The Politics of Endsars and Endbadgovernance Protests in Nigeria

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Abstract

This paper examines two pivotal movements in Nigeria's recent political landscape: the EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernance' protests. The EndSARs movement, which emerged in late 2020s, was a widespread public outcry against police brutality, specifically targeting the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) of the Nigerian Police Force. This grassroots campaign highlighted the systemic issues within law enforcement and galvanized national and international support for police reform. In contrast, the 'Endbadgovernance' movement ought to address broader issues of governance, corruption, and systemic inefficiency under the leadership of the All Progressive Congress (APC) from 2015 to 2024. This study explores the similarities and differences between these movements in terms of their goals, strategies, and impacts. While both aim to address deep-rooted issues within Nigeria's political and institutional frameworks, EndSARS specifically focused on law enforcement reform, whereas 'Endbadgovernance' advocated for a more comprehensive overhaul of political and administrative systems. The study evaluates the effectiveness of each movement in achieving its objectives, the responses from the APC government and the broader implications for Nigerian democracy and governance. Through this comparative lens, the analysis sheds light on the challenges and opportunities for political activism in Nigeria. The data sources include secondary and interviews to ascertain the level of politicization of the protests against Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and bad governance. The study reveals that the reasons for these protests were based on police brutality and pervasive hunger. That in itself shows the need for policy directions towards good governance. The study recommends among others that there should be discussion for proper management of the Nigerian state.

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the reasons that fueled EndSARS and Endbadgovernance protests, and the reaction of the government towards them. However, we cannot discuss protests in Nigeria without recourse to the colonial period. Notable among the protests during the colonial period is the Aba Women's Riot of 1929 in the South-east (Onuaha, 2026). This was a reaction against the inclusion of women to be taxed. Another protest organized against the colonial masters by Nigerian women took place in Abeokuta in 1947 in the South-west, as a condemnation of the efforts to tax traders who were predominantly women. This signifies that women in the southern part of Nigeria react to any policy that affects them. Other notable protests include the welfare strike by Labour Congress in 1945 and that of the Coal workers in Enugu in 1949, geared towards increased salary and better living conditions. The post-independence period(1960-2024) in Nigeria has witnessed series of protests against political, social and economic, the results of which have seen government react in a positive or negative manner both towards the issues in perspective, or the protesters particularly (Olukotun, 2022; Etim, 2022; Oniyide, 2010). The fourth republic which started in May 29, 1999 was also not to be spared of series of protests. These were mostly popular reactions against fuel hike. Whitehead (2021) argues that when protesters present complaints for resistance, their ideas may seem incoherent but they would want to push leaders in government to make a positive change for their agitation.

The paper seeks to survey the APC government's response to the EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernance' protests in Nigeria, through comparative analysis of policy documents, speeches, media reports, newspapers, and stakeholder interviews, this study aims to uncover the contradictions between the government's words and actions and explore the implications for police reform and good governance in Nigeria. The problem here is the perceived gap between the APC's campaign promises of combating insecurity (2015) and "renewed hope" (2023) campaign showing in its actual performance, leading to widespread disillusionment and calls for more extensive reforms. Responses from each protests have been narrowed down to opposition condemning action of government and encouraging mass protests. The EndSARS movement of October 2020, under President Muhammadu Buhari, which decried police brutality was championed by the youth, and the 'Endbadgovernance' of August 2024 was championed by the masses. Both protests

aimed at addressing critical issues within existing governance and law enforcement structures. The protest movements gained widespread support and sparked a national conversation about police reform and good governance.

However, the response from the All Progressive Congress (APC) government has been viewed by critics as mostly inconsistent with their reactionary measures towards the causes of these protests. On the one hand, the government has acknowledged the need for police reform and announced measures to address the demands of the EndSARs movement. On the other hand, critics argue that the government's actions have not matched its rhetoric, and that the underlying issues of bad governance and impunity remain unaddressed which resulted to 'Endbadgovernance' in August 2024. The peaceful protests were regularly met with violent responses from security forces. However EndSARS and Endbad governance initiated a new lesson, the lesson of joint efforts through the use of social media to organize a protest in Nigeria. This study will attempt to unravel the above issues in the course of this research.

1.1 Statement of Problem

The politicization of protests started in the First Republic during the "Operation Wetie" or "the wild wild west" staged in the South-western part of Nigeria, this social uprising was as a result of two close political elites Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief Ladoke Akintola who belonged to the Action Group, a political party in opposition to the central government. Later there was political rivalry between the two elites prompting Akintola to form a new political party called the Nigerian National Democratic Party that contested the 1965 election and emerged victorious. The Action Group claimed the election was rigged and there were street protests leading to wanton destruction of lives and property. The restiveness engendered by this upheaval is among the factors that ushered in the military coup d'etat, marking the end of the First Republic. Ironically, this coup d'etat that came as an aftermath was to be misread as a plot by a part of the country to dominate every other region. A political protest tagged "Araba riot" kick-started in Kaduna and Zaria, targeting mainly Nigerians from the South-east, prompting the massive exodus of the lgbo from the North in 1966 back to the east. On the heels of this, subsequent military regimes witnessed series of protests, some organized by tertiary institutions. Protest is not new in Nigeria what is new is the introduction of social media to call out people to join the protests of 2020 and 2024.

The political setting in Nigeria from May 29, 2015 to 2024 under the APC government has passed through pressure from youth that protested against police brutality, in the wake of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) in 2020, and 'Endbadgovernance ' protest in 2024 which was necessitated by the hardship caused by fuel subsidy removal and the attendant hardship on the citizenry. The core objective of EndSARS protest was to effect a change in police brutal action. Amnesty International, 2021, stressed that the protest highlighted some critical concerns about law enforcement and human rights from government response but the protest faced significant challenges in translating protest momentum into sustained reform. 'Endbadgovernance' addresses broader systemic issues, including corruption, mismanagement, and inefficiency within the governance framework under the All Progressives Congress (APC).

1.2 Aim and Objectives of Study

The aim of this study is to examine politics of EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernance' protest movements on government policies. The specific objectives are as stated:

i. To trace the trend of protests in Nigeria.
ii. To determine the extent of protest as a viable tool to influence government policies in Nigeria.
iii. To investigate the role of opposition parties in motivating EndSARS and 'EndBad governance' protests in Nigeria.
iv. To examine the role of social media in the widespread protest in Nigeria.

1.3 Research Questions

The following questions would be answered in the course of this research.

i. Why is protest so frequent in Nigeria?
ii. Is protest a viable tool to influence government policies in Nigeria?
iii. Did EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernment' protests engineered by opposition parties in Nigeria?
iv. Did the social media platforms responsible for the widespread of the protest in the 21st century in Nigeria?

2. Conceptual Framework

The paper is centred on the three concepts of protest, police brutality and governance. Looking at these three concepts there is a connection in the area of action.

2.1 Protest

Protest in any society occurs as a result of pressure on social, political and economic certainties which affect survival. Adebayo, Igwe and Gideon (2025) write that protest has emerged as a crucial catalyst for social transformation, serving as a powerful expression of collective dissent against oppression. For the purpose of this study, we would compartmentalize protests into the sub-groups of social protest, economic protest and political protest. Touraine (2007) describes social protest movements as conflicts about the social control of cultural patterns and expressions rather than (just) material interests or class politics. He regards the fight over the main cultural patterns of the society as *the* primary site for struggle and social challenge. Economic protest is as a result of inequality, corruption, hardship, injustice. This formed the crux of the 'Endbadgovernance' protest which took ten days of demonstration in Nigeria. Political protest is defined as a public demonstration or action taken by groups to express dissent against policies or practices, often reflecting broader political issues such as rural identity, land rights, and resistance to external influences on rural life. Political protests have erupted in more than 70 countries and tens of millions of people have participated in them. Social media plays quite an important role in this regard and makes mobilization and organization possible without traditional political and trade union structures. Arab Spring protest happened in the Middle East in 2011 that affected Syria, Libya, Tunisia, Yemen and other states. It is the grievance of some people against administration characterized by autocratic and interest in tenure longevity. Again, it revealed other vices like corruption, mal-administration, high rate of unemployment, mismanagement and indiscipline encouraged by those in government (Abang, 2016). Eesuola (2012, p. 108) makes a cogent point in this regard. He notes that: *In 2012, the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) called on its members and affiliates to down –tool and join in what it called "subsidy demonstration". Many groups also responded and participated in the protest that lasted for four days. The groups include Democrat Social Movement, Joint Action Forum, Maryland 1, Save Nigeria Group, and the Campaign for Restoration of National Dignity . Later the federal government of Nigeria announced her decision to abandon the deregulation policy. The government returned to the status quo regime of fixing pump price.*

In any protest, leadership structure is key especially in the area of who speak for the movement, how it is led and what scope it has for a negotiated solution that would lead to a government listening to the protesters. One reason why some protest movements fail to maximize their potential is that there is absence of organized direction which can create opportunities for useful debate for policies direction. Useem & Useem (2001, p. 841) propounds the Legitimacy-stability theory, that legitimacy crisis is not on its own, capable of generating political protest except there is "organized movement that could articulate grievances against the regime and translate it into effective, concrete, strategic programs".

Table 1. Record of selected global protests

S/N	Year	Country	Protest	Government response	Source
1	2013	Bulgaria	Prices of electricity and other utilities	It resulted in division between Bulgarian socialist party and the movement for right and freedoms. The people's demand was listened to and correction carried out.	Daniel, 2015.
2	2017, 2019	Honduras	Election, fraud and social inequality	It resulted to death of protesters as government used force on the people	Laura, 2025
3	2019	Haiti	Petrocaribe and insecurity	State of emergency and International support	Pierri 2023
4	2019	Guinea	Term limit and constitutional referendum	Government reneged on its decision	Aljazeera, 2020
5	2010, 2012	Greece	Pension reform	Policy adjustment	Aljazeera, 2020
6	2020	Germany	Police brutality	Investigation against the brutality	Nigud Ben, 2020
7	2020	United States of America	Black lives matter	Police reform	Oklemohle, 2020
8	2019	Bangladesh	Police brutality	Increased security	Ahmed, 2021
9	2020	Portugal	Police brutality	Investigation into police action	Silva, 2020
10	2019	Iran	Fuel hike	Internal shutdown	Amnesty International 2019

Table 1 shows that there are some common actions or behavior exhibited by the protesters. These could include "marches, rallies, sit-ins strikes, boycotts, and civil disobedience, aimed at inducing change or voicing disagreement". Protest politics are directed against policies of government or power employed by governing authorities.

2.2. Police Brutality

What is police and their responsibilities? Police is legally defined as the branch of government charged with the maintenance of public order and tranquility, the promotion of public health, safety and morals and the prevention, detection and punishment of crime (Nasir, 2014). Beside the powers and functions elaborately laid out in the police Act (CAP 359) Law of Nigeria, the grand approbation for the police force is enshrined in Section 214 of the 1999 Nigeria Constitution, Subsection (i):

Shall be a police force for Nigeria which shall be known as the Nigeria Police Force and subject to the provision of this section, no other police force shall be established for the Federation or any part thereof.

Police brutality is a result of action taken against protesters when they are on the street or when they are performing their lawful duty. Police brutality refers to unwarranted application of force on arrested fellows. It also means any form of police misbehavior or misconduct in carrying out lawful duty. By definition police brutality is the use of excessive or unjustified force against civilian by police officer.

2.3. Governance

Governance is a concept that has global acceptability for the purpose of assessing whoever is in government or running the affairs of the state. Governance is the framework by which organization are directed and controlled. According to Jega (2021, p. 4):

The public sector governance is a form of public management which involve 'rowing'(administration or service delivery) or 'steering' (setting targets and strategic objectives) in addressing the welfare and wellbeing of citizens…Governance in the context of a modern nation-state is first and foremost providing for the fundamental needs and aspirations of citizens, through governmental institutions and processes, steered, driven and guided by chosen representatives of the people … (cited in Ademiluyi and Abang, 2022).

Olowu (1999) writes that without solving the governance problem in Nigeria it is doubtful if the challenge of economic growth and development can be fully appropriated. Commentators criticised the APC administration for failing to deliver

on its promises of anti-corruption and effective governance. Accountability ensures that those in governing positions can be removed if they perform poorly.

3. Theoretical Framework

This study adopts relative deprivation theory to explain the two critical protests tagged EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernance' that took place in Nigeria. The 'Endbadgovernance' movement framed its issues around broader themes of corruption and inefficiency in governance. The relative deprivation theory is one of the key concepts used in social, economic and political protest movement theory that has to do with feeling of discontent and deprivation of resources. This theory posits that individuals or groups experience relative deprivation when their aspirations are blocked by societal conditions, leading to feelings of discontent compared to a group. It can manifest as egoistic deprivation, where an individual feels deprived relative to others, or fraternal deprivation, where a group feels discontent about their status as compared to another group (Gurr, 1991).

Millions of unemployed youth are victimized, branded criminals and apprehended by the law enforcement agents, including the Anti-Robbery Squad that mount road block check, search and arrest some accused youth in Nigeria. Going by accounts from critics, SARS also extend their duties to search any youth on the roads depriving them of their personal effects; at times lives could be lost like the case of the young man in Ugehili, Delta state. This particular case at Ughelli in Delta State marked the origin of EndSARS protests. Through the help of social media it was made to go viral across the country.

The politics of EndSARS and Endbadgovernance took diverse twists based on the government in power. A northern president was the president in 2020 who had armed forces background. The decision to stop police brutality was not quickly effected and the deprived youth moved to the streets to express their anger against government. The question is why is it that some people or state in the North refused to participate in EndSARS protest against the abuses of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) as experienced in Lagos southern part of Nigeria? The reverse was the case for the Endbadgovernance protests in 2024 against a southern president in Nigeria that removed fuel subsidy and the catapulting effects of hardship; the leaders residing in Abuja, northern part of Nigeria led the protest.

3.1 The Trends of Protest in Nigeria

Colonial Nigeria was divided into two protectorates- southern protectorate and northern protectorate. In 1914 the two protectorates were merged into one country. Close on the heels of this political surgery, the 'Agbaja' women protest of 1918 was staged. Domiciled in the southern part of Nigeria. The grouse of the women was on maternal mortality. We have already mentioned the Aba Women's riot of 1929, and the Abeokuta women protest of 1947 championed by Fumilayo Ransome Kuti. These protests underscore the active participation of women in politics and their vision for an egalitarian society.

The 1945 and 1947 protest movements had to do with the workers who agitated for better remunerations and living conditions. This is one scenario where the protests had a positive outcome as the colonial masters looked into their case and resolved it. Post-colonial era protests have been associated with political instability, corruption, and economic disparities. The starting point was the Tiv protest in 1960 against the Northern People's Congress due to marginalization. There was the 'Araba' protest of 1966 originated by the northern youths against the military coup that claimed the lives of the Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Bello and Northern Premier Sir Ahmadu Bello, they were key figures in northern politics. The first military putsch of January 15, 1966 faced a counter coup within six months. In 1978 there was a mass protest organized by the university students tagged "Ali Must Go", Ali being the Minister of Education who called for increase in school fees. During General Ibrahim Babangida regime there was mass protests by students against the Structural Adjustment Programme suggested by World Bank and IMF to Nigeria which was greatly challenged. The Babangida junta witnessed another series of protests following the annulment of the presidential elections that many quarters were of the opinion that M.K.O. Abiola won the election of June 12, 1993. Till date, that protest is tagged June 12 protest.

The Fourth Republic is the epicenter of this study as the politics of EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernance' protests is examined. Within this period, a wave of protests were staged criticizing most of the policies of the ruling People's Democratic Party-PDP from 1999-2015. Most protests in Nigeria are not isolated events but rather a manifestation of long-standing grievances issues that have festered beneath the surface for decades (Aidonojie et al., 2022). In 2003, there was a nationwide protest due to hike in fuel by a former head of state elected as a civilian president. "OccupyNigeria" protest came up protesting the upsurge of a lot of negativities in the era of President Goodluck Jonathan, like Bokoharam, kidnapping, corruption, fuel price hike and others.

EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernance' protests took place under a new ruling party the All progressive congress (APC) in 2020 and 2024. These two protests were to ignite a global discourse, propelling the nation into the international spotlight as it grapples with complex political, social, and economic challenges (Adiche and Iwuoha, 2022). The protest was led predominantly by the youth deeply rooted on issues such as police brutality, governance deficiencies, and socio-economic inequality (Oaihimire and Aidonojie, 2023, Afattore, 2020).) The movement gained swift momentum through social media platforms, particularly Twitter and Instagram, where harrowing stories of violence and abuse at the hands of SARS officers were shared with the world (Adawe, 2015). This protest gained momentum across the nation, and led to calls for an end to police brutality and comprehensive reform within law enforcement agencies. The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a unit within the Nigerian Police Force, had become synonymous with allegations of human rights abuses, extortion, and extrajudicial killings (Aidonojie, et al., 2021).

However, the protests were not issues solely centered on police misconduct alone; it also probed broader governance and accountability. The Nigerian youth, at the forefront of these demonstrations, articulated a collective dissatisfaction with a political system perceived as unresponsive and indifferent to their needs (Aidonojie et al., 2021). Beyond the immediate call to end police brutality, the protests became a rallying cry for better transparency, and an end to the pervasive corruption that has plagued the country's political landscape. The chants and placards of the protesters echoed a collective demand for a more inclusive and accountable government (Masajuwa and Aidonojie, 2020).

Socio-economic inequality forms another crucial dimension of the protests, revealing the profound disparities within Nigerian society. Despite the nation's wealth in natural resources, a significant portion of the population faces poverty and limited access to basic amenities (Aidonojie and Egielewa, 2020). As at 2024, more than 112 million Nigerians were living below the poverty line (NBS, 2025).The global resonance of these protests cannot be understated. The international community closely monitored and responded to the unfolding events in Nigeria, with expressions of solidarity echoing from various corners of the globe. This global support not only emphasized the universal relevance of the issues raised by the protesters but also exerted diplomatic pressure on the Nigerian government to address the grievances of its citizens in accordance with international human rights standards (Abuwashina, 2020).

In the midst of these transformative events, the Nigerian government faced the difficult task of balancing the need to address the legitimate concerns of the protesters and at same time maintain public order (Edetalehn and Aidonojie, 2023). Moreover, the protests became a profound learning experience for both the government and the young activists (Adediran, 2020). The government learned that dismissing the concerns of its citizens could lead to widespread discontent and social unrest.

In 2024, the 'Endbadgovernance' movement in Nigeria provided a critical step towards addressing the country's long-standing challenges and ensuring a more equitable, just and prosperous society for all- with new policies of palliatives, student loans, removal of tariffs on some goods and others. The primary purpose of the protesters was to influence public opinion and pressure political authorities to enact desired changes through organized collective action that share potential costs and risks among participants thus serving as an essential tool in democratic societies. 'Endbadgovernance'protest exemplifies the potential and challenges of using protest as a political tool in Nigeria's republic (Adebayo, Igwe & Gideon, 2025) .

3.2. Politics of EndSARS and Endbad Governance Protests in Nigeria

SARS as it was popular called is an abbreviation for Special Anti-Robbery Squad, a unit in Nigerian Police Force established in 1992 to investigate and prosecute violent crimes. Though the unit had worked credibly in some states, it later become a machinery to torture offenders/ suspects and brutalize Nigerian youths, culminating in a nationwide protest tagged "EndSARS". The hashtag #EndSARS became a rallying cry, uniting voices against police brutality. Youth in Nigeria, viewing themselves as torchbearers of change, exhibited exceptional organizational skills, strategic planning, and effective mobilization, leveraging the power of social media to galvanize support. Their ability to unite across diverse backgrounds transcended regional and ethnic divides marked a departure from historical patterns, emphasizing a shared commitment to a common cause. The protesters articulated a vision for a Nigeria where access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities would be more equitable, challenging the existing structures that perpetuated disparities. The people in the North-east did not react in the same way as other Nigerians to protest against the abuses of special anti-robbery squad (Marc-Antoine &Vitus 2021). The demands went beyond a singular focus on law enforcement, signaling a broader call for systemic change that addressed the root causes of the nation's social and economic challenges. Reports of continued

corruption, mismanagement of resources, and ineffective governance have led to widespread disillusionment (Ibeanu, 2022).

Nigerian dailies reported that the ruling All Progress Congress party (APC) accused the ousted Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and its leaders of directly and indirectly sponsoring the protests and playing politics with development (Business Day, October 2020). The opposition party which is the PDP had also noted that if the president had given a well-structured governance response, it would have calmed frayed nerves and averted the violence and destruction to lives and property. APC in a response by its Spokesman, Yekini Nabena, said it would not take issues with the PDP in the direction of the #EndSARS protests. Survey data indicated that while the EndSARS movement raised awareness about police brutality, a significant portion of the population felt that the government's response failed to bring about meaningful change. There was a notable disparity between public expectations and the actual reforms implemented.

The 2024 'Endbadgovernance' movement advocated for comprehensive reforms beyond individual policy changes, calling for a thorough restructuring of political institutions and accountability mechanisms. This movement sought to address long-standing issues such as political patronage, electoral fraud, and the inefficiencies that undermine Nigeria's development (Guardian Nigeria, 2023).

PDP's National Publicity Secretary, noted that hunger was the sponsor of the protest, and urged the federal government to arrest hunger and not Nigerians that are protesting in 'Endbadgovernance' (Daily Trust, 2024). In its response, the APC government that was running the state claimed that they identified Nigerians in the diaspora who were sponsoring the nationwide 'EndBadGovernance' protest. The government said it has placed such individuals on a watch list and also frozen their Nigerian accounts. The immigration boss said the service had, in response to the protest, deployed more officers to land borders and airports to ensure effective manning of those entry ports. Amnesty International reported that at least 13 people have been killed since the protests, most by police officers, although the police dispute the claim.(Premium Time, August 2024)

However, many critics argue that the Tinubu administration has fallen short of its promises. In contrast, the 'Endbadgovernance' movement sought to address a more extensive range of issues relating to governance and corruption. There are several key demands that explained the features attributed with 'Endbadgovernance' movement in Nigeria such as implementation of anti- corruption, policies and laws, and credible elections, economic diversification and job creation, improved access

to education and healthcare, police reform and community policing, and transparency and accountability in governance. The impact of the 'Endbadgovernance' movement cannot be overemphasised in the areas of its increased awareness and engagement on governance issues, push for constitutional reform and electoral reform, calls for accountability and transparency in governance, demands for improved public services and infrastructures and growing momentum for systemic change. Social commentary surrounding the era focused on the APC's failure to deliver on its anti-corruption promises and its handling of economic and governance issues (Ibeanu, 2022).

That the EndSARs and 'Endbadgovernance' protests would be staged during the dispensations of President Muhammadu Buhari and President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, with widespread criticisms of their poor handling of corruption, security, and hunger is an illustration of the big divide between opposition criticisms and governance. The APC, which came into power in 2015 promising change and anti-corruption measures, has faced criticism for failing to deliver on its promises and for perpetuating the very issues it sought to eradicate (Guardian, Nigeria, 2023).

Endsar and EndBadGovernance movements demanded systemic change and reforms in various sectors, including (i) governance which has to do with transparency, accountability and responsiveness (ii) Economy which focuses on diversification, inclusivity and sustainable growth (iii) Education which centers on accessible, quality and relevant education (iv) Healthcare which deals with accessible, affordable, and quality healthcare (v) Security which centers on reform of security agencies and community policing.

4. Methodology

The methodology for this paper include quantitative research methods to capture the complex nature of the protest movements and their impacts. The comparative analysis of these movements is crucial for several reasons to understand how each movement has mobilized public opinion and pressured the government in Nigeria.

Content analysis was used by reviewing media and government reports to understand framing and public perception. This approach allows for an in-depth exploration of each movement's goals, strategies, impacts, and interactions. Interviews: structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders, including activists, government officials, policy analysts, and members of civil society

organizations. These interviews provide insights into the motivations, strategies, and experiences of those involved in or affected by the movements.

4.1. Results and Discussion

Table 2. Record of Protests in Nigeria

S/N	Year of protest	Geo-political zone of protest	Leader in office during protest	Causes of protest	Government response to protest	Source
1	1918	Southern region	Sir Lugard	Tax policy	Suppression of protesters	Ausman, 2018
2	1929	Eastern region		Aba women riot- Tax fear	Reform admitted	Abaraonye, 2019
3	1945	National	Arthur Richard	Salary strike	negotiation	Oyemakinde, 1975
4	1947	Western region	Arthur Richard	Women protest,	Political reform	Ugwuja, 2023
5	1949	Eastern region	John Macpherson	Coal workers protest for poor working conditions	Massacre	BBC, February 2026
6	1962	Western region	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Operation 'Wetie'	State of emergency	Akinsanya, 1982
7	1966	Northern region	Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi	'Araba' protest Coup d'etat and killing of Igbo in the north.	Counter coup	Onumonu, 2025
8	1967	South-east	Yakubu gowon	Pogrom against Igbo people, leading to Biafra secession	Military crackdown	Achebe,.(2012)
9	1978	National	General Olusegun Obasanjo under military regime	Increase in school fee	Closure of university	Ojo, 1980
10	1989	National	General Ibrahim Babangida	IMF/World Bank induced SAP	Ruthless suppression	Momoh (1995)
11	1993	South west	General Ibrahim Babangida	Annulment of election	Military crackdown	Oyebode (1993)
12	2000	North central	Olusegun Obasanjo	Sharia law implementation	Tension escalated	Suberu, 2009

S/N	Year of protest	Geo-political zone of protest	Leader in office during protest	Causes of protest	Government response to protest	Source
13	2003	National	President Olusegun Obasanjo under civil regime	Fuel hike	Partial reversal of price	Vanguard, December 26, 2017
14	2012	National	President Goodluck Jonathan	Fuel hike	Partial reversal of price	Human right watch.(2012)
15	2008	South-south	Unaru yar'adua	Fuel price hike	Forceful dispersal	Amnesty international(2008)
16	2020	National	President Muhammadu Buhari	EndSARS-police brutality	The Nigerian government's response included the disbandment of SARS and the formation of a new unit, SWAT.).	(Amnesty International, 2021
17	2021	North-west	Muhammadu Buhari	Insecurity, banditry	Heightened military operation	Premium times(2021)
18	2024	National	President Bola Ahmed Tinubu	Endbadgovernance	The Nigerian government's response included the introduction of EFUND.	Guardian, November 29, 2024

Table 2 shows that protests cut across all sectors in Nigeria and Governments have responded in both positive and negative manner. The security agents in trying to control and maintain peace and order have killed some protesters as reported in some dailies and media stations. The analysis of the table show that different reasons led to the protest observed in Nigeria from 1918 to 2024. In the table and the people interviewed, women played a particular role in protests, especially in the area of taxation as it involved them, which also shows that they were not left out from the agitation for freedom of the country. Again, welfare packages to improve workers' salaries was also part of the reasons for the protests observed within the 1940s and 1950s. This also extended to the 20th century when workers agitated for good living conditions.

During the military era, tertiary institutions also protested for the essential facilities that should be in the universities, including food, Structural Adjustment Programme riot that led to the killing of some students. The annulment of the 1993 presidential

elections also led to protests and tensions in the country, pushing the then military regime to set up an interim national government with a guise to step aside. In the 21st century, especially in the Fourth Republic, protests spanned between 2003 and 2024, ranging from fuel hikes, removal of subsidy, police brutality and bad governance.

Table 3. Similarities And Disimlarities Between Endsars And Endbadgovernance Protests In Nigeria

Similarities	Dissimilarities	Sources
The social media played a major role in disseminating information, mobilizing and sometimes affecting the decision of people to join the protest	The EndSARS that was centred on police brutality was an issue in the southern part of Nigeria, compared to a more north. In the North-east region, SARS attracted a level of sympathy, with hypes that they executed their job well.	Guardian, 2020; 2024 Punch, 2020; 2024 Daily Trust, 2020; 2024
2. Youths were majorly the originators of the protests even when few adults later supported the agitation	2. The 'Endbadgovernance' that was centred on improving the living conditions of Nigerians was mostly supported in the north because of their high poverty rate compared to the south.	
3. There are claims by some national dailies that some governors supported the protests		
4. A lot of damages were incurred during these protests		

A comparative approach was used to contrast the EndSARS and Endbadgovernance movements in terms of their goals, methods, and outcomes. Content analysis was applied to enable the researcher extract the variables that explain the politics of EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernance' protests.

4.2 Findings

The findings of the politics of the EndSARS and 'Endbadgovernance' movements revealed distinct yet intersecting impacts on Nigeria's political landscape between 2015 and 2024. The followings are to be noted: The EndSARS movement successfully mobilized widespread public support through social media platforms. The use of

social media and grassroots organizing proved effective in rapidly spreading the movement's message and garnering national and international attention (BBC News, 2020). The movement's primary objective was the dissolution of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and the implementation of comprehensive police reforms.

Second finding is that Endbadgovernance movement highlighted significant deficiencies in governance but faced challenges in translating its demands into concrete policy changes. Despite ongoing advocacy, there was limited evidence of substantial reforms in response to the movement's critiques. Surveys revealed widespread disillusionment with the APC's governance performance.

Third finding shows that both movements effectively raised awareness about their respective issues, but their successes in achieving long-term changes were mixed. The EndSARS movement succeeded in bringing attention to police brutality but struggled with implementation of lasting reforms. The 'Endbadgovernance' movement effectively highlighted systemic issues but faced challenges in prompting significant policy shifts. The findings underscore the need for continued advocacy and deeper structural changes to address the systemic issues highlighted by both movements.

5. Conclusion

This comparative analysis of the EndSARS and Endbadgovernance movements of 2020 and 2024 reveals significant insights into how grassroots activism influences political changes in Nigeria. Both movements addressed critical issues within Nigeria's political and law enforcement systems, though their focus and impact varied.

The EndSARS movement highlighted severe issues of police brutality and garnered substantial local and international support. It successfully brought attention to the abusive practices of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and led to its disbandment. However, the movement faced challenges in achieving long-term reform. The replacement of SARS with the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) unit was perceived as a superficial change rather than a solution to the deeper issues within the police force. Continued reports of police misconduct suggest that the movement's objectives were not fully realized, indicating that effective reform requires more than just administrative changes.

The Endbadgovernance movement focused on broader systemic issues within Nigeria's political framework, including corruption, inefficiency, and lack of accountability. Despite its efforts to advocate for comprehensive reforms, the movement struggled to achieve substantial policy changes. The APC administration's failure to address key issues of governance as promised led to widespread public dissatisfaction. The movement's critique of governance practices underscored the need for deeper and more structural reforms.

Based on the findings from the comparative analysis of the EndSARS and Endbadgovernance movements, the following policy recommendations are put forward to address the issues highlighted by these movements and foster meaningful reforms in Nigeria: i) Police Reform to include the following-restructuring the force, introducing new oversight mechanisms, and establishing independent bodies to investigate allegations of police misconduct. ii) Public Engagement: that is establish a platforms for regular dialogue between law enforcement agencies and community representatives to build trust and address grievances. iii) Strengthening Governance and Anti-Corruption Measures: Reinforce anti-corruption measures by improving transparency and accountability in government operations. These recommendations aim to address both the immediate concerns raised by the EndSARS and End Bad Governance movements and the broader systemic issues affecting Nigeria's governance and law enforcement. Implementing these measures can contribute to creating a more transparent, accountable, and effective governance framework, ultimately fostering a more equitable and just society

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