AN EVALUATIVE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA AS A TOOL FOR PROMOTING THE HARSHTAG ENDSARS PROTEST IN NIGERIA

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A PROJECT WORK SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION, SCHOOL OF INFORMATION COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY, AUCHI POLYTECHNIC,

AUCHI, EDO STATE.

IN PARTIAL FUFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR AWARD OF NATIONAL DIPLOMA (ND) IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION, AUCHI POLYTECHNIC,

AUCHI, EDO STATE.

MARCH, 2022.

DECLARATION

We hereby declare that this work entitled "An Evaluative Study of the Role of the Mass Media as a Tool for Promoting the Harshtag Endsars Protest in Nigeria" was written by us and that it is the record of our research. To the best of our knowledge, it has not been presented in any previous application for any academic award. All sources of information have been acknowledged using references.

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OBONOR MIRACLE   **DATE**

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AHMEDU MUNIRETU   **DATE**

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ADELEKE BUKKY   **DATE**

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ICHOFU FAVOUR   **DATE**

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IBOBO SANDRA OGECHI   **DATE**

APPROVAL

This project is approved based on the students' declaration and its compliance with the requirement of the Department of Mass Communication, Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi, in partial fulfillmentt of the requirement for the award of Ordinary National Diploma (OND) in Mass Communication.

_____   _____

MR. OBOH A.K. AHMED   **DATE**
Project Supervisor

_____   _____

MR. AFAM P. ANIKWE   **DATE**
Head of Department

DEDICATION

This project work is dedicated to God Almighty, for His provisions, protections and

mercies towards the course of our studies and the completion of this research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We want to humbly thank God Almighty for His unfailing protection and provision throughout the course of our two-year program and most importantly for the success of our research work.

Not forgetting the one who stood by us to ensure that our research was commendable and suitable for quality academic performance, and who through hard work and dedication made this come to reality MR. OBOH AHMED, a supervisor, we say a big thank you Sir. for your advice and most importantly your patience.

Also, to the Head of Department for his tremendous impact on the Department, we say thank you all.

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ABSTRACT

This study was carried out to examine the role of social media on the police reformation in Nigeria using the 2020 EndSARS protest in Lagos State as a case study. The study examined if social media significantly contributed to the reformation of police in Nigeria. The study employed the survey descriptive research design. A total of 270 responses were validated from the survey. From the responses obtained and analysed, the findings revealed that social media contributed to the 2020 EndSARS protest in Nigeria. Furthermore, the findings also revealed that social media played a significant role in the reformation of police in Nigeria. The study recommend the federal government of Nigeria should look into the reasons behind the protest that caused chaos and uproar in all the 36 states in Nigeria and enact laws and structures that bring to an end the brutality of SARS in Nigeria. More so, the federal of Nigeria should carry out a thorough check on all members of the SWAT force and their academic qualifications to ascertain their eligibility for the work.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

For any country to quell mostly internal insurrection, aggression, and combat crime as well as maintain peace and protect lives and properties of the citizens, there is need for the establishment of the security department whose personnel execute their functions not arbitrarily against the laws of the country but with severe adherence to rules and constitutional provisions of the country. This need in Nigeria led to the establishment of SARS.

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was founded in late 1992 by former police commissioner Simeon Danladi Midenda when Col. Rindam of the Nigerian Army was killed by police officers at a checkpoint in Lagos in September 1992, which lead to the arrest of three officers. When the information reached the army, soldiers were dispatched into the streets of Lagos in search of any police officer. The Nigerian police withdrew from checkpoints, security areas, and other points of interest for criminals; some police officers were said to have resigned while others fled for their lives.

Due to the absence of police for two weeks, the crime rate increased and SARS was formed with only 15 officers operating in the shadows without knowledge of the army while monitoring police chatters. Due to the existence of three already established anti-robbery squads that were operational at that time, Midenda needed to distinguish his squad from the already existing teams. Midenda named his team *Special Anti-Robbery Squad* (SARS).

After months of dialogue the Nigerian Army and the Nigeria Police Force came to an understanding and official police duties began again in Lagos. The SARS unit was officially commissioned in Lagos which were among the units in the Force Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department, which was established to detain, investigate, and prosecute people involved in crimes like armed robbery, kidnapping, and other violent crimes.

With the way that the world had been made a global village where information about countries, their activities and that of their officials are easily accessed anywhere in the world on the internet through the social media which made people to easily criticize the activities and actions of the government when they are not pleased with it. Information is now at the tip of the people's finger which has helped the public not to be eluded with the happenings around them.

The advent of the internet in the 1990s led to major developments in the world of communication. Today the Internet has taken a firm place in people's lives. It is difficult to imagine a young man, who at least once a day did not check for updates in social networks and did not leaf through the news lines. The modern reality requires us to stay in touch and keep abreast of the recent happenings around the globe. Social Media are interactive computer-mediated technologies that facilitate the creation or sharing of information, ideas, career interests, and other forms of expression via virtual communities and networks. There is no doubt the emergence of the internet has immensely contributed to the introduction of social networking sites (SNSS).

The coming into being of these sites revolutionized the world of communication and today we celebrate its improvement ranging from education to entertainment. Recent studies have shown the evolution of the internet has led to its usage as the best of communication whereby two-third (2/3) of the internet world's population visit social networking sites (SNSs) thus serving as communication and connection tools. These networking sites are referred to as social media (Boyd and Ellison, 2007).

Social networking has become a common international trend which has spread its reach to almost every corner of the world. The use of Social media sites has exploded and evolved into an online platform where people create content, share it, bookmark it and network at prodigious rate. Online technologies have continued to erase the line between the traditional media and their audience.

This significant success has been facilitated by the two-way communication system which social media provides than the one-way broadcast method of the traditional media. Social media have given masses a voice which the traditional media though committed to achieve has not yet totally achieved. With the continuous improvements in information and communication technologies and increasing possibilities for ubiquitous internet connectivity, more freedom is anticipated for using social media whenever and wherever one wants. Relating to freedom, and as indicated by Nielsen (2012), social media (appearing in the form of MySpace, LinkedIn, Facebook, Mebo, Twitter and others) continue to alter the way in which humans access, generate, share and use information (Cabral, 2011). With the possibility for more freedom (i.e. of connectivity and access) regarding networking online anywhere and at any time, it is not difficult to note that social media use will remain a regular aspect of humans everyday life since it facilitate speedy information dissemination around the world.

One of the events that accompanied the later part of year 2020 after the Covid 19 pandemic and the enactment of the company and allied matters act (CAMA 2020) by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. EndSARS (or #EndSARS) is a decentralized social movement against police brutality in Nigeria. It was a call for the Federal Government of Nigeria to scrap the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a controversial unit of the Nigerian Police with a long record of abuses.

The protests started in 2017 as a Twitter campaign using the hashtag #ENDSARS to demand the Nigerian government eliminate the unit which after experiencing a revitalization in October 2020, which lead to mass demonstrations were occurring throughout Nigeria in major cities, and the hashtag has had over 28 million tweets.

Nigerians have shared their experiences and video evidence of how members of SARS engaged in kidnapping, murder, theft, rape, torture, unlawful arrests, humiliation, unlawful detention, extrajudicial killings, and extortion in Nigeria all over the internet and social media. SARS officers have been alleged to profile youths based on fashion choices, mount illegal road blocks and searches, conduct unwarranted temperature checks, arrest without warrant, rape women, and extort young Nigerians for driving exotic vehicles and using laptops and iPhones.

All this uproar has led to killings of protesters, burning and destroying of public and private properties in the country. As the protest was at the peak of it, the Nigerian government on Sunday, 11th October 2020 announced it was dissolving SARS and to carry out a reformation of the police force to serve the citizens better. This study therefore, seeks to ascertain the role social media played in the 2020 EndSARS protest towards the reformation of police force in Nigeria.

The primary aim of this study is to find out the role of social media in the police reformation in Nigeria: a study of 2020 endsars protest. Specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Find out how the social media contributed to the 2020 EndSARS protest in Nigeria.
2. To ascertain if social media played a significant role in the reformation of police force in Nigeria.

The following research questions guide this study

1) How did social media contribute to the 2020 EndSARS protest in Nigeria?
2) What significant role did social media played in the reformation of police in Nigeria?

This study will help government and policy makers align and realign laws and policies to fit into the demand of the populace to create an environment that will promote and protect the rights of the citizens, rule of law, protection of lives and properties as stated as the major function of the security personnel and restrict the abuse of power of security personnel in the country.

Also, this study will serve as reference materials for further studies.

This study is limited to the contribution of social media to the 2020 EndSARS protest and police reformation in Nigeria. The study will examine residents from Lagos state, Nigeria.

1.2 Definition of terms

1) **Social media:** Social media are forms of electronic communication which facilitate interactive social networking base on certain interests. Social media include web and mobile technology. It is a group of internet-based applications that builds on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content.

2) **Internet:** Internet can be defined as an interconnected computer networks that use the standard internet protocol suite to serve billions of users worldwide. It consists of millions of private, public, academic, business and government networks that range from local to global scope that are linked by a broad array of electronic, wireless and optical networking technologies.

3) **Media**: media are all those media technologies that are intended to reach a large audience by mass communication. They are messages communicated through a mass medium to a number of people. According to "Wikipedia" Media are the communication outlets or tools used to store and deliver information or data. The term refers to components of the mass media communications industry, such as print media, publishing, the news media, photography, cinema, broadcasting, and advertising.

4) **Reformation:** making changes to something with the intention of setting it back on the right path.

5) **SARS:** The Special Anti-Robbery Squad was a Nigerian Police Force unit created to deal with crimes associated with robbery, motor vehicle theft, kidnapping, cattle rustling, and firearms.

6) **Protest:** a statement or action expressing disapproval of or objection to something.

CHAPTER TWO
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Review of Relevant Literature

The term "Social media" is defined as the application that allows users to converse and interact with each other; to create, edit and share new forms of textual, visual and audio content, and to categorize, label and recommend existing forms of content (Selwyn 2012). Social media therefore denotes to the wide collection of Internet based and mobile services that connect people together to communicate, participate, collaboratively interact, discuss and exchange ideas and information on an online community.

Social Media Sites

In recent times, the world has witnessed what could be referred to as communication revolution through 'technological advances and increased use of the Internet' (Moqbel, 2012). This communication revolution, as well as the more technologically empowered lifestyle of individual users, has changed the way people communicate and connect with each other (Coyle, 2008; O'Murchu, Breslin & Decker, 2004). Social networking sites are recent trends in this revolution (Moqbel, 2012).

Social networking sites therefore, are web-based services that allow individuals to construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system, (Boyd and Ellison, 2007).

Social networking sites are created to take care of variety of human needs and could be classified using that format. For instance, Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe (2007) classified SNSs into: work-related contexts (*LinkedIn*.com), romantic relationship initiation (*Friendster*.com), connecting those with shared interests such as music or politics (*MySpace*.com), or the college student population (*Facebook*). It should however be noted that the examples mentioned above were based on the original intentions of founders of the SNSs, though these intentions have been taken to another level by users.

This is why latter classification of SNSs takes somewhat different approach and put different factors into consideration. To Fraser and Dutta (2008), SNSs should better be classified into the following five categories- egocentric/identity construction social networking sites such as *Facebook* and *MySpace*; opportunistic social networking sites for business connections such as *LinkedIn*; community social networking sites representing cultural or neighborhood groups; media-sharing social networking sites such as *YouTube* and *Flickr*; and Passion-centric social networking sites for sharing common interests such as *Dogster*.

Social networking sites came on board in the mid-1990s. One of the first social networking sites was *Classmates*, a site initiated in 1995 (Rooksby, 2009). The uniqueness of social networking sites is that they not only allow individuals to meet strangers but enable users to discuss and make visible their social networks. This results into connections between individuals which otherwise is not possible through any other media already existing. Maximum time is often used on social networking sites to communicate with people who are already friends or acquaintances in the social network, sharing same mindset or same interests and views (Raj Jain, Gupta & Anand, 2012).

While SNSs have implemented a wide variety of technical features, their backbone consists of visible profiles that display an articulated list of friends who are also users of the system. Profiles are unique pages where one can type oneself into being. After joining an SNS, an individual is asked to fill out forms containing a series of questions.

The profile is generated using the answers to these questions, which typically include descriptors such as age, location, interests, etc. Most sites also encourage users to upload a profile photo. Some sites allow users to enhance their profiles by adding multimedia content or modifying their profile's look and feel. Others, such as *Facebook*, allow users to add modules that enhance their profile. Structural variations around visibility and access are some of the primary ways that SNSs differentiate themselves from each other.

The public display of connections is a crucial component of SNSs. The friends list contains links to each friend's profile, enabling viewers to traverse the network graph by clicking through them. On most sites, the list of friends is visible to anyone who is permitted to view the profile, although there are exceptions.

Most SNSs also provide a mechanism for users to leave messages on their friends' profiles. This feature typically involves leaving comments, although sites employ various labels for this feature. In addition, SNSs often have a private messaging feature similar to webmail. While both private messages and comments are popular on most of the major SNSs, they are not universally available.

The background of today's social networking sites according to Boyd & Ellison (2008) cited in Roblyer, McDaniel, Webb, Herman, and Witty (2010), began in 1997 with the launch of *SixDegrees.com* which "allowed users to create a profile list of their friends and in 1998, surf the friends list".

Social networking is as old as humans have been around. Just as in nearly every other species, humans have an instinctual need to be communicated with, share thoughts, ideas, and feelings about their daily lives. Only the tools with which we communicate have changed over the Millennia (Safko, 2010:5). Social media make it possible to share such information like photos, videos, audio files, and comments. These sites seem to be gaining such high popularity among users. This point was aptly emphasized by Stefanone, Lackaff, and Rosen (2010) when they affirmed that explosion in popularity of social networking sites (SNSs) represents one of the fastest uptakes of communication technology since the web was developed in the early 1990s. Though the list is endless, some examples of these SNSs include *Facebook, Twitter, Blogs, 2go, YouTube, MySpace, BB messenger, LinkedIn*, *WhatsApp* and *Wikis* just to mention but a few. Some of these forms of social networking sites are further discussed below.

Facebook

Facebook is a social networking device that enable users interact through conversations, and build relationships by networking with other users. *Facebook* groups are created as part of a smaller community within the social networking site and focus on particular interests or beliefs about certain issues (Graybill-Leonard, Meyers, Doerfert & Irlbeck 2011). As of January 2008, *Facebook* has more than 64 million users, and since January 2007 has had an average of 250,000 new registrations per day. It has 65 billion page views per month, and more than 14 million photos are uploaded to its site daily (Gane, & Beer 2008). A more vivid picture of this growth was painted by Kaplan and Haenlein (2009) when they affirmed that:

By January 2009, Facebook had registered more than 175 million active users. To put that number in perspective, this is only slightly less than the population of Brazil (190 million)

and over twice the population of Germany (80 million). At the same time, every minute, 10 hours of content were uploaded to the video sharing platform YouTube. And, the image hosting site Flickr provided access to over 3 billion photographs, making the world-famous Louvre Museum's collection of 300,000 objects seem tiny in comparison.

Safko (2010:8) identified *Facebook* as being by far the most popular and widely used social network. By the end of 2013, Facebook boasted 1.23 billion monthly active users worldwide, adding 170 million in just one year. According to Facebook, 757 million users logon to Facebook daily as of 31 December, 2013.

The use of mobile phones especially smart phones and the internet have made it possible for people to communicate and respond to just about any issue in their environment. This is in line with Hill (2010) assertion that the proliferation of mobile digital media and communications technology appears to have partially democratized image-making and media creation.

LinkedIn

LinkedIn is an online professional contact database that was founded in December 2002 and launched in May 2003. The site allows its members to create a profile and network with the other over 55 million *LinkedIn* members from over 150 industries. *LinkedIn* was established by former PayPal vice president, Reid Hoffman. Brown (2010) asserts that with over 55 million registered users throughout the world, *LinkedIn* is considered a premier business networking site.

Like many other social and professional networks, *LinkedIn* has searchable groups wherein a member can create a group about a particular topic and other members can join the group to discuss a common interest or industry, hobby, college, religion, or political viewpoint. LinkedIn Groups are similar to other forums.

WhatsApp

WhatsApp has become one of the very popular social networking applications, especially patronized by students in this part of the world. *WhatsApp* was founded in 2009 by Brian Acton and Jan Koum, both veterans of Yahoo!, and is based in Santa Clara, California (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/WhatsApp).

WhatsApp Messenger is a cross-platform mobile messaging application which allows you to exchange messages without having to pay for SMS. *WhatsApp* Messenger is available for iPhone, Blackberry, Windows Phone, Android and Nokia. Other than simple text, it also enables images, audios or videos to be shared instantaneously.

As 3G and Wi-Fi technologies are gaining popularity all around the world, and more and more people are replacing their cellular phones with smart phones, the number of *WhatsApp* users are growing. Its cross-platform feature also enables people to exchange messages between different brands of smart phones. In addition to the basic text messaging functionality, it also supports multimedia messages, which enriches the context of the messages. More importantly, it connects to the server via the Internet, and only requires the user to have a data plan for the 3G services or to have access to Wi-Fi coverage.

However, a major privacy and security issue has been the subject of concern for *WhatsApp*. Corey (2011) submits that "the primary concern was that *WhatsApp* required users to upload their entire mobile phone's address book to *WhatsApp* servers so that *WhatsApp* could discover who, among the users' existing contacts, is available via *WhatsApp*". While this is a fast and convenient way to quickly find and connect the user with contacts who are also using *WhatsApp*, it means that their address book was then mirrored on the *WhatsApp* servers, including contact information for contacts who are not using *WhatsApp*.

Nonetheless, *WhatsApp* provides two options for users who wish to save their chat history: creating a backup of it or exporting it as a text file that can be sent over email (Larrien, & Eric, 2012). According to Kim (2012), *WhatsApp* has crossed the 10 billion text messages sent milestone since launching in June 2009" and Murphy, (2013) adds that it has further exploded over the last year with over 7 billion inbound messages a day as of January 2013. It has more than 10 million downloads on Android with 369, 270 user reviews, and it is used in about 195 countries on 750 networks.

Twitter

Twitter is one of the most used social media platform for news tweet. Broersma and Graham (2012), comment that since its launch in July 2006, *Twitter* has quickly become popular. The social networking service allows its users to post 140 character long messages (tweets) to be distributed to users'. Its subscribers (followers) grew to 190 million users per month in June 2010 with 65

million tweets posted per day. As the number of users is rising, that is also how the various potentials of social media are being sold to other unaware members of the public.

Brown (2010) observed that tweets can be responded to in several ways. You can send a reply that can be seen publicly, you can reply privately with a direct message, or you can forward a message to others using the re-tweet feature so that others can view your posts.
You can also use *Twitter* to talk about anything – from what you had for lunch to the government's latest budget cuts. The illustration below best presents the opportunities Twitter offers its subscribers.

The nodes represent media sources and links represent co-subscription relationships. The node size is scaled to represent the log of audience share and its colour represents topical categories (Jisun, Cha, Gummadiz, & Crowcroft, 2011). It is a common experience today to see people going to social media sites such as *Twitter* to get updates on current events and read other peoples' reactions to events in the news.

To buttress the importance of *Twitter* to news organizations and news dissemination in mainstream journalism, Broersman and Graham (2012), observed that news organizations have begun to harness the potentials of *Twitter* as a tool for reaching out to audience. They opine that they use it in four particular ways: to disseminate news, to market stories, to establish relationships with news consumers, and as a tool for reporting.

In recent years, breaking news like the terrorist attacks in Mumbai (November 2008), the crash of a US Airways plane in the Hudson River (January 2009) and the revolutions in Moldavia and Middle East (2009 - 2011) have been distributed through *Twitter*.

2go

2go is a social networking mobile application that gained popularity in Nigeria over the past two years. The application is particularly popular among students because it is cheap, compatible with even the simplest of phones and a non-SMS-based means of chatting with friends. *2go* was conceived by two computer science students- Alan Wolff and Ashley Peter- in Cape Town back in 2007 and have since grown into a social network for millions.

According to Orji, (2012), "it is a social network of millions of people, where you can meet people, talk to friends..., keep in touch with families and share files and pictures all over the world".

"Its popularity as a mobile venue for dating and flirting makes it especially popular amongst students and it continue to expand in Nigeria as it capitalizes on network effects" (http://www.cp-africa.com).

At present, Adeniyi, (2012) citing Balancing Act, a web analyst site; disclosed that "2go currently has over 20 million registered users, of which 3-3.5 million use it on a regular basis. Its biggest market is Nigeria with 61 percent of the total which has 12.5 million users, followed by South Africa which has 31 percent with 6.5 million users, followed by Kenya with 4 percent and others at 4 percent".

Adeniyi adds that "the users are young: 74 percent are 15-24 year olds in South Africa and 60 percent in Nigeria. The gender balance is almost equal in South Africa with 49 percent women, but slightly more male in Nigeria with 64 percent men." *2go* user adoption is growing rapidly at approximately 50,000 new registrations a day. Its mobile currency, Go Credits, enables users to buy content, play games and message each other in chat rooms.

However, the application does not require any special network connection on one's phone, and charges may vary from one mobile operator to the other but the cost remains significantly less compared to the cost of SMS, face book, twitter or yahoo messenger.

YouTube

YouTube allows its users to upload videos into its data and allow such videos to be viewed by its subscribers directly or by using their Google account. Rodman (2002) describes *YouTube*, as a technology developed in 2005, as a useable form of streaming technology which enables videos to be delivered via the web and viewed on a computer screen. He explains that the process involve 'buffering'- meaning as the file is being downloaded and saved on a hard drive, it can be viewed at the same time. "*YouTube* has dramatically rewritten the possibilities for interactive participation in the public sphere, building upon the social networking potential leverage to a significant extent by the social networking site" (Green 2010).

YouTube has made it possible for individuals to upload videos with news worthy and otherwise content of sorts. This was witnessed in Nigeria on 16th August, 2011 when a video was uploaded on *YouTube* which showed 5 alleged students of Abia State University, gang-raping a young lady and captured the act on their mobile phones. The video got out and concerned individuals spread it on *YouTube* and what followed was series of public outcry that led to an

investigation ordered by the federal government. The focus here is on user-generated content and how it shapes the news with almost the same magnitude as mainstream journalism.

Demonstrating the power of *YouTube* in times of disaster, a video on *YouTube* entitled 'Earthquake in Sichuan China', posted on 12 May 2008 shows footage of the earthquake as experienced by a college student in his residence.

This clip, returned on Google's page one results; was used in the BBC's and the Telegraph's video footage. The video was viewed over 1.5 million times on YouTube, and shows how information from social sites such as *YouTube* can at times influence mainstream news content (Redden & Witschge 2010).

Speaking on the advantages social networking sites offer individuals, Tremayne (2007) opined that individuals who have ideas but no convenient platform to reach a wider audience now have the opportunity (*YouTube*) and are taking advantage of it by the millions.

MySpace

This social network site according to Safko (2010) has more than 185 million members. Owned by Fox Interactive Media (which is part of Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation), *MySpace* is an international interactive web site that allows its members to create a user-submitted network of friends, personal profiles, blogs, groups, photos, music, and videos.

In April 2007, *MySpace* launched a service called *MySpace* News that allows users to link to and display reports from their favorite RSS (Really Simple Syndication) News feeds. *MySpace* News also lets members rank each news story by vote. Just as it is with *Digg*, a community-based news article popularity web site that combines social bookmarking, *blogging*, and syndication, the more votes a story gets the higher up the page it moves.

Protest

According to Daniel L. Schofield (1994), a protest is a public expression of objection, disapproval or dissent towards an idea or action, typically a political one. Protests can take many different forms, from individual statements to mass demonstrations.

Protesters may organize a protest as a way of publicly making their opinions heard in an attempt to influence public opinion or government policy, or they may undertake direct action in an attempt to enact desired changes themselves. Where protests are part of a systematic and peaceful nonviolent campaign to achieve a particular objective, and involved the use of pressure as well as persuasion, they go beyond mere protest and may be better described as cases of civil resistance or nonviolent resistance.

Various forms of self-expression and protest are sometimes restricted by governmental policies (such as the requirement of protest permits), economic circumstances, religious orthodoxy, social structures, or media monopoly.

One state reaction to protests is the use of riot police. Observers have noted an increased militarization of protest policing in many countries, with police deploying armored vehicles and snipers against protesters. When such restrictions occur, protests may assume the form of open civil disobedience, more subtle forms of resistance against the restrictions, or may spill over into other areas such as culture and emigration.

A protest itself may at times be the subject of a counter-protest. In such cases, counter-protesters demonstrate their support for the person, policy, action, etc. that is the subject of the original protest. Protesters and counter-protesters can sometimes violently clash.

Forms of Protest

According to Daniel L. Schofield (1994), a protest can take many forms. The Dynamics of Collective Action project and the Global Nonviolent Action Database are two of the leading data collection efforts attempting to capture protest events. The Dynamics of Collective Action project considers the repertoire of protest tactics (and their definitions) to include:

- **Rally** or **demonstration**: Demonstration, rally, or similar protest, without reference to marching or walking in a picket line or standing in a vigil. Reference to speeches, speakers, singing, or preaching, often verified by the presence of PA sound equipment and sometimes by a platform or stage. Ordinarily will include worship services, speeches, briefings.

- **March**: Reference to moving from one location to another; to distinguish from rotating or walking in a circle with picket signs (which is a picket).

- **Vigil**: Most vigils have banners, placards, or leaflets so that people passing by, despite silence from participants, can be informed about the purpose of the vigil.

- **Picket**: The modal activity is picketing; there may be references to a picket line, informational picketing, or holding signs; "carrying signs and walking around in a circle". Holding signs, placards, or banners is not the defining criteria; rather, it is holding or carrying those items and walking a circular route, a phrase sometimes surprisingly found in the permit application.

- **Civil disobedience**: Explicit protest that involves deliberately breaking laws deemed unjust in order to protest them; crossing barricades, prohibited use of segregated facilities (such as lunch-counters or restrooms), voter registration drives (to earn non-eligible people the right to vote), or tying up phone lines.

- **Ceremony**: These celebrate or protest status transitions ranging from birth and death dates of individuals, organizations or nations; seasons; re-enlistment or commissioning of military personnel; or to anniversaries of any of the above. These are sometimes referenced by presenting flowers or wreaths commemorating, dedicating, or celebrating status transitions or their anniversary; e.g., an annual merchant marine memorial service, celebrating Chanukah or Easter, or celebrating the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr.

- **Dramaturgical demonstration**
    - **Motorcade**: Vehicular procession (electoral campaigns or other issues)
    - **Information distribution**: Tabling/petition gathering, lobbying, letter-writing campaigns, or teach-ins.
    - **Symbolic display**: e.g., a menorah or creche scene, graffiti, cross burning, sign, or standing display.
    - **Attack** by collective group (not-one-on-one assault, crime, rape): Motivation for attack is the "other group's identity" as in gay-bashing or lynching. Can also include verbal attacks or threats.

- **Riot, melee, mob violence**: Large-scale (50+), use of violence by instigators against persons, property, police, or buildings separately or in combination, lasting several hours.
- **Strike, slow down, sick-ins, and employee work protest of any kind**: Regular air strike through failure of negotiations or wildcat air strike. (Make note if a wildcat strike.)
- **Boycott**: Organized refusal to buy or use a product or service. Examples: rent strikes, Montgomery bus boycotts
- **Press conference**: Only if specifically named as such in report, and must be the predominant activity form. Could involve disclosure of information to "educate the public" or influence various decision-makers.
- **Organization formation announcement** or **meeting announcement**: Meeting or press conference to announce the formation of a new organization.
- **Conflict, attack or clash (no instigator)**: This includes any boundary conflict in which no instigator can be identified, i.e. Black/white conflicts, abortion/anti-abortion conflicts.
- **Prayer Walk:** A prayer walk is an activity that consists of walking and praying at the same time. It's done not for the physical benefit but for the spiritual exercise, either publicly functioning as a demonstration or rally.
- **Lawsuit**: Legal maneuver by social movement organization or group.
- **Peopleless Protest:** Simultaneous online and offline protests involving physical representations of protesters in public spaces that are subsequently assembled online. Developed in Europe during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Global Nonviolent Action Database uses Gene Sharp's classification of 198 methods of nonviolent action. There is considerable overlap with the Dynamics of Collective Action repertoire, although the GNA repertoire includes more specific tactics. Together, the two projects help define tactics available to protesters and document instances of their use.

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS)

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) was a notorious Nigerian Police Force unit created in late 1992 to deal with crimes associated with robbery, motor vehicle

theft, kidnapping, cattle rustling, and firearms. It was part of the Force Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department (FCIID), headed by Deputy Inspector General of Police Anthony Ogbizi.

SARS was controversial for its links to extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, extortion, torture, framing, blackmail, kidnapping, illegal organ trade, armed robbery, home invasions, rape of men and women, child arrests, the invasion of privacy, and polluting bodies of water by illegally disposing of human remains.

After widespread protests in Nigeria and worldwide under the motto "End SARS", the unit was disbanded on 11 October 2020. Inspector General of Police M.A. Adamu said that a new unit, the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT), would replace the SARS. He said that SARS personnel would report to police headquarters for debriefing and examination. Within hours of the announcement, some Nigerians took to twitter with the hashtag #EndSWAT, and demonstrations continued amid fears that police reform would not materialize.

EndSARS Protest in Nigeria

EndSARS is a decentralized social movement and series of mass protests against police brutality in Nigeria. The slogan calls for the disbanding of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a notorious unit of the Nigerian Police with a long record of abuses. The protests which take it name from the slogan, started in 2017 as a Twitter campaign using the hashtag #ENDSARS to demand the disbanding of the unit by the Nigerian government.

After experiencing a revitalization in October 2020 following more revelations of the abuses of the unit, mass demonstrations occurred throughout the major cities of Nigeria, accompanied by vociferous outrage on social media platforms. About 28 million tweets bearing the hashtag have been accumulated on Twitter alone.

Solidarity protests and demonstrations by Nigerians in diaspora and sympathizers occurred in many major cities of the world. The protests are notable for their patronage by a demographic that is made of entirely young Nigerians. Within a few days of renewed protests, on 11 October 2020, the Nigerian Police Force announced that it was dissolving the unit with immediate effect. The move was widely received as a triumph of the demonstrations.

However, it was noted in many quarters that similar announcements have been made in recent years to pacify the public without the unit actually being disbanded, and that the government had merely planned to reassign and review SARS officers to medical centres rather than disband the unit entirely. Protests have continued accordingly, and the Nigerian government has maintained a pattern of violent repression including the killing of demonstrators. There have been international demonstrations in solidarity with those happening in the country, and the movement has also grown increasingly critical of Muhammadu Buhari's government response to the protests.

SARS officers have been alleged to profile young Nigerians, mostly males, based on fashion choices, tattoos and hairstyles. They were also known to mount illegal road blocks, conduct unwarranted checks and searches, arrest and detain without warrant or trial, rape women, and extort young male Nigerians for driving exotic vehicles and using laptops and iPhones.

Nigerians have shared both stories and video evidence of how officers of SARS engaged in kidnapping, murder, theft, rape, torture, unlawful arrests, humiliation, unlawful detention, extrajudicial killings and extortion of Nigerian citizens. A large section of the victims of the abuses of SARS have been young male Nigerians.

Social Media and Protest

Numerous observers contend that social media play a vital role in spreading basic information, such as information about the occurrence of rallies in Moldova that were not covered by official media sources (Faris, 2010; Lotan et al., 2011; Mungiu-Pippidi & Munteanu, 2009). Lysenko and Desouza (2012) suggested that Twitter was especially helpful in internationalizing the Moldovan protests and broadcasting information about mass demonstrations.

In general, skeptics point to the lack of concrete behavioral evidence demonstrating that citizens' online involvement directly shapes offline events; they conclude that the use of social media is neither a necessary nor sufficient cause of protest (Aday et al., 2010; Gladwell, 2010; Lynch, 2011). The same debate arose with respect to the antecedents of civil unrest following the 2009 Iranian elections.

Howard (2010) argued that "the Iranian insurgency was very much shaped by several digital communication tools, which allowed social movements within the country to organize protests and exchange information and made it possible for those groups to maintain contact with the rest of the world".

Indeed, the U.S. State Department apparently regarded Twitter as sufficiently important in promoting regime opposition that it asked the company to postpone scheduled maintenance tasks to avoid disruption of services. At the same time, Aday et al. (2010) concluded that "Twitter's impact on the protests was almost certainly extremely modest" and that traditional media sources were equally important in conveying information about the protests in Iran.

Complicating matters further, it appears that the Iranian regime used the same social network platforms to identify opposition activists and mobilize regime supporters (Aday et al., 2010). This raises the possibility that the net effect of social media is to hinder political participation by making it easier for governments to disrupt oppositional activities. Such disruption can range from monitoring the same Twitter feeds that opposition members use to communicate with one another, to limiting Internet access through the use of technical tools such as filtering and blocking keywords (e.g., Qiang 2011; Zitrain 2008), to fairly sophisticated ways of exerting control, such as denial-of-service attacks, planting provocateurs among opposition online communities, and making use of new technologies that will allow governments to identify protestors based on voices and facial images from protest recordings that are uploaded to social media sites (Morozov, 2011).

It has been claimed repeatedly often in the absence of solid data that Twitter, Facebook, and other social media resources are profoundly shaping both disruptive and nondisruptive forms of civil participation (e.g., Cha, Haddadi, Benevento, & Gummadi, 2010; Jungherr, Jurgens, & Schoen, 2011; Lynch, 2011; Shirky, 2011).

Yet as a research community we are still learning just how it is that the use of social media systematically affects civil and political participation in areas such as voting or demonstrating for or against a given cause or regime and government parastatals. Isolating direct and specific causes and consequences of social media use remains tremendously challenging, and acute theoretical and methodological problems have yet to be solved (Aday et al., 2010; Gladwell, 2010).

Even the most trenchant empirical contributions have been saddled thus far with limitations, such as the unrealistic assumption that "users joined the movement the moment they started sending Tweets about it" (Gonzalez-Bailon, Borge-Holthoefer, Rivero, & Moreno, 2011).

Nevertheless, the use of social media had been linked to the spread of civil protest in many cities around the world, including Moscow, Kiev, Istanbul, Ankara, Cairo, Tripoli, Athens, Madrid, New York, Los Angeles, Hong Kong, and Ferguson, Missouri and Nigeria. Obviously, civil and political protest itself is far from new, but the fact that it is possible to access real-time accounts of protest behavior documented and archived through microblogging (e.g., Twitter) and social media (e.g., Facebook) websites is a novel phenomenon.

Indeed, it is becoming increasingly difficult to find a protest that does not have its own distinctive hashtag on Twitter (e.g., #OWS 5 Occupy Wall Street; #Jan25 5 protests in Egypt; #direngeziparkı 5 protests in Turkey; and #Euromaidan 5 protests in Ukraine and #EndSARS in Nigeria), and it is easy to connect these hashtags to messages content, users' metadata, and social networks. User metadata associated with these accounts allows researchers to access critical information about location, time, position in and structure of the user's social network, all of which creates unparalleled opportunities for social scientific research.

For movement organizers, social media provides an efficient vehicle for the rapid transmission of information about planned events and political developments, thereby facilitating the organization of protest activity.

Because of this, Shirky (2011) concluded that: "As the communications landscape gets denser, more complex, and more participatory, the networked population is gaining greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and an enhanced ability to undertake collective action" (see also Diamond & Plattner, 2012).

On the other hand, the use of social media by would-be dissidents provides extraordinary opportunities for governmental authorities to detect and suppress protest activity. For example, the Chinese government has become a worldwide leader in Internet censorship, using technology to identify and quash attempts to organize public assemblies and demonstrations, while simultaneously allowing criticism of the government, apparently so that they can monitor public opinion (King, Pan, & Roberts, 2013).

A technological "cat-and-mouse" game between dissidents and defenders of existing regimes is underway (MacKinnon, 2012; Morozov, 2011; Shirky, 2011), and it is hard to imagine that it will ever disappear. For political psychologists and other behavioral scientists, the rise to ubiquity of social media and the conglomeration of websites and online services loosely referred to as "Web 2.0" (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010) presents remarkable empirical opportunities as well as theoretical and methodological challenges (Alberici & Milesi, 2012; Gonzalez-Bailon et al., 2011; Hooghe, Vissers, Stolle, & Maheo, 2010; McGarty, Thomas, Lala, Smith, & Bliuc, 2013; Postmes & Brunsting, 2002).

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
Psychological and attitudinal Theory

Traditional grievance or relative deprivation models of political activism, first proposed in the late 1960s and further developed in the 1970s, focused on psychological factors that lead people to engage in contentious politics (Block / Haan / Smith 1968; Braungart 1971; Fendrich / Krauss 1978; Gurr 1970; Lewis / Kraut 1972; Thomas 1971).

As Muller and Jukam (1983) have written: "People who take part in acts of civil disobedience or political violence are discontented about something." The underlying psychological mechanism at work is that unfulfilled material expectations cause anger, frustration and resentment which manifest themselves in an individual propensity to protest. The theory of relative deprivation also bears an analogy to modernization theory:

According to Huntington (1968), political instability is unleashed by rapid social change, unfulfilled economic expectations, and the resulting political mobilization of previously disaffected groups of citizens. While the relative deprivation approach emphasized the primacy of material grievances, more recent studies have shifted the focus of attention towards emotional motives that relate to beliefs about society (Aminzade 2001; Goodwin / Jasper / Polletta 2001; Jasper / Poulsen 1995; Jasper 1998; Oliver / Johnston 2000). People may be motivated to engage in protest out of a sense of moral indignation provoked by an emotional response to an aggrieving situation. Reactive emotions such as anger, moral outrage, or confusion in the face of injustice can trigger the decision to participate in protest events (van Laer 2011).

Strong reactive emotions may even incline these citizens to participate in protests that do not have pre-existing affective ties to a protest movement or personal links to other protesters (Jasper / Poulsen 1995; van Laer 2011). While material and moral grievances may provide an abundance of motives under authoritarian rule, the ability of civil society to funnel these motives into collective action is usually thwarted by the fact that the public sphere is sealed: the national narrative is controlled by a government which usually resorts to a mix of censorship, intimidation and persecution to suppress information on economic malperformance, human rights violations, corruption or any other issue which may negatively reflect on itself.

By providing a space for free speech, on the other hand, the Internet poses an existential threat to the ability of authoritarian governments to control this national narrative (Kuebler 2011). Web-based communication technologies made it possible to expose non-governmental narratives to a wide public. Once such information is leaked, it may unleash a dual effect: on the individual level it can act as a cognitive maximizer that pushes people into protest action, especially if it meets with and reinforces personal experiences of economic deprivation or abusive treatment at the hands of government agents. At the macro-level of collective outcomes, content that evokes negative emotions, has a high potential to "go viral".

Berger and Milkman (2010) have shown that anger and anxiety as emotional states of heightened physiological arousal are key forces in driving social transmission and diffusion. In the context of an authoritarian state, this implies that information which is prone to produce negative emotions, has a high potential to quickly diffuse on the Net and virtually spiral out of governmental control.

Following this line of theoretical reasoning, it can be hypothesized that the Internet provided an element of emotional mobilization in the Nigeria EndSARS protest and uprising by helping to break the grip of SARS censorship and by making information on corruption in the system and its human rights violations available to a large segment of the population.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

Research designs are perceived to be an overall strategy adopted by the researcher whereby different components of the study are integrated in a logical manner to effectively address a research problem. In this study, the researcher employed the library research design. This is due to the nature of the study whereby information and many other data were collected from published materials which include books, journals, traditional and social media.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1   Summary

This study was carried out to examine the role of social media on the police reformation in Nigeria using the 2020 EndSARS protest in Lagos State as a case study. The study examined if social media significantly contributed to the reformation of police in Nigeria. The study employed the survey descriptive research design. A total of 270 responses were validated from the survey. From the responses obtained and analyzed, the findings revealed that social media contributed to the 2020 EndSARS protest in Nigeria.

With the success and the user base of Social Networking Sites as tools for digital communication and exchange of information and its advancement in industrialization, science, technology, and various environmental issues taking place locally and globally, this social media can be utilized as a tool to promote awareness regarding various current environmental issues in a much faster way and to a large mass within a very short span of time.

This study aims to investigate how Nigerians use social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and WhatsApp as a platform to reach out to the world and Nigeria government to create awareness on police brutality in Nigeria which started with their request to End SARS (Special Anti-robbery Squad) department. Primary Data were collected from people with Google form to know the level of their involvement in the campaign and their view on what impact did social media had on creating the awareness.

The findings indicate that the integral factor that helped in notifying the general public and pushed the government into taking fast action on the matter was social media, from where we know that it was the involvement of social media in the campaign that made the awareness to spread at the speed of light, and made the Nigerian Police to take responsibility of their actions, which might not have been so, if it's through traditional means.

This study differs from past research as it focuses on the involvement of the people and the role social media platform(s) played in creating the awareness.

4.2   Conclusion

In this study, our focus was to examine the role of social media on the police reformation in Nigeria using the 2020 EndSARS protest as a case study**.** The study specifically was aimed at ascertaining if social media significantly contributed to the reformation of police in Nigeria.

The study adopted the survey research design and randomly enrolled participants in the study. A total of 270 responses were validated from the enrolled participants where all respondent are residents of Lagos State.

The findings revealed that social media contributed to the 2020 EndSARS protest in Nigeria. The findings also revealed that social media played a significant role in the reformation of police in Nigeria.

4.3   Recommendations

Based on the responses obtained, the researcher proffers the following recommendations:

- The federal government of Nigeria should look into the reasons behind the protest that caused chaos and uproar in all the 36 states in Nigeria and enact laws and structures that bring to an end the brutality of SARS in Nigeria.
- The government of Nigeria should endeavor to orientate the SWAT properly so that they will not be like pouring new wine in an old wine skin. That is the SWAT being another version of SARS.
- The federal of Nigeria should carry out a thorough check on all members of the SWAT force and their academic qualifications to ascertain their eligibility for the work.

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