Along with the era of racial awareness came false media narratives that focused on violence and increased public observation of the protests.

With a newly established pattern and agreement in racial justice, the speed of change increased, inspiring legislators, members of the city council, and businesses to openly express their solidarity for the first time. The ability to demand legislative reforms, such as the reorganization of police funding and accountability in the management of law enforcement, is presented to activists. The movement also occurred at the same time as the worst epidemic in modern times, which brought home how similar we are as people<sup>92</sup>. The black live movement reached a turning point as public support for Black Lives Matter increased. Even if their power has diminished, the mainstream press still has a significant impact on how social movements are portrayed. The press may validate the claims of the protest by having the means to emphasize and evaluate the protesters' complaints. While this is going on, the existence of media has the ability to call the police

and administration to account. For this reason, journalists have the power to amplify a movement's message, concentrate the nation's attention, and reach massive audience.

Political chances by itself do not always result in societal participation. To fully fulfill the accrued capability over political and socio-economic concerns, social mobilization need the mediation of a number of other elements. One of these intermediary elements relates to mobilization structures, or the leadership mechanisms that may take advantage of socioeconomic and political resentments enshrined in the current political chances<sup>93</sup>. These techniques can be seen in the case of Black Lives Matter in a variety of ways, including the organization's sturdy historical tradition of organizing gleaned from prior struggles, the presence of a strong personal leadership base, the establishment of communication systems made possible by social media, dependence on an organizational model marked by broad and democratized coalition strategies that enhance diversity and inclusivity, and the use of chaotic and argumentative forms of protest.

Framing, which is meant to give a thorough, holistic, and cohesive framework of socio-economic and political complaints drawn from the deliberative democracy in place, is yet another intermediary aspect that contributes to the successful mobilization of social movements. Since the underpinning symbols, slogans, objectives, and other discursive components of social actors communicate this common knowledge, it inspires and drives mass action. To this viewpoint, the black live matter evolved as a well-liked effort at cognitive freedom from the white supremacist frameworks that have grown into intolerable for significant portions of American culture.

The effectiveness of the civil rights movement cannot be attributed to nonviolent tactics alone. African Americans could start to demand reform owing to legal developments and the expression of Black concerns in terms of “equal opportunities”. This framing of the

Black struggle as a fight for equal rights was a calculated move that gave the various problems that Black people encounter some significance.

### **2.1.15 An Overview of the EndSARS Movement in Nigeria**

Among Nigerian the youths, the word “EndSARS” is often used. The social movement is a decentralized movement that consists of a series of large-scale rallies and marches in Nigeria protesting injustice, police brutality, bad governance, systemic corruption and so on. The slogan demands that the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), which is a known notorious segment of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) with a lengthy history of abuses should be disbanded. Hence, the word “EndSARS” which literarily mean “End Special Anti-Robbery Squad (EndSARS)”.

The demonstrations which began in 2017 as a Twitter movement using the hashtag #EndSARS to demand that the Nigerian government dismantle the unit. Segun Awosanya, known colloquially as “Segalink”, is regarded as one of the movement's early champions as well as activists, using social media, particularly Twitter, to engage government officials<sup>94</sup>.

The State Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department (SCIID) oversees the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a division of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF). The Force Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department, which was established to look into and prosecute persons responsible for crimes such armed robberies, kidnappings, and some other violent crimes, established the security unit as one of its 14 departments in late 1992. To further combat violent crimes such armed robbery, kidnapping, cattle rustling, and the procurement and use of illegal firearms, SARS was established as a covert unit.

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), on the other hand, was condemned of a number of human rights crimes, including unlawful “stop and searches”, illegal arrests and detentions, extrajudicial executions, sexual harassment of women, and brutalizing young male Nigerians<sup>95</sup>. The human rights abuses were documented in trending videos on social media.

Youths in Nigeria, particularly men, have been accused of being profiled by SARS personnel based on their choice of dressing, fancy cars, tattoos, and haircuts and so on. The security unit are also known for setting up unlawful roadblocks, conducting unreasonable search and inspections, arresting and detaining people without a warrant or a trial, raping women, and extorting young and old Nigerians who use laptops and most especially iPhones<sup>96</sup>. On several occasions, Nigerians have shared personal accounts as well as video proof of SARS personnel abusing Nigerian residents via kidnapping, murder, fraud, rape, torture, arbitrary arrests, degradation, unlawful imprisonment, extrajudicial murders, and extortion. Young male Nigerians made up a big portion of the victims of SARS atrocities, with only a few female Nigerians<sup>97</sup>.

Based on a 2016 investigation by Amnesty International (AI), SARS was responsible for crimes against humanity, cruelty, the demeaning degradation of Nigerian detainees, and other horrific crimes. As per observations made on a daily basis, the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) has violated several human rights, such as firing victims in the leg, staging mock executions, issuing death threats, hanging, and brutally assaulting people. Media reports have it that, SARS carried out 82 abuses and extrajudicial killings 98 between 2017 and 2020<sup>98</sup>. This was also buttressed by Amnesty International (AI), SARS agents frequently detain young Nigerian men against their will and demand payment from their families<sup>99</sup>.

"In 2016, a human rights activist known as Segalink launched the EndSARS initiative on Twitter, which prompted the police authorities to proclaim reform of the police unit. However, at the time, nothing was accomplished. In 2017, Nigerian activists, young people, and celebrities from all over the country demonstrated peacefully mostly in streets to draw attention to the ruthlessness and exploitation of SARS and to request its disbandment.

A petition supporting the total complete dismantling of SARS was delivered to Nigeria's National Assembly by 10,195 people. Some few Senators supported the proposal to completely dissolve the entity<sup>100</sup>. Due to a decrease in cases, consideration was given to rebuilding the force rather than completely dissolving it. The #EndSARS hashtag was used throughout the demonstrations on social media. A Nigerian rapper well-known by his stage name Michael Ugochukwu Stephens, joined the effort to prevent police violence in 2018 by releasing a song on whether police is a friend or not<sup>101</sup>.

A video of a SARS police officer surfaced in 2020 killing a young Nigerian in front of an hotel in Delta State. Various reports have it that, the youthful man's Lexus SUV was taken by the SARS authorities. The viral video sparked mass condemnation, with the #EndSARS hashtag becoming popular. Two days later the EndSARS movement was trending on Twitter, a new story of SARS agents murdering a 20-year-old aspiring singer named Daniel Chibuikwe—known to his neighbors as Sleek—came to light. When the SARS police approached Sleek and a companion, who were seated in front of a hotel, they reportedly fled<sup>102</sup>.

As per eyewitness accounts, the SARS officers chased the duo while yelling "thief," then shot Sleek as he escaped into a grocery store. His pal was sent behind bars. After several weeks of indignation and disgust over recordings and images of police brutality, harassment,

and extortion in Nigeria, countrywide protests on EndSARS began on Thursday, October 8, 2020<sup>103</sup>. The #EndSARS campaigners transitioned from social media to organized, nonviolent demonstrations in Nigerian cities and states, including Abuja, Lagos, Benin, Delta, Abia, Ibadan, Warri, Ilorin, Owerri, Calabar Jos and Kaduna. They threatened to continue if the government did not abolish the force.

In addition to activists using the hashtag and holding demonstrations in Nigeria, this crisis was recognized as a global event by protesters in London and certain regions of America as well. Young Nigerians from many cities spearheaded the demonstrations, along with numerous activists and famous people. As witnessed in Abuja, the Nigeria Police Force broke up demonstrations by firing tear gas, water cannons, and other projectiles at unarmed, nonviolent protestors. In Ogbomoso, Oyo State, Jimoh Isiaq passed away as a result of this<sup>104</sup>.

After reviving in October 2020 in response to more discoveries of SARS' atrocities, massive protests took place in all of Nigeria's major cities, followed by strident criticism on online platforms. On Twitter alone, there have been almost 28 million tweets using the hashtag. In several major cities throughout the world, Nigerians in the diaspora and supporters held solidarity marches and demonstrations. The demonstrations are remarkable for being supported by a completely youthful Nigerian populace. Demands for effective and transparent government were added as the movement grew.

The protesters sent a list of five demands to the Government. The Nigerian Youth's demands called for the immediate freedom of everyone detained during the protests, as well as requesting justice and financial reparations for everyone killed by police violence in Nigeria. Additionally, they urged that within 10 days, an impartial agency be established to look into and prosecute any allegations of police wrongdoing. The protesters demanded that

SARS agents undergo psychological testing and retraining before being sent to any other police unit. Finally, they demanded a sufficient raise in police officers' salary in Nigeria.

The Inspector-General (IGP) of Nigeria Police banned the SARS, Special Tactical Squad (STS), Intelligence Response Team (IRT), Anti-Cultism Squad, and other elite forces from setting up roadblocks, checkpoints, stop-and-search procedures, as well as other routine and patrol operations within a few days of the resurgence of protests and in response to the public backlash over police brutality. Despite the fact that many people saw the action as a victory for the protests. The government had only intended to transfer and review SARS personnel to medical centers rather than completely abolish the unit, it was noted in many places, and similar pronouncements had been made in prior years to appease the public without the unit really being dismantled<sup>105</sup>.

Similar prohibitions have been declared several times during the preceding four years, leading Nigerians to wonder if the bans would truly be enforced. Protesters demanded that the notorious police unit be completely abolished and that a comprehensive reform of the force immediately follow since this was the fourth occasion that the Nigerian government had issued a similar prohibition on SARS activities<sup>106</sup>. The Nigerian government maintained a practice of brutal repression, including the death of protesters, while protests persisted. International protests were held in support of those taking place in the nation, and the movement grew more and more critical of Muhammadu Buhari's administration's handling of the demonstrations.

#### **2.1.15.1 Demands of the Protesters**

While the protest is still intense, the protesters put some thoughtful demands to the federal government to implement. The demonstrators had made a number of requests and had made it clear that they would not relent in their demonstration until those demands were satisfied.

The Nigerian government has been asked to implement the following requests, among others:

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1. The protesters demanded justice for all those who have died as a result of police violence and brutality, and support for their families.
2. The quick release of all protestors in Nigeria who have been detained.
3. The protesters also demand the establishment of an impartial panel of inquiry to look into the operations and atrocities of SARS officers and this must be done within ten (10) days.
4. The protesters also insisted that, being deployed to other groups, SARS officers must undergo psychological testing and retraining.
5. Lastly, the protesters also demanded an increase in the monthly salaries of police officers in the country<sup>107</sup>.

#### **2.1.16 Nigeria and World Celebrities as Digital Pioneers for Mass Demonstrations**

The EndSARS protest was fueled by the energy of the youths in the country, who have been or were previously thought of as being too submissive and belonging to the generation known as “millennial”. The young people's energy was also accompanied with the trending hashtag #Sorosoke, a Yoruba language which translate to being able to "speak up or being audible" was ascribed to the star the movie star Toyin Afolayan and taken from the Yoruba Nollywood film industry. It entered the conflict when protestors yelled on Lagos State Governor Babajide Sanwo-Olu to be louder while he spoke to them at one of the rallies.

The revered influence of celebrities on digital media had a significant role in promoting and maintaining youth vitality.

An expert claimed that, when the pattern of demonstrations was discussed, great people were frequently the ones who usually start the protests. The author also contend that the requirement for a Master Frame to direct mass movements and spur government action<sup>108</sup>. In Nigeria, for instance, the likes of Professor Wole Soyinka, Femi Falana (SAN) and Anthony Enahoro were among the prominent figures who led the Pro-National Conference Organization (PRONACO) in promoting democratic reform and the end of the military government in the polity. Another early demonstration in the country was the Niger Delta Volunteer Force, which was founded in 1966 by Adaka Boro and his Niger-Delta compatriots.

The current pattern of the #EndSARS demonstrations made it necessary to investigate the connections between digital protest or activism and the characteristics of its forerunner. The need for a vanguard to direct the emphasis and sustenance of activist movements was demonstrated by the resort to calling out personalities, such as clergymen, artists, Nollywood/Hollywood stars, and other influencers on social media. This was supported by a researcher who stressed that young people assert themselves inside larger social movement organizations by forging circles of influence outside their age demographic. This was demonstrated by the ascent of young people into leadership roles during the #EndSARS campaign. People and celebrities who played significant roles on social media and at the protest locations included Folarin Falana, Peter and Paul Okoye, Flavour, Davido, Pastor Sam Adeyemi, Flavour, popular singer Wizkid, Funke Etti, and so many others.

Here, everyone needs to take action to #EndSARS. I will never forget how DJ Cuppy carried the American Black Lives Matter protest on her forehead, talked about it and took

part in a peaceful demonstration. She has, however, curiously remained absent from the scene of police violence in her neighborhood, a twitter user said. Also, on October 16, Kizz Daniel went to the demonstration and posted a video of it as well as a photo of himself with a Nigerian flag with the message “EndSARS” on it on his Twitter account<sup>109</sup>.

Burna Boy, a hip-hop artist, talked with British media about the peaceful demonstrations and assisted in spreading the hashtags. On October 20, the artist changed his profile picture to the blood-stained Nigerian flag that went viral after the Nigerian military attacked demonstrators. On October 12, in response to criticism, he tweeted that his mother had had surgery in the early days of the demonstrations and that he was committed to seeing that she recovered. Additionally, it was claimed that he had funded some billboards in Lagos with slogans supporting police reform and the #EndSARS demonstrations.

Another female DJ jockey, Cuppy responded via her handle with what she is currently do and how she feel by being called out to participate in the protest and make history with fellow youths in Nigeria. She tweeted #Sarsmustgo. Her compliance with the required quarantine demanded for everyone returning from overseas travel as a measure to stop the spread of the new coronavirus was made public in a tweet she sent out. On October 14, upon her release from quarantine, she shared a photo of herself holding a sign with the hashtags “#SARSMustEnd”. On October 18, she really participated in the Lekki Toll Gate protest, and she shared photos with her followers on Twitter to show her fans.

On Twitter, some celebrities received their fair share of praise in addition to criticism for their silence. Another artist also received praise specifically for prioritizing the campaign over the marketing of his new album and for his donation of funds to help the demonstrators. The pictures of the artist also trend on Twitter after he met with Mohammed Adamu, the Inspector General of Police to discuss the demonstrators' complaints. He had

led a demonstration in Abuja the day before, taking part in it as one of the protest's organizers<sup>110</sup>.

Other Nigeria artists, skit makers and film makers also organized protest in various locations in Nigeria and outside the country. For instance, Wizkid participated in a mass demonstration in London while Nigerian footballer Odion Ighalo, and heavyweight champion, Anthony Joshua also took part in the demonstration. Marcus Rahsford, a Manchester United player also tweet about EndSARS and posted a sign of peace during the protest. Kanye West, Estelle, Beyoncé, Rihanna, Lewis Hamilton and so on also used their media platform to campaign for police brutality in Nigeria. All these response and solidarity were done to encourage mass demonstrations with the use of nonviolent method to for a change in the operation of government.

#### **2.1.17 Government Reactions to EndSARS Protest in Nigeria**

The Inspector-General of Nigerian Police issued an official statement prohibiting the SARS, Special Tactical Squad (STS), Intelligence Response Team (IRT), Anti-Cultism Squad, and some other special operations forces from setting up roadblocks, security checks, stop-and-search procedures, and other routines and law enforcement operations in response to the public uproar over police brutality. Because similar sanctions taken against their agents had been publicly revealed several times over the preceding four years, Nigerians had reason to doubt that the order would be followed. There were more reports of SARS agents being engaged in homicides around the nation<sup>111</sup>.

As part of its response, the Nigerian Government under president Buhari, disbanded the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and established a new security outfit that is similar to the one that was condemned. Hence, the Special Weapon and Tactics Team (SWAT) was created in 2020.

The establishment of a new security organization, the Special Weapons and Tactics Team (SWAT), was resisted by the general populace. The newly created SWAT has the authority to respond to robbery assaults, sites of crimes involving firearms, rescue operations, and special operations involving notorious offenders. The newly formed SWAT was claimed to have started its training. Additionally, the five demands of the #EndSARS demonstrators have been approved by the Presidential Panel on Police Reform.

However, the recent occurrences speak volumes that are contrary to the government's intended replies while inferring doubts about the government's seriousness on Nigerian police reform. For instance, security personnel have continued to attack, brutalize, and murder demonstrators despite some displays of sympathy from some in the administration. In reality, the Nigerian Senate has backed up this claim by declaring that despite the ostensible push for police reform, police have been abusing civilians.

The most recent of them was the #LekkiMassacre, in which security personnel reportedly fired on unarmed protestors under the direction of the government. Many reports claimed that, between 15 and 75 people have died as a result of this attack on the demonstrators<sup>112</sup>. Protesters demanded that the infamous police unit be completely abolished and extensive reform of the force to follow suit because this was the fourth time the Nigerian government had declared a similar move in response to SARS criminal conduct.

As part of the state response, the Lagos State governor, issued a state-wide 24-hour restriction that began at 4:00 PM on October 20. Images of people removing cameras from the tollgate (recently revealed by the Lagos State Government to be infrared cameras and not CCTV cameras as earlier publicized on social media) and turning off street lights near the tollgate during this time were allegedly associated with the Lagos State Government and the Lekki Concession Company (LCC)<sup>113</sup>. A few hours later, it was alleged that armed

members of the Nigerian Army came at the demonstration site and started shooting at unarmed, nonviolent demonstrators, causing an undetermined number of casualties. Thus, on the 20<sup>th</sup> October, 2020, the alleged “Lekki Tollgate Massacre” occurred<sup>114</sup>.

A video of the shooting, which was bravely captured by a young Nigerian man named DJ Switch, quickly gained popularity online. It showed how unarmed protestors were being shot while they were huddled on the ground, holding hands and chanting the Nigeria anthem. Additionally, there were rumors that at least 50 more persons had injuries. The Lagos State Government later claimed that the incident left up to 25 people wounded but just 2 people killed. Even though the curfew was extended till 9:00 PM, Nigerian Army personnel began firing before that time<sup>115,116</sup>.

Following the alleged murders on October 20, video footage revealed that the Nigerian Army and Nigerian Police had continued to fire unarmed protestors. Additionally, some individuals stormed the residence of the Oba of Lagos and assaulted and set fire to several cars, structures, and TV stations. However, Lagos state Governor initially claimed there have been no deaths and injuries from the mishap the day before, but he later tweeted that there had been reports of one casualty, contradicting the information provided by a number of citizen journalists who had posted live videos of the murders on Twitter and Instagram. Police ordered the demonstrators to leave when they gathered once more at the Lekki tollgate where the shooting occurred on Tuesday, October 20.

Meanwhile, about 30 government buses were set ablaze at a bus station when the demonstrators disobeyed the mandatory curfew. Another building destroyed was Television Continental Station whose proprietorship was associated with All Progressives Congress (APC) national leader and former state governor Bola Ahmed Tinubu. In the 24 hours after military started shooting at protestors in Lagos, there were apparently seven fatalities.

Government refused to recognize the number of dead (casualties) as of October 21, 2020, although they did not deny conducting a crackdown. The police brutality just fueled the protestors' rage, driving them to extend the protest's scope. Armed men reportedly started firing at demonstrators at Oyigbo in Port Harcourt. The assailants started breaking into houses, killing the residents, and then setting stuff on fire. There has been speculation that the gunmen were Fulani herders assigned by the government to quell the demonstration, although this has not yet been definitively proven.

Last but not least, the Central Bank of Nigeria was successful in getting an ex parte move to freeze the accounts of prominent EndSARS protesters. Court records obtained exclusively by Peoples Gazette revealed that, the Central Bank of Nigeria did not provide any rationale for the restraining decision. For this reason, First Bank, Guaranty Trust Bank, UBA, Zenith Bank and some other banks restricted the inflow and outflow of transactions account associated with demonstrators<sup>117</sup>.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

A theory is an idea or belief about something arrived at through assumption and in some cases a set of facts, propositions, or principles analyzed in their relation to one another and used, especially in science, to explain a phenomenon. Philosophers and scientist have also sought in their own ways to give the impression that theories about specific aspects of their subject of interest are “unshakeable truths”<sup>118</sup>. However, even where scholars agree that whatever is described as a theory needs to be more than a collection of facts, it is still the case that not all statements that go beyond facts are theory. Thus, to have any value, a theory must explain or suggest ways of explaining why a subject matter has certain characteristics. The goal of any theory is to explain something which as occurred with a view to dealing with problems which arose or may arise as a result<sup>119</sup>.

Numerous theories exist to explain the variables of this research but the study will engage four of these theories and used one as the most preferred theory. The theories are, System theory, Structural Conflict Theory, Human Need Theory and frustration-aggression Theory. The frustration aggression theory is the most preferred theory to explain the variables in this research.

### **2.2.1 Structural Conflict Theory**

The structural conflict theory attempts to explain how conflict originates as a result of tensions that arise when societies struggle for scarce resources. In other words, the idea holds that, conflict has snuck into or is being constructed into society as a result of the way society is structured or organized. This theory has two main sub-orientations. First is the radical theory represented by the Marxist school of thought with exponents like Fredrick Engel, Karl Marx and Lenin. The second school of thought is the liberal structuralism which is represented by Scarborough, Ross and Johan Galtung's famous work on structural violence<sup>120</sup>. It is sometimes similar to transformative theory, which addresses the reactions of individuals, groups, cultures, institutions and society to change. It further sees incompatible interests based on competition for resources, which in most cases are assumed to be scarce, as being responsible for social conflicts<sup>121</sup>.

The main argument of the structural conflict theory is that, conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized. The theory looks at social problems like political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, diseases, exploitation, inequality and so on as a source of conflict. The structuralists maintains that conflicts occur because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies, domination of one class by another and so on. This case is made by radical scholars like Marx, Engels, Mao Tse Tung and others who blame capitalism for being an exploitative system based on its

relations of production and the division into the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thus, the exploitation of the proletariat and the lower class under capitalism creates conflict<sup>122</sup>.

Structural theory is remarkably strongly on the immediately and underlying factors that lead to conflict. It presents a large number of factors that make the emergence and escalation of internal conflict possible. While economic and social factors are more common, political and institutional factors (the structures of the state, discriminatory political institutions, intergroup politics and elite cohesion or fragmentation); security factors (national security dilemma, regional, military environment, refugee regimes, cross-border criminality, as well as ethnic factors) are equally critical.

The structuralist present factors such as those listed above as the major motivating factors that explain the emergence of destructive conflicts between individuals and groups. In most cases, problems of overpopulation, economic underdevelopment, unintegrated social and political institutions, as well as demographic factors that put pressure on human settlements and available resources are the main factors responsible for the emergence of internal conflict<sup>123</sup>.

The capitalist society are accused of being exploitative, and such exploitation is a cause of conflict. Marxists are of the opinion that the capitalist conflict will be resolved through a “revolution” where the bourgeoisie will be overthrown in a socialist revolution led by workers, bringing about the establishment of a socialist order by the working people. The Marxists tradition was also extended by the “neo-Marxist” who dominated the dependency and underdevelopment school of thought. Some of these theorists are Walter Rodney, Samir Amin, Frank Fanon and so on. This groups of scholars seeks to explain the reasons for developments and underdevelopment, and why third world countries are not developing. These scholars situate their analysis within the world capitalist system,

and accuse the system of being structurally exploitative, retarding development of the third world countries.

Liberal structuralist like propounded the theory of positive and negative peace to buttress how structural conflict can occur in the society. It is for this reason that the structuralist call for the elimination of structural defects with policy reforms. It must also be noted that the emphasis of the structuralist theory is on how the competing interests of groups tie conflict directly into the social, economic, and political organization of society as well as the nature and strength of social networks within and between community groups<sup>124</sup>. For instance, in a situation where economic and political discrimination and weak kinship ties are the defining characteristics of a society, the chances that negative conflict are higher than in situations where the conditions are the exact opposite. In other words, when social, political, economic and cultural processes are monopolized by a group, it creates conditions that make people to adopt adversarial approaches to conflict.

The structural conflict theory has been criticized by a variety of groups and academics throughout the years. Although the theory investigates the power dynamics that cause social and economic inequality in many situations, it has been criticized for its emphasis on change and disregard for societal stability. In reality, some critics recognize that societies are always changing, but point out that most of it is modest or gradual rather than revolutionary. Some scholars also argued that the theory focuses too much on the economic causes of conflict, ignoring other types of “non-economic” conflict<sup>125</sup>.

Another criticism of this theory is how it disregards many social institutions such as family, education, religion, politics, and so on play important roles in society or might collaborate to establish a balance. It is for this reason that the concept of functionalism is seen as alternative view.

### 2.2.2 System Theory

A system is a cohesive conglomeration of interrelated and interdependent parts which can be natural or human-made. In other words, a system is also an entity which is a coherent whole such that a boundary is perceived around it in order to distinguish internal and external elements and to identify input and output relating to and emerging from the entity. Every system is bounded by space and time, influenced by its environment, defined by its structure and purpose, and expressed through its functioning<sup>126</sup>. A systems theory is hence a theoretical perspective that analyzes a phenomenon seen as a whole and not simply as the sum of elementary parts. The focus is on the interactions and relationships between parts in order to understand an entity's organization, functioning and outcomes.

Simply put, it is based on the belief that individuals do not operate in isolation, but rather grow and develop in interaction with their physical and social environment. There are many proponents of the theory because of the multidisciplinary approach but Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim and Von Bertalaffy are notable scholars of the theory. System theory is derived from general systems theory, which explores the parts of a system that interconnect and interact to make a complete whole.

System theory provides a socio-structural explanation for the emergence of violent social conflicts. This position of this theory is that reasons for any social conflict lie in the social context within which it occurs. In any political violence, any analytical penetration of the behaviour characterized as purposive political violence must utilize as its tool a conception of the social context in which it occurs<sup>127</sup>. This paradigm turns our focus to social factors and the effects of large-scale changes in social, political, and economic processes that would guide against instability.

Systemic factors that lead to changes in peoples material comfort include environmental degradation that reduces access to sources of livelihood, uncontrolled population growth especially in urban centres, resource scarcity and its allocation through lopsided political processes and competition, the negative effects of colonial and Cold War legacies, breakdown of cherished values and traditions that play crucial social control functions, widespread poverty in the midst of plenty, the domination and marginalization of minority groups by those in the majority and ethnicity. These are all examples of systemic causes of conflict<sup>128</sup>.

Systemic sources of conflict are found in every aspect of life and affect large numbers of people even though their influence on the emergence and intensity of conflict are not always so visible to people. Because systematic factors bear directly on the less privilege, preventive people-friendly economic and political reforms, and state policies that genuinely seek to prevent or reduce conflicts between individuals and groups by seriously addressing the underlying issues often yield positive results in the long run because the people will see and feel the impacts of such actions as soon as they begin to yield fruits<sup>129</sup>.

System theory also seek to explain the relationship between modernization and political disorder and see movements between different periods of economic and political history as containing large amount of “pull factors” tension and crises that create conditions of internal conflict and instability. A scholar for instance identified identity crisis, legitimacy crisis, penetration crisis, participation crisis, integration crisis, and distribution crisis as six key issues within modernization projects that generate conflicts. The inabilities to manage the challenges that result from these produce immediate factors that lad to the negative developments within the system<sup>130</sup>.

In trying to cope with the different challenges and crises of modernization, most governments that find it difficult to gain the legitimacy needed to attract support from the people usually resort to unconstitutional means and force rather than processes that are in line the rule of law, in an effort to suppress the legitimate demands of the people, prevent opposition and civil society groups from criticizing policies that they do not agree with, and generally attempt to dictate the terms on which peace can be attained.

### **2.2.3 Human Needs Theory**

The position of human needs theory is similar to that of frustration aggression and relative deprivation theory. Its main assumption is that all humans have basic human needs which they seek to fulfill, and that the denial and frustration of these needs by other groups or individuals could affect them immediately or later, thereby leading to conflict. The Basic human needs in this sense comprises physical, psychological, social and spiritual needs. In essence, to provide access to one, such as food, and deny or hinder access to another (for example, freedom of worship) will amount to denial and could make people to resort to violence in an effort to protect these needs<sup>131</sup>.

Needs theorist over time have identified some of these needs the deprivation of which cause conflict. In his analysis of motivation and personality identified physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love, esteem and self-actualization. A scholar list response, stimulation, security, recognition, distributive justice, meaning, need to appear rational and develop rationality, need for sense of control and the need for role defense<sup>132</sup>. He refers to some needs as basic, such as food, shelter, sex and reproduction and so on. Another author names some basic needs like security, distinctive identity, social recognition of identity and effective participation in the processes that shape such identities<sup>133</sup>.

He identified a link between frustration which forces human into act of aggression and the need on the part of such individuals to satisfy their basic needs. To him, individuals cannot be taught to accept practices that destroy identity and other goals that are attached to their needs and because of this, they are forced to react against the factors, groups and institutions that they see as being responsible for threatening such needs<sup>134</sup>.

Human needs survival, protection, affection, understanding, participation, creativity, and identity are shared by all people irrepensible and to some author, have components (needs for recognition, identity, security, autonomy and bonding with others) that are not easy to give up<sup>135</sup>. No matter how much a political or social system tries to frustrate or suppress these needs, it will either fail or cause far more damage on the long run. Like a scholar's thesis on relative deprivation, he believes that the tension between deprivation and potential are main issues addressed by the human needs theory because when important needs are not sufficiently satisfied, economic and political problems will continue to grow<sup>136</sup>. The absence of economic opportunities, hyper-inflation, and penury are manifestations of economic imbalance; while political imbalance leads to fear, xenophobia (intense fear or dislike of foreign people, their customs and culture), crime and violence, forced migration, voluntary or forced exile and political marginalization. All these constitute the root cause of bitter conflicts.

Even though needs scholars identify a wide range of human needs, some of which they consider to basic human needs, they are agreed on the fact that frustration of these needs hampers the actualization of the potentials of groups and individuals, subsequently leading to conflict. Secondly, there is near consensus among them that to resolve a conflict situation, or to even prevent it from occurring, the needs to have to be met with appropriate satisfiers, those things that were denied them in the first instance<sup>137</sup>.

#### 2.2.4 Frustration Aggression Theory

One of the most influential and widely used hypotheses in the study of conflict and aggressiveness is the frustration-aggression hypothesis, often described as the frustration-aggression theory. It has been used and researched in several fields since its introduction in the late 1930s. Theorist of frustration aggression hypothesis believed that, aggressiveness is generally a byproduct of frustration or discontentment, and the emergence of violent behavior always assumes that dissatisfaction is present. As a result, dissatisfaction or frustration results from a gap between desire and performance caused by the relative deprivation of an expectation<sup>138</sup>.

Theorist who rely on this this explanation use the psychological theories of motivation and behaviour, as well as frustration and aggressiveness. In an attempt to explain aggression, scholars point to the difference between what people feel they want or deserve to what they actually get, the “want-get-ratio” and the difference between “expected need satisfaction and “actual need satisfaction”<sup>139</sup>. Where expectation does not meet attainment, the tendency is for people to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambition. This is the central argument that the relative deprivation thesis addressed in saying that “the greater the discrepancy, however marginal, between what is sought and what seems attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result<sup>140</sup>.

The main explanation that the frustration-aggression theory provides is that, aggression is not just undertaken as a natural reaction or instinct as realist and biological theorists assume, but that it is the outcome of frustration and that in a situation where the legitimate desires of an individual is denied either directly or by the indirect consequence of the way the society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead such a person

to express his anger through violence that will be directed at those he holds responsible or people who are directly or indirectly related to them.

The most prudent course of action for elected politicians is to learn what these individuals and entities anticipate, and then look for methods to negotiate with them, when dissatisfaction levels among the populace are high and there is a sense that they are receiving less than they deserve. However, persons in positions of power frequently think that caving to pressure from the public or engaging in discussions is a show of weakness. This is not always the case, and there are situations when a governmental official or community leader does anything.

A good example of the way in which frustration leads to aggression can be seen in the ongoing crises in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria. After, waiting and peaceful agitating for what the people of the region considered a fair share of oil wealth that is exploited from their land, youths now take law into their own hands by vandalizing oil pipelines, kidnapping oil workers for fat ransoms and generally creating problems for those they believe are responsible for their predicament<sup>141</sup>.

Applying this theory to the Nigerian situation with respect to EndSARS protest, it is apparent that the masses of the Nigerians, particularly the youths have experienced frustrations in their efforts to attain instigated goal responses. The experience of no employment after graduation from higher institutions of learning and poor infrastructural amenities that will enable them achieve their targeted goals is frustrating enough<sup>142</sup>. Therefore, it could be argued that the EndSARS protest is a response to the arrays of frustration which the masses have experienced in their endeavor to attain set existential goals.

Additionally, the grievances of the protesters were increased by the lack of an actual solution and an uptick in brutality, particularly the shootings that took place on October 20, 2020 at the Lekki Toll Gate which purportedly resulted in the deaths of some protesters, as evidenced by images of the Nigerian flag covered in blood<sup>142</sup>. This is said to be the reason why the disagreement turned into looting, hijacking, and damage of both private and public property. Despite its critique and recommendations for reformulation, the frustration aggression theory is deemed to be appropriate for the examination of this thesis.

### **2.3 Review of Empirical Studies**

In 2017, the research of some scholars examine and analyze the use of violence and nonviolence in two neighborhood in the northern part of Nigeria, particularly in Jos. The study indicate that structural factors such as population, security intervention and geography does not predict nonviolence. The study used both primary and secondary sources of data collection. The study concluded that, nonviolence in a mixed and vulnerable community is dependent on the structural factors<sup>143</sup>.

In 2018, the study of a scholar examined social change and its effects in relation to nonviolence and conflict management in rural areas. The study also investigate how nonviolence mechanism can bring peace in a society. The study further explained that, changes in the nature of social institutions, social behaviour and social relations are all examples of the process of social change and how it affect the social function of a system. While the study used secondary sources of data collection, it further concludes that, within the Nigerian context, the concept of social change can be looked from the changes that occur in various aspect of human life<sup>144</sup>.

The research of some scholars in 2020 found that, nonviolence as a mechanism of dousing conflict is more successful than violence in effecting political change. The authors observed that there is a hidden influence of “ethnic identity” on campaign outcomes. Furthermore, they argued that prevalent negative stereotypes do make minority group to be associated with violence even when they tend to resist through nonviolent means. They also opined that, the outcomes of nonviolence is imperatively moderated by ethnicity with the dominant group taking the success of the outcome. These hypothesis were tested in two studies that were classified as study 1 and study 2. The findings of this research indicate that, ethnic identity do have a significant say or even shape nonviolence campaign perception and outcomes and this serve as obstacles and biases posed on nonviolent mobilization for social change<sup>145</sup>.

In 2021, the study of a scholar in Nigeria investigated jungle justice and the contributing factor during the EndSARS protest in Nigeria. The paper contend that two incidents sparked the national protest on social media and many celebrities in the country join the call for a police reform and good governance. The convergence theory was used to explain the dependent and independent variables in the study while 291 respondents were conveniently selected and a descriptive survey was used during analysis. The findings of the research revealed that, during the EndSARS protest, majority of the respondents have a positive perception towards jungle justice. In addition to that, the result also found that unemployment, poverty, and the bad state of the nation are contributing factors towards jungle justice in Nigeria. The study therefore recommend that, it is necessary to sensitize the youths on the negative effect of jungle justice<sup>146</sup>.

### **2.3.1 Differences between Peaceful and Violent Demonstrations**

Nonviolence is a strategy or way of life that involves using nonviolent tactics or symbolic protests to achieve goals like social change. This kind of nonviolent action draws attention to the aspirations of a group that believes that something must happen in order to better the situation of the group that is resisting. During nonviolent actions, it is expected that governments should uphold international law and let people or organizations to engage in peaceful protests<sup>147</sup>.

In addition, for a demonstration to cease being regarded as peaceful, there must be persuasive or obvious proof of a purpose to use or instigate violence. It was also asserted that a small number of violent incidents did not make a whole gathering violent or call for its dispersal. But not all demonstrations are peaceful. When demonstrators injure people or property, they are engaging in violent protest rather than lawful demonstration<sup>148</sup>.

In other words, violent protest includes, among other things, activities like looting, setting things on fire, damaging property, and harming individuals. Indeed, due to inadequate management by the government authorities and security personnel, the EndSARS demonstration in Nigeria changed from a peaceful protest to one with a dangerously violent character<sup>149</sup>.

### **2.3.2 Twitter and Social Media Activism during EndSARS Protest in Nigeria**

The introduction of social media and globalization in Nigeria has helped to break the hegemony and monopoly of the media. New types of grassroots public relations, such as those carried out through participatory networks have emerged as a result of this "digital media". Social media gives people alternate news sources, avoiding traditional media outlets, and many people in Nigeria may now rely only on media platforms for their information. Political figures' support for social media is indicative of its domination, as seen by Goodluck Jonathan who in 2010 declared his presidential bid on Facebook<sup>150</sup>.

Relatedly, the exclusionary approach by the government to running the state is no longer as successful at the moment, in large part because digital networks has emerged as a crucial instrument for raising awareness, organizing people, and igniting progressive change and discussions. Youth in Nigeria are becoming more politically aware, and as a result, they are relying more on media platforms to express their opinions and gather information. They utilize social media channels to spread dissident political viewpoints in order to demand their rights to democratic elections, open governance, and an end to corruption. The hashtags such as #Bringbackourgirls, #PoliceReform, #RevolutionNow, #NottooYoungtoRun, #OccupyNigeria and #EndSARS, have been used to highlight some of these problems on media platforms.

The rapid transmission of information and the organization of the people for peaceful demonstrations may both be attributed to social media. Social movement groups heavily rely on the internet to improve planning and mobilization efforts when planning large-scale street protests<sup>151</sup>. Some authors emphasized that social media has become a major forum for public debate and argument and occasionally serves as a platform for civic engagement<sup>152</sup>.

Clearly related to this, hashtags on social media may be used to bring awareness to certain issues and openly target particular populations. As earlier explain in the parts that follow, this was especially true during the #EndSARS demonstrations when celebrities were criticized for not supporting the demonstrators. It is sufficient to say that social media has played a significant role in the twenty-first century in terms of mobilizing demonstrators, undermining the legitimacy of governments, and drawing attention to their misdeeds on a local and global scale<sup>153</sup>.

With many young voicing out against police violence and unfairness on social media as part of the #EndSARS campaign, Nigerian politics has entered a new age. As a result, the current online and physical protests have gained the necessary momentum thanks to increased young participation on social media and the dissemination of information. The mobilization tools of media platforms which have captured the attention of young people will effectively make planning protests practically impossible without them, especially with the rising downsizing of internet-enabled technologies<sup>154</sup>.

Thus, it acts as a means of conversation and interaction for political movements across various nations. Using both social networking sites and traditional protests, citizens have sent clear message to the governments. This has been accomplished through rallying support across borders in order to build long-lasting and significant political action. To do this, individuals from various geopolitical areas have been connected and developed close connections with on media platforms. By pleading for money, retweets of their promotional tweets, and follow-backs, several online protestors formed alliances and made friends. The EndSARS movement, which was driven by the five demands that became popular through debates on Twitter and other social media platforms, was made visible as a result of this setting<sup>155</sup>.

To many public analysts, the early level of demonstrations and popularity was greatly influenced by the intense use of Twitter and other social networking platforms. The EndSARS movement's online and offline involvement procedures followed the stages of social media-based protest. The processes comprise the use of social media for communication and mobilization, provoking events, media coverage, physical response as well as physical protest.

As shown in the creation of supplementary hashtags like #Endpolicebrutality, and #EndSARS, the above steps constitute an instance of a virtual political agitation, which is a significant driver for physical protest. Whether digital networks or online demonstrations translate to actual protests has been questioned by some academics. While some said that online activism does not provide media platforms users a feeling of belonging and that it disintegrates rapidly, others argued that the social media is merely a forum for ideological debate and does not encourage individuals to get involved in true popular movements<sup>156</sup>.

However, several authors found in their study that media platforms use impacts the motivation to take part in social movements and also helps to improve the aforementioned intention by providing the necessary impetus<sup>157</sup>. This was supported by a researcher who proposed that netizens who are associated with individuals who are extremely responsive to communication systems on social movement participation have higher intentions to actively engage in a physical mass movement because they have a wider network of bridging social capital<sup>158</sup>.

As a result of their members' online activism, three main groupings have emerged. These groupings include "internet warriors," who are more inclined to participate in intense radical discourse online without committing to or participating in actions offline. The bulk of #EndSARS demonstrators who offered their voices to make the issue trend but were not present on the demonstration grounds reflect this group. The famous people were not permitted, though, as they were asked to assume leadership roles on the demonstration grounds.

There is a second group of people who support a "radical shift" by working to transform changes in the way people interact with one another. These are the people that organized

the demonstrations and helped Nigerians in need by giving them artificial limbs and financial support. And as is the case with activists who coordinated on Twitter and were active on the demonstration grounds, the third category, known as "facilitating," mixes several forms of activity, such as online and offline protests. In addition, these people raised money, sought out and provided medical assistance, and placed themselves in harm's way to resist police harassment in the course of the protests.

Even while this study argues that media platforms appears to be a potent instrument for some types of activism, I believe that it may not certainly have an equal impact on all forms of citizen protest. Moreover, while large-scale political and social protests can benefit from the involvement and interaction of people through online platforms, some smaller-scale movements in the community and the workplace help learners through physical commitments that do not necessitate quite enough support mobilization.

### **2.3.3 Nonviolence and the Ethnic Identity of Protesters**

In Nigeria, over 450 ethnic groups were conveniently married together without their permission. This basic fault is made even more obvious by the fact that the structure of state was not designed with consideration for the stark contrasts between these ethnic groups' languages, populations, educational attainment, and geographical identity. Predictably, extremely upsetting ethnic and ethnic-related crises that pose a danger to the Nigerian State's ability to continue as a nation has continued to abruptly interrupt its politics and governance<sup>160</sup>.

Conflict researchers and experts have until recently ignored peaceful demonstrations. The majority of nonviolence research is practical, descriptive, or ideological instead of empirical, as several eminent scholars have noted<sup>161</sup>. But in recent years, a flood of scientific study on nonviolent tactics has appeared. An essential conclusion from this

study is that nonviolent movements are far more likely than violent ones to be successful in accomplishing their objectives. This conclusion is based on the ground-breaking work of eminent researchers in the United States<sup>162</sup>.

This efficacy is thought to be a result of nonviolent initiatives' greater popularity, which creates a participating advantage. Based on this reasoning, nonviolence draws more solidarity and participation on a national and worldwide level, converting onlookers and driving away supporters of the status quo. Although most of the research in this field has relied on collective, cross-national data and so has not been able to directly support this mobilization mechanism, more recent experimental work has produced a plethora of evidence across a variety of empirical scenarios. For instance, some academics conduct a poll experiment in Poland and discover that people favor government agreements with terrorist organizations less than organizations that use peaceful techniques<sup>163</sup>.

In accordance with the research by two experts, the use of violent protests by typically popular groups decreases that support and boosts support for their adversaries. Another researcher found that the 15-M movement's popularity in Spain declined as a result of the violent riots, especially among those who were not the movement's core supporters<sup>164</sup>. This expanding corpus of research offers convincing evidence in favor of the mobilizing benefits of nonviolence, which are frequently cited as the primary factor contributing to the success of nonviolent initiatives. Although it is argued that a focus on average impacts obscures the significant moderating function of group identification, it is true that the average effects of peaceful demonstrations on public opinions are essential<sup>165</sup>.

In order to gain public support by peaceful methods, minority and underrepresented ethnic groups frequently struggle with prejudices and unfavorable perceptions. Despite the fact that the substance of group preconceptions varies depending on the situation, a

substantial body of research indicates that many poor ethnic groups are stigmatized as aggressive or criminal.

#### **2.3.4 The Impact of Ethnic Identity on How People View Violent Protesters**

Although the empirical research typically views nonviolence as a continuous, objective construct, a substantial body of literature contends that perceptions of violence differ by identity group as a result of unfavorable profiling<sup>166</sup>. For instance, multiple studies conducted throughout the United States have discovered a pervasive instinctive stereotype connecting Black Americans with crime and violence.

Numerous studies have shown that when people are prepared to think about Black people, they are more likely to mistake harmless things for weapons and shoot suspects<sup>167</sup>. One in two Americans feel that the majority of the negro race are belligerent, based on specific research conducted outside of the research facility utilizing data from representative sample survey samples<sup>168</sup>. Data from surveys indicate that two decades later, discriminatory views are still common. In the US, stereotypes about African-Americans are certainly not the only ones that are unfavorable. Research findings have shown that Muslims and Muslim Americans are stereotyped as being violent and unreliable, as well as some indication that Latino men are also stereotyped as being violent and criminal<sup>169</sup>.

In a related study, it was shown that immigrants from the Middle East and Latin America were judged to be much more violent than immigrants from Europe and Asia<sup>170</sup>. Of course, prejudice and unfavorable preconceptions of minority ethnic groups go well beyond the US. Many studies have examined popular perceptions of immigrants in the European setting, documenting the varied misconceptions connected to distinct groups<sup>171</sup>. For instance, a lot of studies show that prejudice towards Muslims in Europe is substantially more prevalent than prejudice against other immigrants or foreigners.

Additionally, research have discovered evidence of unfavorable preconceptions about Black people throughout Latin America<sup>172</sup>.

### **2.3.5 Examples of Nonviolent Movement and Mobilization in Contemporary Nigeria**

#### **1. The Bring Back Our Girls Movement**

The Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG) movement started in 2014 during the administration of former president Goodluck Jonathan when 276 school girls were kidnapped in Chibok in the northern part of Nigeria. Concerned about the condition of 276 schoolgirls abducted by the terrorist organization Boko Haram in 2014, people across the Nigeria and the world were captivated by the #BringBackOurGirls social media movement<sup>173</sup>.

At a protest in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, former Minister and Vice President of the African division of the World Bank launched the Bring Back Our Girls peaceful campaign. Thousands of Nigerians and Nigerian in diaspora on Twitter and other media platform helped spread it as they joined the nationwide call for egalitarianism for the kidnapped girls<sup>174</sup>. However, government authorities in Nigeria have been wary of a certain kind of civic association since colonial times—the kind that unites Nigerians as a nation and overcomes racial and religious differences. The divide-and-rule strategies were employed by British colonizers and those who followed them in authoritarian regimes to marginalize such uprisings<sup>175</sup>.

Historically speaking, the Nigerian government at different era have employed diverse repressive measures against nonviolent movement. Examples of this is the Occupy Nigeria in 2014, the protest against the Structural Adjustment Programme and many more. Any movement that crosses social, ethnic, and religious boundaries is seen as hazardous because it can rival the dominant class's denominationalism and act as a credible check on their oppressive rule<sup>176</sup>.

Although modest, the BBOG campaign meets this description. It has brought together citizens of different class and residents of a distant, North Eastern town on the periphery of the national conscience. The organization of the protest is impartial, post-sectarian, and multiculturalism. It cannot be labeled as a sectional organization looking for favors or concessions from the government. Indeed, the ruling elites are at ease with organizations that seek favoritism and frightened by movements that demand that they carry out their duties. It is impossible to interpret bring back our girls motivations as anything other than compassion as well as social cooperation<sup>177</sup>.

The activists involved in the BBOG campaign do not the 'rent-a-crowd' type of ravenous mercenary troublemakers, whose grievances are an exercise in culinary wish fulfillment. The bonds between the bereaved parents of Chibok and their supporters are created by their common identity and patriotism. Nigerians are calling on our leaders to practice good governance through the Bring Back Our Girls initiative. This is, if you will, our "Nigerian Spring". In addition to returning our girls, the government must start taking its responsibilities as the country's defender seriously and address all the factors that make it simple for a gang of individuals to take up guns and terrorize a country<sup>178</sup>.

## **2. The Enough is Enough Group**

Another group that has been challenging the Nigerian government on good governance and public accountability is the Enough is Enough Group. The peaceful group is an alliance of youth organizations that wants to see improved political participation among young people in Nigeria. The enough is enough initiative was established as a follow-up to several citizen demonstrations and marches that took place in 2010 about their absent President, the deaths in Jos, and fuel shortages. The rallies took place on March 16 at the National Assembly in Abuja and on April 13 at the Lagos State.

However, based on the recruitment for the demonstrations, it began as a grassroots movement of people and groups dedicated to altering the dynamics of public officials' public oversight. The main platforms used to coordinate the protests were Social media such as Twitter, Email, Twitter, and Facebook. It also marked the start of EiE's substantial dependence on technology as a vehicle for interaction, communication, and mobilization.

### **2.3.6 EndSARS Protest and Some Obstacles to Youth Development in Nigeria**

The EndSARS protest is not just about the ending police or SARS brutality in the country. The protest cut across an end to bad governance and promotion of rule of law and other dividend of democracy that the government need to provide for its citizens. In this section, the author discussed some obstacles to youth development in Nigeria and some of them are:

#### **1. Poverty**

One of Nigeria's biggest social-economic issues is poverty. Nigeria suffers from a severe and pervasive poverty. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) reported in 2019 that 83 million Nigerians which represent 43% of the population live on less than 137,430 Naira (381.75 dollar) a year<sup>179</sup>. Similarly, the World Clock Poverty report for 2021 indicated that, 86,802,955 Nigerians representing 41% of the country's population live in poverty<sup>180</sup>. These numbers provide credence to the claim that poverty is widespread and persistent in Nigeria. However, what is more concerning is that, the analysis of the data by NBS indicate that, youths between the ages of 15 and 34 are vulnerable to various from poverty and inequality compared to other age groups.

The increased prevalence of poverty among young people implies that the majority of them might not even have significant exposure to accommodation and might be living in cramped homes in slums, these youths may not be able to afford three square meals a day, they may not be able to buy clothing for themselves, and they may not have access to appropriate education and health services<sup>181</sup>. Young people are being blatantly denied access to necessary services, which is akin to asking, how could a person scoop fire into his lap without his garments getting burned? Nigeria, a nation with much more resources, cannot expect peace while subjecting its youths to these abhorrent human conditions. Therefore, one of the causes of the historic EndSARS demonstrations that shut down all major sectors of the economy is poverty.

## **2. Illiteracy**

It is impossible to overstate the importance of learning in enabling young to act as transformational leaders in any society. UNESCO states that, literacy is the capacity to recognize, comprehend, interpret, produce, express, and analyze using printed and textual resources related to various settings. It is well known that a large number of young people struggle to integrate into the constantly evolving labor market because they lack fundamental abilities like reading. The global organization estimates that 750 million people around the world lack basic reading abilities, of which 102 million are young people between the ages of 15 and 24 and two-thirds are women<sup>182</sup>. Despite these loopholes, the Nigerian government has throughout the years given scant attention to its educational system despite the severe lack of literacy in the nation.

For some years now, the government of Nigeria has not been able to devote more than 15% of its yearly budget which is far less than the UNESCO-recommended baseline of 26% to the education industry for the previous 20 years<sup>182</sup>. Neglecting the educational

system has a negative impact on Nigerian talent development. For example, the United Nations Children Educational Fund (UNICEF) state that, over 10.5 million children in Nigeria are not attending school in the country<sup>183</sup>. Due to the fact that a large number of these untrained adolescents are being enlisted by Boko Haram militants and other criminal networks to fight the Nigerian State, they have come to represent the Achilles' heel of Nigerian society.

### **3. Unemployment**

One of the biggest issues facing Nigerian young today is unemployment. Hundreds of thousands of young people leave Nigerian universities, college, and polytechnics each year with little chance of finding a job that pays a living wage. Furthermore, the number of people who drop out of high school and those who do not have any formal education has been rising rapidly. Without any clear national policy to reverse the terrible pattern, Nigeria's unemployment trend has been climbing gradually over the years. Nigeria's unemployment rate increased from 27.1 percent in the second quarter of 2020 to 33.3 percent in the fourth quarter of that same year<sup>184</sup>.

Youth unemployment in Nigeria between the ages of 15 and 34 increased to 42.5% in the 4th quarter of 2020<sup>185</sup>. As a result, several jobless youths in Nigeria were readily persuaded to join the EndSARS rallies since an idle man is the devil's workshop. In other words, the EndSARS demonstrations were exacerbated by Nigeria's high unemployment rate. Although empirical evidence linking unemployment and demonstrations is lacking, this analysis agrees is in tandem with the International Labour Organization's

(ILO) assertion that, unemployment constitutes one of the major causes of instability in not only within Africa but also in the Arab world.

#### **4. Drug Abuse**

One of the significant health and social issues affecting young people in Nigeria is illegal drug consumption and addiction. Illegal drugs like cannabis, heroin, cocaine, and tramadol are just a few of the behavior-altering substances that many young folks abuse, with negative effects on their physical, emotional, and mental stability. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) asserts in its 2020 report that youths between the ages of 25-39 have a high rate of illicit drug consumption<sup>186</sup>.

Illegal substances are said to be the primary cause of the majority of criminal activity in our contemporary culture, including insurgency, abduction, banditry, armed robbery, thuggery, and militancy in the Niger Delta area of the nation. Therefore, the only choice accessible to Nigerian millennial to escape the misery that the Nigerian society has left them with is to stop the consumption of hard substance. This is because they are struggling with the issues of poverty, unemployment, and underemployment.

#### **2.3.7 EndSARS: Youth as an Architects of Change in Nigeria**

Youth in Nigeria may be agents of transformation in any culture because of their positive energy. Every society's development is based on how it nurtures and its youth. In other words, societal change cannot happen without young inclusion and growth. Any society's future lies with its young people. They have the abilities, ambition, and creativity required to bring about social change. Therefore, a society might not be able to advance as quickly as it would want if young people hold a marginal role in its development policies.

Firstly, there is absolutely no question that the EndSARS campaign by Nigerian youths resulted in policy and historical change which was one of the significant benefits. This is consistent with a scholar's views that demonstrations can have an impact on how policies are implemented<sup>187</sup>. Similar to this, other authors underlined that changing public policy is one of the important results of social movements like the EndSARS marches<sup>188</sup>.

In spite of the fact that the SARS was established in 1992 as a division of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) underneath the Force Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department to investigate and convict those responsible for crimes involving armed robbery, abductions, and other crimes involving firearms, they strayed from their core purpose and turned into monsters in the eyes of the public<sup>189</sup>. However, the SARS was abolished as a result of the young demonstrations in Nigeria against violations of human rights. The President made this announcement on October 11th, 2020. The fact that the discontinuation of the SARS was one of the main demands of the demonstrators shows unequivocally that the EndSARS rallies by Nigerian youths had a substantial impact on changing policy.

Of course, this represented a win for the general Nigerian population as well as for the country's young. Secondly, the EndSARS demonstrations had an unintended effect on young people's lives in addition to their direct influence on legislative reform. Although the major goal of the EndSARS demonstrations was to stop the Nigerian police from abusing human rights, the government claimed that the army of unemployed youths in Nigeria had made the protests worse.

The governments in reaction established the Youth Investment Fund with N75 billion which may be used by youths with a 5% lending rates. This is a significant dramatic change in how the government interacts with young people<sup>190</sup>. For the first time,

the government put aside money specifically to meet the aspirations of Nigerian young. In other words, if it were not for the EndSARS demonstrations, the Nigerian government probably could not have come up with a novel strategy to empower its army of hopeless youngsters. Thirdly, the political class allegedly engaged Nigerian youths in civic engagement as a result of the EndSARS protests in order to hear their complaints. As shown, civic participation must spread across democratic governance and cease to represent a threat to citizens<sup>191</sup>.

This is noteworthy since the post-colonial state in Nigeria has a history of successfully intimidating and harassing demonstrators. Protesters are seen by the Nigerian government as societally unstable forces that need to be brutally crushed. The EndSARS demonstrations did not involve this. Although several protestors were imprisoned and convicted at the start of the demonstrations. Later, however, security organizations started to use polite methods of communicating with the general population.

Equally crucial, in response to the EndSARS protestors' requests that instances of human rights violations even against Nigerian Police be heard, judicial panels have been established in each of the 36 States of the Federation and the FCT. In contrast to the recourse to violence and coercion, which has grown to be one of the main characteristics of the post-colonial state in Nigeria, this showed a more polite manner of interacting members of the general public in a democratic setting.

Moreover, regardless of their racial or religious affiliations, youths in Nigeria were united by the EndSARS protests. Since Nigeria's independence, religious and ethnic divisions have been the primary causes of attrition. In Nigeria, ethnic or religious conflicts frequently result in the destruction of innocent people's lives and property. These primal emotions were, however, overcome by the EndSARS demonstrations. When they go

beyond conventional limitations, persons and groups, such as civil rights activists and other thinkers, may be able to significantly alter society policies and institutions<sup>192</sup>.

The youths in Nigeria did such across the thirty-six (36) states. To oppose the SARS' unfairness and maltreatment, they conquered primal emotions. Similarly, others asserted that the youth-led EndSARS demonstrations broke down political, ethnic, and religious divisions in the state to demand an end to police abuses, particularly the dismantling of the debunked Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS). Last but not least, EndSARS demonstrations showed that young people in Nigeria are capable of creating social value and networking. An established informal norm that encourages collaboration amongst a group of individuals is referred to as social capital<sup>193</sup>.

Conservative values like confidence, honesty, fulfilling promises, and reliable duty performance are produced through social capital. The EndSARS demonstrations amply demonstrated the benefits of social capital. A leading human rights activist in Nigeria captured this precisely, when he said that despite participating in numerous demonstrations against military and civilian dictatorships in his country, he had never seen the level of dedication and tenacity displayed by Nigerians in the EndSARS protests. Youths were able to move between locations with the use of automobiles that protesters from the EndSARS campaign donated. Others used their own assets to prepare food for the gathering<sup>193</sup>.

The EndSARS demonstrators included medical professionals who nursed young folks who had been hurt during the demonstrations. In fact, the young people who spearheaded the EndSARS demonstration set up an internet fundraising site to generate money for a prosthetic leg for Miss Jane Obiene, a young woman who walked out to join the demonstrators in Abuja but only had one leg. The young people donated ₦4,

119,570.00 to Miss Jane, who has been unable to find work due to her infirmity since 2013, in order to buy her a prosthesis<sup>194</sup>.

Aside from that, the reduction in social capital has contributed to the persistence of the majority of the social issues facing Nigeria today, including the use of illicit drugs, unemployment, and police misconduct. The EndSARS demonstrations amply demonstrated how young people used social capital and social media to demolish the SARS, a symbol of tyranny and extortion.

## **2.4 Conceptual Framework**

The first comparative analysis of the connection between nonviolence and democratization was done by some scholars. In contrast to 'top-down' or violent transitions, they discovered that nations do benefit in terms of electoral rights and civil freedoms more significantly following "bottom-up" non-violent transitions<sup>195</sup>. Another researcher later confirmed this result using several democratic measurement techniques. But neither research used multivariate analysis. Given the intricacy of democratization, the link may be false due to a variety of extraneous variables.

By giving reliable information on more than 300 resistance activities in their Nonviolent and Violent Conflict Outcome (NAVCO) database, two eminent nonviolence experts significantly improved this scholarship. Using this information, their research reveals that nonviolent protests dramatically raise the level of democracy and the likelihood that a nation will be at least slightly democratic five years after the nonviolent campaign ends. However, their analysis excludes instances of elite-led democracy and exclusively examines the outcomes of peaceful campaigns in comparison to violent efforts. Additionally, their sample includes uprisings in existing democratic republics<sup>196</sup>.

Another research focuses on democratic transformations that take place under authoritarian governments in order to address some of these shortcomings. Their research demonstrates that the likelihood of a democratic transition is increased when nonviolent demonstrations are present. The authors did not, however, look into the impact of pushback efforts on post-democratic political growth<sup>197</sup>.

Additionally, a lot of studies just include a few explanatory variables, or in other situations, do not even look for potential alternative hypotheses. This is a crucial lacuna, as evidenced by the considerable research on the fundamental prerequisites of nonviolent activities which shows that democracy and peaceful resistance have similar predictors. For instance, a researcher contends that the rise of nonviolent opposition is strongly influenced by economic collapse and the availability of free places for organizing.

Another author contends that autocratic dictatorships' ties to the West engendered an "iron cage of liberalism" that helped nonviolent protests emerge and succeed, and others contend that the success of the largely nonviolent "Arab Spring" revolutions was due in part to the traits of the preceding regimes. For this reason, taking into consideration structural alternative hypotheses is essential when drawing conclusions regarding the causes of nonviolence and democracy<sup>198</sup>.

Some academics also investigate if violent conflict during the transition to democracy has an impact on later democratic progress. They discover that, in contrast to peaceful transitions, it has a detrimental impact on democracy. Their findings, however, only include the preservation of civil freedoms as a single factor in determining the effectiveness of democracy and are dependent on a small sample of regimes that underwent democratic transitions between 1972 and 2003. Furthermore, they obscure the critical contrast between top-down and bottom-up changes that has been discovered by

other studies by combining transformations started by nonviolence with those started by elite-led reform<sup>199</sup>.

Some scholars examine how transformations brought about by nonviolence influence the longevity of democracy in comparison to violent and elite-led transformations by integrating research from the research on nonviolence with studies of transition modes. Democratic governments that underwent a nonviolent transition process tend to last a lot longer than those that don't. The author, however, does not discuss representative democracy quality and its sub - elements and merely examines the effect of nonviolence on the persistence of democracy after transition, that is, whether regimes retained the bare minimums of democratic rule<sup>200</sup>.

In conclusion, the body of existing research offers convincing proof that nonviolence improves the probability of a successful democratic transformation and supports further democratic growth. Similar to this, empirical research on democracy and political evolution after various transitional modes likewise emphasizes the significance of public engagement. However, there are a few holes in the current body of knowledge.

## **2.5 Summary of Gaps in Literature Reviewed**

In recent years, large-scale protest as well as movements that demanded social and political reform captured the attention of the whole globe. Large groups of people mobilized to call for more transparency and accountability good governance, diversity, and social justice, from the Arab Spring to Black Lives Matter to the Yellow Vests, and to EndSARS protest in Nigeria. With reference to democracy, there is no consensus about the most acceptable definition of conflict and democracy but in this study, it is defined as contradiction or dispute between two or more parties caused by misunderstandings, rivalry for resources, power, and prestige. In addition to this, the

literature reviewed revealed that, nonviolence is seen as avoiding the utilization of physical violence particularly as a way of objection or protest. Secondly, it is also seen as the lack of or flexibility from physical violence. However, most of the literature reviewed did not do a critical analysis of how nonviolence is an effective way of conflict resolution in Nigeria. This is the literature reviewed filled.

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## Chapter Three

### Methodology

#### 3.1 Research Design

The basic purpose of research is to discover or find answers to research questions or problems through the application of scientific procedure, thus, a research design is only a basic structure for many research methodologies and approaches that a researcher uses in the conduct of his or her research. This research adopt both historical and explanatory research design to elicit information on EndSARS movement in Nigeria and how

nonviolence can be used as a mechanism of conflict resolution. The reason for these choices of research design is because of the fact that, historical research attempts to understand a phenomenon by determining its processes and growth and dynamics of internal change. It is a process by which the historian seeks to test the truthfulness of the reports of the observations made by others<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, explanatory research design is a technique created to investigate phenomena that have not yet been well studied or explained. Through this approach, the researcher gains a comprehensive understanding and uses research as a tool to help them find issues that could be handled in the future more rapidly<sup>2</sup>.

### **3.2 Population of the Study**

The population of a study is a portion of the target population where the actual sample is drawn. The population of this research are those people, activist, youths and other individuals who participated in the EndSARS movement across Nigeria. The population of the study are the articles, journals, newspaper editorials, reports and so on used to elicit information on EndSAR protest and conflict resolution in Nigeria.

### **3.3 Sample and Sampling Techniques**

The samples for this research were respondents derived from the population of the study. Hence, the sample size of the study are those people, activist, youths and other individuals who participated in the EndSARS movement across Nigeria.

### **3.4 Instruments for Data Collection**

Research is generally a systematic attempt to provide answers to questions. In this research, secondary sources of data collection was used to gather and identify relevant information on EndSARS movement in Nigeria and how nonviolence can be used as a mechanism of conflict resolution. Examples of secondary sources of data collection are editorials, newspapers, articles, textbooks, reports, magazines and so on. All these sources were studied diligently for the purpose of the research.

### **3.5 Validity of Research Instruments**

In order to ensure that the instruments of data collections were relevant to the study, the validity level of the research was tested to correspond with the theme of the research. In doing this, the researcher ensure that most of the article studied and analysed have a within the timeframe of the events of EndSARS movement across the country. All these were done to ensure that the content validity of these sources corresponds with the objectives of the research.

### **3.6 Reliability of the Research Instrument**

Reliability in research has to do with the accuracy and precision of the measurement procedure of a research. Reliability is therefore seen as the degree of consistency which allow the research instruments to be free from errors<sup>3</sup>. The reliability of the research ensure that the reports, articles, journals and so on gathered and studied were consistent with the theme and objectives of the research.

### **3.7 Administration of Instrument and Method of Data Collection**

The data used in carrying out this research were obtained solely from secondary sources. Hence, journals, editorials, articles, reports, conference proceedings, gazette, and so on were adequately sourced to elicit relevant information how nonviolence can be used as a mechanism of conflict resolution in Nigeria.

### **3.8 Method of Data Analysis**

The data collected for this research were analyzed and presented using historical and explanatory research designs. The research also make use of content analysis to examine nonviolence as a mechanism of conflict resolution in Nigeria.

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## **Chapter Four**

### **Results and Discussions of Findings**

#### **4.1 Presentation of Research Questions**

##### **4.1.1 Research Question One: What are the Conflictual Issues that Led to the Emergence of the EndSARS Protest?**

The activities of the defunct Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) led to the inevitable but historic protest that united the Nigerian youths to

achieve a common purpose. In addition to the above, Nigerians in general have been subjected to oppression by the ruling call in a number ways and have deprived them of many amenities aimed at the development of the citizens. The youths who constitute over fifty-one (51%) registered voters in Nigeria, are particularly disenchanted with the democratic structure due to the country's poor socio-economic performance, violations of human rights, pervasive poverty, insecurity, and mismanagement. Some of the conflictual issues that led to the emergence of EndSARS protest are in the following areas:

**i. Complete Disregard of the Educational Sector**

Nigeria is now at a turning moment in terms of security, human development for its people, and economic expansion. As observed by some scholars, the country's greatest drawback, is not its present problems but rather the gloomy future that stares the most populous black state in the world<sup>1</sup>. An exclusive look outside the 2023 general elections, one will observe the willful apathy and insensitivity to the deterioration of the education sector that gives the "hope of literacy" to citizens to protect and regain the future on multiple levels.

The Nigerian dominant group has consistently and utterly disregarded the education sector, as seen by the underfunding and inadequate infrastructure in numerous institutions across the nation. Numerous public institutions both at the basic and tertiary level are in a very sad state due to inadequate infrastructure development. Most of these schools are lacking essential facilities, such as well-equipped labs, standard lecture rooms, and other learning aids, as well as adequate, livable dormitories, especially for higher educational institutions.

The industrial protest by the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) in February 14, 2022 has been extended by four weeks to allow the government to resolve all outstanding issues<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, the Academic Staff Union of Polytechnics (ASUP) have also embark on industrial action. Meanwhile, public schools in some states like Sokoto and Zamfara and

some state in the South-East region of the country have been unable to register student for WAEC because of the stay at home instructions of IPOB<sup>3</sup>. What is alarming is how little our politicians understand how our dark future is related to the massive corruption and carelessness in the educational sector.

Nigeria appears to be regressing in every area of education and skill development. Rather than equipping the public schools for ordinary citizens, the political upper class citizens are driving the decline in trust in Nigeria's educational system because more than 95% of politicians business owners, and technocracy enroll their children to colleges and universities in England and the United States for higher education. As a result, Nigeria seldom has substantial policy discussions on education.

#### **ii. Lack of the Rule of Law**

One of the contentious concerns that sparked the EndSARS demonstration was Nigeria's ambiguous adherence to the rule of law. In reality, it is debatable whether or not we can deny that the rule of law has been violated. When it comes to applying the rule of law, the government seems to be totalitarian and operates in a selective manner. Many times, court rulings go unheeded; individuals are held without following the law; bail orders are disregarded without resorting to the authority of the court; and security agencies hold individuals longer than what is required by law despite the fact that they have not been tried and found guilty by an appropriate court<sup>4</sup>. This has all been Nigeria's tedious method of upholding the law. Indeed, the Nigerian government maintains that it is above the law.

#### **iii. Faulty or Ineffective Anti-Corruption Measure**

The anti-corruption system in Nigeria is incredibly fragile and discriminatory in terms of status. Subsequent governments in the country have all experienced this. Due to several flaws in the legal system, dishonest individuals frequently avoid the expected

consequences of their actions. Despite the fact that there have not been many convictions in recent years, the outcomes still do not meet the standards that are set for anti-corruption organizations<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, the legal process is so sluggish and sometimes flawed that it often takes years for those who have been detained and accused of corruption to be prosecuted and found guilty, if they are ever found guilty at all. In their attempts to obtain justice for alleged damages, a great number of individuals, including youths, are typically disappointed by these legal roadblocks<sup>6</sup>. Despite the fact that Nigeria has several anti-corruption organizations, they have not done much to stop the spread of corruption in the nation.

#### **iv. Mass Unemployment**

Undoubtedly, unemployment rate in Nigeria is extremely high and abnormal. It cannot be disputed that the majority of Nigerian youth, graduates and non-graduates alike, are unemployed or underemployed. The unemployment rate in Nigeria grew, rising from 27.1% in the second quarter of 2020 to 33.3% in the fourth quarter of the same year<sup>7</sup>. The current situation is the product of bad governance. The federal government has consistently failed to implement laws that would allow young people to find profitable employment after graduating from their different colleges and universities. They have failed to create parastatals and organizations that might accommodate the expanded and expanding young population. It is incredibly distressing that graduates still struggle with the problem of not having a job to do after spending arduous years in the universities. In essence, this situation will surely lead to a rise in crime and maybe youthful restlessness. Additionally, due to the government's limited business funding, the majority of young people who would like to work for themselves lacked the necessary funds. In fact, this is the result of ineffective elected leaders.

#### **v. Poor Service Delivery**

There is no question that the Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDA) in Nigeria perform subpar services; the state is impoverished and requires immediate assistance to survive. These ministries, departments, and agencies' staff members' corrupt tendencies and demeanor have tarnished the quality of the services they provide. They solely rely on what one can provide in order to provide any requested service. This is motivated more by a desire to enrich oneself than by a genuine enthusiasm to serve the country<sup>8</sup>. This appears to be completely at odds with their fundamental mission of providing excellent services. When Nigerians cannot fulfill their perverse expectations, they typically become dissatisfied because they are unable to achieve their desired outcomes<sup>8</sup>.

#### **vi. Undermining Youth Development**

They claim that today's young shall be the leaders of tomorrow, but this is not the case in modern Nigeria. Nigerian politicians both prevent their country's young and vibrant talent from growing and exploit that same youth as a springboard for their own political ascent. This viewpoint was adopted in light of the government's repeated failures to create policies that will strengthen the youths and provide them the opportunity to succeed in all spheres of life, including education, politics, society, and other areas. The prospects of young people engaging in politics are stifled when political office holders use the corrupt system to allow them to keep power for a number of years<sup>9</sup>.

In fact, the government has been unsuccessful in implementing measures that would support youths' easy ascent to political as well as other executive positions. Because of the political class's unquenchable desire to hold onto power forever, their ambitions of living up to the expectations of becoming leaders of future are frequently crushed. This is a major

source of dissatisfaction among the youths and one of the issues that led to the proliferation of the protest.

**vii. Loss of Confidence in Political Office Holder**

The masses have lost trust in political office holders as a result of their despicable pasts, especially young people. Politicians, bureaucrats, and many other public workers among others have been seen over the years to be extremely egotistical and to lack empathy in their public demeanor. Their specialty is accumulating wealth and properties with contempt and disrespect for the common good for themselves and future generations. They fraudulently and blatantly divert funds intended for the construction and maintenance of public infrastructure and services for their own personal gain<sup>10</sup>. Public officials now frequently put their own interests ahead of those of others. Additionally, the Nigerian state's inadequate anticorruption system has encouraged this regrettable and unpleasant nature.

**viii. Low Participation in Policy Making**

People actively engage in the creation of public policy, as is customary in the majority of developed democracies. In Nigeria, however, the situation is the opposite. The majority of government decisions are made behind closed doors, sometimes without the participation of the people who will ultimately benefit from them. In order for Nigerians to provide the essential feedback for optimal implementation, it is anticipated that they be made aware of policy initiations before they are articulated. The government's antics, which take joy in creating anti-people policies, thwart the desire for involvement in policy articulation and development, as is typically the case in Nigeria.

**ix. Corruption and Bad Governance**

The fact the existence of widespread corruption in all areas of public government is no longer breaking news. In Nigeria, corruption has really grown so pervasive that it has given rise to a subculture among public workers and members of the administration. Cases of theft and misuse of public funds by those charged with the task of serving the people frequently make the news on the pages of newspapers and other media sources. Typically, funds allotted for the construction of public infrastructure facilities are misused for personal gain, which harms the projects for which they were intended. There is a massive culture of corruption present in the nation's government. Indeed, corruption in government has permeated deeply into the fabric of our society, disappointing the hopes of the general populace for improved administration<sup>11</sup>.

#### **x. Poverty**

It is clear that poverty is a real issue in Nigeria. Nigerians as a whole are living in extreme poverty as a result of poor governance. The Global Poverty Index (GPI) revealed that, Nigeria now houses the world's poorest people, surpassing India. Indeed, the Nigerian government has not taken any significant action to improve the lives of Nigerians by lowering their poverty level. The government's social investment program is horrendously underfunded and badly run. It has not done much to raise the standard of living for Nigerians or provide food for the average person. The government has not made a visible or coordinated effort to address the high cost of living and general inflation that has led to high prices for products and services. The people's quality of life has gotten poorer as a result. In their daily struggle for existence, Nigerians do indeed feel frustrated.

When examining the aforementioned reasons critically, it is important to note that they conflict with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). In addition to other issues, the SDGs focused on issues like decreased inequality, responsible consumption and

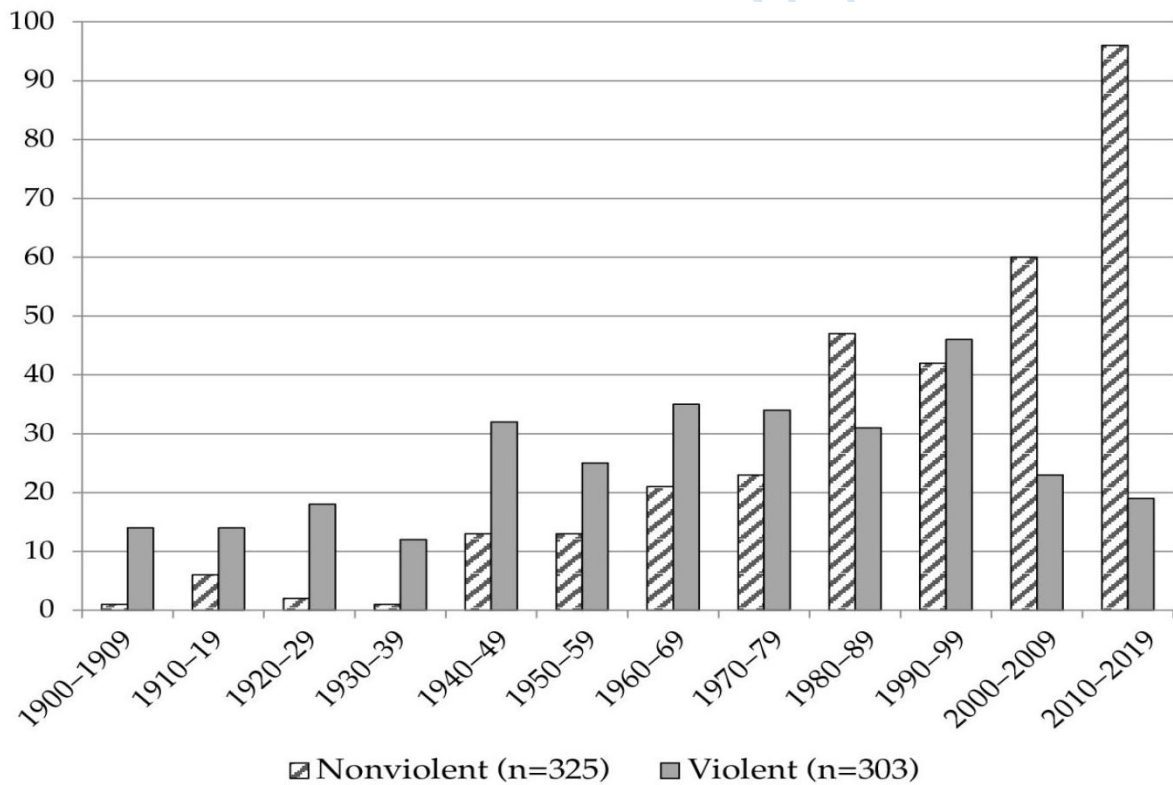
production, peace and justice, strong institutions, excellent education, decent work and economic development, and zero hunger and poverty. The fact that these growth metrics don't reflect Nigeria's state's governance style is pretty obvious. In fact, it is important to emphasize that Nigeria's government is pro-elite and anti-people.

#### **4.1.2 Research Question Two: How Effective is Nonviolence as a mechanism in of Social Change in Nigeria?**

In the past few years, the contemporary society in Nigeria has turned into a stage for genocidal acts, slaughter, enmity, discontent, and uncertainty in terms of security. Religious, political, ethnic, and electoral violence has frequently marked and tarnished Nigeria's historic and political life. Identifying the underlying causative factors of this devastating event which has jeopardized the viability of the federation is sometimes nearly impossible<sup>12</sup>. However, such threats to the country's self-sufficiency have resulted in large-scale internal displacements in the northern part of the country, obstacles to social and infrastructure improvements, an increment in poverty rates, lengthy frustrations and injustices, and unequal distribution to state resources and so on which frequently ignite violent crises that prevent the social and infrastructure advancement of the country<sup>13</sup>.

Conflicts and violent methods of attaining an inclusive society should indeed be replaced with nonviolent strategies that can ensure societal or political transformation. Thus, the assumption that conflict that results in economic, socio-political, and social changes should come to an end is supported by demonstrators who desire the resolution of shared grievances<sup>14</sup>. Nonviolence as a mechanism of conflict resolution is a civilized strategy for waging conflict without the recourse or threat of force using social, emotional, economic, and political methods. In practice, nonviolence include an act of commission, protest, symbolic demonstrations, strike and so on to build power and achieve political goals.

Long before now, movements and demonstrations outside the political system have battled for change mostly via armed conflict or violent means. In contemporary political dispensation, armed conflict is no longer the most prevalent method of conflict resolution throughout the world. Alternatively, protest, symbolic demonstrations and campaigns which are methods of nonviolence have taken their place and people depend heavily on it. For instance, the study of a notable scholar on the success of nonviolence as a means of conflict resolution from 1900-2019 revealed that, since the 1970s, violent uprisings have decreased while nonviolent activities have become considerably more widespread<sup>15</sup>.



**Fig 4.1: Violent and Nonviolent Campaign between 1900-2019<sup>15</sup>**

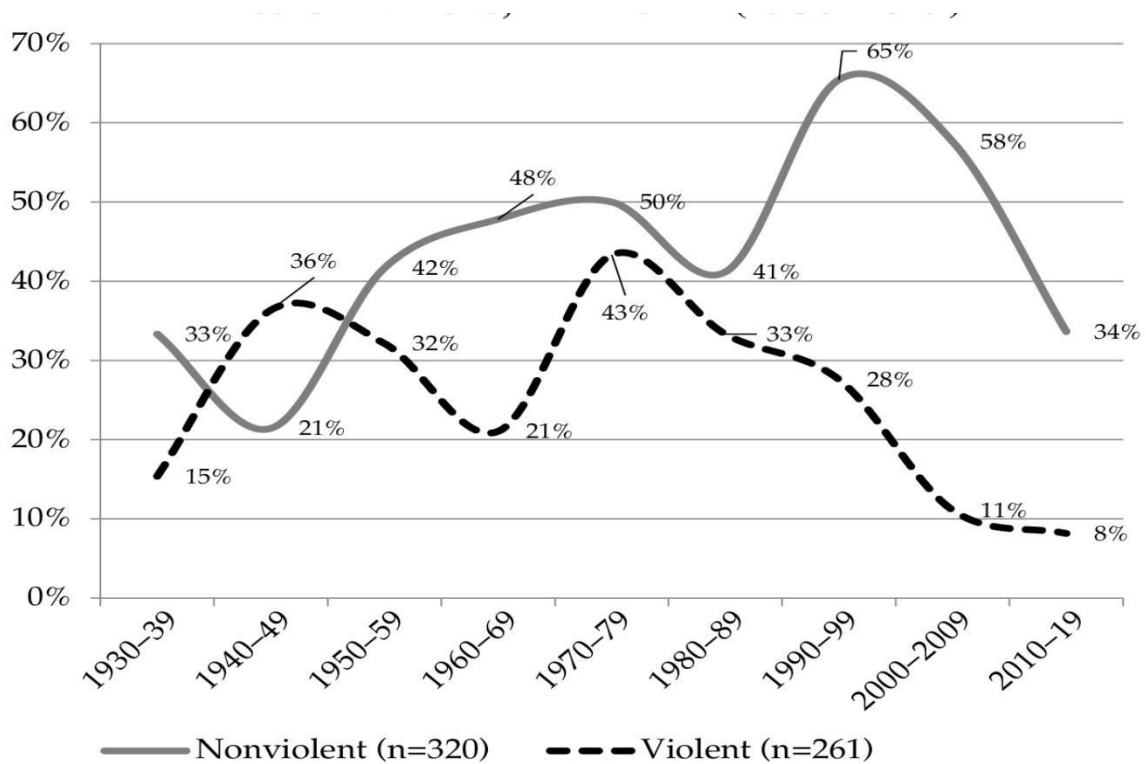
In addition to the increase in peaceful protest, since 1900-1996 nonviolent maximalist movements were started during this period. This surpasses the existing record for the number of revolutions in a span of ten years. In 2019 alone, fifteen (15) large-scale

peaceful campaigns erupt and another twenty-four (24) peaceful protest were still going<sup>15</sup>. One significant question that needs an urgent answer is that, why do people or groups seeking social change employ nonviolence means to achieve their goals? A scholar noted that, although, nonviolence as a mechanism of conflict resolution is not fully recognized, its affinity for social and political change is more widely held. People have grown to consider nonviolence as a valid and effective technique of social change<sup>15</sup>.

Moreover, newly developed communication technology is making it quicker and simple to identify unreported incidents. Ever than before, individuals are accessing news online through their social media platforms, and other means as internet availability increases. For example, people in the United States, for instance, can read about, be fascinated by, and learn from the actions of those in China. Nonviolent resistance may be getting more attention from media outlets and academics worldwide as a strategy for conflict resolution that is becoming more widespread and successful<sup>16</sup>. Having access to new communication avenues also allows people to contact directly with those they perceive to have similar views without going via official intermediaries.

Furthermore, the need for violence aggression is dwindling on a global scale. When it comes to foreign state assistance for armed organizations, this is especially glaringly clear. The decline of democratic rights has sparked widespread protest movements in both authoritarian and democratic societies, which may provide people fresh reasons to fight today<sup>17</sup>. In Nigeria, youth populations is on the increase and these population constraint is leading to rising demands for employment, education, freedom, and opportunity. Therefore, the EndSARS protest is both a success and an indicator of failure. The reason for this movement's success is that so many people now think that they can fight injustice in their state and communities using thoughtful nonviolent tactics such as protest, boycott, and other strategies. The failure of this protest is that, that there are still so many injustices

meted out to people in the country and only few institutions that can correct them, this is why nonviolence has been on the increase.



**Fig 4.2: Success Rate of Nonviolent from 1930-2019<sup>15</sup>**

From the table above, the extensive research of a notable scholar revealed that, since 2010, just 8% of violent uprisings and fewer than 34% of peaceful protest have been successful, although, states have generally been more successful in putting an end to challenges to their authority, yet nonviolent or civil disobedience has nevertheless outpaced violent confrontations by a 4-to-1 ratio. For this reason, armed confrontation has become less effective, following a decreasing trend that has been seen since the 1970s<sup>15</sup>. Many nonviolent strategies, including protests, might entice these risk-averse individuals into the struggle because of how visible they are.

#### **4.1.3 Research Question Three: What are the Effect of Nonviolent EndSARS Protest on the economy of Nigeria?**

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) of Nigeria, a police unit infamous for its ruthlessness and violations of human rights, was disbanded, and this sparked a nationwide outcry that gave rise to the EndSARS resistance and demonstrations. Nigeria's economic and commercial operations are significantly harmed by the EndSARS demonstration. This is due to the fact that economy most especially the Small and Medium Size (SMEs) and MSMEs are still coping with the repercussions of covid-19 as a result of the nation's lockdown and abrupt suspension of commercial transactions. The EndSARS demonstrations across the country made matters worse for this industry since it resulted in several small-business owners losing their goods to theft, vandalism, and hoodlums who took over the protest<sup>18</sup>.

The Financial System Strategy (FSS) of the Central Bank of Nigeria revealed that, 96% of business in Nigeria are Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). This is totally different from the fifty-three (53%) and (65%) in United States and Europe respectively. Despite its huge present, it must be noted that these sectors only contribute ten (10%) to the GDP of the country<sup>19</sup>. The EndSARS protest has had a significant, unanticipated, impact on the Nigerian economy. Before the two weeks of protest, Nigeria economy was recovering from the negative impacts of the virus.

Lockdowns brought on by the Covid-19 epidemic interrupted supply networks, industrial processes, and consumer demand for non-essential commodities. They also presented security risks and decreased income in all economic sectors. The recovery has been slow for the majority of firms; for those who import their raw materials or finished goods, the foreign exchange restrictions and the policy of border closures make the process more difficult. These issues were made worse by the economic burden of the looting rampage that struck Nigeria in the final weeks of October as a result of the bad effects of the EndSARS mass demonstrations. The demolition of storage facilities and warehouses made

food prices which were already higher than usual as a result of government initiatives, even worse. Along with these warehouses, commercial buildings like restaurants and bank ATMs also suffered vandalism<sup>20</sup>.

An economic downturn was already approaching and inevitable with the oil sector still struggling to recover from the Covid-19 pandemic's devastation. In a report, the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) reported that, Nigeria lost more than more than N700 billion in economic value during the EndSARS protest<sup>21</sup>. The immediate economic costs to the populace increased as the protest continued. One of the most obvious effects was a decrease in consumer expenditure on non-essential items. Major highways were blocked, and the protest halted economic activity in addition to shutting down the majority of operations at Nigeria's main airport.

Asset replacement costs in Lagos State are estimated to be ₦1 trillion, and they would undoubtedly be reflected in GDP. Industry leaders and analysts predict that the outcome will show up as a decline in real Gross Domestic Product, or GDP majority of what every citizens are feeling today. It will decrease to around 6.91% year over year, intensifying the anticipated economic decline, supply chain bottlenecks, and higher inflation rise. Investment bankers made it quite obvious that businesses lose roughly N1 trillion. More specifically, unemployment and poverty will undoubtedly increase. Businesses across the nation came to a halt in the majority of the states. For instance, in Plateau State and other states, all of the banks and stores were destroyed, making it impossible for drivers to reach their destinations on time.

In the final week of the protest, SBM surveyed and spoke with 180 entrepreneurs in Lagos to determine the fiscal and economic consequences of the demonstrations on small companies. The majority of the businesses questioned (84.1%) were micro enterprises

without employees, while a handful (16%) were micro/small businesses with between 2 and 10 workers<sup>22</sup>. Due to the fact that they were impacted by the looting that followed the demonstration, shop owners and petty merchants engaged in a variety of wholesale and retail commerce were polled. Despite the mass demonstrations' detrimental effects on Nigeria's economy, they had good outcomes and brought attention once again to the country's political governance's flaws.

In addition to the above, the EndSARS protest may affect the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) of Nigeria as most investors may have lost confidence in Nigeria owing to the insecurity affecting the country. In 2020, unemployment rate in Nigeria hit a whopping 27.1%. The Small and Medium Enterprise (SMEs) that employ most of the graduates had to engage in massive retrenchment during and after the protest. Currently, the unemployment rate has increased to 33%. The inflation rate of the country was also affected by the protest in 2020, Nigeria's inflation rate was 13.71%. Shortly after that, the inflation rate skyrocketed to 17.1%.

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## Chapter Five

### Conclusion

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

Nonviolence which is alternatively known as people, power, movement is an act of refraining from the use of violence to achieve political goals or social change. It is a philosophy that is rooted in the concept of Ahimsa which a strategy that reject the use of physical violence to achieve political goal. In contemporary political dispensation around the world, nonviolence movement such as protest, sit-ins, boycotts, strikes, labour strikes, tax refusal and so on are considered the major challenge for most government. The core purpose of this research is to examine the EndSARS protest in Nigeria and how nonviolence could be used as a mechanism of social change.

The study start by examining conflict as a phenomenon that is accepted as being inevitable in any given society because we are all human beings. It also examined how conflict is endemic and systemic in Africa. It is endemic because it is constantly present on the continent. It is also systemic because, the system, structures and institutions in most African countries encourage conflict. The research proposed three research questions out of which three core objectives were discussed. Hence, the objectives of the research is to identify the conflictual issues that led to the emergence of the protest, examine how nonviolence in fostering social change in Nigeria and investigate the impact of nonviolent EndSARS protest have on the Nigeria economy.

The second chapter of the research identified four key areas. The first is the conceptual review of some concepts. Thus, conflict, nonviolence, peace and democracy were diligently examined. In this research, conflict is defined as a contradiction or dispute between two or more parties caused by misunderstandings, rivalry for resources, power, and prestige. In other words, it is a disagreement and friction that arise within a group when the belief or actions of members groups are either resisted or unacceptable to one or more members of another group. Conflicts can occur at the individual, group, or organizational levels. Nonviolence on the other hand is conceived as a peaceful

technique of waging conflict using active, nonviolent means such as sit-in, boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience, satire and so on to achieve a goal. Nonviolence is a way of life for activist. The concept of democracy was also examined. In this study, democracy is defined as democracy is understood to be a type of government where the citizens engage their governing authority directly or through representatives who are intermittently chosen by the public.

The theoretical framework for this study was also done in this chapter. Although numerous theories exist to explain the variables of this research but the study four of these theories and used one as the most preferred theory. The theories are, System theory, Structural Conflict Theory, Human Need Theory and frustration-aggression Theory. The frustration aggression theory is the most preferred theory to explain the variables in this research. Theorist of frustration aggression hypothesis believed that, aggressiveness is generally a byproduct of frustration or discontentment, and the emergence of violent behavior always assumes that dissatisfaction is present. As a result, dissatisfaction or frustration results from a gap between desire and performance caused by the relative deprivation of an expectation.

The research adopted the use of secondary data and both historical and explanatory research design to elicit information on EndSARS movement in Nigeria and how nonviolence can be used as a mechanism of conflict resolution. The reason for these choice of research design is because of the fact that, historical research attempt to understand a phenomenon by determining its processes and growth and dynamics of internal change.

The fourth chapter of the study concentrates on the results and discussions of findings. Thus, the research identify the conflictual issues that led to the emergence of the protest,

examine how nonviolence in fostering social change in Nigeria and investigate the impact of nonviolent EndSARS protest have on the Nigeria economy. The findings of this research revealed that part of the conflictual issues that led to the EndSARS protest in Nigeria is the complete disregard of the educational sector, poverty, unemployment, bad governance and so on. The research also identified that, the economic impact of the protest is enormous for the citizens.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The core focus of the study is to study EndSARS protest and how nonviolence can be used as a method of conflict resolution in Nigeria. This research recognized that considering the widespread of protest in Nigeria and beyond, nonviolence, particularly the EndSARS protest and subsequent protest could be used a mechanism of conflict resolution in Nigeria. The study discovered that part of the conflictual issues that led to the protest for more than two weeks are injustice and the brutality of the Nigerian youths by operatives of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) and the defunct SARS. In addition to that, poverty, unemployment, bad governance, lack of rule of law, complete disregard to education and corruption are some of the conflictual issues that led to the protest in 2020.

The study also discovered that, the success of nonviolent methods such as sit-ins, protest, labour strike and other methods in recent years in other countries can be used to force social change in Nigeria irrespective of religion and ethnic affinity. The research therefore conclude that, the adoption of nonviolent methods such as protest, strikes, boycotts and so on is capable of forcing desired social change in Nigeria. It is also imperative to emphasize that, for nonviolence to be effective, the “participatory element” must be present, that is, every citizen will have an understanding of what they want and how to participate in it. Also, the proliferation of social media apps can also help in achieving the desired change.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Based on the findings of this research, the study therefore recommends the following:

1. The federal government should monitor the operations of security agencies, most especially the operation of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) in the thirty-six states of the federation. Conducting this monitoring will reduce the injustice and brutality being meted out to Nigerians on a daily basis.
2. Nonviolence as a means of conflict resolution can also be used by the federal government to understand the causes of protest, boycotts and strike and end hostilities among aggrieved parties. The government and relevant stakeholders can also use dialogue as an effective instrument to end hostilities.
3. The ruling elites need to put the empowerment and development of youths at the forefront of their agenda because if truly they (youths) are the leaders of tomorrow, they should not engage in protest before they become the leaders of tomorrow.
4. On their part, political office holders and elected representatives should live to sustain and maintain their integrity in order to gain the trust of the youths and the general public. It is believed that doing this will set the pace for a working system in the country.
5. Lastly, governments at all level should ensure the availability of jobs and provision of quality education at all level. This is very important because education aid the development of a nation.

### **5.4 Contribution to Knowledge**

The focus of this research is to examine the EndSARS protest and how nonviolence can be used as a method of conflict resolution in Nigeria. This research contributes to knowledge in two ways. Theoretically, it contribute to the existing scholarship on

nonviolence and EndSARS demonstrations. The topic and finding of this research will therefore serve as a guide and reference for subsequent research in this area. Practically, the findings of this research will be useful for governments at all level to avert protest that is capable of having a negative impact on the economy of the country. Also, this research will also fill the gap of knowledge identified on nonviolence and EndSARS protest.

### **5.5 Suggestions for Further Research**

As stated earlier, this research examined the EndSARS protest and how nonviolence can be used as a method of conflict resolution in Nigeria and concepts such as conflict, nonviolence, democracy and Nigeria were examined conceptually. However, the author strongly believe that this research does not end here as further areas/research needs to be done, although from different angles. As a result of this, future research can be done on the role of leadership in nonviolence in achieving social change in Nigeria. Additionally, future study can also beam their searchlight on government response to nonviolence movement and the position of human rights.

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Appendix 1 (Pictures from EndSARS)



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**Appendix 2**

**Buses destroyed during EndSARS**





## Bio-data

### A. Personal Data

1. Full Name: Ogunmakin Oyewumi Joel
2. Address: No 4, Agbala Daniel Street, Orogun, Ibadan
3. E-mail: ogunmakinoyewumi@gmail.com
4. Phone No: 08126386136
5. Place of Birth: Ogbomoso, Nigeria
6. Nationality: Nigerian
7. Name and Next of Kin: Mrs T. Ogunmakin, Same as above

### B. Educational Background

1. Goodwill Primary School, Ibadan 1999  
*Primary School Leaving Certificate*
2. Asegun Comprehensive High School, Ibadan 2006  
*Secondary School Certificate*
3. Lead City University, Ibadan 2012  
*Diploma in Law*
4. Lead City University, Ibadan 2016  
*BSc in International Relations*

### C. Working Experience:

1. Upward BAO Consulting, Ibadan 2018  
*Research Assistant*

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Signature

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Date

### **University Compliance Certification**

This is to certify that this project by Oyewumi Joel, Ogunmakin with Matric No. LCU/PG/001436 in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan is in full compliance with the approved university.

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**Signature**

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**Date**

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