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### Silent Weapon: A documentary on ending police corruption in Nigeria with a Nonviolent Social Movement

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# *Silent Weapon*

A documentary on ending police corruption in Nigeria with a Nonviolent Social Movement

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTERS OF ARTS

In

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

by **Damilola Adesanya**

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UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee and approval by all the members, this thesis project has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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## **Abstract**

This documentary aims to examine the issue of police corruption in Nigeria and see how a nonviolent movement can be implemented to end this problem. The focus is on nonviolent movements like the #ENDSARS was used to bring change where there seemed to be no hope. There have been many accounts of the experiences of the citizens of Nigeria when it comes to police corruption. Unfortunately, a lot of these situations have gone untold. Some Nigerians believe there is no way to stop the police from being corrupt, as it has been going on for too long. Many citizens feel helpless and try to find ways to cope with their reality. This study helps answer why police corruption is a major issue in Nigeria and also see what steps can be taken to change the daily reality of Nigerian residents with police corruption.

This documentary also sheds light on the day-to-day experiences citizens of Nigeria have with the police concerning corruption. It focuses on the definition of corruption and what steps have been taken in the past to the present to bring about change in Nigeria. There needs to be more research on how the police department has taken steps to address police corruption. This documentary shows that there are very few benefits police officers receive. Shedding light on corruption will help spread awareness of what occurs in Nigeria. By studying the #ENDSARS movements in Nigeria in 2020, one can see how such a movement can be implemented in Nigeria to end police corruption. This documentary examines the advantages and disadvantages of implementing a violent or nonviolent movement to address corruption.

It took over five months to conduct the research, which heavily relies on interviews, personal experiences, and previous research. As a potential solution, this documentary proposes that there must be unity amongst Nigerian police officers and citizens for a nonviolent social movement to reduce police corruption. This movement must include benefits for police officers. In addition, corruption is not a police problem but rather a Nigerian problem due to poverty.

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## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to thank Abba, the God of divine possibilities who makes a way when there seems to be no way. I thank Him for encouraging and strengthening me through it all—a special thank you to my advisor, Professor Zunes. I am grateful for his immense knowledge and support throughout my research; attending his Nonviolent Social Movement class sparked my interest in this research. I also would like to thank Professor Zarrobell for all his tremendous work in keeping me grounded every step of the way.

Receiving the Ziegler Fellowship Award from the MAIS department was also a huge blessing. I am genuinely grateful for the privilege of having my trip to Nigeria paid for.

I also want to express my gratitude to everyone involved in my documentary. Thank you for sharing your story.

Thank you to my family and friends for their support and prayers.

God Bless

## **Dedication**

This documentary is dedicated to everyone in Nigeria who experience police corruption daily.  
To those who have not received justice, this is for you!

## ***Introduction and Background***

*“Anyone who wants to tackle corruption must be willing to go all the way. There are no shortcuts”*

- **Oby Ezekwesili**

*“Nonviolent is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man”*

- **Mahatma Gandhi**

*“If it is possible, as far as it depends on you, live at peace with everyone”*

- **Romans 12:18**

Police corruption is a power misuse that affects nearly everyone in Nigeria. Nigeria ranks as the 12th country with the most police corruption. "The police force has become an epitome of all multi-corrupt and fraudulent schemes which constitute a stumbling block to the effective administration of justice and efficient maintenance of law and order in Nigeria and have soiled the image of the force" (Ibrahim, 2015). This issue has contributed to citizens' financial difficulties, injustice, a negative public perception of the police, and many other problems. Police have requested bribes from citizens on their way to work or investigating a crime. In addition, the police have asked for bribes from victims of crimes to start investigating and later asked the suspects for bribes to stop investigating.

People frequently give money to the police while stopped because it is what they expect. The police can tell stories about what transpired to extort money from people. People who did not have cash with them were led to an ATM to obtain money. Nigerians have been and

continue to be outraged by this issue. Because youth are the most vulnerable, the police have primarily targeted them. There have been many discussions about police corruption in academic and non-academic places as well.

In Nigeria, a few social movements have attempted to address the issue with the police system. Nonviolent movements have been used over the years to bring change. "Recent research suggests that nonviolent civil resistance is far more successful in creating broad-based change than violent campaigns are" (Nicholasen, 2019). Some of them include the Otpor movement, the Civil Rights movement, and the Salt March movement. The most recent movement in Nigeria regarding the police is the #ENDSARS. #ENDSARS was a well-known movement that began in 2020 and resulted in the abolition of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), which was notorious for inhumane acts. However, apart from this, there have been little to no movements in discussing issues with police corruption or other police issues in Nigeria.

The #ENDSARS movement in Nigeria became an international movement that shed light on the abuse of power. The goal of this Nigerian Police Force was to combat robbery, vehicle theft, kidnapping, and more. SARS has been charged with harassing and physically abusing numerous persons since its founding in 1992. SARS developed over time, and they were given uniforms and weapons. This prompted numerous illegal actions on their part. As a result, SARS committed numerous crimes, including murders, kidnappings, forced disappearances, rape, extortion, torture, and frame-ups. SARS had the authority to oppress Nigerian citizens, and they did so. SARS officers expressed dissatisfaction with the government for not paying them a living wage. The police' desire to extort money for their family is one of the reasons they treat citizens in such a cruel way. "Emboldened by its new powers, the unit moved on from its main function of carrying out covert operations and began to set up



roadblocks, extorting money from citizens' (Malumfashi, 2020). The power they have received has been used for evil and not good.

SARS arrested 23-year-old Miracle Ifeanyichukwu Okpara and detained him in Anambra State, eastern Nigeria, on a charge of stealing a laptop and committing fraud. Amnesty International reported that he was “tortured and hardly given any food during 40 days of detention before being taken to court and charged with armed robbery. The court discharged the case for lack of evidence” (Malumfashi, 2020). The police can arrest people with little to no evidence, which is a huge problem. For example, having a laptop is no evidence of committing fraud. However, even after days of no evidence, they still detained him.

Due to the citizens of Nigeria being tired of the crimes caused by SARS, they decided to unite and fight back. The unity of those in Nigeria and those worldwide was tremendous. One of these ways was through social media. In 2017, the hashtag #ENDSARS initiated a social media campaign (Malumfashi, 2020). This hashtag became well known in October 2020 after a viral video of another crime by SARS officers. "The immediate trigger was a video that showed a SARS officer shooting a young motorist in Ughelli, in Delta state, then pushing his body out of the car and driving off with the dead man's Lexus SUV" (George, 2020). There was an outcry by Nigerians on this matter. The Yoruba phrase “Soro Soke,” which means ‘speak up’ encouraged Nigerians worldwide to speak up about what they have faced at the hands of police officers in Nigeria. Throughout the month, there were peaceful protests and support from people worldwide.

Nigerians congregated at the Lekki toll gate bridge on October 20, 2021, just a few days after their country celebrated its independence day. "On October 20th, between 6:45 pm and 9:00 pm, the Nigerian army and police reportedly killed at least 12 peaceful protesters, leaving

several injured in Lekki and Alausa in the cosmopolitan city of Lagos. The security forces, without warning, opened fire on thousands of people who were peacefully calling for good governance and an end to police violence as part of the #EndSARS movement" (Sotunde, 2020). No one could prepare for this, mainly because it was a peaceful protest. The people of Nigeria wanted a space to be heard and seen, but that was not the case. "Then they opened fire directly straight at us, and they kept on advancing and advancing. One or two people got hit. Everybody got up, and it became total chaos" (Orjinmo, 2020). This event which was called a massacre, was heartbreaking in Nigeria. October 20th, 2020, was given the name Black Tuesday by citizens. "Black Tuesday is the latest in a long history of police and military campaigns in Nigeria against the civilian population" (George, 2020). Even though SARS was disbanded, Nigerians still face issues with the police today.

This research aims to learn about police rules and regulations, how they are held accountable, and what people's experiences with police have been to understand the roots of police corruption. It encourages others to 'Soro Soke' (speak up) about their encounters with the police. It would also look at why proposed solutions have failed and suggest potential short and long-term solutions on how a nonviolent movement can be implemented to end police corruption. In addition, my research will dive into the #ENDSARS movement and determine if it was successful.

## *Literature Review*

### Understanding Police Corruption and Harassment in Nigeria

Many thoughts come to mind when evaluating the Nigerian police. Most of these thoughts include corruption, abuse, and harassment, to name a few issues. Many people have reported their negative encounters with the police. Police corruption can be instances from bribery to brutality and death. This happens in Nigeria for many reasons. Many researchers discuss the training police receive to understand what actually happens when officers break the law. Citizens believe there is no accountability or justice in view of the fact that Nigerian police officers have failed in their role countless times.

Many people have strong opinions on what exactly corruption and harassment is. Akinlabi describes corruption as “when police demand or collect inducements, either money or service, from an external corruptor or the public during duty, in exchange for a favor” (Akinlabi, 2017). He states that corruption is shared equally among the Nigerian police. Caplan defines harassment as “unconsented contact or surveillance that endangers safety and privacy” (Caplan, 2013). Turnbull further discusses how the Nigerian police fail to do their job as they are corrupt. He supports his argument by discussing personal experiences, interviews, and past research (Turnbull, 2021). This also continues the conversation on harassment and corruption of the Nigerian police.

Finding the right words for defining the encounters individuals have had with the police may take work. The term police deviance can be used when describing corruption (Akinlabi, 2017). He uses this expression as an umbrella for three terms: police corruption, crime, and misconduct. Akinlabi's definition helps close the gap in the negative terms used to describe the Nigerian police.

Police harassment and corruption are nothing new in Nigeria. Many people in Nigeria have been vocal about their experiences with the Nigerian police. Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi note that most Nigerians attribute the poor performance of the Nigerian Police to corruption (Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi, 2019). Aborisade agrees with this as well. He talks about how the police have abused their power over the people when assigned responsibility for ensuring that citizens took suitable precautions to be safe during the COVID-19 pandemic. He continues to highlight events in Nigeria by the police during the pandemic. Aborisade gives examples of the unlawful use of force and harassment. Through interviews with 71 participants, his study concluded that people's experiences with the police during COVID-19 was a hindrance to their human rights (Aborisade, 2021). This is also believed by Akinlabi, who emphasizes how bad corruption and misconduct are in Nigeria (Akinlabi, 2017). In a study surveying over 450 participants on citizen and police interaction, Akinlabi found a high perception of corruption and abuse concerning police officers (Akinlabi, 2017). Adebani & Obadare add that the Nigerian police had created an image of a corrupt organization (Adebani & Obadare, 2011). This thesis will focus on harassment and corruption of the police through a more qualitative approach.

There have been many reports on how the Nigerian police have been doing things they are not supposed to. Akinlabi notes that people have seen the police climb highway roadblocks to extort money from people (Akinlabi, 2017). He talks about the police asking for bribes from victims of crimes to start investigating and later asking the suspects for bribes to stop investigating. Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi affirm this as they point out that police seek bribes from suspects to prosecute their cases the way they ought to (Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi, 2019).

Akinlabi confirms that more people died in their hands during COVID-19 than the virus itself (Akinlabi, 2017). Adebani & Obadare claim that others have even accused the police of electoral rigging the presidential election in 2003 (Adebani & Obadare, 2011).

Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi add that the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) of the police was used during interrogations. SARS's job is to prevent robbery, kidnapping, and other crimes in Nigeria. They illustrate how the police abducted a governor and forced him to sign a resignation letter. Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi continues this conversation as they note that 73.6% of people arrested were not informed of their offense at the time of their arrest (Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi, 2019). This thesis will continue the discussion on what the people in Nigeria have faced at the hands of the police

Looking back on history until now, corruption and harassment of the Nigerian police are nothing new. However, there has been much research explaining these issues. For example, Adebani & Obadare explain how a previous Inspector General of Police, Tafa Balogun, the head of the federal police and a billionaire, was arrested in 2005 for money laundering, stealing police funds, and other corrupt acts (Adebani & Obadare, 2011). Iheukwumere also adds that another Inspector General of Police, Sunday Ehindero, faced a similar situation as he embezzled 16 million naira (Iheukwumere, 2019). This is also further touched on by Akinlabi's belief that most Nigerian police are deficient while only a few are good. Akinlabi notes that police abuse and brutality are common in Nigeria (Akinlabi, 2017). Aborisade also confirms this by stating how the NHRC received over a hundred complaints of human rights violations against law enforcement officers during COVID-19 (Aborisade, 2021).

There seems to be a lack of an effective relationship between the community and the Nigerian police. Akinlabi implies that the poor relationship between the police and citizens is due to people not feeling supported or protected by the police. He also means that the police seem to think they are there to protect people in power, not everyday citizens (Akinlabi, 2017). In the thesis paper, the cause and effects of poor relationships between the Nigerian police and the community in Nigeria will be discussed as I take steps further in my paper. Sexual harassment by police officers in Nigeria is also common, although there has not been enough research. Aborisade offers examples of how the police have sexually assaulted people. He notes how a woman who was a widow was arrested since she was not wearing a nose mask, was taken to a guest house, and then sexually assaulted by the police officer. He adds that the woman was sent two thousand naira, equivalent to five dollars, as compensation for what he did to her (Aborisade, 2021). This research will take it a step further by looking into why Nigeria itself has so many problems with the police. The history of the Nigerian police and where it is currently will be discussed in the thesis. It would also further the conversation on sexual harassment by the police.

The police are required to play a vital role in the country. There are many responsibilities placed on them, which researchers address. Madubuike-Ekwe, Obayemi, and Akinlanbi give insight into the rules of the constitution regarding the police. According to the constitution, people detained must be brought to the court within a reasonable time, although that is different in Nigeria as it takes several weeks or months (Akinlabi, 2017). Akinlabi explains that the job of the Nigerian police is to protect and serve the integrity of the people. Aborisade adds that during COVID, the police were told to enforce wearing masks, social

distancing, staying at home, and more. This thesis will close the gap on what exactly the roles and responsibilities of the police in Nigeria include.

With the history of police misconduct, corruption, and harassment, there are many conversations on training police officers and their capacity to lead. With what previous research has stated on these issues, looking into this process will better understand how and why it happens. Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi points out that the training received during the British colonial rule years ago is the same training received by the police today (Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi, 2019). They believe that the Nigerian police have poor training. Aborisade notes that police authorities did not include information on the protecting rights in the guidelines used by officers to enforce the COVID-19 lockdown (Aborisade, 2021). He also claims that most wrong acts by the police are due to a lack of officers training. Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi also agree that the police who prosecute suspected criminals lack training or capacity. Iheukwumere emphasizes how the laws governing the police force have not been extensively reviewed since its creation in 1943 (Iheukwumere, 2019). Aborisade begins to question the protocols and rules given to police officers and their efficiency level and capacity to deal with the community (Aborisade, 2021). Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi claim that adequate training for the police regarding the use of drugs and guns and the consequences of abuse will help reduce the cases of killings of citizens by the police (Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi, 2019). This research will further the conversation on how police officers are hired and trained and their capacity to do what is required.

Lack of accountability has been common when police are found to be wrong and need more checks and balances to ensure that those hired to protect and serve are doing what is required of them. Akinlabi discusses the importance of accountability. He focuses on the

day-to-day issues the people of Nigeria face due to the police. Akinlabi talks about the responsibility of the police and government and how they may have failed in their roles (Akinlabi, 2017). This is confirmed by Adebawu & Obadare as they note how the former head of police allegedly stole ten billion naira from the Nigerian Police Force (Adebawu & Obadare, 2011). Lack of accountability is also discussed by Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi as they explain how someone died in police custody, an investigation happened, and no one was held accountable (Madubuike-Ekwe & Obayemi, 2019). Ihekweumere highlights how the official Code of Conduct does not even talk about corruption, unlike other police systems like the NYPD. He later concludes that "there is no single anti-corruption strategy sufficient to address police corruption fully. It is a complex problem that needs a multifaceted solution" (Ihekweumere, 2019). This thesis will continue this conversation by focusing on the lack of accountability and lack of checks and balances and comparing the Nigerian police system to others around the world.

### Success and unsuccess of social movement

Social movements have been used to make changes all over the world. Most of these movements are categorized into violent or nonviolent movements. Comparing previous nonviolent movements, we see the impact such movements can have. Bozarth and Budak define social movements as "content that includes a hashtag, #mi. Although certain hashtags are extensions of the same umbrella protest, treating them as separate movements allows for a more precise analysis of their similarities and differences" (Bozarth & Budak, 2017). Diani defines it as an informal network between individuals, groups, and organizations who work together to tackle political or cultural conflicts. It is usually based on a shared belief or identity. One who



has opposing views can not be on the same movement. Politics and social movements are generally connected. Violence has been used a lot to oppress people. It is what people usually think of when it comes to change. Although, violence does have many consequences on those leading such movements or the people in general. Galtung explains how violence can reduce the health of others and affect them in other ways (Galtung, 1965). Ahlman gives a deeper understanding of violence. He focuses on violence and decolonization. He compares how the same effects from a nonviolent movement, like health problems, can still happen in a nonviolent movement but in different ways (Ahlman, 2010).

Galtung focuses more on the past and the importance of nonviolent movements (Galtung, 1965). Schock also discusses the history of nonviolent resistance and its impact. On the other hand, Amenta et al. need to discuss why movements matter. While there has been much research on violent social movements, some researchers have considered nonviolent social movements. Nonviolence is an essential term that has been discussed in history to date. Galtung compares two ways of looking at nonviolence. First, he looks at how the term is defined and how it could be defined positively and negatively. Then, he looks at different forms of nonviolent resistance and concludes that nonviolence should do more positive things to gain influence (Galtung, 1965). Bob also talks about the advantages of having support in a movement (Bob, 2001). This thesis will further discuss the pros and cons of nonviolent movements and define what nonviolent movements are.

Zamponi notes that following the development of movements in other countries is helpful in movements (Zamponi, 2020). Schock and Galtung agree as they look at other activists like Gandhi, a key player known for nonviolent social movements. Shock adds that it is vital that we compare nonviolent social movements worldwide. This article also discusses the

consequences of both violent and nonviolent movements. There has been an increase in looking into the political implications of social movements. Amenta et al. (2010) explain the political consequences of social movements. They talk about the importance of movements in the US and throughout history (Amenta et al, 2010). Although, Galtung claims a difficulty is the low number of known nonviolent campaigns.

Galtung believes that a statistical study of nonviolent campaigns would have been helpful (Galtung, 1965). Next, Amenta explains different nonviolent movement tactics. Then, they explain marches, protests, and other things used in a movement. They also point out other movements like the civil rights and labor movements. Finally, they state that creating a bureau can help legitimize and provide resources for a movement (Amenta et al., 2010).

Over time there has been research and information on nonviolence movements worldwide. Analyzing social movements globally and comparing them to Nigeria gives a deeper understanding. Understanding what is happening specifically in Nigeria is crucial for my research. Ajala focuses on how social movements in Africa and politics need the ability for fundamental changes. They give insight that would be helpful to see how other countries like Nigeria have failed in other movements in the past (Ajala, 2021). It would be great to compare different social movements, especially in Nigeria, and see their effects. Homeland also addresses the pros and cons of a protest that occurred in Nigeria in the year 2012. Amenta et al. also discuss the consequences and backlashes of social movements (Amenta et al., 2010). Turnbull also explains that violence increases during election periods in Nigeria (Turnbull, 2021). It helps us understand that there is usually more risk when a country has elections but not as high as in Nigeria. The protest was against the increase in fuel prices. They connect protests and politics like the other authors. This was a massive protest at the time, which also had some

failures that were addressed. Ajala talks about how one should protest. Bringing up previous demonstrations in the country and studying its success and losses will benefit my thesis (Ajala, 2021).

This researches focus on the transformation of social movements. Ajala uses a case study of the Oodua Peoples Congress in Nigeria (Ajala, 2021). They emphasize that African social movements may need to be more capable of real change. However, studying their skills will help shape a nonviolent action. Turnbull brings in case studies of the Ijaw Youth Council and Boko Haram to support their argument (Turnbull, 2021). Homeland also claims that protests are done due to institutional politics and how protests can lead to such. Gore & Pratten look at four social movement cases conducted by the youth in Nigeria (Gore & Pratten, 2003). It does a great job of comparing all movements with different methods of fighting for what they want. Not each movement is recognized as legal like the campus cult, but each can help us understand how organizations and bringing people together for a cause work. These movements started due to the need for more politicians to do their job. This would help my thesis better understand why movements occur in the first place. It focuses on the youth coming together due to failed politics. Gore & Pratten believe that some of these movements could result from the oil boom (Gore & Pratten , 2003). Ajala concludes that movements are weakened due to a lack of support and politics (Ajala, 2021).

Looking into why and how movements start is one thing. It is essential to look at the after-effects of any movement. Diani believes that most social movements occur when there is social conflict. Earl sheds a different light on the conversation of social movements. He focuses more on the after-effect of movements. De Waal & Ibreck also look at various social movements in Africa. It examines long-term change and why it only sometimes lasts (De Waal

& Ibreck, 2013). Earl discusses intra and extra movements, which can further the conversation on what type of movement will be more effective in Nigeria. Earl gives a more quantitative approach through statistics with surveys which is needed for my thesis. He also defines the outcomes of movements required to see if a campaign is successful. Earl gives readers a different perspective on how to study outcomes movements (Earl, 2000).

De Waal & Ibreck are aware of the Western culture's impact on places like Africa. When it comes to the West, Ahlman also suggests that violence is now seen as an issue and a solution due to decolonization. They look at social movements through the lens of Africa and not the Western lens (Ahlman, 2010). My thesis will compare movements in other continents, but this research will help gauge success through a non-western lens. De Waal & Ibreck help us understand what change looks like through the lens of those living in Nigeria. When it comes to Western impacts like colonization, Ahlman does just that. Ahlman adds how positive nonviolent action is needed toward a postcolonial future through political and moral power. This scholar sheds light on how movements were used in Ghana next to Nigeria. He adds essential details on the Algerian revolution, which will shape this thesis. Alma talks about the rise of 'nonviolent Positive Action' (Ahlman, 2010).

Understanding the media in Nigeria will be essential for my paper. He discusses how the internet is accessible in places like Nigeria and online discussions. It also looks into the connection between online platforms and violence. It will be great to see how the media can invoke violence or be used in a nonviolent movement. Bob helps us see other needs when having a movement. He would be a great voice to understand what a movement needs to gain support. Bob discusses movements that have had backing from organizations. It focuses on a campaign in Nigeria and Mexico (Bob, 2001). My thesis would be able to use this to know how

to strengthen a movement by gaining support. I want to examine how the nonviolence movement could gain support in Nigeria and worldwide.

### Rebirth of Hope and Faith

People need to believe that change is possible. This requires hope and thinking that the work put into a campaign will be worth it. Lack of hope in Nigeria is common. There are different reasons why people lack hope. Hope and faith can be restored through music, words, etc.

Zamponi believes that lack of confidence is another reason people doubt real change can happen. He clarifies that it is a problem when it is a widespread issue. When there is no solidarity, as Zamponi notes, people do not have hope in the movement as it has no capacity (Zamponi, 2020). A few researchers discuss ways to bring back confidence and hope that real change is possible. Matiza & Mutasa talk about war songs playing a vital role when fighting for Zimbabwe's independence. They add how war songs helped provoke feelings that empowered others to fight for freedom. Slogans also encouraged the fighters and those listening.

Songs gave hope to both freedom fighters and the masses as they produced strength. These songs are filled with emotions and deeper meanings that make others want to succeed. Matiza & Mutasa focused on six war songs; Maruza imi (You have been defeated), Rova Ngoma Mutavara (Hit the drum, Mutavara), Nyika yedu yababa (Our country, the land of our forefathers), Mhoroi mose mose (Greetings everyone), Tichafara tasvika muZimbabwe (We will be happy when we get to Zimbabwe) and Mbuya Nehanda kufa vachitaura (Grandmother Nehanda died speaking) (Matiza & Mutasa, 2020). Despite the odds, words through music have strengthened those who needed it the most. Bozarth and Budak bring a different perspective on

slacktivism, who post a hashtag for a movement once. They compare those who are encouraged by it and those who are not motivated by anyone. Their study finds that those who support a movement because activists are more likely to stop being inspired and following a movement and are less likely to participate than those not encouraged by anyone (Bozarth & Budak, 2017). Busby & Urpelainen believe you have to be strategic in your movement to make the cost or benefit appealing to potential followers (Busby & Urpelaine, 2020).

Zamponi offers more insight into why there is a need for more hope in movements. They focus on the need for more hope for the EU as a force of progress. He talks about how faith in the nation-state is required, which they did not have. Leaders encouraging people who follow them is also vital, as Busby & Urpelainen explain (Busby & Urpelaine, 2020). They note unilateral leadership is when leaders hope others will imitate their actions (Zamponi, 2020). Followership is just as crucial as leadership; the more followers you have, the merrier. There needs to be a good relationship between the leaders and followers to have an efficient movement.

There is much research on what it takes to be a leader but only a little on the importance of followership. People follow a movement for different reasons, as they explain. Some are through coercion with power, incentives, social pressure, or persuasion through knowledge. They add that letting followers have new ideas can encourage them to engage more in a movement. Their research will explain what has been used in previous movements that may or may not work and the pros and cons. There are many types of followers; some are reluctant; some can follow but decide not to; some are willing but not ankle, and many more. This thesis will further the conversation on why there is a lack of a better Nigeria and close the gap on how hope can be revived in a place like Nigeria. Busby & Urpelainen help explain these types of

followers and how to attract or keep followers (Busby & Urpelaine, 2020). They hone in on the point that we must understand what the followers want.

Another reason movements could be more successful is the need for more support. Zamponi agrees that the movement faced opposition because it did not include student rights, so it received backlash from student organizations (Zamponi, 2020). Understanding who and why one should be in a movement is needed to believe it would work. This thesis will further the conversation of what is required to instill hope and faith in those who do not believe in change.

### ***Research Method***

For my research, I filmed a documentary combining mixed methodologies to investigate this problem. It took place in Lagos, Nigeria. My film has visuals, music, and interviews. Interviews were conducted in person and online. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used in the overall research method. It takes a more qualitative approach because it is critical to understand individual encounters with Nigerian police. Qualitative findings also aided in understanding police officer training, how they perceive it as beneficial, and how people are held accountable. Data collected was also from primary and secondary data. A total of about fifteen interviews were conducted.

First, this study examines the role and responsibilities of a police officer based on the constitution. The constitution served as a guide to how police officers should conduct themselves. Also, to understand the rights of the citizens of Nigeria, an interview was conducted with a police officer who has been in the police department for over ten years. The purpose of this interview was to understand better what goes on behind the scenes that a regular citizen will need to be made aware of. The function of police officers is vital in this study. In addition, this study includes an interview with a police officer who provided a unique perspective on how they are viewed in Nigeria. His perspective helps me understand why they are considered corrupt and how the Nigerian police regard themselves. An interview with the police provides insight into how they are hired and trained, how citizens can report occurrences with police officers, and how they are held accountable. Some of the questions the police officer answered include:

1. Explain the training and hiring process for a police officer.
2. What would you say the relationship between police officers and civilians is like?



3. How can a civilian report any problem with police officers, and what happens next?
4. What are the salary and benefits of a police officer?
5. What was your reaction to the #ENDSARS movement?
6. How would you respond to a violent protestor vs. one who is nonviolent?

These questions helped me better understand the day-to-day life of a police officer, see what factors like benefits can lead to them being corrupt, and get a feel of what police officers felt during the #ENDSARS movement. Then, interviews were conducted, and personal testimonies of encounters with police officers were shared. Most interviews were conducted in person, while some were online. The interviewees were mostly youth; some of the questions that helped guide the interviewee are:

1. What words or feelings come to mind when you hear the word police?
2. What type of encounters have you had with the police?
3. Do you have hope that police corruption can reduce drastically in Lagos?
4. Why do you think police corruption is a common issue?
5. Would you join a nonviolent movement to end police corruption in Nigeria?

This research demonstrates why police corruption is a severe problem that must be addressed. Looking at possible solutions through a nonviolent movement, a past movement in Nigeria was the focus. The documentary focused on the #ENDSARS movement in Nigeria. Looking at the advantages and disadvantages of this movement will help understand what movement is needed to focus on ending police corruption. About three activists who had a significant role in the movement and saw how the movement made an impact were interviewed to understand the purpose and tactics used. Past research on the #ENDSARS movement also helps frame the movement.

Gaining more knowledge on the #ENDSARS movement, the problems the activists faced, and how they overcame them will help see what type of movement can help a place like Nigeria. Understanding how the activists initially became involved in the movement and what motivated them to continue or join in the first place will be helpful for my research. In addition, I will learn more about how they evaluate their progress throughout and after the movement. Interviews with activists involved in the previous nonviolent movement #ENDSARS will give me a better knowledge of the measures taken to gather people together and carry out their plans. This interview focuses on persons who played various roles, such as coordinating people, working behind the scenes, donating to the cause, etc.

This research focuses on how people see nonviolent movement and their hope for change in Nigeria. It will clarify why some individuals doubt that change can occur in Nigeria and why some are apprehensive about joining a nonviolent campaign.

### *Conclusion and Solution*

The primary purpose of this documentary is to shed light on the day-to-day police corruption in Nigeria. The first-hand experiences helped emphasize overlapping patterns of different encounters. People are tired of how the police have abused their power.

When it comes to police officers, everyone, including Nigerian police, is aware that there are little to no benefits in the role. Police officers are even required to pay for their uniforms, shoes, and even bullets for their guns. The best way to describe how police officers are treated is when an activist, an interviewee stated that “a dog would not live in the barracks,” while another interviewee stated that a “dead body would get up and run out” if it was in such a place. Police barracks are living spaces for police officers in Nigeria. Unfortunately, they live in uncondusive conditions, unlike other police forces worldwide, like the U.S. and UK, where police officers receive rewards and benefits. Then the question becomes, why do people still apply and want to become police officers having all this information in mind? Is it because they genuinely care to serve and protect life or property, abuse that power to exploit money from others, or perhaps because it is a last resort job? Poverty is a central problem in Nigeria, and police officers sometimes abuse their power to get money to provide for their loved ones. Further research will help fully understand the mentality of becoming a police officer.

The #ENDSARS movement had great short and long-term impacts. Challenges and opposition occurred, such as violence from the police. A movement tackling corruption can learn a lot from it. How the #ENDSARS movement utilized social media and gathered people worldwide was powerful. Many people donated to organizations and spoke against the ink site in Nigeria. Also, the “soro soke” phrase throughout the movement encouraged people to speak about their experience with SARS. Different tactics might be more effective such as a strike and

people refusing to work rather than long protests on the street. As activist Isioma said in the documentary, when a moment begins to pick up; naturally, a leader emerges. Someone is usually the face of the movement. It is more beneficial for the people to come together and decide who will advocate for them. Eventually, the government will reach out to the leaders to devise a compromise. Naturally, we would want every demand to be met, but it is essential to have attainable short and long-term demand but some leaders, or lack thereof, were detrimental to the #ENDSARS moment. One can learn so much from the #ENDSARS and other movements worldwide, but one must understand that not all Western ideologies and approaches may work in a country like Nigeria. To some, the #ENDSARS made an impact, and SARS was disbanded, but there is much to do. Once the 2020 Tollgate shooting happened, people gave up and let the movement die. If there is another movement for tackling police corruption, people must be empowered and encouraged to keep fighting no matter what.

For a movement like this to work in Nigeria, something tragic and devastating must occur for people to get back on the streets to protest. The #ENDSARS movement only happens when someone is killed, so what will take people to the street regarding corrupt police? Most cases did not just involve bribes from the police; some did include brutality and other misconduct. An incident that will take Nigerians to the streets will be a case of extreme corruption and brutality. It seems like an inhumane act must occur for a movement to spark and unite people. It may be a dark road, but there would be a light at the end of the tunnel.

As stated in ‘A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle’, the vision of tomorrow is clear for Nigeria. The vision is to have a country where people are not harassed for money, or money is not required for justice. This vision also includes better pay and benefits for police officers. The vision of a movement tackling corruption must involve all types of people, as this issue

affects all. When it comes to funding the movement, it will not be a big problem as people will have no problem donating money worldwide, as the #ENDSARS movement has shown.

Social media played a huge role in informing people worldwide about the #ENDSARS movement. This strategy is a movement that should be adapted to spread awareness and raise money. Going live on social media to educate others helps gain support. Although, unlike the #ENDSARS that failed to educate the older generation properly, a movement tackling police corruption must have people going on the streets and informing the elders and those who do not have social media. Lastly, in regards to informing others, it is crucial that this movement effectively educates police officers that this movement will benefit them as well. They may not want to support the movement if they feel like their livelihood is at stake. Helping police officers should be at the forefront of the movement. Most importantly, they must encourage and instill hope in the people and police officers that change is possible.

On the idea of hope, it was refreshing and encouraging to see that Nigerians have not given up on change, even when it seems impossible. Many people expect a gradual change soon but rather slow changes over time. Many people have heard of and experienced injustice in Nigeria too often, yet they are still willing to fight. This goes to show how resilient the people of Nigeria are. Nigeria is headed in the right direction in change, but for it to be active, a movement needs to occur that includes all and is for all. The corrupt government is the main problem as it increases the wage gap between the poor and the rich. A movement on police corruption will touch every angle in different stages and, most notably, include the youth, who were the most active in the #ENSARS movement. Based on extensive research and interviews, the best way to end police corruption is to have a nonviolent movement that benefits police officers. Using violence to attack this problem will increase bloodshed and may become worse

than in the beginning. Nonviolent tactics would reduce the number of police officers going against them since it works out in their favor.

Some challenges faced included getting police officers to speak openly about their experiences without fearing losing their jobs. In addition, getting in touch with individuals to interview was difficult. Many people did not mind speaking on the issue, but only a few agreed to be documented. Finding past research and current organizations was not the easiest due to the lack of information not being accessible online. Recording the police station could not work due to safety.

To end with, as one said in my documentary, corruption is not just a police problem but a Nigerian one. Poverty in Nigeria is the main drive for this corruption instilled in institutions. Throughout my research, people expressed frustration with not only how police officers are treated and not valued but also about the country's economy. A nonviolent movement that wants to eradicate police corruption must also tackle corruption. There are so many issues that were discovered by focusing on police corruption. Unfortunately, one movement can not tackle it all. Apart from poverty, one thing that causes corruption is when lower rank police officers receive a daily required financial goal from their supervisors by the end of that day. Police corruption and nonviolent movement in Nigeria is a broad conversation that still needs extensive research, especially in tackling poverty. This research confirms that police corruption is a big issue in Nigeria, and poverty is the leading cause. Hopefully, this research will continue the necessary discussion for a better Nigeria.

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