

**The Use of Social Media by the Nigerian Masses to
Voice the Opinions of the Oppressed: A Case Study
of #EndSARS Campaign 2020**

Benjamin Lornder Gesah

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Communication and Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
March 2021
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

Prof. Dr. Ali Hakan Ulusoy
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

Prof. Dr. Senih Çavuşođlu
Dean, Faculty of Communication and
Media Studies

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy
Supervisor

Examining Committee

1. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy
2. Asst. Prof. Dr. Galip E. Erdil
3. Asst. Prof. Dr. Raziye Nevzat

ABSTRACT

From the analysis of this research data and the raw tweets used in this study, it is clear that the EndSARS was a success and now stand out as the most significant protests ever in Nigeria's history, and most especially social media, and by the youths. The protests succeeded in bringing the government down on its knees despite her long silence. While the government was pressured to finally wind off the dreaded police unit (SARS) on October 11, 2020, the shooting to death of unarmed protesters at Lekki Toll Plaza may be a devil's gift in exchange for SARS disbandment.

This study focuses on social media choice for oppressive activism in Nigeria using the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020 as a case study. The research analyses how the Nigerian youth used Twitter to initiate, coordinate and protest online and on the streets of Nigeria and cities around the globe to demand that the government brings an end to all manner of police brutality and exclusion from the running of the country's government. This study adopts a qualitative method, with a thematic approach to analyze the data and documents how the youth used Twitter to coordinate and carry out the protests. Building on the New Social Movements and Deleuze & Guattari's Rhizomatic theories, the study captures the youth's displeasure over their leaders' impunity for the past decades. To carefully explore the research questions, this study carefully analyses the data, using predefined themes of Brutality in the face of Democracy and Technology, Surveillance and Censorship, amongst others. The findings reveal that celebrities, world personalities, and social media influencers were the #EndSARS protests' driving forces. While there was no leadership and organizational structures, the protesters themselves coordinate their

activities flawlessly. Therefore, the study commended Nigeria's government for disbanding the dreaded police unit, SARS, launching a reformation of the police force and creating a youth fund for the youth to access at a low-interest term. Worthy of commendation is the Judicial Commission instituted to look into cases of brutality against the Nigeria Police and other security forces. Finally, the study made recommendations to address future agitations.

Keywords: Activism, Social Media, Police Brutality, EndSARS, Nigerian Youth, Twitter.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Nijerya'daki siyasi aktivizm için sosyal medya seçimine odaklanıyor ve #EndSARS 2020 kampanyasını bir vaka çalışması olarak ele alıyor. Araştırma, Nijerya'daki gençliğin, polis vahşetine son verilmesini ve ülkedeki hükümetin yönetiminden dışlanmasını talep etmek ve protestolarını yürütmek için hem Nijerya sokaklarında ve dünyanın dört bir yanındaki şehirlerde, hem de sosyal medyada Twitter'ı nasıl kullandığını analiz ediyor. Bunun yanında, çalışma, gençlerin protestolarını koordine etmek ve gerçekleştirmek için Twitter'ı nasıl kullandığını, veri ve belgelere bağlı olarak tematik bir yaklaşımla nitel bir yöntem kullanarak incelemektedir. Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler ve Deleuze'nin Rhizomatic teorilerine dayanan bu çalışma, gençlerin son yıllarda liderlerinin cezasız kalması konusundaki memnuniyetsizliğini de ele alıyor. Araştırma soruları dikkatlice seçilmiş olan bu çalışmada, demokrasi, teknoloji, gözetleme ve sansür karşısında önceden tanımlanmış olan vahşet temaları da kullanılarak veriler ayrıntılı bir şekilde analiz edilmiştir. Elde edilen bulgular, ünlülerin, dünyaca ünlü kişilerin ve sosyal medya fenomenlerinin #EndSARS adlı protestoların en kuvvetli itici güçleri olduğunu ortaya koyuyor. Liderleri ve örgütsel yapılanmaları olmamasına rağmen, tüm protestocular faaliyetlerini kusursuz bir şekilde koordine etmeyi başardılar. Koordine edilen protestolar ve çalışmalar, Nijerya hükümetinin korkunç olarak tanımlanan polis birimi SARS'ı dağıttığı, polis gücünde bir reform başlattığı ve gençlerin erişmesi için bir gençlik fonu yarattığı için övgüye değer bulunmuştur. Polise ve diğer güvenlik güçlerine yönelik şiddet olaylarını incelemek için kurulan Yargı Araştırma Panellerinden de övgüye bahsedilmektedir. Çalışma, gelecekte ortaya

çıkabilecek çalkantıları ve olası problemleri ele almak için de önerilerde bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aktivizm, Sosyal medya, Polis vahşeti, EndSARS, Nijerya'lı Gençlik, Twitter.

DEDICATION

To my beloved Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I want to thank my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy for his patience, diligence, guidance and critical supervision of my thesis.

I owe a depth of gratitude to Assist. Prof. Dr. Baruck Opiyo for his criticism and offer of valuable suggestions to my work. In a special way, I appreciate the efforts and criticisms of Assist. Prof. Dr. Raziye Nevzat for widening my understanding of the world of digital and communications technology. I do not forget Prof. Dr. Fatos Adiloglu; Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mashoed Bailie; Assist. Prof. Dr. Ulfet Kutoglu, Dr. Ibrahim Beyazoglu and other Faculty Members of the Communication and Media Studies Faculty for their valuable contributions to my EMU success.

To the Vice Dean, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aryu Aysoy, I remain grateful for your unending assistance. The contributions of my dear friends- Abed Oraga, Valentine Tochukwu, Nnaji, Ben Ugwu and the entire class members of 2021, your valid debates made our time at EMU most remarkable.

This work will not be complete without a mention of my beloved family: your prayers, sacrifice, unconditional care and support is highly appreciated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Motivation of Study.....	5
1.3 Problem of Study.....	6
1.4 Research Questions.....	10
1.5 Significance of the Study	8
1.6 Methodology.....	9
1.7 Limitations of Study.....	10
2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	12
2.1 The Nigerian History and Political Culture.....	12
2.2 Media Roles in Authoritarian Era.....	18
2.3 Activism in the Era of Emerging Technologies.....	20
2.4 Nigeria and Social Media Activism.....	25
2.5 The Nigerian Youth and Social Media.....	29
2.6 Conceptualizing Related Theories.....	34
3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	40
3.1 Introduction.....	41
3.2 Research Motivation and Background.....	41

3.3 Methodological Approach.....	43
3.4 Sampling Size Technique.....	46
3.5 Data Collection.....	48
4 DATA PRESENTATION, FINDINGS & THEMATIC ANALYSIS	50
4.1 Data Presentation & Findings.....	50
4.2 Thematic Analysis.....	70
4.2.1 Social Movements and Mobilization: Closing Up the Space of Time....	70
4.2.2 Brutalization in the Face of Democracy and Technology.....	72
4.2.3 Surveillance and Censorship.....	74
4.2.4 Framing: An Opportunity to Hear Different Narratives.....	77
5 DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATION & CONCLUSION.....	80
5.1 Discussion.....	80
5.2 Recommendation.....	83
5.3 Conclusion.....	84
REFERENCES.....	86

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Most Used Social Media Platforms in Nigeria in 2020.....	29
Figure 2: New Social Movement Theories.....	36
Figure 3: Deleuze Metaphorical Symbol of a Rhizome.....	38
Figure 4: General Participants.....	51
Figure 5: Participating Celebrities.....	52
Figure 6: Government & its Agencies Reaction.....	53
Figure 7: Civil Society Organizations & International Agencies.....	53
Figure 8: World Leaders and Personalities	54
Figure 9: Total Volume of Tweets.....	55
Figure 10: Where it all Began.....	56
Figure 11: The Moment Jack Dorsey called for Support of #EndSARS.....	57
Figure 12: Idols in the Music & Sports World.....	58
Figure 13: Support from those that Matter.....	59
Figure 14: Every Sector Represented.....	60
Figure 15: From Nigeria to the UK, Connecting all over the World.....	61
Figure 16: Those Who Made it Happened.....	62
Figure 17: The Mobilizers.....	63
Figure 18: The Government.....	64
Figure 19: Agents of Brutality.....	65
Figure 20: Justice at Last.....	66
Figure 21: Elements/Representation of Fake News.....	67
Figure 22: Concerned Leaders.....	68
Figure 23: Leaders who Fail to Act When It Matters.....	69

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Since gaining independence from Britain in 1960, the West African nation of Nigeria has witnessed several societal tensions due mainly to some decisions made by the Federal government. For example, the Nigerian Military coup of January 15, 1966, sacked the elected administration of then Prime Minister Alhaji Tafawa Balewa and brought in Major General Aguyi Ironsi as the Head of State (Omogui, 2016). After that, it became one coup after another until October 1, 1979, when General Olusegun Obasanjo returned the country to civilian rule (Onwumechili, 1998).

However, the Khaki Boys would not allow democracy to thrive for so long as they struck again and ousted the then elected President Shehu Shagari on December 31, 1983, and installed General Muhammadu Buhari as Head of State and Commander-in-Chief. The Military Regime then proceeded to promulgate a Decree (N0 4 of 1984), which empowered the government to punish any individual or organization that publishes a message, rumor, statement, or report which brings or is calculated to get the Federal government, its agencies, or public officers to ridicule or disrepute with a jail term of twenty-four months without the option of a fine, (Official Gazette, 1984). According to Alimi (2011), a fine of #10,000 (\$13,055 at the time) for corporate organizations while no person was allowed to appeal the trial Tribunal decision. The regime prohibited private newspaper companies from bulk purchasing

imported newsprints but permitted government-owned media houses to import and use the same banned product (The Observer, 1987). The above instances as summed up by Oloyede. (2002), was not only repressive but aimed at gagging press freedom. In 1986, General Babangida's government launched the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). This programme, as captures by experts, had the disproportionate cutting of social spending as it insists on a slash from the budgets and devaluation of the currency, which saw the Naira drop from #0.765/ \$1 to #2.02 and #3.90/\$1 by last quarter of 1986 (Sembene, 2015). The lending agency's evaluation office's decision confirms that it breeds inequality that makes life difficult for shopkeepers, unskilled laborers, small farmers, and primary school education that the programme had placed under the typically unorganized class (IEO, 2018). With the freedom of expression taken away from the citizenry and coupled with harsher economic policies, the bad boys saw reasons to resort to armed robbery, drugs peddling, kidnapping and other vices.

Worried by the spate of criminal activities and other vices in the Nigerian society, Aliyu Atta, then the Police Inspector General, appointed Simeon Danladi Midenda in 1992 to lead the police fight against the crimes as mentioned above. Midenda, who was already heading the police anti-robbery unit in the Edo State Capital city of Benin, was given the mandate of tackling armed robbery and other crimes prevalent in the commercial city of Lagos (npf.gov.ng, 2020). According to Alimi (2011), it was Police Officer Midenda that merged the existing Intelligence Response Team, Special Tactical Squad, and Counterterrorism Unit of the police created in 1984 to form the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) by late 1992 as a separate department of the police to combat all criminals, apprehend their gangs and bring them to justice.

Aside from non-displaying arms in public, SARS operated discreetly without special offices; government plates numbered cars; and wore no uniforms. For ten (10) years, their membership was not large, and radio communications were their sole tools for monitoring and facilitating arrests of armed robbers and other criminal gangs without exposing their mission (Timi, 2019).

In place of the successes recorded by the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) in Lagos and environs, the police chief in 2002 expanded its operational base to cover the whole of 36 states and the FCT, Abuja, with the new mandate to apprehend, probe and prosecute suspected perpetrators of various crimes for serving as a deterrent to others who may be considering the option of crime (Mou, 2015). However, the unit got too excited and went beyond its operational mandate to setting roadblocks and extorting money from the populace (Akumeta, 2018). Inibehe (2019), corroborating the above submission, opines that SARS officers now arrest and detain young men for cybercrime only on the evidence of seeing them with laptops and smart phones and demand an excessive amount of money for bail before letting go of them.

The SARS officers' atrocities go unreported as the traditional media in Nigeria often avoid giving more comprehensive and unbiased coverage of activism bordering on economic wastes, endemic corruption, and mal-administration. It is usually for fear of sanctions, fines, maltreatment of journalists, and even the media houses closure. In its publicize index report, the Committee to Protect Journalists placed Nigeria behind Somalia as the 2nd most deadly African country in the maltreatment of journalists as 46 were murdered, over 290 arrested, 103 beaten or assaulted, 75 others detained without trial, 27 facing trial, 273 journalists barred from event coverage, 27

imprisoned as well as 50 business premises either shut down or destroyed between 2008 and 2019 (CPJ.org, 2019).

Seeing that no one was there to take their message to the government, as they cried out over SARS brutality, the youth looked the Social Media way to propagate their advocacy. The emergence of these new mediums has without a doubt changed the pattern of political association and engagement globally, as individuals and group debate on essential areas of concern like the economy, politics, health, global warming, agriculture and several others on different social and interactive media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Telegram, Skype, Whatsapp, Google+, etc. (Gesah 2020). Extolling the Social Media's importance, McQuail (2005) asserts that these mediums have been widely recognized as an essential instrument that replaces the routine methods where those with long-held ideals put together specific resolutions, exclusively sidelining the grassroots (hence their belief that they are not significant).

It infers that these Social platforms, with their potentiality as well divergent patterns for disseminating information, thus produced new waves and specified open access to the public to design, produce as well distribute the message or idea with a great number, thereby changing the essence and patterns for political and democratic discussion (Gesah, 2020).

Pursuant to achieving their desire to be heard, the Nigerian youth launched Social Media advocacy in 2017 and made another attempt in 2018 with the hashtag #EndSARS to demand an end to police brutality and disbandment of SARS. Seeing that the government's promises in 2018 to overhaul the unit failed and the SARS

agents continued their abuse and extrajudicial killings of young Nigerians, the protesters returned to the streets, leading to widespread and nationwide protest in October 2020. The concern of this research is to analyze and document how the Nigerian youth used Social Media (Twitter in particular) to initiate and coordinate their activities to become formidable advocacy that prompted the government of Nigeria to wind up a specific police unit called SARS on October 11, 2020 (Twitter.com, 2020).

1.2 Motivation of Study

Besides being an academic paper, the study is motivated by Nigeria's strategic position in the African continent and the world. She is the most populous black nation globally, with over 206 million (world statistics, 2020). The entire African continent looks up to Nigeria as its leader in economy, politics, natural resources and human capital. Meaning, a process that works in Nigeria, be it good governance, economic development, human capital, and infrastructural development, can arguably be a blessing for the whole of Africa. The study is motivated to examine and determine the driving force behind the #EndSARS protest; why did the previous campaigns of 2017 and 2018 fail to yield expected results, how the campaign moved from one state after another to become a global force within the first week, from 3rd - 11th October 2020.

The study is equally interested in examining how that single tweet from a small town of Ughelli, in Delta State, on that fateful day of October 3, 2020, became a trending issue in the global state for weeks. Again, the research is interested in examining the various roles played by Social Media (especially Twitter) in getting the voices of the campaigners heard and even brought the silent government of Nigeria down on its

knees to not only disband SARS on October 11, 2020, but invites the youth to the discussion table. So far, this has yielded fruitful results with creating a National Youth Fund by giving a low-interest grant to young Nigerians of 18-35 years with ideas to access and fund their businesses.

Aside from advancing the frontiers of the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020, Social Media exhibits harmful tenets that can affect fragile political environment like Nigeria. With its religious and ethnic overhyped differences, ever ready to hibernate and thrive on any form of false information, hate speech and other crimes, continuous presence on various media platforms, destabilize of the country is likely in minutes (Pwashikai and Shem, 2019). This research also intends to critically examine if social media's commitment and potency in advancing the cause of the #EndSARS Campaign could, even in any way, pose a threat to the same society they seek to change and improve.

1.3 Problem of Study

As Okunola (2020) captured, the history of political activism in Nigeria is characterized by ugly incidences and various forms of arrests, torture, detention, and even extrajudicial killings of participating activists have repeatedly threatened the possibility of future roles of activism. In support of the above assertion (Chiroma 2005), Nigeria's political growth has not been a steady one, making its political evolution problematic and slow.

This negates the fact that in an ideal democracy, a powerful State is controlled by and thus answerable to its citizens (Ginsberg, 1986). As Harold Lasswell (1941) states, this responsiveness is to be informed of government policies that must reflect

the governed's preferences. The critical factor for promoting those preferences is mass public opinion. But to mobilize mass support for a popular idea, Social Media is essential that the right mobilization approach sensitize, conscientious and connect to the grassroots applied for achieving desired results. The analysis of the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020 tweets would provide answers to the questions that might arise in the Social Media roles as captured during the campaign. In Nigeria, there is a lack of interest in mass activism for galvanizing reforms for the process of political discussion and participation, leading to the rapid expansion of the network that will hold the leaders responsible and demand accountability, thus leaving the government and its agencies to act as they see fit; hence no one is there to question their actions and in-actions. There is a lack of platforms (media) with vision and zest, like in other Nations, to help propagate the message that can impel rulers to give citizens a voice in public affairs. This, according to Maduekwe (2019), is often the case with the traditional media as they fear the attacks and sanctions from the governments on any report she considers offensive. On another note, media houses owned by either the governments or its loyalist wouldn't like to trample on their loyalty and friendship by covering stories contrary to the seat of power's views (Oloyede, 2002). Social Media's importance in grassroots mobilization cannot be overemphasized; reforming the process of political activism and participation, sensitized, conscientious and connected the ordinary citizens to expand the network that pushes them to demand accountability rapidly.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions are formed on the basis that the #EndSARS protest of 2020 is said to be organic; without specific leadership, the information will be extracted from 1200 tweets. From the said tweets, 910 will be of the participating youth, randomly

selected from a pool of over a million tweets, picking 1 out of every ten tweets. Another 150 tweets will be from collected tweets of participating celebrities within and outside of Nigeria, while 35 tweets will be from world leaders, local and international figures. Finally, 50 tweets will be collected from the Nigerian government, making up of the Presidency and the National Assembly. Another 55 tweets will come from the civil society organizations to form the authorities' reactions to the protest. The tweets to be analyzed will cover the period from October 3- November 30, 2020, while the extraction and analysis of the 1200 tweets will be carried out from November 30 - December 30, 2020:

- 1) How did the Nigerian youths use Twitter from October 3 – November 30, 2020, to raise their voices, organize, coordinate and protest online and on the streets?
- 2) How significant is the usage of Twitter by Nigerian and international celebrities in the #EndSARS Campaign?
- 3) How did the Nigerian government, the International Community, and Civil Society Organizations use Twitter within the period mentioned above to react to the protest?
- 4) How did the campaign move from one state after another and became a global force?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Since its emergence in 1997, social media has presumably acted as a tool for information exchange, virtual gathering, retail, and marketing. Its usage has reformed political participation, economy, health, and various new and interactive platforms (Pwashikai & Shem 2019). The study's significance will strengthen and encourage social media's adoption as a vibrant medium for future youth interactivity with its

futures of immediacy and unrestricted access. The work will advance the cause of political activism as an alternative to other mediums that couldn't aid the emancipation of grassroots mobilization and other such activities. Another critical significance of this study is that it will serve as a reference point for future researchers and students in academia and general aspects of life to consult.

It will equally benefit the government of Nigeria, African States and other nations that have not liberalized social media to adopt it as a platform for disseminating information and engaging their citizens in addressing critical issues for their country's wellbeing. The work will also motivate media practitioners and operators in the traditional media industries to deeply re-assess their coverage pattern and participate in playing its watchdog role by adopting social media to blend it with the conventional model to shape discussions on the aspect of human life.

1.6 Methodology

In line with the research questions and significance of the study, the methodology would be based on this line of thought:

The study will carefully examine and analyzed 1200 tweets from various posts and discussion on Twitter to determine the driving force behind the #EndSARS protest; how the campaign moved from one state after the other and became a global force from October 3 – November 30, 2020. Since the protest had no formal organization or leadership, the information will be extracted from 1200 tweets. Out of this number, 910 tweets will be from the participating youth, randomly selected from a pool of tweets, picking 1 out of every ten tweets. Another 150 tweets will be those of participating celebrities within and outside of Nigeria, while 35 tweets will be from world leaders, local and international figures. Finally, 50 tweets from the Nigerian

government; making up of the Presidency and the National Assembly, while another 55 tweets from civil society organizations like the Nigeria Bar Association, Amnesty International and Socio-Economic and Accountability Project (SERAP), to form the reactions of the authorities and organizations on the protest. The tweets will be collected from the official website of Twitter covering October 3- November 30, 2020, while the expected period of extraction and analysis of all tweets will take from November 30 December 30, 2020.

The selection of the above agencies and news mediums was informed based on their reports on the protest and their tracking of tweets on the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020.

Finally, a thematic analysis will be done to extract data, identify findings, and make sound recommendations.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Although several useful social media platforms could have been ideal, this study was limited to examining only one of them-Twitter. Also, there are possibly many other protests that have taken place in Nigeria with varying degrees of success and usage of social media. Still, the current study would only be limited to #EndSARS, and its findings may not be generalizable to all other advocacies, processes or usage of social media. The study is also limited to only 1200 out of many tweets on the #EndSARS campaign of 2020, covering the period from October 03 –November 30, 2020. Though there were millions of tweets on the subject under discussion, for this study, the selection of tweets is limited to the Twitter Official Africa website, #EndSARS Campaign of 2020.

There is also the limitation of time, financial as well as needed materials for consultation. Despite the above-stated constraints, the researcher will be able to do an excellent job with the available materials and data at his disposal to produce the final copy.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Nigerian History and Political Culture

Nigeria's political and cultural history is diverse but followed the 1914 amalgamation of its Northern and Southern Protectorates. According to Kane (2017), this history dates back into the cultural organization of the various ethnic groups or nationalities that made up Nigeria as presently constituted. A study of the language components of the area can be summed at 400. These languages could rightly be the significant yardstick to measure Nigeria's political cultures' distinctiveness. The same thing can be said of its religion and political organization or systems before their colonial experience.

Nigeria of today lacks the binding and bonding force of a national entity caused by dissimilar political-cultural socialization of its component groups (Saho, 2012). Since their colonial fathers appear to have been reluctantly assimilated, enduring political stability has continued to elude Nigeria since her independence on October 1, 1960.

Different regional governments established based on cultural identities and affinities had different outlooks on Nigeria's future during the colonial period. While the Northerners had wished for the continuation of colonial rule, the south wanted self-rule as a matter of urgency. Even during that near half a century of dependent government, the colonialists had to contend with the dilemma associated with lack of

unity amongst different cultural groups, an agreement needed for a governable political entity (Ekanem, 2012). This occurring as each region formed based on their cultural affinity sought to retain their religions and political structures.

When independence was finally won following the acquiescence of the core north, elections to the presidency pitted one regional culture against another to the extent that even political parties were formed on regional and ethnic lines, with each regional grouping voting along with those (Sklar, 1963)

Since independence, Nigeria has fought a civil war that lasted three years (1967-1970). Ekanem and Iheanacho (2016) opined that this war was not fought based on ideology, nor was it on specific economic issues; instead, it was fought strictly on regional and cultural lines. The Yorubas, in particular, reluctantly joined the Hausa/Fulani in that war did so almost as a protest over what they considered Igbo domination in the Federation's Civil service with its capital in the Yoruba-dominated Lagos. Also, the minority tribes of the middle belt, who were part of the Northern region then, fault on one Nigeria's premise, which they never truly understood its true meaning.

During the struggle for independence, many political associations and political parties emerged in Nigeria, which had been organized merely along ethnic and cultural lines. For examples, of these was the Urhobo Union representing the Urhobo language speaking people, Ibibio Union representing the Efik Language speaking people, the Igbo state union representing the Igbo language speaking, United Middle Belt Congress Championed by J. S. Tarka to represent the diverse ethnic nationalities

of the Central Nigerian block and the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, representing the Yoruba speaking ethnic group, (Sklar 1963).

The creation of states by General Yakubu Gowon, which precipitated a civil war, did not dilute regional and cultural identifications. Today, many still believe that the first military coup of 1966, in which its significant victims were politicians of northern extraction, was an Igbo coup (Torduff, 1984). Almost in quick succession, several other military coups and counter-coup d'état have taken place in Nigeria. The succession crises that have ushered in the regimes have been interpreted along ethnic and regional lines and interests.

Meanwhile, most activism in Nigeria, no matter how good their agendas, are much viewed within ethnic and regional lines. It is the same with the activities of different militants and non-militants whose actions manifest agitation for self-determination within the past three decades. The likes of Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Odua Peoples' Congress (OPC), Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), Middle Belt Forum (MBF), and most recently, Nnamdi Kanu's Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), and Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), all of which are based on respective sovereign nationalistic sentiments (Ekanem, 2016).

Given this seeming heterogeneous instead of homogenous political and ethno cultural consciousness amongst different people of Nigeria, even a youth-oriented struggle could not have a hundred per cent unity of action. In the same vein, the early media houses, especially those established before the country's independence were rooted in ethnicity and regional political control.

2.2 Media Roles in Authoritarian Era

Democracy, as defined by Nico Carpentier et al. (2008:p.160), is a type of government and governance by which the people (citizens) rule. It means that democracy can only thrive if the citizens are generally in control, which can be guaranteed only by the media's strength and quality in such a system (McChesney, 2004). There is a struggle to controlling the media often, and that comes after the power tussle. According to Manuel Castells (2009:p.10), a good definition of power must encapsulate the ability to influence others to please those who make such possible and their interest. It has been proven worldwide that those who possess such powers can control information and the mediums through which such information is gathered and produced for public consumption (Akintola 2019). The contest for this is highly evident in developing nations of Africa, Asia and South America. People settled for the new media form of communication by realizing that the traditional media has been chained and hijacked by power control structures.

But before the emergence and growth of the Nigerian media, the first news medium to arrive in the Nigerian setting was Iwe Irohin in 1859, in Abeokuta (Dare, 2000:pp.17). According to Akinfeleye (2003), the establishment of this same newspaper (Iwe Irohin) began as a religious information medium;however, the paper covered other areas, thus, laying the foundation for becoming the Nigerian press as an organization. The Nigerian media is not new to censorship, as observed by Fred Omu (1996), who notes that the Iwe Irohin newspaper's pioneering owner, Reverend Henry Townsend. However, the Anglican Communion's British Missionary was reprimanded by the then British Colonial Office for dedicating most pages of his paper to political campaigns. He, Omu (1996:pp.2) further stated that the colonialist's

singular act and concern to reprimand Reverend Townsend became a turning point for Nigerian businessmen entry into the newspaper ownership. This proliferation of newspapers and the rising number of elites awaken Nationalism spirit, becoming the starting point for vibrant public opinion discourse.

However, the Nigerian media's role during the colonial era, though at a baby stage, was traditionally carried out well, mainly as a nationalistic agenda of fighting a common enemy- the colonialists, while the main struggle came after the country's independence from 1960. With the Colonial authority gone, attention shifted to central and regional governments, which wasted no time enacting laws that prohibit the press from carrying out good coverage that demands accountability from the leaders and answers on topical issues (Omu, 1996: pp.10). In their struggle to enthrone and nurture democracy, the Nigerian media's vibrancy suffered so much from the government-dominated media, especially the broadcast media (Akoh B et al., 2012: p.14. It was evident as enumerated above because all radio and television stations were either owned by the central or regional governments. The Official Secrets Act of 1962, as Jakande (1979) states, made it a crime to publish or broadcast any proceedings as well as a document under government classification of the Official Secrets Act. Again, the Newspaper Amendment Act of 1964 was a deliberate target at some newspapers due to their unending criticism of officials at the States and Local government levels (Oloyede, 2002). However, Akoh et al. (2012: p.16) commended the privately-owned newspapers for doing well despite the odds that stacked against their operations.

The field of communication has witnessed key developments in recent times, rekindling the media's fundamental role in democratic settings due to the advent of

social media. These roles hang on how media fought to bring down the authoritarian regimes across the world with Guttenberg's invention of the printing machine, media concentration, and the new media (Bogart, 1998:p.3).

Another example of the press' resilience in the fight against authoritarianism in Nigeria was when the Guardian Newspaper publishes a report, despite the promulgated Decree NO 4 of 1984, prohibiting any publication found to be false and targeted at bringing the government or its officials to ridicule or disrepute. An offence which the decree prescribes a 2-year jail term for the journalist/reporter without recourse to appeal and a #50,000 Naira fined (equivalent \$35,000 then) to the media company. Rather than retract the report published for fear of the regime's hammer, the newspaper house, believing the authenticity of the story, paid the fine within 24 hours as required by the decree. Its two reporters served the sentence (Adeyemi, 1995). The military regime's repressive attack on the press intensified to 1985, with the prohibition of private newspaper companies in bulk-purchasing of imported newsprints and insisting they buy through the Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing Company, which itself wasn't producing, but accepts and ration to private newspapers under stringent terms as directed by the authorities, (The Observer, 1987).

Therefore, it amazes any admirer of the media's past roles and antecedents of its deviation from this primary fight. These and other happenings in the media industry made many think of alternative channels for democratic discourses. Besides informing and holding those in authority accountable, the media set the agenda by providing a political debate platform (MacQuail 2008:p.89). However, the media's ownership and control, which result in a shortfall in the pattern of news gathering,

production, and balance, brings in the question of whether the traditional media is genuinely serving the populace. Reacting to this submission, Gunther and Mughan (2000:p.403) thought that, having realized the media significance, the political class, rather than let go of the media, prefers to use its advantage. This brings to light the ownership pattern and dominant ones noted earlier (Omu, 1996 and Akoh et al., 2012). Therefore, Gunther and Mughan (2000:p. 5) conclude that there is a need for an alternative means of information gathering, production and dissemination to replace the out-modeled traditional media that was most active and over performed.

The above arguments of the need for an alternative channel of expression can further be strengthened with the emergence of the new technologies, which is not just convergence in nature, but affordable and democratic friendly. Its potentials, as enumerated by Meikle (2002: p.2), is not its affordance. Still, the access to create digitalized communities, profile creation, and interactions allows one to create, broadcast and retrieve content from its source at will, making the Internet hailed as a single most important tool for democratic discourse. As Gunther and Mughan (2000:p.6) described, the media is undoubtedly the most credible among institutions that work for the entronement, survival, and pluralistic nature of democratic settings. While debating on Gunther and Mughan's position, Margaret Scammwell and Holli Semetko observed that, though the media in democratic environments carried out all roles relating to gathering and dissemination of information, the significant influence comes from the structure of the system in which they operate (Scammwell and Semetko, 2008). Corroborating Scammwell and Semetko's statement, John Bittner notes that the media operational guidelines and regulations were solely and depended on the political environment in which they practice

(Bittner 1989). It suffices to say that an unfriendly environment, like the military regimes in Nigeria, would hinder the media from thriving.

The role of the media in nurturing democracy in many societies can never be overemphasized; even in authoritarian and repressive regimes, those who wield so much power understand this, and the reasons they exercise strict control or clamp down hard on the media to avoid them passing the required information to the public. Therefore, it is safe to support Negrine's (1994) assertion that, as the channels through which the public mirror the world, a perception of how the media set agendas, handles and resolve issues bothering on politics and social happenings matters a lot.

The questions on many activists' minds will be: if the traditional media truly knows that it has this much influence on society's affairs, how much attention did they give to the discussions on political participation and social problems in recent times? Do they properly provide equal access and educate the people to make informed choices? Finding solutions to the questions above may explain why the traditional media in many countries (especially in Nigeria), with evidence of robust and vibrant political coverage in the days of repressive regimes. There are some arguments that commercialization and intent to make profits to survive in the current competitive economic settings, rather than regulations and ownership, is the sole reasons the traditional media in Nigeria deviated from its influential hold and attention on politics and social problems (Dare 2000:p.18). Another argument that supports this fact is that political gladiators and personalities in authority (governments and its officials), having realized the media's power, tried hard to dominate the industry's ownership for their propaganda usage. As enumerated by Alao Ayotunde (2012), this

viewpoint is exemplified in the broadcast media ownership pattern since its domestication in Nigeria in 1959 until 1992 when the National Broadcasting Commission was empowered to issue private licenses for radio and television operation in Nigeria. While Olatunji Dare may be correct, it is equally not out of place to point out that the coming of the information and communication technology was not just a child of necessity, but a departure from the analogue age and ushering in of the evolving advancement in nature.

2.3 Activism in the Era of Emerging Technologies

The termed activism in a real sense is a broad representation of several forms of revolt, protest, effort, or struggles to dictate the cause of political, socio-economic policies and other matters of importance in everyday lives to effect changes for the good of the society. According to Sevasti Nolas et al. (2017), activism dates back to biblical days when the Israelites protested on several occasions as Moses and Aaron led them out of Egypt on the journey to the Promised Land. Political activism or protests in the present-day system trace its roots to colonialism's many legacies to the captured territories where political orders were in place for administrative running (Clapham, 1992: p.17). He further asserts that people (the captured) started protesting on why minority alien rulers will be forcefully controlling them (p18). This was the case with territories in all colonized continents, including Africa. Since then, activism has not gone away; neither has it remained static but occurred over time in specific environments where policies and actions call for social changes that will transform the nature of political participation (Sevasti Nolas et al., 2017). As the quest for the expansion of territories in search of additional raw materials for industries to boost productions, a wave of resistance arose in many captured areas. In a swift reaction, the colonialists, rather than used maximum force as has been the

case, opted for mild pressure but supported it with technological superiority, replacing the guns with books, uniforms, social behavior and manufactured products of the same raw materials extracted from the captured territories (Clapham, 1992: p.18).

The above manner of handling agitations in many instances of the colonized territories still exists decades after the colonialists' departure. Most leaders continue to re-colonize their people, offering them bones in place of meat (Keating, 2001: 17-18). Corroborating the above submission, Joshua Forrest (2004:167) asserts that even though the era of television helped in conveying the activities of political activists with its audio-visual feature, at a low height, owing to the repressive nature of some governments as well fear of media control through the enactment of obnoxious and draconian laws still exist. The meaning of this, Jamieson and Campbell (1983: p.7) summed up that governments and agencies in environments affected focused more on the activists or protesters rather than giving attention to the issues that gave rise to such activism.

While activism succeeded in many parts of the world in bringing needed change, for some, it wasn't without a fight with the authorities that led to the elimination of the key figures in the agitations either by the government agents, sponsored assassins, racial or religious bigots. In conclusion, Forrest (2004:168) pointed out that the government's violent, repressive approaches towards agitated persons and groups resulted in the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. of the United States of America. Besides the killings of Stephen Biko of South Africa in 1977 a re-known environmentalist, cum poet, Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others in 1995 for leading his people of Ogoniland in the oil-rich Niger Delta part of Nigeria to advocate and

demand full political and economic autonomy, there is the 2004 killing of Munir Said Thalib of Indonesia, amongst others are a few examples.

Amid all these, the internet cruise in like a midnight thief bringing succor to the dry bones. Rob Kitchin (1998:2-3) describes it as a vast anarchic, self-organizing and relatively unregulated system that allows unlimited access to everyone connected to a device to share and store information on public databases and computer sites. However, it was unknown to many that this discovery was poised towards altering how humanity inhabits and socialize, just as the telephone, cars, radio and television sets its milestone to humanity several decades before (Mitchell, 1995).

In reaction to Mitchell's views on the internet revolution, nations of the world began anticipating changes in so many aspects of human endeavor. The Canadian Province of Quebec was quick to jump on this wagon. It made sure that its constitutional debate is dominated by self-confident young people and of interest to civil society organizations to support (Keating 2001). It suffices that in no distant time, Quebec, like France, will be flooded with not just a young rich crop of citizens but those with influential force in its politics and economy. According to Kitchin (1998: 21), cyberspace promised to provide a democratic government system that will genuinely reform the ailing communities, increase business and profit, and improve leisure time and living standard. Though the Internet did quite a lot in enhancing media and communication of non-governmental organizations, self-representation and giving room for dispersed networks of activists to interact and engage, its expansion of political debate through mediation became more vibrant with the introduction of the social networking sites like; Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Google+, Skype, Whatsapp, Instagram, etc. (Scott and Street 2001:46).

The advent of social media and other interactive platforms and digital gadgets has, without doubt, transformed our pattern and procedure of political discourse as well as engagement globally, using various interactive media platforms, as mentioned above (Gesah, 2020). This has broken the Internet's initial constraints during its earlier launch, where it allowed few participants with just some thousands of mailing messages for two years (Carpentier et al. 2008:99). Today, social media had open space. They became a frontier for alternative discourses on politics, economics, culture, environment, sports and lively debates, thus by-passing the mediation role of the mainstream media. A tweet sent by a Twitter user can be read, liked, retweeted a million times within an hour of its first appearance. The above assertion answers the questions of bridging the gap in time and space as argued by Morris and Ogan (1994:29), regarding when and where to watch, receive and respond to content without the usual one-to-one or one-to-many forms of communication? The new media era has considerably emancipated the world from authoritarian regimes' shackles by adopting information and communication technologies. While confirming the above statement, Akindare Okunola opines that in the 60 years of Nigeria's existence as an independent nation, some activists had impacted so much as they had resiliently stood to represent the yearnings of Nigerians who desire good governance and demand changes that will lead the enthronement of good governance: the likes of Wole Soyinka, (First Black African Nobel Prize in Literature- Novelist and Political Activist), Ken Saro-Wiwa (Writer, Businessman and Environmentalist), Late Gani Fawehinmi (Lawyer and Human Rights Activist), Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, (Women Rights Activist), Fela Anikulapo-Kuti (Activist/Musician), Chinua Achebe (Novelist/Social Critic) and a host of others, have distinguished themselves in the fight against human rights abuse, social and

economic inequalities, dictatorship and poor governance, propagating their message of activism for the past decades (Okunola, 2020). In support of Okunola's position, Forrest (2004:168) states that the above activists, owing to their resilience, became regular tenants of the Nigerian Prisons. At the same time, some even lost their lives in the process. But in the present days, it is even more comfortable than can be achieved with little efforts and less pain. Hence, social media can bring to the doorsteps of a Nigerian residing in New Zealand or any part of the world updates on happenings in his community right at the moment of such events (Okunola 2020).

Despite the significant stride achievements of social media in recent times, it cannot and will not in any way downplay the impact and effectiveness of those great activists earlier mentioned. Therefore, social media roles can only support and confirm the changes and transformation of information and communication technologies. The rapid shift in this sector accounts for a ray of the industrial revolution in the production and sharing of information from one point to another, not forgetting the position of face to face as well as traditional modes of communication which the world won't be discarding in a hurry (Garnham, 2000:p.64 & 73). However, credit for the pace at which information and communication industries, as well as other sectors advancement, must be given to the invention of Web 2.0 in the late 1990s, which has incidentally launched the world into the process of micro blogging and links to various networking sites of which Twitter is one (Oloyede & Elega, 2018). Since then, different social activities have been carried out using social media sites. Though hash tagging has been traced to the late 1990s Internet Relay Chat (IRC) for item classification into various groups, its official acceptance as a Twitter code was only made possible in 2009 (Shea, 2014).

Unlike in the past where almost 90 per cent of the broadcast mediums of radio and television were owned by the Federal and States governments in Nigeria, the Internet exploration has launched Nigeria on the global map with nearly 250 online and web radio stations, while the satellite and online television stations are on the rise (Businessghana.com, 2020). These online mediums are genuinely helping the cause of activism in Nigeria as in other nations of the world.

2.4 Nigeria and Social Media Activism

Social Media Activism, as defined by Reid & Sehl (2020), is said to be any kind of action or advocacy or process or idea which adopts a social medium platform as its main window to reach people. Social media's central role of mobilizing the people for such a campaign or movement through the hashtag is often the reason.

Over the years, several online activists protested all over the world, pressing home their demands for the reforms in either the electoral process, a political change, provision of a particular service, liberalization of specific sectors, racist behavior or an end to the brutality of any kind, amongst others. Most of these campaigns succeeded to no small extent, giving rise to the continuous usage and adoption of social media for various activism forms (Moscato 2014). However, the use of Twitter for activism began in 2009, in Moldova and Iran, where protests were a result of electoral malpractices that those advocating said did not represent the actual position of the voting populace (Gonzalez et al., 2011). Below are specific instances of hashtags, which, according to Hitchings-Hales & Calderwood (2017), that have received global attention and resulted in achieving transformation on the social media activism: #DressLikeAWoman, #StopFundingHate, #BlackLivesMatter, #BringBackOurGirls, #ArabSpring and recently #EndSARS Campaign in Nigeria.

The emergence of the social media platform in Nigeria owes its credit to the country's return to democratic rule in 1999. After the assumption of office, the Olusegun Obasanjo administration granted full deregulation of the telecommunications sector, which led to the issuance of operational licenses to some companies to launch the Global System for Mobile Communication (GSM) in Nigeria in 2001 (Bakare, I. et al. 2017). Since its launch in 2001; the telecommunications sector, as captured by Umar Danbatta (2017), became a thriving technological sector, creating hundredths of thousands of jobs, growing the GDP that elevated the emerging middle class, as well as lifting the standard of living of a sizable percentage of the country's population. This set of Nigerians, according to Danbatta, included the youth. The advent of this same mobile communication system altered the media landscape and raised its digital media users. Social media and its platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Yahoo, Google+, Instagram, YouTube and other search engines became alternative channels Nigerians finds useful for political discourse and political activism. As opine by Akintola (2019), these mediums are affordable and suit Nigerian yearnings searching for expression channels since the political class is hell-bent on hijacking the traditional media for their agendas.

It is an acceptance that the traditional media played crucial roles in the collapse of military dictatorship and authoritarian regimes in Africa, it is, however, worthy of understanding that democratic rule all around the globe is expanding, hence, the need for fresh ideas to be propagated on new platforms (Uwalaka, 2019). Without a doubt, one will be correct to state tore the position of Meikle and Young that have been widely adopted as a result of its unique characteristics of permitting users the access

to link up with other contacts directly, create, like and share content (Meikle and Young, 2012).

It is safe to argue that the #EndSARS Campaigners got inspirations from these new convergent trends that granted them access on Twitter to determine how to raise their voices, demand an end to police brutality, hold their leaders accountable and insist on reforms in all sectors. This empowerment of the protesters by the social media conforms with Manuel Castells' (2009.p.10) view of power as it granted them unrestricted access to influence others by creating, sharing and garnering the needed support to their struggles for a brutality free society. It means that social media, as Rosen Jay (2012) noted, has, and is turning mere passive consumers of media like the #EndSARS Campaigners into active producers.

In Nigeria, social media activism dates back to 2009, when El Dee, a Nigerian musician, tweeted his displeasure over the epileptic power supply. According to Odewale (2014), he (eL Dee) was angry that a friend who was due for surgery couldn't have it done because the hospital had no electricity. Then the rapper (el Dee) mobilized a few of his friends in the music industry to protest their dismay by tweeting #LightUpNigeria. This message went viral and became a starting point for the hashtag and online activism in Nigeria (Odewale 2014). After that, other social media activism followed by #EnoughIsEnough in 2010. It was not just online activism but a Pro-Democracy group created by Nigerian who felt frustrated with the government of the day for their inability to curb corruption and ineffectiveness in managing the economy and promoting good governance (Ajayi and Adesote 2015). The group's main interest was to push for youth sensitization and push for a free and fair election in 2011 (Oloyede and Elega, 2018).

In its country report on data, communication and industry statistics, the Nigeria Communication Commission stated that the number of active Internet subscribers rose from 125.7million in December 2019 to 154.9million as of November 2020, performing one activity or the other online (ncc.gov.ng, January 2021). An increase of nearly 30million active subscribers within the last 12 months. Of the figure presented above, 75.3million representing 48.6% of the 154.9million Internet subscribers, are active social media users (Verrella, 2021). The chart below explains the statistical bases of usage according to the individual medium or platform.

Most Used Social Media Platforms in Nigeria as of the 3rd Quarter of 2020

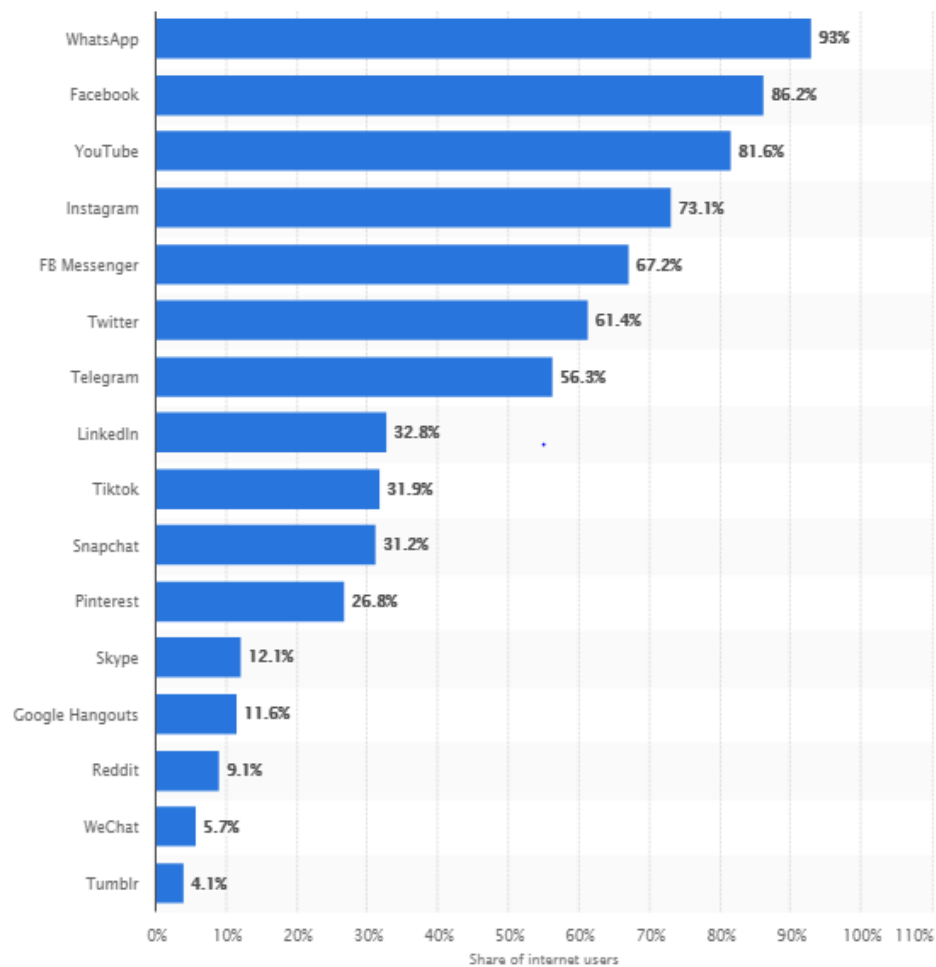


Figure 1: Leading Social Media Platforms in Nigeria in 2020. (Source:statista.com).

A critical examination of the chart in figure 1 above clarifies the increase in the number of social media users, a sine quo non for social movements' mobilization, debates, activism, and several other interactive projects. With Twitter sitting on the 6th position in its usage, the country on 61.4% explains more on while it became the younger generation's network of choice.

It is worthy of note that the most extensive and most successful social media activism before the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020 is the #OccupyNigeria, which took its turn after the Arab Spring that gain global attention, resulting in the toppling

of North Africa and the Middle East authoritarian leaders (Lim 2012, Youmans and York 2012). #OccupyNigeria campaign was launched in 2012 to protest the increase in Premium Motor Spirit's price from #65 to #140 per litre. The Goodluck Jonathan's administration's action prompted talking point around the country as the protest refused to back down until the campaign went global, forcing the government to bring down the price to #97 a litre (Egbunike, 2015). The success recorded by the #OccupyNigeria is a shred of clear evidence that social media activism is the way to go, and Twitter is a veritable platform. Rather than accept social media as pivotal for political change, cyber-skeptics (Putnam, 1996, 2000; Morozov, 2009; Gladwell, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014; Fenton & Barassi, 2011) contended that, with the level of protests going around the globe only evident the fact of social media's negativity on the society. However, Howard et al.; 2011; Howard & Hussain, 2011, 2013; and other intellectual positivists of electronic media and social change see social media as pivotal for a present-day political movement. They concluded that even the political and socio-economic debates ongoing globally online motivate the streets protests.

It did not stop there, the #BringBackOurGirls. This campaign elicited over 3 million tweets worldwide attesting to the facts and supports the assertion by Pwashikai and Shem (2019) that social media platforms are relevant in democratic societies and has the potency to accommodate topical issues from different sectors of the community.

2.5 The Nigerian Youth and Social Media

The most economically viable nations of the world at present are those with a youthful population, dominating her entire population, as such youths are primarily responsible for the boost in its skilled labor system (Tamar, 2018). However, in Nigeria, where the country's youth account for 70 per cent of the over 200million population, disappointedly, the said youth are not included in the scheme of things. In a recent report by the country's statistical and rating body, unemployment in Nigeria is at 21.7%, of which the youth unemployment stood at 13.9% (NBS, 2020). These youths, whom the National Youth Development Policy describes as those within the ages of 18 and 35 Osumah (, 2016), have not been allowed to showcase their talents.

Aside from unemployment, the youth have been excluded from running their country's government's affairs in an era where most advanced nations are electing leaders below 40 years. In their recognition of the powers inherent in the Internet and social networking sites, these techno-optimists, as described by Frank Diana (2016), the youth thought they found a way to earn a living. Angered by the brutality targeted at their generation by those paid to protect them, the potency and unrestricted access granted by social media becomes an option for their activism (Adebayo, 2018).

In light of the above postulation, it is apt to infer that the adoption of social media (Twitter in particular) by the #EndSARS campaigners for their activism will likely guarantee a positive and expected outcome. The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), created by Simeon Midenda, was to tackle the rate of armed robbery and

other vices in Nigeria's commercial city of Lagos and environs (Alimi, 2011). According to Akumeta (2018), the agency's deviation from its official scope of the assignment is a failure on successive governments from getting their priorities rights. He further observed that the moment SARS Officers began mounting roadblocks and extorting money from motorists and the Nigerian populace, the police leadership should have acted. However, the silence from the higher authorities gave them the confidence to continue harassing the citizens. While supporting Akumeta's position, Inibehe (2019) asserts that besides extortion and harassment, the SARS equally arrest, torture and detain young Nigerians they found with smart phones and laptops, accusing them of cybercrimes excessive amount of money for bail.

Whereas some were only arrested and tortured, several others weren't lucky as the SARS men often shot and killed young Nigerians for having tattoos on their bodies or dreadlocks. Simultaneously, some were extra judicially murdered for possessing so much wealth at their young age. In the wake of the deliberate arrests, blackmail, and extrajudicial maiming of young people, a social media activism with #EndSARS was launched on Twitter on December 02, 2017, by Segun Awosanya, to compel the government to bring a lasting solution to cases of brutality against police (Oloyede & Elega, 2018). These said protests generated so much talking-point and became a trending topic on Twitter. Thousands signed an online petition for the police unit's scrapping, submitted to the Nigerian Parliament for consideration (Twitter.com, 2020). Though the government promised to reform SARS, seeing no action from the government on this, and with the brutality of SARS on the rise, resulting in more youths' deaths, the protest returned, this time around, from online to streets. While the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020 seems robust and attracted much more publicity,

the Nigerian Social Media space is witnessing an increase in the number of youths signing up on various social sites and mobile penetration expansion in the telecommunication industry. Unlike their parents, who saw so much authoritarianism during the military regimes, the youth, with the aid of technology, interact with their likes across advanced nations and follow up with trending global issues from their comfort zones (Olaoluwa, 2020, December 01).

They (youths) are well informed, educated, and technologically apt with links to various individuals and groups beyond Nigeria's shores. Building on the successes of #OccupyNigeria, #BringBackOurGirls and several other online protests became undaunted by the usual threats from the country's security forces (Twitter.com, 2020). This is an opportunity we have been waiting for, and we are not going anywhere until we get answers to our demands, and SARS must go (Olaoluwa, 2020-December 01)

With the groundbreaking penetration of mobile and broadband telecommunication systems, resulting in the surge in the number of active Internet subscribers where social media usage accounts for 48.6% as of November 2020, drastic changes are bound to occur. According to the regulatory agency, the figures mentioned above are 75% dominant by the youths below 40 years, meaning over 56million young persons are part of the 75.3million social media users carrying out one activity or the other various social media platforms mentioned above.

Therefore, the above statistics explain why the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020 could have generated many talking points and warrants an investigation. As supported by Dantani et al (2017), the understanding of this research points out that social media

platforms of which Twitter is one and will continue to serve as the mediums through which civil rights and democratic activism are expressed. An investigation carried out during the protests shows that the youths who flooded social media and the nation's streets were asking for an end to SARS brutality and calling on the leadership of the country to be accountable to the people, deliver good governance, guarantee a just and equal society for all irrespective of one's religion and ethnic background (Ward, 2020). This report points out that the agitations once on the motion capture issues beyond police brutality. The protesters release a #5FOR5 to the government on October 11, 2020, demanding for the disbandment of the SARS Unit, freeing of all jailed activists, prosecuting police officers found culpable of misconduct and compensation for families, evaluating and retraining the officers as well as improved proper remuneration (Twitter.com, 2020). This point is that the protesting youth understands that police personnel's cruelty may be due to lack of appropriate training, poor remuneration, and indiscipline resulting from decay in values instituted in the system.

According to Twitter user @Aisha Yesufu, these online movements and streets demonstrations impacted the point that the Nigeria Presidency yielded to the pressure and dissolved the notorious police unit (SARS) on October 11, 2020 (Twitter.com, 2020). It suffices to say that social movements can be a rallying point for activism of any kind to channel their grievances and gets results.

2.6 Conceptualizing Related Theories

According to communication scholar Denis McQuail, theories are seen as objectives set to discern the occurrence, direct measures or anticipate a possible outcome (McQuail, 1994: p.4). Knowing their importance to the study of this kind, the

researcher relates the following communication theories to the current studies textual analysis to better understand:

New Social Movements Theories: To understand these theories **properly**, it is right first to understand what “movements” is. Movements can be said to common difficulties humans go through in everyday happenings and agree in endured interactivity with adversaries and administrators (Sen & Avci, 2016). Having established what a movement is, it is imperative to look at the new social movements theories: The name does not refer to a specific approach, but a variety of different methods that arose from Western Europe in the 1960s as a response to the inadequacies of Marxism during the analysis of collaborative effort (Welton, 1993). However, New Social Movement theories are a departure shift from the old ways of analyzing joint measures from a fundamentally profitable standpoint. Alternatively, it concentrated on other collective action motivators rooted within political, ideological, and cultural concerns. These recent movements also pay attention to up to date determinants of unified recognition such as race, gender, and sexual differences and one’s view of the causes that result in common activity (Buechler, 1995).

New Social Movement Theories tend to base their arguments on theorists such as Jurgen Habermas and Alain Touraine. They attempt to develop the thought actions which may explain post-modern societies behavior in an era dominated by learned, experienced, skilled workforce, professional officers and industrial service workers (Phongpaichit, 1999). Instead of exploiting workers by the ruling classes in modern society, the post-modern society worker thinks about maintaining a balance of life-work issues. New Social Movement Theories operate an ideological context on

individual rights. These theories state that the personal versus States rights struggle takes place against the backdrop of post-modern social ethics founded within an impulse for a set, self-actualization, and individual gratification (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1998).

As explained by (Starr 2000; Tilly, 2004), these theories attempt to understudy the conduct in most lately social activism such as Women's rights movements, the environmental movements, anti-corporate and anti-globalization movements. This is the class of activities where a mass campaign like the #EndSARS belongs. Their behaviors are similar as they relate to the deprivation and resource mobilization theories. The exact manner in which the two approaches worked in the social movement era is identical with the emerging new social trends born out of prolonged deprivation in the scheme of things. As Starr (2000) describes, it utilizes the Internet to carry mobilizing activities.



Figure 2: New Social Movements Theories
Source: [Twitter.com/@SavvyRi](https://twitter.com/SavvyRi)

Rhizomatic theory: Deleuze and Guattari developed this theory in 1980 as a base of their understanding of the unforeseeable changes, both swift and moderate,

disruptive and conformist, popular and personal, which transform and recreate the society within our reach. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: p., 21).

Though developed as a philosophical concept, this theory can be applied to any field of study, be it communication, media, science, politics, or arts. In her solidarity approach to her research, Vikki Reynolds (2014) describes the networked communities in which she vested her activism as rooted deeply in Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome concept. Within the contexts of social injustice alongside marginalized and oppressed people found among those she supervised and trained are similar to the brutality and oppressive nature of the #EndSARS Campaigners. According to Anita Lacey (2005), the networked communities in a rhizome are physical but supported by an online network that connects them like the roots-chain underground; they emerge from activists' interactions in shared physical or emotional spaces. This is no different from the examples of the networked communities like the Theatre of the Oppressed and Indigenous People of Brazil; the Foro-Red Paulo Freire in Peru; Xingu Indigenous Park, and several others referenced by Ferreira & Devine (2012), who were not exposed to online mediums available today, but uses other channels of communication like plays, drawings, photographs, published books and several different means to educate and addresses on injustices of racism, violence and other oppressive mechanisms.

The theory furnishes a liquid prototype for rational reasoning concerning the way facts and goals emerge, sail and develop, by evolving an image--build onto the herbaceous spread of a clump of roots.

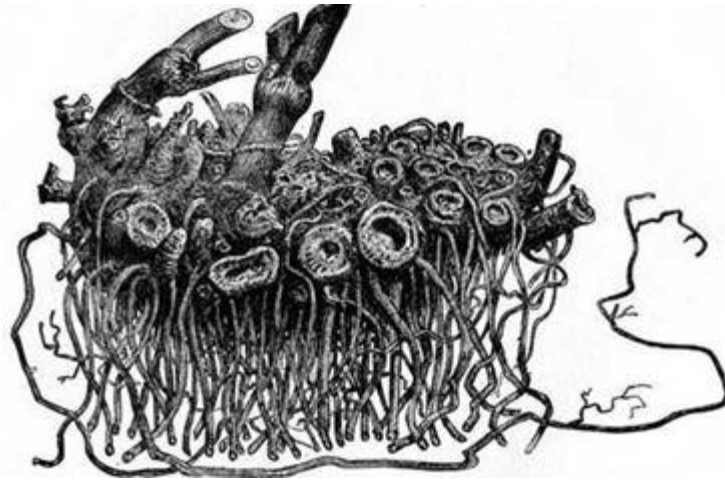


Figure 3: Deleuze Metaphorical Symbol of a Rhizome
Source: iaacblog.com

A rhizome in this regard can describe the networked communities in which activism resides as the community workers and therapists working in the margin of society with oppressed people, many of whom are exploited, radicalized and colonized (Reynolds 2014).

The Rhizome as a thought pattern welcomes myriads but refuses the idea of a simple beginning, centre, and edge. In lieu, it approves the concept of a societal delineation where notions, designs and explanations move and evolve in the natural development of objectives the same way a herbaceous rhizome (or clump of roots) undoubtedly lengthens and spreads subterraneous, below ground, stretches across some obvious eventuality or model (Hunt, 2016). It is opposed to sticking to set paths or require a particular endpoint. The Rhizome is not unsurprising.

On another note, Scott Uzelman (2005) captures the rhizome thus:

Running bamboo often gives rise to unwitting bamboo gardeners. A single innocent shoot can stand alone for several years and then suddenly, an entire field of bamboo begins to sprout. This leaves the unsuspecting gardener with a new bamboo garden that stubbornly resists attempts to get rid of it. While on the surface each shoot appears to be an individual, related but separate from its

neighbours, underground all are connected through a network of root-like stems and filaments called a rhizome. During the years the gardener watched a single bamboo shoot grow tall, underground the bamboo rhizome grew horizontally, spreading throughout the yard, storing nutrients in anticipation of a coming spring. Like the bamboo garden, social movements are often rhizomatic organisms growing horizontally into terrains, establishing connections just below the surface of everyday life, eventually bursting forth in unpredictable ways.

The above features mobilize the Rhizome, allowing it to inspire a representation of a concept that can explicitly consider the shifting essence of innovation, self-satisfaction, recognition and societal venture. This position embodies the spirit of the #EndSARS Campaign, which started from a small town of Ughelli without the authorities given it attention, but soon connect every Nigerian city and not long the campaign became a global issue. He further notes that as a networked community, it needs a medium to help spread its cause. Still, neither corporate nor state-run mainstream media would guarantee fair and balance coverage of activism or social movement of any kind, thus suggesting creating or identifying other forms of participatory and democratic communication medium (Uzelman 2005). It sums up the diverse spirit of social media as an interactive society on the web by which campaigners deploy to network and connect communities with these shared ideals. This Scott Uzelman anticipated when he acknowledges the power and effectiveness of cell phones and text messages in the “People Power II” against the Estrada Government in the Philippines in 2001, as well as the masses revolt against the ouster of President Hugo Chavez through a military coup in 2002 in Venezuela (Uzelman 2005). He predicted a promising future of media activism with communication technologies.

This theory makes provision for a new pattern to interacting with the media, reassessing and recontextualizing previous models to extend and revive the hunger

for production and consumption of media communication messages through an interactive and dynamic world (Hunt, 2016: p.4). opines that a rhizome opens our eyes to see, our ears to hear of new communication models, with a fresh brain to have the mental attitude and reasoned broader in considering necessary approachable avenues for a rhizome work.

A Rhizome dispenses an imaginary template for portraying the ethnic tenets of media as a personal identifying interactive procedure.

Deleuze and Guattari's mentorship for intending users suggest that:

The Rhizome envisions a map necessary to put together, build an idea which is always disconnectable, linkable, changeable, adjustable, and has numerous entry points and exits as well its detail route (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:p.21).

A fundamental question is: how can we see the Rhizome in social media activism?

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The concern of this study is to examine, analyze and document the adoption and usage of social media, especially twitter, by the Nigerian youth, in organizing an online campaign to protest against the brutality of a dreaded Nigeria police unit called SARS, tagged EndSARS Campaign of 2020.

The research analyses the tweets of the participating youth, celebrities, international figures/world leaders and civil society organizations to determine the driving force behind the #EndSARS and how the campaign moved from city to city to become a global force.

Additionally, the study focused on analyzing the government's tweets and its agencies to determine the framing of her response and reaction to social media role in political activism.

3.2 Research Motivation and Background

There have been various protests in Nigeria, but none drew global attention, like the EndSARS Campaign of 2020. The campaign was youth-driven, without a known leader and initiated by a group, unlike the previous protests that are either championed by either of the Nigeria Labor Congress, Trade Union Congress, Political parties or students' union bodies. Another aspect of the protest that caught

the researcher's attention was how the youth initiated and coordinated their activities to become formidable advocacy that got Nigeria's government to respond and wind up SARS on October 11, 2020, despite the initial refusal by the President to address them.

Since power return to civilian rule twenty-two years ago, the rule of law in Nigeria can never be absolute as demanded by the tenets of democracy. Freedom of expression has been under threat like in the military days- between 1966 -1999 (Oloyede, 2002). Worried by the spate of armed robbery and other serious crimes in the Nigerian society (especially in the commercial city of Lagos and environs at that time,) the government introduces the Special Anti-Robbery Squad, a particular police unit saddled with the responsibility of riding the city of crimes in 1992 (NPF, 2020). Ten years after its formation, SARS expanded its operational base to cover the whole of the country's 36 states and the FCT, Abuja, with the new mandate to apprehend, probe and prosecute all perpetrators of varying crimes serving as a deterrent to others (Mou, 2015). However, SARS deviated from its operational mandate to setting roadblocks, extorting money from the populace, arresting and detaining young men for cybercrime only on the evidence of seeing them with laptops and smart phones, and demanding an excessive amount of money for bail before letting go of them (Akumeta 2018 & Inibehe 2019).

The rising unemployment rate put at 21.7%, of which the country's youth account for 13.9% as in the second quarter of the 2020 report (NBS, 2020). Angered by this treatment from SARS men that have been going on despite public outcry and their exclusion from governance by successive governments, the youth got fed up. It

launched an online campaign to bring an end to police brutality and exclusion from the government.

To this end, the research question of how the Nigerian youths used Twitter to raise their voices, organize, coordinate and protest online and the streets? It is worthy of analysis, especially with the understanding that social media has the potency of bridging the information gap and widening human interactive capabilities. Also important is the question of 'how significant is the usage of Twitter by celebrities to the EndSARS Campaign? The analysis here clarifies the problems of the Twitter platform's role in the success of the EndSARS and the reactions that trailed the protest.

3.3 Methodological Approach

This study adopts a qualitative approach that builds on thematic analysis to analyze the #EndSARS protesters tweets, with the secondary data extracted from the tweets of the campaigners of October 2020. The methodological section, as explained below, justify why the researcher chose this approach for the study.

Braun & Clarke (2012) described the thematic analysis as a systematic method of offering insight into meaning patterns through the identification and organization across a data-set. The duo stated that this method could analyze most qualitative research data such as interviews, focus groups, surveys, solicited diaries, visual forms, observation and field research, action research, secondary sources, and memory work vignettes story completion. This method, then, identifies that which is familiar in a way a subject matter is discussed or written about makes sense of the similarities. The systematic identification of the commonalities in an issue is

discussed and written, which makes this approach consider the topic against others. The researcher sees this approach as one that will help him identify, examine and analyze patterns of brutalization, oppression of the masses, authority views, and solidarity voices. Hence, my study is grounded in qualitative research types covered by this approach (secondary sources). This research fell under secondary source because the tweets the study aimed at analyzing already exist on Twitter, a secondary basis for collecting data.

In considering a suitable approach for this study, the researcher took into account the benefits of thematic analysis as capped by (Aronson 1994, Braun & Clarke, 2006, Boyatzis 1998):

- The theoretical freedom provides an accessible and highly pliable perspective which can be amended for many studies' demands. It allows researchers to pay attention to the data in several distinct methods. This means that the analyst will justifiably concentrate on examining explanations covering the totality of the data or analyze a specific feature of an occurrence in detail.
- It can analyze both small and large data and allow the researcher to arrive at an apparent or common interpretation of the facts.
- The thematic analysis permits the researcher to re-examine the hidden connotations, presuppositions and objectives beyond that which is unambiguously expressed.
- The approach fits a broad variety of analytical inquiries as well as research subjects, especially as it can take many forms.
- It is easy to grasp and can be relatively quick to learn owing to its prescriptions and procedures.

Aside from the thematic analysis enumerated benefits as stated above, (Hayes 1997 & Tuckett 2005), it helps those who are new to qualitative research by providing an entry point that would have otherwise considered vague, enigmatic, conceptually challenging and overly complicated. It is relatively easy to learn for a new entrant into qualitative research based on its few prescriptions and procedures. I see this as another opportunity to start here as I trust the approach suit my research questions and study topic.

In social media and political studies, the choice of a research methodology is part of the inquiry. According to Cresswell (2014), a researcher's final option depended on research, data collection methods, analysis and interpretation. He further asserts that the study's nature, researcher's knowledge, audience, and the problem being addressed help the final decision (Cresswell, 2014:p3). Therefore, the justification of the qualitative method employed for this study, as acknowledged by Robert Yin (2011), is within the current case study, allowing in-depth studies about comprehensive lists of topics. It is equally impressive that researchers seeking to understand the reason and meaning of a phenomenon from participants views need to adopt a qualitative approach. Cresswell (2014) suggests identifying and studying a culture-sharing group and developing its shared behavior pattern within a certain period.

The researcher convincingly settled for a qualitative approach, with the realization that a case study method was suitable for the proposed study. The study focused on protests organized online and on streets of over 100 cities around the globe by the Nigerian youth against their government that failed to stop a long history of police brutality against them and as well excluded the youth from being part of the running of the country's government (Adebayo, 2018). While the EndSARS protest of

October 2020 is the concern for inquiry, the actors' tweets that form the data for analysis existed through social media for political activism.

According to Bennet (2004), using case studies allows theories to be tested where the target is to provide explanations for predefined themes that impacted the outcome. Since the movement was organic, with no specific leadership or organizers, a documented study was carried out on Twitter to investigate and analyze tweets connecting to the EndSARS hashtag on various Nigerian youth, the Nigerian government Civil Society Organizations, International figures and celebrities, regarding the subject matter.

3.4 Sampling Size and Technique

There are no definitive answers to what a sample size in qualitative research should be, so it is also with thematic analysis in broad terms. Since thematic analysis is a procedure or method compared to some additional qualitative research methodological perspectives, Braun & Clarke (2006) stated that the sample size should depend on the research questions and topic, data collection method, and individual richness data items and the analytic approach. For accurate and efficient data analysis to conform precisely with the themes as described by the researcher, 1200 tweets out of 1200 participants in the protests has been listed and will be selected at all strata for this study. The tweets for this sample covered the period from October 03 to November 30, 2020. The 1200 tweets sample for collection has been categorized into five groups, with category 1 representing the general participating youth, while category 2 is for celebrities and personalities. The governments and agencies are in category 3, followed by civil societies and international organizations in category 4, with world leaders taking the last category

5. These categorizations will determine the areas of data collection and help the researcher in the pattern of data analysis.

This includes 910 tweets from the Nigerian youth who participated in the protest were randomly selected, picking a tweet after every ten tweets while the selection for the rest of the groups was non-random but based on data convenience collection by the researcher. The celebrities involved in the protest, both within and outside Nigeria, were allocated 150 tweets. Then, 50 tweets were assigned to the Nigerian governments and its agencies, while International Figures/World Leaders had 35 tweets allotted to them. Civil Society Organizations had a total of 55 tweets in that order.

This sample size may be considered minimal, going by the number of participants in the protest and the available tweets in that regard. However, the researcher based his consideration on Bouma & Atkinson (1995: p.137) that a sample is part of the whole studied, and the results are taken to be an accurate reflection of the whole. Findings can therefore be generalized to a larger group from which a small sample was chosen. Braun & Clarke (2006) note that the size or population for which data is to be generated in the thematic analysis is not an issue, but according to thorough and equivalent recognition to every statistical unit, whether small or large is its primary concern. They further assert that to eliminate bias in data analysis and achieve balance, data from Twitter handles that did not conform to the study's dominant story ought-to not be disregarded during computation (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The sampling is therefore categorized in order to align the study's themes of:

- a) Brutalization

- b) Surveillance and Censorship
- c) Social Movements and Mobilization, as well as
- d) Framing of Different Narratives.

These themes will be discussed alongside the analyze data in the future chapters.

3.5 Data Collection

The protests' data were collected under the following categories: The participating youth, celebrities, government officials and agencies, Civil Society Organizations/International, and world leaders/international figures. A documented study was carried out on 1000 tweets on Twitter to examine the tweets selected regarding the EndSARS hashtag concerning the investigation. Based on the researcher's judgment, 800 tweets from the general participating youths were randomly chosen from a pool of hundreds of millions of Twitter accounts, picking a tweet out of every '10 tweets of the EndSARS Campaigners' tweets. Furthermore, the researcher collected 120 tweets from notable celebrities in a non-random selection, though paying attention to industries the researcher finds convenient. The study selected 60 tweets from stars in the music industry, 30 tweets from those in sports, and 30 tweets from celebrities in the film industry. Also, 30 tweets were collected from the government and its agencies, mainly the Presidency, National Assembly, governors, the police force, military, and ministers. At the same time, Civil Society Organizations, international figures/world leaders had 30 and 20 tweets collected regarding the subject matter. These data tweets were from October 03 to November 30, 2020, while data collection covered between November 30 and December 30, 2020. For accurate and efficient data analysis to conform precisely with the themes as described by the researcher, 1000 tweets out of 1200 participants

in the protests sampled for the study earlier were finally selected at all strata for this study. The tweets for this sample covered the period from October 03 to November 30, 2020.

Though this was against the target of 1200 tweets, the study initially planned to extract. This aspect was very challenging due to the campaign's organic nature, without identifiable leadership (probably for fear of attacks from security forces as known in the past), resulting in a lack of a group/mobilized account for collecting data. It was equally challenging for the researcher to get most participating protesters whose tweets the study considered for collection. Some had privacy settings that made it difficult to access their tweets. For some protesters, the suspicion and fear of security agents who are secretly hunting those behind the EndSARS posed the threat of extracting the needed data. Again, the study was limited by time as the November 30 to December 30, 2020, allotted for extracting the data was not suitable for the task. However, the researcher diligently got all the needed data put together. The study equally used data generated from tweet analytical site, **Meltwater Explore via Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab** to determine the campaign's strength and answer to all research questions.

These tweets were analyzed to determine the driving force behind the campaign and how it was used. The analysis equally examined the significance of Twitter usage for this campaign and reaction from different quarters. The essence lies in proving the research's goals of exploring and documenting how Twitter was used during the hashtag EndSARS Campaign of 2020.

Chapter 4

DATA PRESENTATION, FINDINGS & THEMATIC ANALYSIS

4.1 Data Presentation & Analysis

According to Junyoung & Sangseok (2017), data can be defined as lay down details that allow a limited concept of actuality. They further explained that the presentation of data in whatever format, be it textual, tabular, or graphics, is a potent tool of communication, which clarifies the understanding of research, attracts and sustains the readers' interest, and efficiently presents large amounts of complex information (Junyoung & Sangseok, 2017).

Building on the above definition, and following the research's goals, which focuses on the analysis and documentation of how the Nigerian youth used Twitter to initiate, organize and protest against police brutality and maladministration in their country. The data presented below clarifies the research and provides solutions to the study's inquiries that guide the topical analysis of the subject of investigation.

A total of 1000 tweets have been collected to analyze this study, and the details are in the charts below. Meanwhile, the charts' original tweets are the number of Twitter users who create and tweet their contents with #EndSARS. At the same time, retweets represent the number of followers who share the initial account holders' content on the same platform. Also, quotes here stand for the number of times

followers have quoted a participant's content. In contrast, the replies are the reactions or responses to a message created or shared by others, be it followers or original contributors.

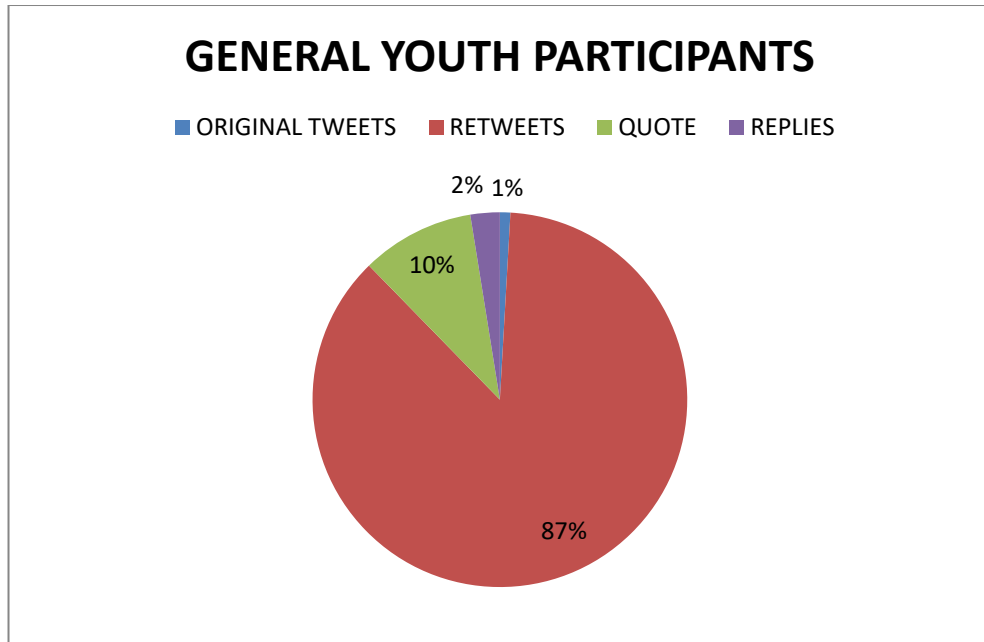


Figure 4: General Youth Participants. Source: @jean_leroux/DFRLAB via Meltwater Explore.com

The chart above represents the activity of 800 participating youth in the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020. As shown in the chart, the data see original tweets accounting for 4,012, representing 1%, a total of 387,014 retweets, which constitute 87%. Also, 43,600 quotes or 10% reflect and 11,290 or 2% of replies were recorded.

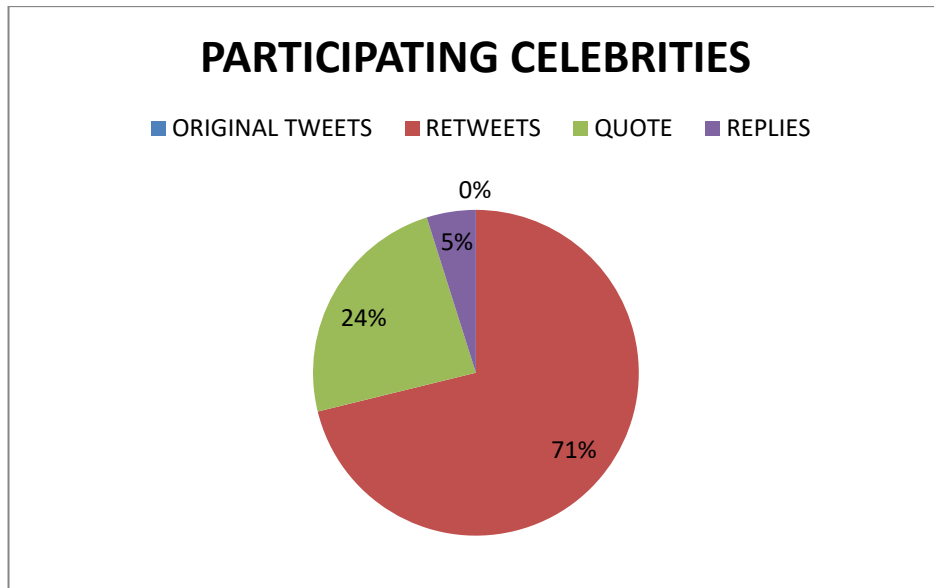


Figure 5: Participating Celebrities. Source: @jean_leroux/DFRLAB via Meltwater Explore.com

Figure 5 analyses data representing 120 Twitter handles of notable celebrities who participated in the campaign. This category accounted for 903 original tweets or 0%, a total of 19,204,717 retweets constituting 71%, with quotes of 6,461,917 or 24% and 1,317,188 replies accounting for 5%.

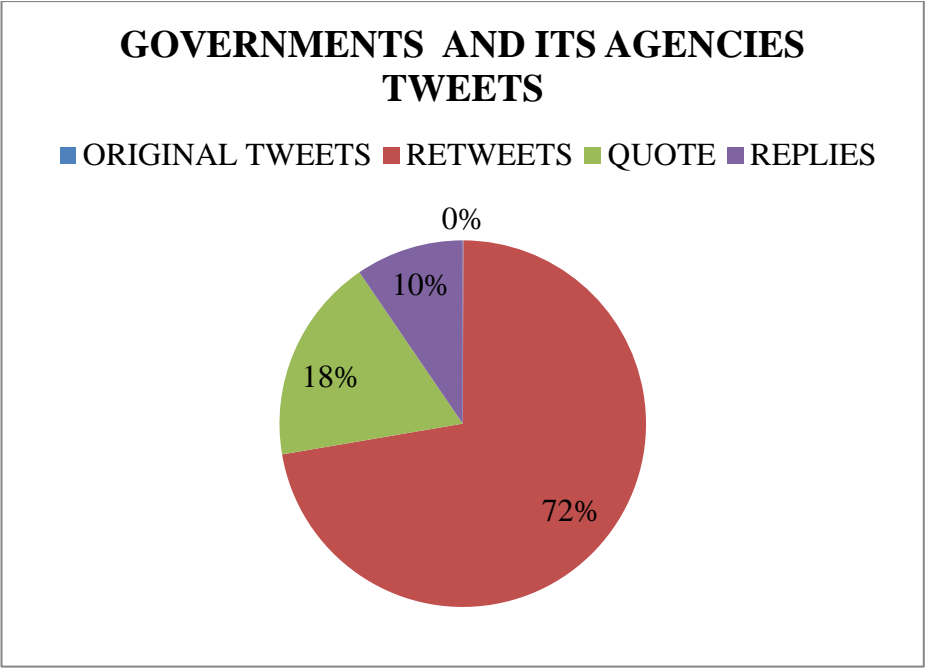


Figure 6: Government & its Agencies' Reaction
Source: @jean_leroux/DFRLAB via Meltwater Explore.com

The analysis in figure 6 shows the framing of the government's narrative and its agencies' reaction to the protest. From the data of 30 Twitter handles analyzed, 109 or 0% original tweets and 124,926 retweets accounting for 83%. The data shows 31,383 amounting to 18% quotes, while 16,488 replies which are 10%.

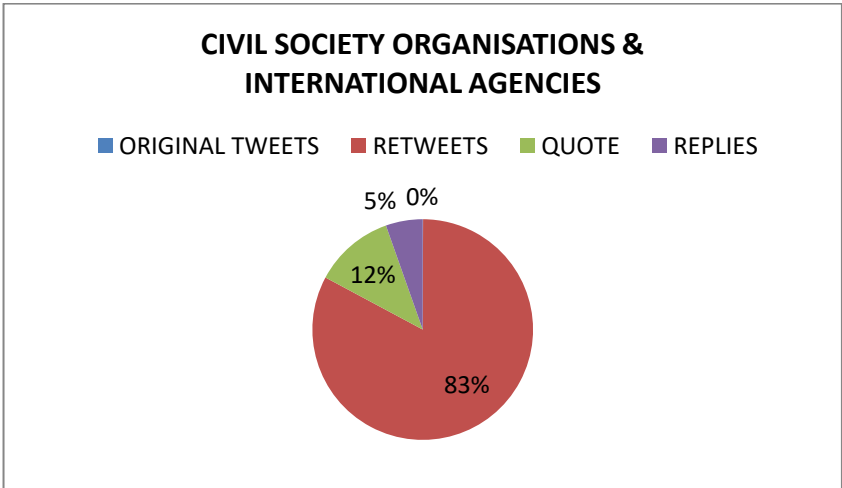


Figure 7: Civil Society Organizations & International Agencies
Source: @jean_leroux/DFRLAB via Meltwater Explore.com

In furtherance of the data analysis, figure 7 displays the summary activity of local and international organizations and their level of involvement in the #EndSARS Campaign. There were 30 Twitter accounts used in this regard with 203 or 0% original tweets, 301,462 or 83% of retweets as well 42,869 representing 12% of quotes and 19,712 of 5% accounting for replies.

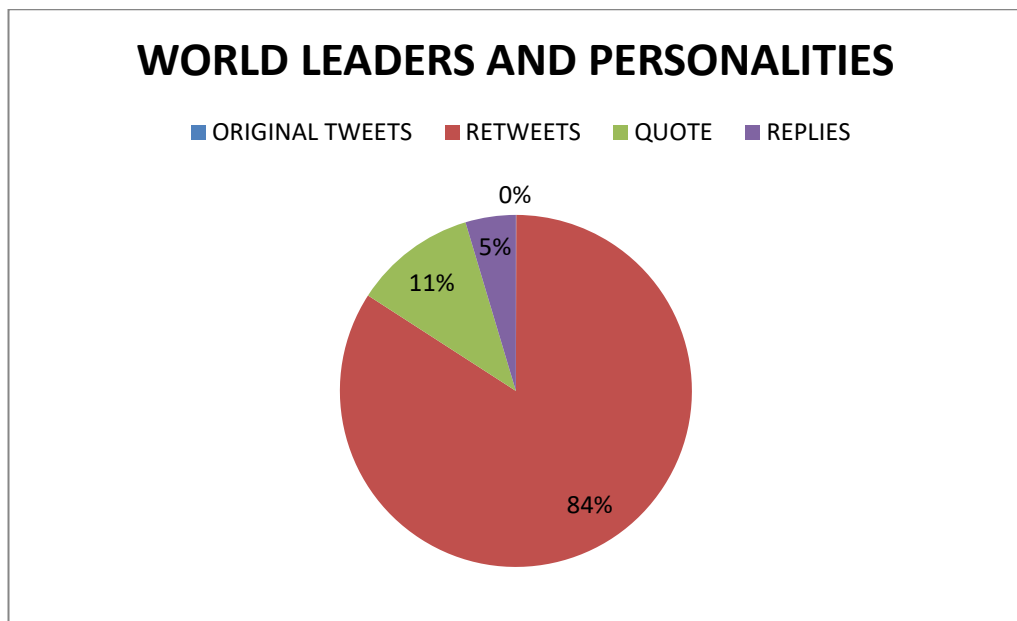


Figure 8: World Leaders and Personalities. Source: @jean_leroux/DFRLAB via Meltwater Explore.com

The analysis continued with 20 Twitter handles of world leaders, and personalities tweeted about the said EndSARS hashtag. They were 68 or 0% of original tweets, 144,813 or 84% retweets analyzed. There were equally 19,381 or 11% quotes and 7,967 or 5% replies.

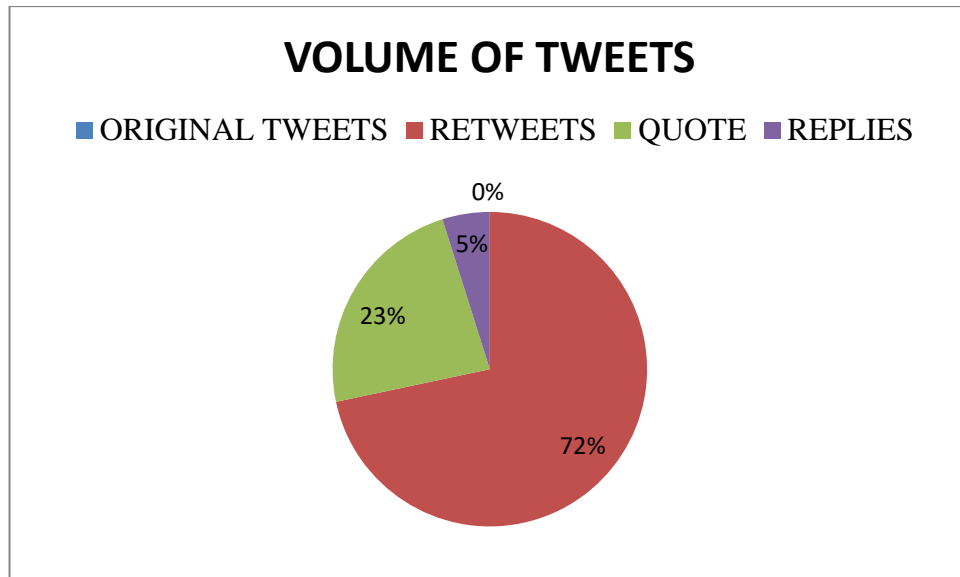


Figure 9: Total Volume of Tweets. Source: @jean_leroux/DFRLAB via Meltwater Explore.com

Based on the analysis of 1000 tweets as reflected in the chart above, Meltwater Explore Analytic disclosed that the volume of tweets summary from October 03- November 30, 2020 has a total of 5,295 or 0% were original tweets with 20,162,932 or 72% retweeted about #EndSARS within the period of the campaign. The hashtag also had 6,599,150 or 23% of the campaigners quoting the content while 1,372,645 or 5% were replies from followers and protesters alike.



Chinyelugo
@AfricaOfficial2



SARS just shot a young boy dead at Ughelli, Delta state as we speak. In front of Wetland hotels. They left him for dead on the road side and drove away with the deceased Lexus jeep.

I have videos...

6:19 PM · Oct 3, 2020



13.5K



11.2K people are Tweeting about...

Figure 10: Where it all began. Source: Twitter

Figure 10 display the tweet of one Chinyelugo, a Twitter account user with handle @AfricaOfficial2, who can be Categorized under Group 1: General Participating Youth, according to records sent the first tweet alleging that men of SARS shot dead a young man in front of Wetland Hotels in Ughelli, Delta State, and made away with his Lexus SUV. This situation angered young Nigerians and gave rise to what is today known as #EndSARS. Regarding their long-held grievance against the police for harassment and brutality, it was not surprising that the Twitter account holder who sent the first tweet culminated into becoming the most significant online and street protest ever known in Africa had only 800 followers before this. However, that tweet saw an explosion of over 10,000 retweets within 3 hours of his tweet, as shown in figure 9.



Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
Jack	
Rihanna	

Figure 11: The Moment Jack Dorsey Call for Support of #EndSARS. Source: Twitter

Figure 11 tweets are very iconic and a significant driving for the campaigners. The moment Jack Dorsey, the Twitter CEO, rose very late into the night to tweet his solidarity with the #EndSARS, calling on the world to donate through Bitcoin to help the young protesters. Jack’s tweets were very significant as the likes of Nikki Minaj, Rihanna, one of the most followed celebrities on Twitter, followed up with a tweet of the Nigerian flags drenched in the blood of the murdered protesters, wondering why those paid to protect the people turns out to be the one's killings. The tweets in figure 10 are categorized under Group 2.

Soon, the likes of German-Turkish and Arsenal footballer Mesut Ozil, Odion Ighalo of Manchester United, U.S. Stars, Kanye West, Cardi B, P.Diddy, Drake, Rihanna, Wesley Snipes, and a host of others tweet their solidarity. Concluding, Mahachi (2020) stated that with the millions of followers these stars command, their involvement would make it work.

Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
Davido	
Mesut Ozil	

Figure 12: Idols in the Music & Sports World. Source: Twitter

In figure 12, one of the most famous music star of Africa descent, Davido, tweeted that ‘His people need him’ as he was called upon to raise his voice. With his rampant number of followers, the campaign having a more broad reach was assured. Also, the likes of Mesut Ozil, German-Turkish Arsenal footballer, with over a 25million Twitter followers, twitted how horrible it sounds to hear of the #EndSARS stories in Nigeria many to join him and make #EndSARS a trending topic everywhere, and so it became a trending topic. The duo’s tweets are categorized under Group 2, representing celebrities and personalities.



Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
Rema	 <p>REMA @heisrema</p> <p>#EndPoliceBrutality #EndSARS</p> <p>12:34 PM · Oct 10, 2020</p> <p>35.2K 17.2K are Tweeting a...</p>
Kanye West	 <p>ye @kanyewest</p> <p>I stand with my Nigerian brothers and sisters to end police brutality, the government must answer to the peoples cries #EndPoliceBrutalityinNigeria</p> <p>1:06 AM · Oct 13, 2020</p> <p>162.4K 94.2K people are Tweeting ab...</p>

Figure 13: Support from those that Matter. Source: Twitter.

Meanwhile, figure 13, which is categorized under Group 2, representing celebrities, has Rema, a famous Nigerian Afrobeats singer/Rapper tweeting the clenched fist that symbolizes solidarity, telling the protesting youth they are not alone in the struggle. Just below, Rema is the American music star and presidential candidate in the 2020 election, Kanye West. In his tweet, he said he stands with his brothers and sisters in Nigeria to bring an end to all manner of brutality by the police and that the Nigerian leadership must answer the cries of the people.

Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
Wesley Snipes	
	

Figure 14: Every Sector Represented. Source: Twitter

The momentum garnered by the #EndSARS campaign was supported by world-class celebrities and personalities as well as their followers. Figure 14 attest that Hollywood Actor Wesley Snipes and African Pop star WizKid, both with massive followership on Twitter, tweeted to lend their support. The tweets here are defined under category 2.



Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
John Boyega	
Bop Daddy	

Figure 15: From Nigeria to the UK, Connecting all Over the World. Source: Twitter

In figure 15, the Nigerian-British film producer/ actor, John Boyega, known for his roles in Star War Series, tweeted his dismay with the activities of SARS personnel that doesn't seem to go away, even though the claim by the authorizes on several occasion that the dreaded police unit has been dissolved. Next to Boyega's tweet is Bop Daddy, a lawyer and musician, popularly known as Falz. He tweeted his reaction to the #EndSARS peaceful protest call by @Runtown, promising to be there at Lekki Toll Gate for the protest on October 08, 2020. The two are among the Nigerian celebrities league that inspired much Nigerian youth's enormous turnouts for the rallies and are categorized under Group 2.



Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
Runtown	
Dr. Dipo Awojide	

Figure 16: Those who made it happened. Source: Twitter

After the first tweet that ignited the mix of feelings and disappointment with the Nigerian police, several people started retweeting. As shown in Figure 16 above, the second original tweet came from a Nigerian music star known as Runtown with Twitter handle @Runtown, who on October 04, 2020, tweeted that he will be leading a protest against SARS brutality on October 08, 2020. He invited his colleagues in the music industry and concern Nigerian youth to join him. Subsequently, @Runatown’s tweet and the events that followed categorized him under Group 2 as one of the celebrities whose actions propelled the campaign. Additionally, the second tweet in Figure 15 described how the movement became a global force after one Dr Dipo Awojide, @OgbeniDipo, sent a tweet to the British-Nigerian duo of Anthony Joshua-Heavy Weight Boxing Champion and Actor/Producer John Boyega (known for his roles in Star War), requesting them to tweet about #EndSARS as they did #BlackLivesMatter. After that, other Nigerian celebrities began tweeting and calling on their foreign counterpart to join and tweet #EndSARS to show solidarity. Though

this Twitter user before the campaign was a motivational speaker, now he can be referred to as a social media influencer. He can be categorized under Group 1.

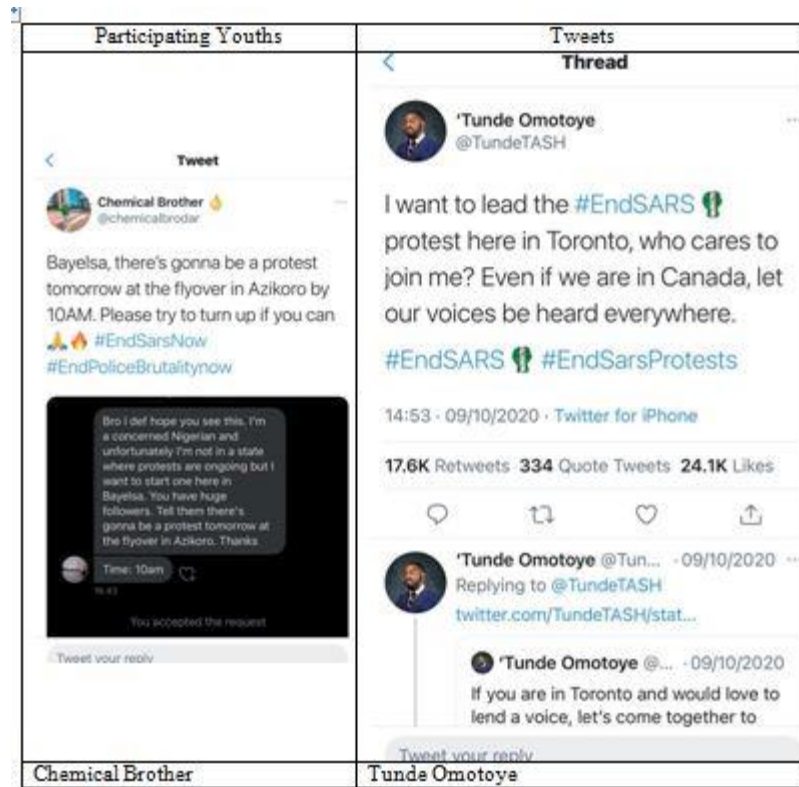


Figure 17: The Mobilizers. Source: Twitter

Meanwhile, as the protests were already ongoing, several youths swam into action various roles, from coordinators to mobilizers and so on, as exemplified in the tweets above as tweeted by Chemical Boy, who goes by his aliases of @chemical Boy and Tunde Omotoye, known by his Twitter handle as @TundeCash, both soliciting to spearhead the protests in Bayelsa State, Nigeria and Toronto, Canada consequently. They are categorized under Group 1 as general participating Nigerian youth.



Figure 18: The Government. Source: Twitter.

As issues concerning #EndSARS became heated upon whether the Nigerian government is in any way at all prepared to give attention to the demands of the protesting youth. In a swift reaction, the Presidency announced that a special Police (SARS) had been disbanded on October 11, 2020. The tweet in Figure 18 above explains this while categorizing the tweet under Group 3, representing the government.



Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
<p>Nigerian Army</p>	
<p>Nigeria Police Force</p>	

Figure 19: Agents of Brutality. Source: Twitter

A closer observation of the tweets in figure 19 shows that the first tweet is that of the Nigerian Army Headquarters that deployed its personnel to Lekki Toll Plaza on the night of October 20, 2020, which resulted in the shooting to death of peaceful #EndSARS protesters. However, in a series of tweets, the military denied deploying soldiers to the Lekki Toll and tagged any message or news associating its personnel to the Lekki shooting as fake news. However, during cross-examination at the ongoing hearing on the judicial panel of inquiry into atrocities on Nigerian sitting in Lagos, the army admitted deploying soldiers to the toll plaza but denied shooting at the protester. Meanwhile, the military finally accepted shooting, but this time around claimed it blanks and not live bullets. Just below the Nigerian Army tweet is that of the Nigeria Police Force, who insists reforms have been going on in the police (Inspector General of Police, Mohammed Adamu), on a gradual basis despite

continued police harassment. The above tweets in figure 19 fell under category three as part of the Nigerian government.

International Organizations	Tweets
Amnesty International Nigeria	

Figure 20: Justice at Last. Source: Twitter.

In the figure above, Amnesty International, that has been monitoring and documenting several cases of human rights abuse by the Nigerian police and the military, share yet another of the organization’s commitment to the fight against human rights violation in the country. They tweeted to tell Nigerians and the world that the killings at Lekki Toll plaza in Lagos did occur as they claim to have facts that point to that regard. They represent the International Organizations and categorized under Group 4.

Nigerian Government	Tweets
Minister of State for Labor	<p data-bbox="683 257 1232 398"> Festus Keyamo, SAN @fkeyamo · Oct 4 4) This is a picture of the victim in hospital this morning, showing injuries from the fall (c) the Police stopped to pick him up after the fall, but an angry mob had already gathered and the Police fled and left the victim (d) A Good Samaritan picked him & took him to hospital </p>  <p data-bbox="737 875 943 898"> <small>159 186 304</small> </p> <p data-bbox="683 920 1232 1061"> Festus Keyamo, SAN @fkeyamo · Oct 4 5. Finally, I wish to appeal to the youths in Ughelli not to resort to violence and/or destruction of lives and properties. I am on top of this matter and though the victim is alive, I will be urging the authorities to still investigate the conduct of the Police in this matter </p> <p data-bbox="737 1068 943 1090"> <small>151 177 328</small> </p>

Figure 21: Elements/Representation of Fake News. Source: Twitter

Furthermore, an investigation into the events of October 03, 2020, alleged that the said young man claimed to have been shot by the personnel of SARS was not valid. An investigation carried out as tweeted in figure 21 by the country's Minister of State for Labor explains that (he), the young man jumped out of a moving vehicle to escape prosecution in the hands of a security team comprising of the Military, Mobile Police and Civil Defence Corps, with no SARS personnel involved. Therefore, @fKeyamo's tweet is categorized under Group 3 as a representative of the government.



Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
Elizabeth Warren. Democratic Presidential Candidate	
Chairman US Senate Committee on Foreign Relation	

Figure 22: Concerned Leaders. Source: Twitter

On the side of world leaders and concern for humanity and the tweets in figure 22 comes from the United States government officials. From the former United States Democratic Presidential contestant, Elizabeth Warren, she tweeted in solidarity with #EndSARS, calling on the Nigerian government to stop killing her citizens and end police brutality against the youth. The second tweet captured in the same figure above is that of the U.S Senate Committee on Foreign Relations bemoaning how the Nigerian military shot and killed unarmed protesters at Lekki Toll Gate. He employed the Nigerian government to bring those behind the heinous act to justice. These tweets are categorized under Group 5, which represents world leaders.





Celebrities/Public Figures	#EndSARS Celebrity Tweets
Nigeria President. <u>Muhammadu Buhari</u>	 Muhammadu Buhari  @MBuhari The IG already has my firm instructions to conclusively address the concerns of Nigerians regarding these excesses, & ensure erring personnel are brought to justice. I appeal for patience & calm, even as Nigerians freely exercise their right to peacefully make their views known. 11:43 PM · Oct 9, 2020  7.9K likes 4.4K people are Tweeting about ...
Nigeria Vice President. Prof. <u>Yemi Osinbajo</u>	 Prof Yemi Osinbajo  @ProfOsinbajo  Dear Nigerians, I know that many of you are angry, and understandably so. We could've moved faster and for this we are sorry. 1:05 AM · Oct 17, 2020  46K likes 41.6K people are Tweeting about...

Figure 23: Leaders who failed to act when it Matters. Source: Twitter

Finally, the analysis of figure 23 has the President of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari, who had earlier refused to address the protesting youth but was forced by the refusal of the #EndSARS to back down until the government gives them a listening ear. He tweeted his commitment to reforming the entire police and gave the Inspector General of Police directive to carry out the needed reforms. On his part, the Vice President, Professor Yemi Osinbajo, pleaded with Nigerians, regretting how sorry they are for not moving as fast as they should with the government running. This signifies that they have finally given in to this younger generation's yearnings whether they forced out of it or not. The tweets are categorized under Group 3, representing the views of the government.

4.2 Thematic Analysis

4.2.1 Social Movements and Mobilization:

Closing Up the Space of Time. Based on the data above, it is evident that the Nigerian youth made fair use of Twitter's platform to mobilise the people to pressure the Buhari Government to disband SARS and carry out the much-needed reforms in the police force and other sectors, as one can never underestimate the power of social movement and mobilization of a networked community. This confirms what Vikki Reynolds (2014) referred to as networked communities' role in fostering the spirit of a rhizome through their activities and that even if it dies and decompose, it will equally nourish those roots (other works) that seem dead to sprout out again. By doing this, her work or those other activists will always serve as a reconstructor to awaken or link different parts of social justice activism (Reynolds 2014). Arising from the analyzed data, many who were not directly affected but as a community networked and linked by the racists, disabilities, gender, poverty, refugee, class consciousness, and several other Theatres of the Oppressed buds sprouting along horizontally like a rhizomatic of participatory via social media (e.g., Voz Hispana Causa Chavista, The Partnership for Safety and Justice, all in the United States of America), working for better local Latino leadership and the other fighting to address violence and racism (Ferreira & Devine, 2012). The worldwide reactions to the #EndSARS Campaign were mainly due to shared emotions as videos and photographs of the dead, the injured as well, as the blood-smearred flag of Nigeria went viral on social media, evoking a response from the networked communities, who, like the filaments of rhizome, felt they must support the #EndSARS to defile any static order and continue to react to oppression and resistance to make social change in line with a decolonizing and anti-oppressive stance and direct action.

The analysis above shows that the power and influence the celebrities had in society answer the research questions two and four.

Q2: How significant is the usage of Twitter by Nigerian and International Celebrities to the #EndSARS?

Q4: How did the campaign move from one State after another and became a global force?

Having celebrities on the list of supporters of the protests was significant, and with the likes of Rihanna alone having over 100million Twitter followers. With the likes of, Davido, Wizkid, John Boyega, Anthony Joshua, Tiwa Savage, Mesut Ozil, Marcus Rashford, Kanye West, Drake, and several others have either below or between 25million and above Twitter followers, lending their voices to support the SORO SOKE Generation (soro soke- is a Yoruba word meaning "Speak Up". It has been adopted as the protester's slogan due to the massive presence of protesters in the South-Western Nigerian cities where the Yoruba language is widely spoken); the campaign was good to go.

It became terrible news for the Nigerian government; still, a plus for the protesters as Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey joined in support of #EndSARS, canvassing the world to donate via Bitcoin to help the campaign. With Jack's involvement, the support was no longer oral, but funds raised to feed, provide medical supply, legal aid to those arrested, and support police brutality victims. The whole world moved in to help #EndSARS, calling on the Buhari Government to do the needful. The celebrities,

therefore, played key roles that led to the broader attention #EndSARS received worldwide. It suffices to say that the stars were the major driving forces that influence the campaign to go global, forcing the Nigerian government to bow to pressure and disbanded SARS on October 11, 2020.

4.2.2 Brutalization in the Face of Democracy and Technology:

Though a democratic nation, Nigeria has on several occasion failed to abide by the tenets of the same political institution they claim to practice. The freedom of expression enshrined in the country's Constitution is barely practiced, making it difficult for its citizens to speak up (Inibehe, 2019). He further noted that this rascality from the Nigerian government and its security forces violates the Constitution's provisions and all Charters on Human and People's Rights of both United Nations and the African Union, which Nigeria is a signatory to (Inibehe 2019). It looks like the youngsters understood this and why they settled for offline, exploring the unregulated mediums of Twitter for their activism. According to Josephine Mahachi (2020), the tweet of October 03, 2020, from Chinyelugo @AfricaOfficia2, alleging the shooting of a young man by SARS that very day in Ughelli changed the narrative about an endured brutalization of Nigerians in the hands of the police force.

However, Inibehe's concerns glaringly lured their heads when the #EndSARS Campaign decided to go offline. In their usual style, the Nigerian military attacked, shot, and killed over 25 unarmed #EndSARS protesting at Lekki Toll Plaza in Lagos, Nigeria, on October 20, 2020. An act that Amnesty International described as a blatant glaring assault of unarmed youths despite their right to life, freedom of expression and peaceful assembly (@AmnestyNigeria, 2020). This suffices that

Nigerian security failed to realize that the world is revolving and happenings in another part of the world can affect others from a different section of the world. Meaning the technological era has a connection to us, and as such, we can feel one another's pains through our interconnectivity. This, Scott Uzelman (2005) foretold in the application of a rhizomatic theory to his "Hard at Work in the Bamboo Garden" where he specifically cited various forms of brutality, injustices, human rights abuses by the power-drunk government of Estrada in the Philippines in 2001 and the military coup of 2002 that ousted President Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, and how the masses rose against them, using cell phones and text messages as well autonomous media to connect the networked communities in the hope that it can help the rhizome of social movements to blossom into beautiful new bamboo gardens and a full-fledged democratic movement, fair and just society.

The analysts' position is that if the government wish not to experience much more crippling of its activities through future uprising and societal forces, brutality in all manner and kinds must be eliminated, either digitally or otherwise (Hungwa, 2017). Talking digital, Nicholas Negroponte (1995) foretold its future when he stated that the digital future holds the key to knock down corporations, globalize the public, suburbanize, dominate, and reconcile the populace. Furthermore, he predicted the likely disappearance of nation-states, unduly echelons and class-conscious organizations. His submission that soonest, humans will engage one another in an imaginary battle in place of hierarchy, making it possible for substantial communication corporations to no longer need to deliver message content since self-made production and dissemination are presently feasible in this computer age

(Negroponte 1995). The viewpoint made nearly three-decade is what we are witnessing today.

4.2.3 Surveillance and Censorship

According to DW. TV. News report (2019), the All Progressive Congress, Nigeria's ruling party, through its Parliamentarian proposed a Social Media Regulation and Hate Speech Bills, which initially in one part made provision for capital punishment in place of one who is found guilty of perpetrating such a crime as prescribed by the provisions of the proposed bills. By and large, Nigerians, as usual, matched out in protests before the promoter of the bills accepted to re-evaluate and subsequently take out the capital punishment section. In line with the bills' position, many Nigerians liken it to the 1984 Military Decree of President Buhari's earlier grip on the seat of power. Could this be that the Buhari led-APC administration set out to muzzle free speech and shut up the people from opposing and condemning those in power? (Inibehe, 2019).

Though freedom of information exists in the country since 2011, the government does not subscribe to activism, like those found protesting unflavored decisions against those elected often result in the arrests, torture, detention, and killing of some protesting persons. Despite the #EndSARS Campaign's successes, surveillance was very much around, leading to many offline protesters' arrests. According to Alfred Olufemi of Premium Times, over 20 bank accounts of those suspected to be critical supporters and sponsors of the protests had their accounts frozen by the Central Bank of Nigeria, claiming those accounts had links with terrorism, a claim the Apex Bank failed to prove (Olufemi, 2020). Another 50 protesters had their International

Passports seized on frivolous cases against lying before the Federal High Court in Abuja.

The National Broadcasting Commission, in a bid to carry out government censorship action, fine AIT, Arise T.V. and Channels Television stations airing footages on the shooting of #EndSARS protesters at Lekki by the Nigerian military with a fine of 3million Naira (\$7,600) each (Olafusi, 2020). These acts and many more are attempts to clamp down on free speech and make sure the protesters' yearnings get nowhere, confirm their suspicion and the significant reasons they chose a social media platform. A pending suit of \$1billion against Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey's supports of #EndSARS and availing his platform to the protesters for use. All these and many other forms of censorship and surveillance, Nigerians are told is for National Security.

These forms of surveillance and censorship are not different from the ones that existed in Brazil and other Latin American countries that inform Augusto Boal's decision to confront the systems with the Theatre of the Oppressed in Latin America, which now spread to several countries worldwide as referenced by (Ferreira & Devine, 2012). Therefore, the #EndSARS Campaign, like a rhizome, connects to the spirit of the Theatre of the Oppressed in Latin America and other sections already rooted in academic fields and networked communities, sprouted in classrooms, and streets, connecting students, administrators, policy makers and community activists in pursuit of social justice and human rights.

In answer to research question one, the youth acted thus: **Q1. How did the Nigerian youth use Twitter to raise their voices, organize, coordinate and protest offline and on the streets?**

This generation of Nigerian youth has placed themselves on the world map in the organization and coordination of events at all protests grounds. They made provision for food, water, medical personnel and ambulances in emergencies and such needs. Provisions were made for mobile toilets for convenience while music regularly played at the protest's grounds to make the place live and busy. Also, at a hint of suspected sponsored thugs attacking the protests venues, they acquired private security guards' services to help offer protection for lives and property.

According to Damilola Agbalajobi, these protests were different: the planning was exceptional, and all funds contributed were judiciously allocated to where it was supposed to and detailed for such disbursement tendered on social media (Agbalajobi, 2020). She further stated that aside from the bouncers contracted for security purposes, the protesters themselves rendered other services as those in the technology provided VPN ready for subscription at a low rate if the government directs mobile communication providers to freeze their services (Agbalajobi, 2020).

Corroborating Agbalajobi's position, a video released on social media within the protests period shows many protesters staying behind to clean up the mess at protests grounds at the end of every protests night. The protests were declared organic without a leader while everyone has the right and full support of others to coordinate where possible. The task of tweeting out messages was that of every protester, and soon #EndSARS began trending worldwide within days of its commencement. The

above accounts exemplify the botanical nature of a rhizome that illuminates multiple ways that inform activists' networks and movements through networked communities.

4.2.4 Framing: An Opportunity to Hear Different Narratives.

This theme also answers the research question **Q3. How did the Nigerian Government, International Community and Civil Society Organization's use of Twitter within the period mentioned above react to the protest?**

Despite the several reasons the youth had to have embarked on the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020, they felt the government has never been honest as they kept promising and telling lies on the disbandment of SARS. Aside from police brutality, the rising unemployment adversely affects the youth most and their exclusion from governance affairs, resulting in mental torture. However, the government failed to give the protesters a listening ear, thinking it was just one of the usual protests and blamed the opposition for sponsoring the youth. The country's Minister of Information, Lai Mohammed, claimed that President Buhari has no reason to address the protesters. In a world press conference on December 04, 2020, he accused foreign satellite television CNN of releasing a bias report on the shooting of the unarmed protesters on October 20, 2020, promising the government will sue CNN and other foreign media that failed to respect Nigeria's sovereignty (Point Blank, 2020). He insisted that the government prosecute the protesters who violate the ban on protests and destroy properties.

However, Amnesty International accused the Nigerian federal government of lying and giving a blind eye to governance's fundamental issues. In its earlier report of 2016, the agency claimed it has investigated and documented over 82 cases of police

brutality and extrajudicial killing around the country, which the government couldn't look into. A failure the agency claimed triggered the protests (@AmnestyNigeria, 2020). Meanwhile, the Nigeria Bar Association and some civil society organizations accused the government of sponsoring thugs to attack and disrupt peaceful demonstrations, as they threaten to take the government to court.

However, some Government personalities took a different position from that of the Minister of information with the country's Vice President, Professor Yemi Osinbajo, using his Twitter handle (@ProfOsinbajo, 2020), to tell the Nigerian youth that the government is highly sorry for failing them by not moving at a faster pace, promising the younger generation a better future. While the Speaker of the Lower Chamber, Femi Gbajabamila, pledge not to endorse the 2021 National Budget unless adequate provisions to compensate victims of #EndSARS and brutality by security forces are made (@femigbaja, 2020). The position of the two leaders was a consoling moment for the youth.

On their part, the United States President Joe Biden (then President-Elect), the then United States Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, and the likes of Hillary Clinton, Elizabeth Warren, both the U.S. Senate and House Committee on Foreign Relations, Un Secretary General's Office, as well the entire British Parliament and several others call upon President Buhari and the Nigerian government to respect the rights its citizens and stop trampling on free speech. Whereas the evidence against the Military over Lekki Toll Gate was glaring, the government, however, denied that its military was not involved, accusing the world leaders and organizations of passing judgment after listening to an only one-sided story.

Meanwhile, with pressure from foreign partners and the outcome of forensic investigations by private and civil society organizations as well media industries, the military accepted been at the Toll Gate that night but denied shooting at protesters. However, at the Lagos State Tribunal's resumed hearing on Restitution, the soldiers acknowledged deploying personnel there. Still, they deny shooting, only to agree on shooting during cross-examination but claiming it wasn't live bullets (Aljazeera.com 2020). With the earlier denial and counter denial of never deploying soldiers there, it becomes crystal clear that the government and its agencies have been lying all along.

There is, however, an interesting angle to this account: the government, realizing its shortcomings, decided to remolds her image. Aside from SARS' disbandment, a Youth Fund was launched for the Nigerian youth between 18 and 35 years to access low-interest loans and fund their ideas and innovations to the tune of #75 billion Naira (\$200 million). Also, 250,000 new business names are registered free to encourage the youth to enter into various sectors after accessing the loans (Odotola, 2020).

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATION & CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion

In examining data generated for the present analysis, the researcher concluded that since its establishment in 1992, the Special Anti-Robbery Squad of the Nigeria Police was never a bad unit at inception. It can be attested to by expanding the units' activities to cover the entire 36 states and the FCT, Abuja since 2002. The brutality and harassment of innocent citizens, especially the youth, which became the hallmark of today's most dreaded police unit, can be blamed on the absence of reforms in the sector. As described by Amnesty International, it is equally of note that poor remuneration, endemic corruption, impunity, and failure of administrative control and monitoring (Amnesty International, 2020). Angered by the fact that campaigns have been on since 2016, calling for the disbandment of SARS with the authorities doing nothing prompted the EndSARS Campaign of 2020. Aside from its good coordination, organization, and manner of protesting made it the biggest protest ever on Nigerian soil, with the aid of the new technologies of social media platform, Twitter.

These new technologies, with its growing percentage of users now at 48.6% of the 154.9million mobile telecommunication and internet penetration in Nigeria as of November 2020, the hashtag EndSARS became the rallying point of all Nigerian Youth around the globe in a networked community linked by social media platform,

Twitter. The protests were said to be organic and leaderless, which connect the protests to Deleuze & Guattari's Rhizomic theory as symbolized by Scoot Uzelman's bamboo shoot, which grows tall at the surface, but underground the bamboo rhizome grew horizontally, spreading throughout the yard, storing nutrients in anticipation of a coming spring (Uzelman, 2005). The #EndSARS protests were beyond police brutality, but loads of pent-up anger due to seasoned oppressions and injustices that resist all calls for social change, while the demonstrations' leaderless aspect witnessed during the campaigns was due to fear of being singled out for punishment by the security forces which is the norm and treatment meted on leaders and organizers of protests and movements in the past. These were the case with Augusto Boal and other leading organizers during the Military juntas in Latin America that inform Boal's decision to settle for the Theatre of the Oppressed to educate and propagate the theatre's concerns. At the same time, while Vikki Reynolds has to supervise and train community workers and therapists who work within social injustice contexts alongside marginalized and the oppressed to immerse herself into networked communities through a solidarity approach to succeed in her activism (Ferreira & Devine 2012, Reynolds 2014).

The use of social media to connect so many protesters from different cities without physically travelling there or making phone calls, and having a specific individual run the affairs, was in line with the philosophy driven by a Rhizome .Like the bamboo garden, social movements are often rhizomic organisms growing horizontally into new terrains, establishing connections just below the surface of everyday life, eventually bursting forth in unpredictable ways (Uzelman 2005). Therefore, like a rhizome, without tap root and non-hierarchical, but very dynamic,

the EndSARS protests expanded its network beyond borders and had several youths taking care of many activities running at the same time, from medicals, food and water, to legal matters, fundraising, security, communication, transport and other logistics, despite the brutality, censorship and surveillance of different kinds.

Moving away from the Rhizome, the protesters choice of Twitter has again proved that social media are vibrant for social movements, protests and political discussions; its interactive nature is next to none. With its access granted to the youth, the social media platform of Twitter has just shown that its role is critical for connecting networked communities, new social/mass movement and social activism. It is not only a plan for social media but the conventional media and public policymakers. Besides, celebrities, civil society organizations, and world leaders are seen as the driving forces behind the EndSARS Campaign. This group, therefore, represents the opinion leaders or behind the scene heroes of the movements. However, the limits of time and space for the public has just been broken; instead, people used social media to determine society's future interactivity. The #EndSARS can't be said to have been deeply rooted in the society like past movements as referenced by likes of Mariana Ferreira & Dominique Devine at the San Francisco State University- through acting of plays, the Theatre of the Oppressed role in schools worldwide and Vikki Reynolds' networked communities of cultural consultants, queer and transgender communities; they were able to emotionally appeal to the general society by presenting the videos and photographs of the dead and injured who fell by the oppression, brutality and injustices of a system that was supposed to protect them.

Though vibrant in giving the protesters the platform to initially organize, raise their voices and connect to larger networked communities that helped demand an end to police brutality and seek reforms in society and other areas, the study noticed some fake news and sensational reporting elements. The data analyzed proved that the tweet of October 03, 2020, that led to the protest didn't happen as tweeted. The young man claimed to have been shot wasn't shot. He did not die as tweeted; instead, he intentionally jumped out of a moving security vehicle to escape arrest and prosecution for a different crime he was alleged to have committed.

However, a wave of pent-up anger against SARS over already committed atrocities, harassment, and the authorities' carefree attitudes to ban or properly reform the police and the high level of unemployment for the teeming Nigerian youth made the protest inevitable.

5.2 Recommendation

The paper recommends that policymakers adopt approaches that will bridge and decolonize anti-oppressive activism activities and ill-treatment of certain groups. Also, the Theatre of the Oppressed ideals and programs is introduced in all institutes of higher learning across disciplines in Nigeria and other nations of the world for the proper education of the mind. Simultaneously, networked communities in different sectors should concentrate on their unique skills in those various areas that will add value to society. Besides, the study recommends that the researchers carry out investigations in areas that will help policy maker stake steps and make information that will adequately orientate and train the minds of security forces globally for adverse consequences. Also, the study applauds the National Youth Fund's creation for the youth to access and fund their businesses, which will creators employment

and benefit the government by raising the country's GDP in no distant time. Again, the Judicial Panels of inquiries throughout the country set up to look into police brutality cases and killings of unarmed protesters at Lekki Toll Plaza.

The study recommends punishments for those found implicated to set an example for others at the end of the investigation. Furthermore, adequate compensation should be paid to victims and families of the dead and tender a public apology to those affected in any way by the police brutality. More so, the disbandment of SARS shouldn't be like the previous cases where the unit resurfaces after a few months. All promises made that led to the suspension of the protests should be in accordance. There should be no issue of funds diversion regarding the Youth Fund or inability to assess the young people's said funds. The government should do well to run all-inclusive government affairs without any form of isolating a group.

The study suggests that communication platforms always verify and sieve social media information before entering the public domain. With the investigation ongoing at Judicial Panel of inquiries, applications into the Youth Fund still ongoing, and the reforms into the police going on gradually; the study suggests future research on the topic or related studies on this line of thought to proffer answers to determine the specific outcome of the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020.

5.3 Conclusion

From the analysis of this research data and the raw tweets used in this study, it is clear that the EndSARS was a success and now stand out as the most significant protests ever in Nigeria's history, and most especially the adoption of social media and the concept of a rhizome in networking the activities by the youths. The protests

succeeded in bringing the government down on its knees despite her long silence. Simultaneously, the government was pressured by networked communities worldwide to finally wind off the dreaded police unit (SARS) on October 11, 2020. However, the shooting to death of unarmed protesters at Lekki Toll Plaza may just be a devil's gift in exchange for SARS disbandment.

REFERENCES

- Adebayo, B. (2018), *Nigeria Overtakes India in Extreme Poverty Ranking*:
<https://edition.cnn.com/2018/06/26/africa/nigeria-overtakes-india-extreme-poverty-intl/index.html> accessed December 19, 2020.
- Adeyemi, A.; (1995), *The Nigerian Press Under Military: Persecution, Resilience and Political Crisis: Harvard School of Government*.
<https://ashorensteincenter.org/the-nigerian-press-under-the-military-1983-1993>, Accessed December 05, 2020.
- Agbalajobi, D. (2020). Why #EndSARS Protests are Different, and What Lessons They Hold for Nigeria: The Conversation- *Academic Rigour, Journalistic Flair* <https://theconversation/why-endsars-protests-are-different-and-what-lessons-they-hold-for-nigeria-148320> accessed January 08, 2021.
- Agreements, Corporate Interests, and the Information Infrastructure of Modern Social Movements', in *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 62, N0.2, pp. 315-329.
- Ajayi, A. I.; & Adesote, S. A, (2015). *The New Social Media and Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria: Uses, Potentials and Challenges*. *Journal of Good Governance and Sustainable Development in Africa*. Vol.2, N04 May 2015.
- Ajazeera.com (2020, October 28). Lekki Shooting: Army Admits Troops Deployed, Denies Opening Fire. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/10/28/Nigeria->

military-admits-tobe-at-shooting-but-denies-shooting accessed January 13, 2021.

Akintola, O. (2019). *Social Media and Political Activism in Nigeria: A MarriageMade in Heaven or Just a One Night Stand?* MA Thesis: University ofWestminster. Via: DOI. 13140/RG.2.2..35613.77284, Accessed December 4,2020

Akumeta, J. F. (2018). *Who Will Reform the Police Force?* Gboko, Nigeria: DoemaPress.

Alimi, O.P (2020). *The Rot in the Nigeria Police Force. Enugu, Nigeria.* Fourth Dimension Publishers, 2020

Amnesty International, (2020). Time to End Impunity. <https://amnesty.org/en/news/2020/06/nigeria-horrific-reign-of-impunity-by-sars-makes-mockery-of-anti-torture-law/>Accessed January 11, 2021.

Aronson, J., (1994), *A Pragmatic View of Thematic Analysis: The Qualitative Report*,2(1), 2(1).

Ayankoya, K., Calitz A.P. & Cullen, M. (2015). *A Framework for the Use of Social Media for Political Marketing: An Exploratory Study.* Conference Paperin Nigeria: *Journal of Communication and Media Research*, Vol. 11, N0.2, 2019.

- Ayotunde, A.; (2012), *Changing Technologies and the Nigerian Mass Media: Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*. Vol. 2,N03; Nov 2012. <https://arabianjbmr.com/pffs/KD-vol-2-3/9.pdf>.
- Bakare, B. I.; Ekanem, I. A.; & Allen, I. O. (2017). *Appraisal of Global System for Mobile Communication (GSM) in Nigeria*. American Journal of Engineering Research (AJER), Retrieved November 17, 2020. Via:<https://c:/users/titanium/Downloads/N060697102EkanemBakare2017.pdf> . Accessed January 16, 2020.
- Bennet, A. (2004), *Case Study Methods: Design, Use and Comparative Advantages, in Sprinz, Detlef- Wolinsky-Nahmias, Yael (Eds). Models, Numbers & Cases:Methods of Studying International Relations*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, PP, 19.
- Bittner, J. R. (1989). *Mass Communication: An Introduction*, Precipice Hall.
- Bogart, L. (1998). *Media and Democracy, In Dennis, E. S. & Synder, R. W. (Eds) Media and Democracy*. New Brunswick: Translation Publishers.
- Bouma, G., & Atkinson, B. J., (1995), *A Handbook on Social Science Research: 2nd Ed*. UK: Oxford University Press.
- Boyatzis, R. E., (1998), *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Braun, V., & Clarke, V., (2006), *Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology: Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012), *Thematic Analysis*. In H, Cooper, P.M. Camic, DL. Long, A.T, Panter, D., Rindskopf, & K.J. Sher (Eds) *APA Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology*, Vol. 2: Research Design: Qualitative, Neuropsychological, and Biological. Washington, DC: *American Psychological Association*.
- Buechler, S. M. (1995). *New Social Movement Theories: The Sociological Quarterly*, 36, 441-464.
- BusinessGhana.com, (2020), World Television Day: History of TV. Via:<https://www.businessghana.com/site/world-television-day/history-of-tv>, Accessed January 08, 2021.
- Carpentier, N.; Bailey, O. G. & Cammaerts, B. (2008). *Understanding AlternativeMedia: Issues in Cultural and Media Studies*. Berkshire: Open UniversityPress.
- Castells, M. (2000). *Communication Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chiroma, A.H. (2005). *Northern Nigerian Politics and the Caliphate*. Kaduna: Zazzau Nomads Press.
- Clapham, C. (1992). *Third World Politics: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

- Coleman, J. (1958). *Nigerian: Background to Nationalism*. Berkely and Benin City: University of California Press.
- CPJ (2019). *Global Impunity Index for 2019*. <https://cpj.org/reports/2019/10/getting-away-with-murder-killed-justice/>, Accessed June 12, 2020.
- Cresswell, J. (2014), *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th Ed). Washington, DC: Sage Publications.
- Danbatta, U. G. (2017). *The Role of the Telecommunications Sector in Diversification of the Nigerian Economy-Achievements, Prospects and Challenges*: Presentation of Inaugural Lecture to Bayero University Kano. via <https://ncc.gov.ng/accessible/documents/764-the-role-of-telecom-sectordiversification-of-the-nigerian-economy/file>.
- Dantani, U., Maigari, A. M. & Wika, P., N, (2017), *Internet Revolutions, Democratic Globalisation & Elections Outcome in the 21st Century*: Echoes from Nigeria: *Journal of Culture, Politics and Innovation*, 2017. Via: <https://glocalismjournal.net> accessed January 01, 2021.
- Dare, O. (2000). *From Iwe Irohin to NaijaNews.Com: The Nigerian Press 1859-1999* In Oseni, T. & Idowu, L. (Eds) *Hosting the 140th Anniversary of the Nigerian Press*, Lagos, Tosen Consult.
- Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987), *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, translated by Brian Massumi, London: Athlone Press.

D-W TV, (2019) *Nigeria Bill aims at Punishing Hate Speech with Death*:
<https://www.dw.com/en/nigeria-bill-aims-at-punishing-hate-speech-with-death/a-51419750>. Accessed December 03, 2020.

Egbunike, N. (2015). *Framing the #Occupy Nigeria Protests in Newspapers and Social Media: Open Access Library Journal*, 1-13.

Ekanem, H.; I. (2012). *Political Process and Contemporary Political Analysis: Selected Themes and Concepts*. Owerri: Great Stars Publishers International Co.

Ekanem, H.; I. (2017). *Political Culture and Crisis of National Unity: The Nigerian Experience*. Department of Political Science, Imo State University, Owerri. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research*. Vol. 3, NO. 4.

Ekanem, H. I.; & Iheanacho, E. (2016). *The Futility of Nigeria's Flirtation with American Politico-Systemic Model: The Imperative of Political Culture*. In *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, NO. 3, PP.229-235.

Fenton, N., & Barassi, V. (2011). *Alternative Media and Social Networking Sites: The Politics of Individualism and Political Participation*. *The Communication Review*, 14(3), 197-196.

- Ferreira, M. & Devine, D. (2012). Theatre of the Oppressed as a Rhizome: Acting for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Today. Retrieved March 24, 2021 via: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23238992?seq=1>
- Forrest, J. B. (2004). *Subnationalism in Africa: Ethnicity, Alliances, and Politics*. London: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Garnham, N. (2000). *Emancipation, the Social Media and Modernity: Agreement About the Media and Social Theory*. New York. Oxford University Press.
- Ginsberg, B. (1986). *The Captive Public: How Mass Opinion Promotes State Power*. New York: USA. 1986
- Gladwell, M. (2010). Why The Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted: *New Yorker*. Via <https://newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa-fact-gladwell?currentpage=all>. Accessed December 27, 2020.
- Gladwell, M. (2011). *From Innovation to Revolution: Do Social Media Make Protests Possible? An Absence of Evidence*. *Foreign Aff*, 90, 153.
- Gonzalez-Bailon, S.; Borgo-Holthoefs, J.; Rivero, A. & Moreno, Y. (2011). The Dynamics of Protest Recruitment Through an Online Network: Via: <https://arxiv.org/ftp/arxiv/pages/1111/1111.5595pdf> Accessed December 1, 2020.

- Gunther, R. & Mughan, A. (2000). *The Media in Democratic and Non-democratic Regimes: A Multilevel Perspectives, Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hara, N. (2008). Internet use for Political Mobilization: Voices of Participants
Journal of Internet. 13(7). Retrieved: November 26, 2020, via
<https://www.firstmondays.orjs/index.php/fm/article/view/2123/1976#author>
- Hayes, N. (1997), *Theory-Led Thematic Analysis: Social Identification in Small Companies*. In N. Hayes (Ed), *Doing Qualitative Analysis in Psychology*. Hove, UK: *Psychology Press*.
- Hitchings-Hale & Calderwood (2017). 8 Massive Moments Hashtag Activism Really, Really Worked: Global Citizen. Via:
[.https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/hashtag-activism-hastag10-twitter-trends](https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/hashtag-activism-hastag10-twitter-trends).
- Howard, P. N., & Hussain, M. M. (2011), *The Role of Digital Media in the Arab Spring*. *Journal of Democracy*, 22(3), 35-48.
- Howard, P. N., & Hussain, M. M. (2013), *Democracy's Fourth Wave?: Digital Media and the Arab Spring*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Howard, P. N., Duffy, A., Freelon, D., Hussain, M., Mari, W., & Mazaid, M. (2011), *Opening Closed Regimes: What Was the Role of Social Media During the Arab Spring?* New York: Oxford University Press.

- Hungwa, T. F. (2017). Silencing the Opposing Voices: *Makurdi Weekly Review*: Vol 2(3) 1, 34-39.
- Hunt, K. J. (2016), A Rhizomatic Approach to Fashion: Fashion Continuum: School of Arts & Design: Nottingham Trent University www.Irep.ntu.ac-uk/id/eprint/29190/1/PubSub6650_Hunt.pdf, accessed January 11, 20201.
- IEO. (2018). Structural Conditionality in IMF-Supported Programs-evaluation Update, 2018 <http://www.ieo.info.org/files/update/sc%20update%20Report-pdf> Accessed November 17, 2020
- Inibehe, E. (2019). *Political Activism in the Face of Human Rights Abuse*: Lagos, Nigeria: Eagle Eye Prints, 2019.
- Jagun, A. (2012). Mapping Digital Media: Nigeria: Country Report. Retrieved:<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/mapping-digital-media-nigeria> Accessed November 18, 2020.
- Jakande, (1979). *The Press and Military Rule in Nigerian Government & Politics Under Military Rule* 110-23. O. Yediran (Eds, 1979).
- Jamieson, K. H.; & Campbell, K. K. (1983). *Media use and Impact of Mass Media*: California: Wadsworth Inc.

Junyoung, I.; & Sangseok, L. (2017). Statistical Data Presentation: Korean Journal of Anesthesiology. Retrieved from: <https://ncbi.nlm.gov/pmc/articles/pmc5453888/> Accessed January 19, 2021.

Keating, M. (2001). *Nations Against the State*: New York. Palgrave.

Kitchin, R. (1998). *Cyberspace: The World in the Wires*: England: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Lacey, A. (2005). *Networked Communities: Social Centers and Activist Spaces in Contemporary Britain*. Retrieved March 23, 2021 via: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1206331205277350>

Lasswell, H. (1941). *Democracy Through Public Opinion*. Wisconsin, USA. Banta Books, 1941

Lim, M. (2012). *Clicks, Cabs and Coffee Houses: Social Media and Oppositional Movements in Egypt, 2004-2011*, *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 62, N0.2 pp. 231-348.

Long, A.T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K.J. Sher (Eds) *APA Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology, Vol. 2: Research Design: Qualitative Neuropsychological, and Biological* (pp-57-71), Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

- Mahachi, J. (2020). The Power of Celebrity Over State Menace:
<https://www.dw.com/en/opinion-the-power-of-celebrity-over-state-menace/a-55275279>
- McAdam, D.; McCarthy, J. D.; & Zald, M. N. (1988). *Social Movements*: In N.J. Smelser (Ed); Handbook of Sociology Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- McChesney, R. W. (2004). *The Problem of the Media: US. Communication Politics in 21st Century*. New York: Monthly Press Review
- McQuail, D (2015). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*: London; Sage Publications.
- McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction, 3rd (Ed)*. London: Sage Publications.
- McQuail, D. (2008). *Mass Communication Theories. 5th Edition*. London. Sage
- Meikle, G. (2002). *Future Active: Media Activism and the Internet*. New York: (5thEd). Routledge
- Meikle, G. & Young, S. (2012). *Media Convergence: Networked Digital Media in In Everyday Life*. The UK: Palgrave Macmillian.
- Mitchell, W. J. (1995). *City of Bits: Space, Place, and Infobahn*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Morozov, E. (2009a), *From Slacktivism to Activism: Net Effect Blog* (Vol. 2014).
- Morozov, E. (2009b), *Iran: Downside to Twitter Revolution. Dissent*, 56(4), 10-14.
- Morozov, E. (2012). *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*. New York: Public Affairs Store.
- Morozov, E. (2014), *To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism*: Public Affairs.
- Morris, M. & Ogan, C. (1994). *The Internet as Mass Medium: Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 1(4).
- Moscato, D. (2014), Media Portrayals of Hashtag Activism: A Framing Analysis of Canada's #IdleNoMore Movement. Paper Presented at the Association Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Conference, Montreal, Canada.
- Mou, D. (2015). *Making of an African Giant: State, Politics, and Public Policy in Nigeria*: UK: Author house Vol. 2
- NBS (2019). National Bureau of Statistic: Annual Report. Retrieved via: <https://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng> Accessed November 12, 20220
- NBS, (2020) Quarter 2, the Year 2020 Report: via <https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/quarterly.report> accessed December 24, 2020

NCC.gov.ng, (2021), Statistics Report of the Industry: Internet Subscriber Data:
<https://ncc.gov.ng/statistics-reports/industry-overview>

Negrine, R. (1994). Politics and the Mass Media in Britain. (2nd Eds.) London:
Routledge.

Negroponete, N. (1995). Being Digital. New York: Knopf

NPF (2020). The Nigeria Police Site Update: Retrieved via
<https://www.npf.gov.ng/aboutus> Accessed 11, 2020

Odewale, O. (2014), Project Light Up Nigeria: Power in Our Hands. In
E.Zuckerman& L. Lejeune, Global Dimensions of Digital Activism-
Cambridge: MIT Centre for Civic Media.

Odutola, A, (2020), #EndSARS: FG Creates New #25 Billion Naira Youth Fund.
<https://nairametrics.com/2020/10/25/endsars-fg-creates-new-#25billion-youth-fund-to-increase-to-#75billion-in-3-years> accessed January 11, 2021

Official Gazette, (1984). Extra- Ordinary Federal Republic of Nigeria: Lagos,
April 4. 1984.

Okunola, A. (2020), 10 Activists in Nigerian History who Represent the Resilience
of the People. <https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/10-activists-in-nigerian-history-who-represent-the-resilience-of-the-people> Accessed,
October 29, 2020.

Okunola, O. S. (2020). The Shame Called APC Administration: A Presentation on#FixPolitics. Live Coverage on Zoom. Accessed November 11, 20220

Olafusi, E. (2020). #EndSARS: NBC Fines Arise TV, Channels, TV, and AIT: <https://www.thecable.ng/breaking-nbc-fines-arise-tv-channels-ait-for-unprofessional-endsars-protests-reportage> accessed December 21, 2020.

Olaoluwa, A. (2020- December 01), EndSars Protests: The Nigerian Women Leading the Fight for Change. Via, <https://bbc.com/news/world-africa-55104025>

Oloyede, F. & Elega, A. (2018). Exploring Hashtag Activism in Nigeria: A Case of#EndSARS Campaign. Centre of Research and Communication for Peace, Famagusta, North Cyprus: Eastern Mediterranean University Press.

Oloyede, S. (2002), The Press Under Military Rule in Nigeria: 1966-1993. PhD Thesis: Department of Communication and Language Arts: the University of Ibadan,Nigeria.[file:///c:/user/titaniumdownloads/toloyedeisikilubayo%20\(2\).pdf](file:///c:/user/titaniumdownloads/toloyedeisikilubayo%20(2).pdf) Accessed June 02, 2020.

Olufemi, A. (2020). #EndSARS: Lawyers, Activists Condemn Nigerian Government For Freezing Accounts of Protesters. <https://Premiuntimesng.com/news/headlines/424971-endsars-lawyers-activists-condemn-nigerian-govt-for-freezing-accounts-of-protesters.html>

- Omogui, N. (2016). Special Branch Report: Military Rebellion January 15, 1966. Retrieved via: <http://www.gamji.com/nowa/news1103.htm> Accessed October 19, 2020.
- Onwumechili, C. (1998). *African Democratization and Military Coups*: Westport, Praeger 1998.
- Phongpaichit, P. (1999). Theories of Social Movements and their Relevance for Thailand. Social Movements in Thailand. From <https://pioneer.netserv.chulath/-ppasuk/theorysocmovt.doc> Accessed January 19, 2021.
- Plecher, H. (2020). Social Inequality and Youth Unemployment in Nigeria: *Economy and Politics International*, Vol. 43
- Point Blanck.com, (2020). Nobody Can Stop Prosecution of EndSARS Protesters: <https://pointblanknews.com/pbn/executive/lai-mohammed-says-nobody-can-stop-prosecution-of-endsars-protesters> accessed January 13, 2021.
- Putnam, R. D. (1996). The Strange Disappearance of Civic America. *American Prospect*, 24(1), 39-49.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- Pwashikai, G. & Shem, W. (2019). Appraising the Role and Challenges of SocialMedia Platforms in Consolidating Democracy in Nigeria: *Taraba StateUniversity Journal of Communication and Media Studies, Vol.2. N01*, 2019, Jalingo, Nigeria.
- Reid, A.; & Sehl, K. (2020). Genuine Social Media Activism: A Guide for GoingBeyond the Hashtag. Via: <https://blog.hootsuite.com/social-media-activism>. Accessed December 26, 2020.
- Reynolds, V. (2014). A Solidarity Approach: A Rhizome & Messy Inquiry. In Simon, G. & Chard, A. (Eds.) *Systemic Inquiry: Innovations in Reflexive Practice Research*. Retrieved March 23, 2021 via: <https://www.amazon.com/Systemic-Inquiry-Innovations-Reflexive-Practice/dp/0993072305>
- Rosen, J. (2012). The People Formerly Known as the Audience. In: Mandiberg, M. (ed) *The Social Media Reader*. New York University Press.
- Saho (2012). Nigeria: Towards a Peoples' History. South African History Online. Retrieved from: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/nigeria#>:
- Sklar, H. (1963). *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Scammwell, M. & Semetko, H. (2000). *The Media and Democracy*. Dartmouth:Ashgate.

Scott, A. & Street, J. (2001). From Media Politics to e-Protest? The Use of Popular Culture and New Media in Parties and Social Movements, in F. Webster (Eds) Culture and Politics in the Information Age: Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Sembene, D. (2015). Poverty, Growth and Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa: Did the Walk Match the Talk Under the PRSP Approach <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2015/wp15122.pdf> Accessed November 11, 2020.

Sena, A. & Avci, O. (2016). Why Social Movements Occur: Theories of Social Movements. The Journey of Knowledge Economy & Knowledge Management /vol: 11 Spring. Retrieved from: www.beykon.org/dergi/2016/SPRING/2016x1.1.10.A.Sen.pdf

Sevasti-Melissa, N.; Christos, V. & Vinnarasan, A. (2017). Political Activism Across The Life Course: Via: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2017.1336566>, accessed November 13, 2020.

Severin, J. W., & Tankard, J. W. (2001), Communication Theories: Origin, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media, (5th ED). New York: Longman.

Shea, B. (2014). The History of Hashtags in Social Media Marketing (infographic) Via: <https://www.adweek.com/digital/history-hashtag-social-media-marketing>. Accessed December 14, 2020.

Starr, A. (2000). *Naming the Enemy: Anti-Corporate Movements Confront Globalization*, London: Zed Books.

The Nigerian Observer, (1987). *Revealed: Why FGN Banned Private Publishing Companies From Importing Newsprint: April, April 7, 1987*

Thompson, J.B. (1995). *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. California: Stanford University Press.

Tilly, C. (2004). *Social Movements; 1768-2004*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publications.

Timi, B. (2019). *How the Media Covered 2019 Nigeria Presidential Elections*. Retrieved via <https://www.proshareng.com/news/politics/how-the-media-covered-2019-presidential-elections> Accessed May 19, 2020.

Torduff, W. (1984). *Government and Politics in Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Tuckett, A. G., (2005), *Applying Thematic Analysis to Practice: A Researcher's Experience*. *Contemporary Nurse*, 19(1-2), 75-87

Twitter.com (2020), #EndSARS: I Know You are Angry for our Slow Pace, We are Sorry. [Twitter.com/@ProfOsinbajo/10/17/2020](https://twitter.com/ProfOsinbajo/10/17/2020)

Twitter.com (2020). #EndSARS: Evidence from Eyewitness, Video clips, and Hospital Reports Suggest that the Nigerian Military Shoot and Killed Protesters. Twitter.com/@AmnestyNigeria/10/21/2020.

Twitter.com (2020). #EndSARS: I Won't Endorse 2021 Budget Unless it Makes Provisions for Adequate Compensations of the Victims of Police Brutality. Twitter.com/@femigbaja/10/21/2020.

Twitter.com (2020). Tweets on the #EndSARS Campaign of 2020: Retrieved via, www.twitter.com

Twitter.com (2020). Twitter's Jack Dorsey Supports #EndSARS, Canvas for Donations via Bitcoin. Twitter.com/@jack/10/14/2020 Under Military Rule 110-23, in, O. Oyediran (Eds) 1979. Unpublished Lecture Notes, Faculty of Communication and Media Studies

Uwalaka, T. (2019), Social Media and the Rise of Digital Activism among Students Via: [https://C:/Users/Titanium/Downloads/Uwalaka2019%20\(3\).pdf](https://C:/Users/Titanium/Downloads/Uwalaka2019%20(3).pdf) Accessed December 04, 2020

Uzelman, S. (2005). Hard at Work in the Bamboo Garden. In Media Activists and Social Movements. Retrieved March 24, 2021 via: <http://cumuluspress.burningbillboard.org/pdf.files/1.Hard@work.pdf>

Ward, A. (2020-October, 26), #EndSARS Isn't Just About Police Brutality: It's About the Future of Nigeria. Via <https://vox.com/21529010/endsars-nigeria-protests-police-explained> accessed December 13, 2020.

Welton, M. (1993). Social Revolutionary Learning: The New Social Movements as Learning Sites. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 43, 152-164.

World Stats, (2020.) Nigeria Population Growth: Retrieved via, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/382235/population-growth-in-nigeria/> Accessed November 12, 2020.

Yin, R. (2008), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods: 5th* Sage Publications(Kindle Edition).

Yin, R. (2011). *Qualitative Research From Start to Finish*. New York: The Guilford.

Youmans, W. L and York, J. C. (2012). Social Media and the Activist Toolkit: User Agreements, Corporate Interests, and the Information Infrastructure of Modern Social Movements, In *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 62, N02, pp 315-329.