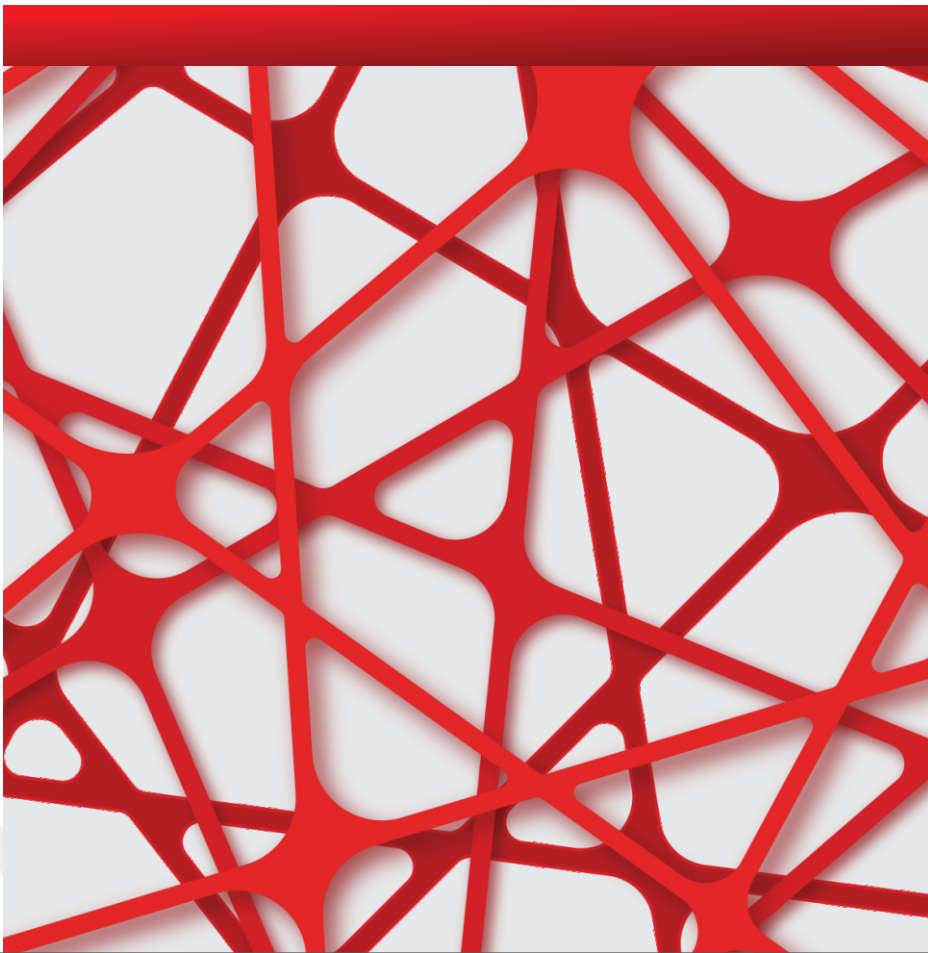




**#ENDSARS**

# **JUDICIAL PANEL REVIEW**

**ANALYSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE  
PANELS IN TACKLING POLICE BRUTALITY**



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# ABOUT EIE

Enough is Enough Nigeria (EiE) is a non-partisan network of individuals and organisations committed to instituting a culture of good governance and public accountability in Nigeria through active citizenship.

EiE was set up as the next step from two citizens' protests in 2010 on our missing President, killings in Jos and fuel scarcity.

Through our programmatic areas, We focus on Nigerians of voting age, especially 18 - 35 year olds, because they are the largest voting demographic. We leverage the power of technology - mobile phones, internet, radio and television - to reach as many as we can.

## VISION

We believe in the potential of young people to shape Nigeria's destiny.

## MISSION

We shall consistently evolve processes that enhance citizen engagement and good governance.

## OUR CORE VALUES

**P** PATROITISM

**I** INTEGRITY

**P** PASSION

**E** EXCELLENCE

**S** SERVICE

## OUR THEMATIC AREAS



**RSVP:** EiE's flagship campaign is #RSVP – Register | Select | Vote | Protect. This explains the role citizens must play before, during and after elections – Register to vote; Select credible candidates; Vote not fight {in partnership with the 2Baba Foundation} and Protect your vote on election day and during the 4-year election cycle.

**#OfficeOfTheCitizen:** Political stability and development in Nigeria is a function of the awareness and positive involvement of the citizens in civic and political matters. It is therefore imperative to educate citizens about their rights and responsibilities that makeup the "Office of the Citizen" to ensure an accountable society. We believe that the "Office of the Citizen" is the HIGHEST office in the land.

**Legislative Advocacy and Engagement:** An open, strong and accessible legislature is critical to any democracy. Through our ShineYourEye and #OpenNASS projects facilitate productive engagement between citizens and their representatives at the federal and state levels while promoting transparency and accountability.



# LAUNCH PARTNERS



NATIONAL HUMAN  
RIGHTS COMMISSION

**GAVEL.**

OPEN SOCIETY  
**AFRICA**



#ENDSARS  
JUDICIAL  
PANEL  
REVIEW

03



# #5 FOR 5 DEMANDS CURRENT STATUS



## SCORECARD ON #5FOR5

as of October 7, 2023  
3 YEARS LATER

In early October 2020, thousands of young Nigerians took to the streets in over twenty cities to protest against police brutality, making 5 specific demands which were accepted by the federal government.

3 years later, some of the demands remain unmet.

### AS STATED ON OCTOBER 11, 2020

1. RELEASE OF ARRESTED PROTESTERS	✓ SOME ACTIONS
2. JUSTICE & COMPENSATION FOR FAMILIES OF VICTIMS	✓ SOME ACTIONS
3. INDEPENDENT BODY TO OVERSEE PROSECUTION OF OFFICERS (WITHIN 10 DAYS)*	✓ SOME ACTIONS
4. PSYCHOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF DISBANDED OFFICERS BEFORE REDEPLOYMENT	✓ SOME ACTIONS
5. INCREASE OF POLICE SALARIES	✓ SOME ACTIONS

\* Of the 36 states, 29 - Abia, Adamawa, Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Bauchi, Bayelsa, Benue, Cross River, Delta, Ebonyi, Edo, Enugu, Ekiti, Gombe, Kaduna, Katsina, Kogi, Kwara, Lagos, Imo, Nasarawa, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, & Taraba - constituted their panels.

FCT is assigned to the FG's National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) Panel.

### IMPLEMENTING THE #5FOR5 DEMANDS

NOW	SHORT-MEDIUM TERM	MEDIUM -LONGTERM
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A State of the Nation address ✓ by Mr President.</li> <li>2. Release of arrested protesters.</li> <li>3. Immediate constitution of the governing council of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) for the panel's legitimacy. ✓</li> <li>4. The immediate suspension and subsequent prosecution of all officers indicted in various panels, e.g. Yusuf Kolo (Abuja), CSP Sola Aremu (Oyo).</li> <li>5. The immediate relief of police officers under whose watch protesters were killed.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Justice and compensation for protesters &amp; bystanders killed [Some victims have been compensated, but no officer has been prosecuted].</li> <li>2. All states to set up their Panels of Inquiry within 1 week. Timeframe for action: 6 months [29 states + FCT set up panels. 29 states have concluded sittings and submitted their reports to the National Economic Council (NEC). FCT has concluded sitting and sent the report to the NHRC].</li> <li>3. [Periodic] psychological evaluation of police officers [It was done for disbanded SARS officers].</li> <li>4. Regulation for the Police Act 2020 to implement improved welfare for police officers [FEC agreed to increase the salaries of police officers in January 2022].</li> <li>5. Setting up an independent body for ongoing review of cases of police brutality.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Holistic police reform including the review of training curriculum and minimum entry requirements for police force recruitment.</li> <li>2. Decentralisation of the Nigeria Police Force to improve efficiency.</li> </ol>

ALL DEMANDS MUST BE MET

## OUR FIVE ( 5 ) DEMANDS

### #5FOR5

11TH OCTOBER, 2020

### #ENDSARS ✓

- 1 Immediate release of all arrested protesters ☐
- 2 Justice for all deceased victims of police brutality and appropriate compensation for their families ☐
- 3 Setting up an independent body to oversee the investigation & prosecution of all reports of police misconduct (Within 10days) ☐
- 4 In line with the new Police Act, psychological evaluation & retraining (to be confirmed by an independent body) of all disbanded SARS officers before they can be redeployed ☐
- 5 Increase police salary so that they are adequately compensated for protecting lives and property of citizens ☐

PLEASE TICK ALL BOXES

SIGNED: A NIGERIAN YOUTH

## #5 FOR 5 DEMANDS 2020



#ENDSARS  
JUDICIAL  
PANEL  
REVIEW

04

# BACKGROUND OF STUDY

## Analysing The Effectiveness Of The Judicial Panels In Tackling Police Brutality And State Government Responses

Post independence, the Nigeria Police Force has undergone one form of reform or the other. The creation of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) in 1992 to combat armed robbery and other serious crimes is one of such reforms. Since 1999, every administration has embarked on some form of reform initiative. There was the Dan Mandami-Led Presidential Panel on Police Reforms setup by the former President Olusegun Obasanjo Administration in 2006; followed by the Muhammadu Dikko Yusuf Presidential Panel on Police Reform in 2008 by former President Umaru Yar'Adua and the Parry Osayande Panel in 2012 by the Goodluck Jonathan administration. There was also the Civil Society Organisation (CSO) Panel on Police Reform in 2012. <sup>1</sup>

The Muhammadu Buhari administration also took up the task of reforming the Nigeria Police Force. There was the Presidential Panel on Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) reform in Nigeria in 2018. In June 2019, the Police Trust Fund bill was signed into law, and the Nigerian Police Act 2020 was enacted by the Ninth Assembly.

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) has been disbanded at least five times, the last time being in 2020, and four times between 2017 and 2019. <sup>2</sup> It then becomes very obvious that there are critical issues with the police force in Nigeria.

In response to the #EndSARS protests in October 2020, the National Economic Council (NEC) under the leadership of the Vice President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo, SAN, on 15 October 2020, directed *"the immediate establishment of state-based Judicial Panels of Inquiry across the country to receive and investigate complaints of police brutality or related extra-judicial killings with a view to delivering justice for all victims of the dissolved SARS and other police units."* <sup>3</sup> The Council also directed all state governors to establish a Victims Fund to enable the payment of monetary compensation to deserving victims.

Panels were established in **29 states and Abuja**. Seven states did not establish the panels - Borno, Jigawa, Kano, Kebbi, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara. A joint Fund between the federal and state governments was to be set up to pay compensation to victims. Each panel was to have youth/student representatives, a member of the Nigeria Bar Association (NBA), civil society organisations, and chaired by a retired State High Court Judge.

The panels were given six months to complete their assignments, however the timeline was extended in some states. They received petitions from victims and their families and conducted public hearings to gather testimonies. Some visited police stations and detention facilities to

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<sup>1</sup> <https://statehouse.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Factsheet-on-President-Buharis-Police-Reform-Program.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.thecable.ng/breaking-igp-finally-disbands-sars>  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2020/10/22/sars-a-brief-history-of-a-rogue-unit>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.yemiosinbajo.ng/nec-to-governors-take-charge-of-police-tactical-units/>

## BACKGROUND OF STUDY **Cont'd**

probe allegations of misconduct. Their role was to deliver justice to victims of police brutality and make recommendations to the government to prevent future abuses.

The panels sat for different periods spanning three months to a year, and heard testimony from hundreds of victims, witnesses, and experts. In their reports, the panels made a number of findings and recommendations, including calls for justice for victims, reforms to the police force, and compensation for victims.

Civil society organisations played key roles in the panels with organisations like **Yiaga Africa**, **CLEEN Foundation** deploying observers to the panels; and Citizens' Gavel providing legal representation to victims in 8 of the 29 states - Lagos, Abuja, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Edo, Benue, and Delta, intervening in 415 cases.

This report, **commissioned by Enough is Enough (EiE) Nigeria**, assesses the implementation of the findings and recommendations of the judicial panels. It recognises that the effectiveness of these panels is pivotal for ensuring justice for victims and holding state governments accountable for their actions and inactions regarding law enforcement practices. It is based on desk research and key informant interviews with observers and youth representatives at the panels.

By closely assessing the activities of the judicial panels in Lagos, Oyo, Anambra, and Abuja, and providing a generalised overview of activities in other states, this report examines the responsiveness of state governments to the findings and recommendations of these panels. This is crucial because accountability at both the individual and institutional levels is essential for sustainable change.



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## KEY FINDINGS:

1

### **Insufficient Operational Independence:**

The independence and transparency of the panels across states varied depending on the level of political will and support attached by the state governments.

2

### **Obstruction of Justice:**

Delays in investigations and findings hindered justice delivery and discouraged complainants in a number of jurisdictions.

3

### **Lack of Political Will:**

State governments' responses to panel findings and recommendations varied, with some demonstrating a commitment to reform and accountability, while most states still need to carry out recommendations, and some have completely ignored the reports. However, this does not lose sight of the fact that the Police is a creation of the Constitution and by virtue of that the Federal Government is to take responsibility.

4

### **Lack of Adequate Funding:**

The Nigerian government did not allocate sufficient resources for the panels to successfully carry out their duties. Some state panels had to suspend sitting because of the lack of funds. This made it difficult to conduct effective hearings, prosecute police officers accused of brutality, and compensate victims.

5

### **There is a Transparency Gap:**

Transparency is a major blind spot in enhancing the quality of post-panel enforcement and accountability. A few states did not disclose either the substantive findings of their panels, compensations awarded or the status (paid or pending) of said compensatory awards.

6

### **The Panels Spun a Psychosocial Crisis:**

Adequate support for victims, including psychological, medical, and financial assistance, remains a key gap in implementing the recommendations of the various panels.



# RECOMMENDATIONS

## FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

- ▲ Facilitate the implementation of the recommendations of the States' Judicial Panels of Inquiry into Police Brutality as a matter of national policy.
- ▲ Hold police officers accountable for human rights violations. Quick disciplinary actions should be taken against violating officers.
- ▲ Reform the police force to promote human rights and accountability.
- ▲ Strengthen existing independent oversight mechanisms for the police by incorporating public participation in oversight processes, such as public hearings and the collection of citizen complaints.
- ▲ Increase transparency and accountability in the police force, especially in the recruitment process of police officers
- ▲ Invest in police psychoanalysis, training and education, focusing on human rights and accountability.

## STATE GOVERNMENT

- ▲ Work with the Federal Government to ensure that victims police brutality receive compensation, as recommended by the States' Judicial Panels of Inquiry.
- ▲ Collaborate with the federal government and civil society organisations to reform the police force in their states to promote human rights and accountability. This could include measures such as:
  - ▲ Implementing the recommendations of the States' Judicial Panels of Inquiry related to police reform.
  - ▲ Providing training to police officers on human rights and accountability.
  - ▲ Establishing independent oversight mechanisms for the police.
  - ▲ Increasing transparency and accountability in the police force.
  - ▲ Improve the welfare conditions of officers - salaries, psychosocial support etc.

## CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

- ▲ Continue to clamour for the implementation of the recommendations and monitor the process.
- ▲ Hold governments at all levels accountable for its commitments
- ▲ Continue to advocate for police reform and justice for victims



# A STATE BY STATE SNAPSHOT

Starting from 7 October 2020, Nigerian youths took to the streets to protest against atrocities committed by officers of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS).

On 11 October 2020, the youths came up with the #5for5 demands, as a means to narrow down the reasons for the protests and to simplify the demands made so that the protests could cease.

## The five demands were as follows:

- 1** The immediate release of all arrested protesters.
- 2** Justice for all deceased victims of Police Brutality and appropriate compensation of their families.
- 3** The setting up an independent body to oversee the investigation and prosecution of all reports of police misconduct (within 10 days).
- 4** In line with the new Police Act 2020, psychological evaluation & re-training (to be confirmed by an independent body) of all disbanded SARS officers.
- 5** Increase police salaries so that they are adequately compensated for protecting the lives and property of citizens.



## LAGOS STATE

### **The Lagos State Judicial Panel of Inquiry into Police**

**Brutality** was established on 19 October 2020 by the Lagos State Government. The state government, however, expanded the scope of the Judicial Panel on 21 October to include the investigation of the 20 October 2020, Lekki Tollgate shooting.

The Justice Doris Okuwobi-led panel, which commenced sitting on Monday, 26 October 2020, was the first to be established and begin its proceedings.

The panel heard 186 petitions from 252 petitioners and held public hearings till October 2021, where it heard testimonies from victims, witnesses, and police officers. The panel also visited various police stations and detention facilities in the state.

At the end of the hearings, the panel flagged that the cases not opened and unconcluded would be sent to the Lagos State Ministry of Justice for consideration by the future body that would handle human rights violations in the state.<sup>4</sup> Lagos State has not set up any process to continue these investigations.

The panel submitted its final report to the Lagos State Government on 15 November 2021 and awarded compensation to some victims before it concluded its hearings.



*Justice Doris Okuwobi*

### **ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS**

The government has released a White Paper on the Judicial Panel of Inquiry report, in which it accepted some of the recommendations, which it has not yet fully implemented. The government had earlier set up a N200 million compensation fund for victims of police brutality and extrajudicial killing, on 13 October 2021.<sup>5</sup>

Of the 32 recommendations, the government accepted 17; 11 were accepted directly while six were accepted with modifications. One recommendation was outrightly rejected, and the government said 14 recommendations fell outside its powers.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the recommendations included:

- ▶ Prosecution of police officers found to have committed human rights violations.
- ▶ Compensation for victims of police brutality and extrajudicial killings.
- ▶ Reform of the police force by training police officers on human rights and accountability.
- ▶ Establishment of an independent oversight mechanism for the police.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/490563-endsars-lagos-panel-concludes-says-lekki-shooting-report-to-be-submitted-to-govt.html>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2020/10/endsars-lagos-govt-sets-up-n200m-compensation-fund-for-victims/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://punchng.com/breaking-endsars-report-lagos-accepts-11-of-32-recommendations-rejects-one/>

## LAGOS STATE **Cont'd**

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) have criticised the government's response to the panel's report, arguing that it has not adequately addressed the issue of accountability for police officers who have committed human rights violations.

### TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE PANEL'S INVESTIGATIONS

The panel held public hearings, streamed them live online, utilised new media platforms like Twitter (now X), and made its transcripts and reports available to the public.

The panel faced challenges, including resistance from within the police force and lack of resources. At the onset, the panel complained that the Nigerian Army failed to honour the summons for its appearance. In February 2021, Rinu Oduala, one of the two youth representatives, withdrew from the panel after the panel ruled to reopen the Lekki Tollgate when the government had not granted justice to victims. <sup>7</sup>

### IDENTIFICATION OF CASES OF CITIZENS WHO RECEIVED JUSTICE THROUGH COMPENSATION

In June 2021, the Lagos State Judicial Panel of Inquiry awarded ₦83 million to 14 victims of police brutality, including ₦10 million to the family of Kolade Johnson, who was killed by SARS officers in 2019. As of October 2021, the Lagos Judicial Panel had awarded ₦410.2 million as compensation to 70 victims of police abuses. There has also been court-ordered compensation. <sup>8</sup> However, CSOs believe that just a fraction of victims have received payment.

#### **The Panel Faced Challenges, Including Resistance From Within The Police Force And Lack Of Resources.**

The Lagos State Judicial Panel has played an essential role in documenting the widespread problem of police brutality in Nigeria and making reform recommendations. The panel's work is crucial in bringing the necessary reforms to the police force and ensuring that the victims of police brutality get justice, because it is the only report made publicly available.

A leaked document from the Lagos State Government confirmed the recovery of 103 corpses of people who died in Lagos around the period of the #EndSARS protests but the

government said the bodies were not from the Lekki Tollgate. A signed statement by Olusegun Ogboye, permanent secretary of the Lagos Ministry of Health, confirmed this.

However, EiE Nigeria wrote a Freedom of Information request to TOS Funerals, the company that got about ₦62 million to conduct a mass funeral for the bodies. <sup>9</sup> The funeral home has refused to respond to the request and they plan to sue, as the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) allows.

<sup>7</sup> <https://saharareporters.com/2021/02/12/lekk-tollgate-reopening-youth-representative-lagos-endsars-judicial-panel-rinu-oduala>

<sup>8</sup> #EndSARS: Lagos court orders ₦5m compensation to Uber driver assaulted during 2021 anniversary | The Guardian Nigeria News - Nigeria and World News — Nigeria — The Guardian Nigeria News - Nigeria and World News

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.thecable.ng/lagos-confirms-mass-burial-for-endsars-victims-but-says-none-from-lekki-tollgate>



## LAGOS STATE **Cont'd**

There is also still the issue of some individuals being detained without trial in Kirikiri Medium Security Prison in Lagos since 2020. Unfortunately, Nigeria does not have a central database for prisoners, nor does it have a Missing Persons Register, thus it has been very difficult to track those that might have died or been arrested during and after the protests.

To mark the second year memorial, EiE worked with the Duty Solicitors Network (DSN) to visit four prisons in Lagos to document prisoners arrested around October 2020 and the status of their cases. EiE's intervention and advocacy by Mr Adebayo Akinlade, Esq., of DSN moved the Lagos State government to review all the pending cases in court regarding suspects arrested during the #EndSARS period releasing some awaiting trial inmates while securing plea bargain options for others.



Three years after the #EndSARS protests, 15 protesters are reported to still be languishing in prisons in Lagos, according to Amnesty International Nigeria.<sup>10</sup> Seven #EndSARS protesters – Daniel Joy-Igbo, Sodiq Adigun, Sunday Okoro, Olumide Fatai, Oluwale Isa, Shehu Anas, and Akiniran Oyetakin – arrested in Lagos in 2020, are still being arbitrarily held in Kirikiri Medium Correctional Centre.

Eight #EndSARS protesters – Segun Adeniyi, Onuorah Odih, Jeremiah Lucky, Gideon Ikwujomah, Irinyemi Olorunwanbe, Quadri Azeez, Olamide Lekan and Sadiq

Riliwan – have also been detained without trial in Ikoyi Medium Security Correctional Centre in Lagos.

The African Action Congress party also claimed in July 2023, that there were 34 people the Lagos state government continued to detain as a result of the #EndSars protest.<sup>11</sup>

EiE is working with Citizens' Gavel to produce a document on the data curated thus far of those missing and in prison tied to the #EndSARS protests as a tool of engagement and advocacy. The resources needed have delayed its completion.

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/635230-nigeria-three-years-after-endsars-over-15-protesters-languish-in-lagos-jails.html>

<sup>11</sup> <https://saharareporters.com/2023/07/24/endsars-lagos-state-government-under-sanwo-olu-detains-34-protesters-2020-after-covering>

## OYO STATE

The Oyo State Judicial Panel of Inquiry into Police Brutality was established on 10 November 2020. The panel commenced sittings ten weeks after being inaugurated in the last week of January 2021. Retired Justice Bolajoko Adeniji served as the chair of the 11-member panel, which ended its hearings in July 2021.

The panel got 151 petitions—121 of them were heard till finality and adjourned sine die for award of compensations, while 30 petitions were struck out for various reasons.<sup>12</sup>

The panel submitted its report to the Oyo State Government in January 2022, and Governor Seyi Makinde promised that the recommendations in the report would be implemented by his administration while passing on necessary advice to the federal government.<sup>13</sup> Governor Makinde also asked the state Commissioner of Police, Ngozi Onadeko, to compile a list of police victims to supplement the panel's report for the state government to consider.

The compensation award was categorised into five groups—

1	Instances of death,
2	Permanent physical injuries resulting in disabilities,
3	Loss of valuable items and properties,
4	Victims undergoing medical or surgical treatment or suffering partial injuries, unlawful detention and,
5	Other human rights violations.

### ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

In October 2020, the Oyo State government said it would set up a ₦500 million naira compensation fund for the victims of police brutality in the state.<sup>14</sup> The contents of the report submitted in January 2022 to the Oyo State Government are yet to be made public.

The day the Governor received the report from the panel, there was the announcement of the provision of an automatic scholarship to 23-year-old Samuel Ogundeji, who was falsely accused of stealing a banker's wallet and brutalised by men of the defunct Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), which resulted in blindness.<sup>15</sup>

There was intense advocacy for the release of arrested protesters in the state, under the hashtag - #Oyo11. The 11 #EndSARS protesters were charged to court but the case kept on being postponed, and there were instances where the arrested protesters were not produced in court.

<sup>12</sup> Makinde gets Oyo #EndSARS panel report, promises prompt action | The Guardian Nigeria News

<sup>13</sup> BREAKING: Oyo #EndSARS panel submits report to Makinde

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.icirnigeria.org/endsars-oyo-state-sets-up-n500m-compensation-fund-for-victims-of-injustice/>

<sup>15</sup> <https://guardian.ng/news/makinde-gets-oyo-endsars-panel-report-promises-prompt-action/>

## OYO STATE **Cont'd**

Movements such as the Oyo State Take It Back (TIB) and Coalition for Revolution (CORE) were at the fore of denouncing the arrest and fighting for the release of the protesters.



**Samuel Ogundeji Lost His Sight**

*Victim of Police Brutality*

Five days after the report was submitted to the government, two protesters from the state were released from Lagos Kirikiri Maximum Prison, while nine Oyo #EndSARS protesters were later freed in January 2023.<sup>16</sup>

It seems the state prioritises the rehabilitation of state infrastructure that got destroyed during the protests rather than providing compensation to victims of police brutality.<sup>17</sup>

Adebobola Agbeja, a youth representative at the panel, expressed displeasure and disappointment with the Oyo State Government, as there have been no efforts to implement the recommendations. However, she was full of compliments for the panel.

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<sup>16</sup> <https://punchng.com/two-years-after-nine-oyo-endsars-protesters-freed/>

<sup>17</sup> <https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2023/03/10/makinde-commissions-remodeled-ojoo-police-station/>

## ANAMBRA STATE

The Anambra State Judicial Panel of Inquiry into Police Brutality was established on 20 October 2020 in response to the #EndSARS protests. The panel conducted investigations, including receiving 310 petitions (the highest in the country) and visiting various police stations and detention facilities in the state.

Retired Justice Veronica Ume chaired the Anambra State panel, which submitted its final report in March 2022 and recommended the payment of N699.5 million to 170 petitioners. Victims with permanent deformities were to be paid between ₦1 million and ₦3 million, depending on the extent of their injuries, while those with minor injuries should receive between ₦400,000 and ₦1 million. The team assigned N5 million and N10 million as compensation to the families of dead victims.

It also recommended that all #EndSARS police officers found guilty should be prosecuted, and all officers and men of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) should go on annual psychological examination.

Anambra still grapples with police brutality amidst allegations of the state government's indifference to panel recommendations. In February 2023, the former Inspector-General of Police, Usman Alkali, initiated an investigation into three high-ranking officers in Anambra—Patrick Agbazue, Nkeiruka Nwode, and Harrison Akama—accused of illegal arrests, torture, extortion, and extrajudicial killings.

These allegations involve the officers arresting individuals, falsely labelling them as unknown gunmen, torturing them to accept the label, and subsequently killing them while seizing their belongings and vehicles.<sup>18</sup> A report was submitted in April 2023.<sup>19</sup> It is safe to say nothing came out of that process, further reinforcing the belief that the government and the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) do not have the political will for police reform.



**Usman Alkali (Former Police IG), initiated an investigation into three high-ranking officers...**

**It is safe to say nothing came out of that process.**

<sup>18</sup> Police begin probe of 'extrajudicial killings' in Anambra as IGP rejigs state RRS

<sup>19</sup> Panel investigating alleged criminal conduct of Anambra Police officers submits report - Daily Post Nigeria

**ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS**

The panel recommended actions such as the prosecution of police officers involved in human rights violations, compensation for victims, police force reform, and the establishment of independent oversight mechanisms.

The Anambra State Government asserted that it had accepted these recommendations. Still, not much has been seen in actual positive actions or results. CSOs have been clamouring for Governor Charles Soludo to implement the recommendations made by the panel. <sup>20</sup>

**IDENTIFICATION OF CASES OF CITIZENS WHO RECEIVED JUSTICE THROUGH COMPENSATION**

The panel's report recommended compensation for 170 victims and families of deceased victims, amounting to ₦699.5 million. This compensation addresses citizens who suffered from police brutality and extrajudicial killings in Anambra State. Ensuring prompt and equitable distribution of this compensation is essential.

**ASSESSMENT OF REPORT**

The report of the Anambra State Judicial Panel of Inquiry into Police Brutality is a significant step in addressing issues related to police brutality and extrajudicial killings in Nigeria. It aligns with findings from similar panels across the country, highlighting systemic challenges.

The recommendations address critical aspects like accountability and psychological examinations for police officers. These recommendations are advisory, and the government's commitment to studying and implementing them is crucial. Successful implementation would signify the government's dedication to ending police brutality and restoring public trust in law enforcement agencies.

The demand by CSOs like the Rule of Law and Accountability Advocacy Centre (RULAAC) for transparency and accountability in implementing the report underscores the role civil society plays in holding law enforcement accountable for human rights violations in Nigeria. These efforts are essential for driving reforms and ensuring justice for victims of police brutality. The government's commitment to implementing the panel's recommendations is central to achieving lasting change and rebuilding public trust in law enforcement agencies.



## FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY – ABUJA

The 11-member panel of the FCT, which was inaugurated by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), was led by Suleiman Galadima, a former justice of the Supreme Court. It has to be pointed out that the lack of funds made the panel postpone sitting for about seven months in 2021. <sup>21</sup>

The panel received 295 petitions from 29 States and the FCT on several issues, including threat to life, abuse of office, non-payment of judgement sums, unlawful arrest and detention, among others. Out of the 295 petitions, there were 64 cases of extra-judicial killings and seven cases of enforced disappearance.

The panel heard and decided on 95 petitions; 54 were struck out for lack of diligent prosecution by the petitioners, and 57 were referred to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) for further investigations. However, 54 petitions were withdrawn by complainants for several reasons, including allegations of intimidation by the Police, while some others resigned to fate. <sup>22</sup>

The panel submitted its final report to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in September 2022. .

### ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The report of the Abuja's panel contained recommendations and penalties - the prosecution of violative police officers, compensation for victims, police force reform through human rights and accountability training, and an independent police oversight mechanism.

72 Police officers were found guilty of the allegations levelled against them. 28 were recommended for prosecution, 25 for dismissal, 15 for disciplinary action and four for demotion.

The panel urged the National Economic Council (NEC) to instruct the NHRC to consolidate reports from all states' #EndSARS panels for the Federal Government to take action. At the time, the NHRC's Executive Secretary Anthony Ojukwu pledged the Commission's commitment to work with stakeholders and implement the panel's recommendations for police reform.

The FCT Judicial Panel issued compensation amounting to N289 million to 74 victims of police misconduct in September 2022. In December 2021, the panel had awarded N146 million to victims. A total of over N435 million has been awarded to at least 94 victims. <sup>23</sup> Tairu Garuba, an amputee who lost his left limb, received N3 million as compensation. <sup>24</sup>

N150 million was earmarked for the payment of victims of police brutality and extrajudicial killings in Abuja which has been fully paid off as confirmed by the NHRC Executive Secretary. CSOs have criticised the government's response, alleging inadequate accountability measures for officers involved in human rights violations and also a lack of the will to act on the recommendations.

<sup>21</sup> <https://humanglemedia.com/endsars-abuja-panel-resumes-sitting-seven-months-after-break/>

<sup>22</sup> <https://placng.org/Legist/abuja-endsars-panel-report-revives-concerns-of-police-brutality/>

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/554006-abuja-endsars-panel-awards-another-n289-million-compensation-to-victims-of-police-brutality.html?tztc=1>

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/554006-abuja-endsars-panel-awards-another-n289-million-compensation-to-victims-of-police-brutality.html?tztc=1>

## FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY – ABUJA Cont'd

There have been reports of police brutality still persisting in Abuja, despite the disbandment of SARS - by personnel of the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) - the unit set up to replace SARS.

Given limited resources and time, this report only covers desk research and some key informant interviews of youth representatives and Yiaga panel observers. It is critical to do a more indepth study on the panels and their outcomes in the evolving narrative of police brutality, accountability and reform in Nigeria. **We provided more information on four of the 30 panels for the following reasons:**

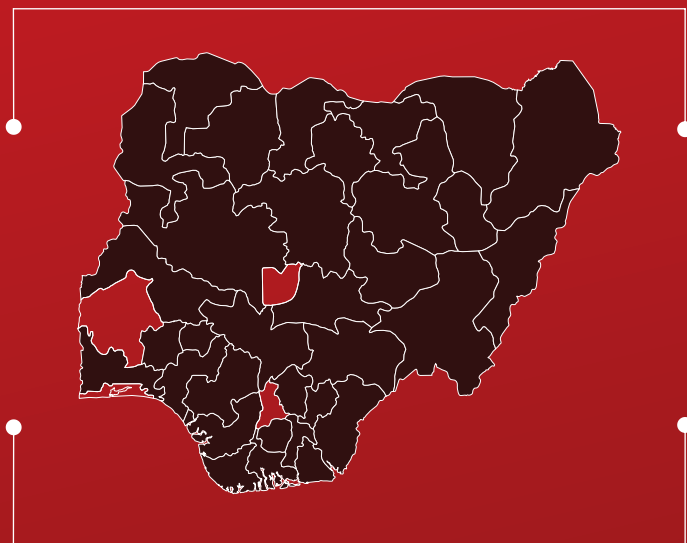
<b>ABUJA</b>	Nigeria's political capital and home of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)
<b>ANAMBRA</b>	Historic cases of abuse by #EndSARS officers, especially the Akwuzu location.
<b>LAGOS</b>	Nigeria's economic capital and location of the #LekkiMassacre, as found by the panel.
<b>OYO</b>	The harrowing experience of the #Oyo11 and the state government's unwillingness to honour its promises viz-a-viz enforcing the recommendations of the panel.

For the other twenty-six panels, a brief synopsis is provided below followed by a table that summarises the highlights of all 30 panels.



# AN OVERVIEW

OF WHAT PLAYED OUT IN OTHER  
PARTS OF THE COUNTRY





## ABIA STATE

The 21-member panel was inaugurated by Governor Okezie Ikpeazu on 23 October 2020 and was headed by retired Chief Judge of the state—Justice Sunday Imo. The panel's terms of reference included investigating all cases of extrajudicial killings, brutality, extortion, and intimidation by officers of the Police force and other security agencies from 2015 until the period the panel was set up. The panel was also to ascertain the immediate and remote causes of the protest and recommend possible compensations to ascertain victims by the government.

The panel commenced sitting on 10 November 2020 and utilised 15 weeks for its hearing. The committee submitted its report in July 2021.<sup>25</sup> 86 petitions were received, 46 went through full hearings, while the remaining 40 cases were dismissed or struck out. The panel recommended N511 million to compensate victims of police brutality and inhuman treatment.

In terms of the recommended compensation, there is no evidence of payment by the state.

There have been calls from CSOs such as the Foundation for Environmental Rights Advocacy and Development (FENRAD), a pro-democracy, human and environmental rights advocacy group, for the state also make its reports public soon to allow public scrutiny and access, since nothing has been heard from the state government.<sup>26</sup> The last known status in 2022 was that the office of the Secretary to the Abia State Government (SSG) said that the government was still studying the report of the Judicial Panel of Inquiry into the protest.<sup>27</sup>

## ADAMAWA STATE

Retired Justice Adamu Hobon served as Chairman of the Judicial Panel, which dealt with 13 petitions sat for only twelve weeks - October 2020 to 30 January 2021. The panel submitted its report in June 2021. Governor Umaru Fintiri received the report of the panel and made a public representation that the recommendations in the report would be fully implemented, ensuring that no portion of the submitted document was amended or tilted.<sup>28</sup> There was no evidence that compensation was part of the recommendations.

Nothing has been heard from the government since then. There has been no evidence of positive actions by the state.

## AKWA-IBOM STATE

The six-member panel was headed by retired Justice Ifioke Ukana. The panel received 143 petitions; 28 were about extrajudicial killings; the complete disappearance of suspects and the

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<sup>25</sup> <https://humanglemedia.com/endsars-abuja-panel-resumes-sitting-seven-months-after-break/>

<sup>26</sup> <https://247ureports.com/2021/11/leaked-endsars-panel-report-justice-should-not-end-on-paper-fenrad-warns-calls-on-abia-state-government-to-also-make-its-report-public-and-ensure-restorative-justice/>

<sup>27</sup> <https://leadership.ng/endsars-2-years-after-states-fail-to-implement-judicial-panels-recommendations/>

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.channelstv.com/2021/11/23/fintiri-receives-adamawa-endsars-panel-report-pledges-full-implementation/>

## AKWA-IBOM STATE **Cont'd**

deaths of persons in custody and 22 showed neglected litigations. 85 cases were on human rights cases, and over 380 people testified at the panel. The panel submitted its report in July 2021, and its report was in four volumes.

The panel's recommendations were shrouded in secrecy, leaving room for suppression. CSOs have been vocal about this.<sup>29</sup> The chairman of the panel made it public that the panel was not mandated to pay compensation and that publishing the panel's recommendations without paying compensation to the affected persons could be "explosive." The government is yet to release its white paper on the report, and CSOs have decried the action of the state government

In an interview with The PUNCH, the Chairman of the Akwa Ibom State Judicial Panel, Justice Ukana, said the #EndSARS liabilities were on the shoulders of the federal government, absolving the state governments of the responsibility to pay compensation for misconduct from a federal police force.<sup>30</sup>

## BAUCHI STATE

On 28 October 2020, the Bauchi State Governor, Bala Mohammed, inaugurated a 17-man panel of inquiry into alleged human rights violations by SARS officers. The panel, which was inaugurated alongside a Trust Fund (amount not publicly disclosed)<sup>31</sup> for victims of police brutality, was headed by Justice Habibu Idris.

The panel heard 26 petitions and struck out six petitions out of 32 petitions it received. The panel submitted its report early in 2022. The state government has been called out for allegedly disregarding the report of the panel.<sup>32</sup> There have been no signs of positive actions by the state to carry out the panel's recommendations.

## BAYELSA STATE

Retired Justice Y.B. Ogola headed the Bayelsa State Panel of Inquiry. The panel received 50 petitions, and it recommended the prosecution of 11 police officers, the demotion of four officers and the dismissal of one police officer. Eight cases were struck out, and two adjourned.

The panel submitted its report in July 2021 - awarding N21 billion as compensation to the victims out of the 40 cases fully determined. The amount included compensation to communities razed down by the Nigerian Army.

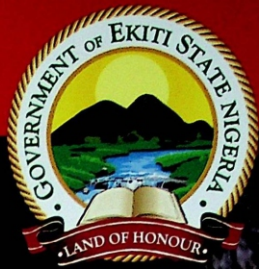
<sup>29</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/south-south-regional/476685-akwa-ibom-endsars-recommendations-shrouded-in-secrecy-leaves-room-for-suppression-group.html?tztc=1>

<sup>30</sup> <https://punchng.com/endsars-panel-compensation-lagos-pays-n420m-nba-faults-akwa-ibom-ogun-oyo-benue-for-shunning-payments/>

<sup>31</sup> [https://www.icirnigeria.org/endsars-bauchi-governor-accused-of-disregarding-panels-report/#google\\_vignette](https://www.icirnigeria.org/endsars-bauchi-governor-accused-of-disregarding-panels-report/#google_vignette)

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.icirnigeria.org/endsars-bauchi-governor-accused-of-disregarding-panels-report/>





# THE VICTIM CHARTER

## A Statement Of Rights For Victims Of Crime In Ekiti State

ISSUED BY THE OFFICE OF THE HONOURABLE ATTORNEY-GENERAL & COMMISSIONER FOR JUSTICE, EKITI STATE

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE







**John Boyega** ✓  
@JohnBoyega

Three years ago Nigeria's police chief re-organised SARS after public condemnation about the violence that came with their operations. That change has done nothing for Nigerians and today many are still in danger. [#EndSarsProtests](#)



**Hillary Clinton** ✓  
@HillaryClinton

I'm calling on [@mbuhari](#) and the [@hqnnigerianarmy](#) to stop killing young [#EndSARS](#) 🇳🇮 protesters. [#StopNigeriaGovernment](#)

4:11 PM · 20 Oct 20 · Twitter Web App

now money transfer operators sabotage naira —**Emefiele** -Pg 11



anniversary chaos: -Pg 14  
Tinubu, Akande meet Aregbesola, Oyetola

NIGERIAN SINCE 1949

**TRIBUNE**

17,685 FRIDAY, 4 DECEMBER, 2020 NIGERIA'S MOST INFORMATIVE NEWSPAPER N200

**EndSARS**

**Police ask court to stop judicial panels of inquiry** -Pg 7

JGP directs investigation into suit. merles Force Legal Officer



## **BAYELSA STATE** Cont'd

The state government promised to set up a government White Paper committee to look into the report to implement its recommendations and promised to look for ways to bring relief to the victims and families within available resources.

There have been no developments on these promises.

## **BENUE STATE**

The panel received 72 petitions, noting that some were dismissed and withdrawn and recommended about N305 million as compensation to the various categories of victims of police brutality in the state. This was contained in the report submitted by the chairman of the panel and a former Chief Judge of the state, Justice Adam Onum, in October 2021.

The panel recommended to the Attorney-General of the state that various police officers should undergo discreet investigations to prosecute them for respective crimes and conduct. <sup>33</sup>

The Benue Government also agrees with the stance that it was not the responsibility of the state governments to pay compensation for misconduct from a federal police force. The Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice in the State, Michael Gusa, had explained that the compensation recommended by the state panel of inquiry would be paid by the federal government, explaining that states only complied with the federal government's directive to set up panels to investigate the report of police brutality.

## **CROSSRIVER STATE**

Governor Ben Ayade inaugurated a seven-member all-male judicial panel on 22 October 2020 with retired Justice Michael Edem as the chairman - which was a gross display of gender insensitivity. The panel received at least 39 petitions.

There are indications that the report had been submitted to the state government, and it has been forwarded to the National Economic Council. However, there have been clamours to make the report publicly available.

The coordinator of Cross River State Civil Society Network, Mr Ben Usang, has lamented about the nature of responsiveness of the government. <sup>34</sup>

The situation has also kept victims in limbo.

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<sup>33</sup> <https://tribuneonline.ng/endsars-panel-submits-report-recommends-payment-of-n304-5m-compensation-to-victims/>

<sup>34</sup> <https://leadership.ng/endsars-2-years-after-states-fail-to-implement-judicial-panels-recommendations/>

## DELTA STATE

It was the killing of a young man by men reported to be SARS officials in Ughelli that sparked off protests in the state.<sup>35</sup> However, the Nigeria Police Force, Delta State Command stated that the policemen involved were not SARS operatives as claimed.<sup>36</sup>

The Delta State Judicial Panel of Inquiry into Police Brutality and Extrajudicial Killings, headed by Justice Celestina Ogisi, engaged with 86 petitions submitted by victims and their families. 49 were heard on merit, while 37 were struck out for various reasons. The Panel also received 10 petitions which sought the enforcement of judgements of various state High Courts against the police for brutality and extra-judicial killings. However, the panel flagged that it was not able to make recommendations on the entire petitions received by it, as some of the petitions were pending in various courts in the state.<sup>37</sup>

The panel submitted its final report to the Delta State Government in October 2021 and approved N102.45 million as compensation for victims of police brutality and human rights violations in the state. However, the Secretary to the State Government, Patrick Ukah, in a statement, said the approval of the compensation was sequel to the consideration of the panel's report by the State Executive Council.

There have been clamours for implementing the report however, the government has been quiet. Reports of extrajudicial killings in the state still persist.<sup>38</sup>

## EBONYI STATE

An eight-member judicial panel of inquiry was set up and headed by Justice Alloy Nwankwo and submitted its report in September 2021. The panel received 71 petitions - of which 51 were determined while 20 were struck out for want of diligent prosecution.

The sum of N189 million was recommended as payment to victims of extrajudicial killings in the state. Security agencies involved in extrajudicial killings in the state were also recommended for sanctions.

Non-governmental organisations, such as Youth Hub Africa, have called on Ebonyi State Government to implement recommendations made by the judicial panel of inquiry.<sup>39</sup> However, there is no evidence of positive actions by the government to fulfil this request.

Samson Abanni, who was an observer, said, *"the whole process was a charade, nothing came out of it in Ebonyi. Absolutely nothing."*

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35 <https://dailypost.ng/2020/10/03/sars-allegedly-kills-man-in-delta-flees-with-victims-car-video/>

36 <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2020/10/delta-police-dismiss-video-alleging-sars-killing/>

37 <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/10/endsars-delta-approves-n102m-to-compensate-victims/amp/>

38 <https://sunnewsonline.com/extra-judicial-killings-resurface-in-delta-2-years-after-endsars/>

39 <https://blaze915fm.com/ngo-calls-on-ebonyi-state-govt-to-implement-judicial-inquiry-recommendations/>

## EDO STATE

Justice Ada Ehigiamusoe headed the 28-member judicial panel of inquiry set up by the state government. The panel submitted its report in July 2021. The panel received 170 petitions and struck out 25 for lack of diligent prosecution.

N288 million was recommended as compensation for victims of police excesses. 98 million was recommended to enforce courts' judgments and N190 million as general compensation for complainants.

According to a non-governmental organisation in the state known as Mentoring Individual's Dream (MIND), the report has not seen the light of the day,<sup>40</sup> with no sign of implementation from the state government.

An observer at the panel, Aguebor Peter, said a town hall meeting was organised to demand the government's immediate implementation of the report. The communique from the town hall was submitted to the Edo State Government through the office of the Chief of Staff to the Governor. Yet, nothing has been done.

## EKITI STATE

Governor Kayode Fayemi inaugurated a 10-member panel headed by Justice Cornelius Akintayo, receiving a total of 85 petitions. Out of these petitions, the panel recommended that 50 of the petitioners who suffered various forms of abuse, from loss of life to physical injury, trauma and loss of property, be compensated. The panel struck out 24 cases that it considered inadmissible for lack of jurisdiction or lack of diligent prosecution.

After receiving the report in May 2021, the Governor constituted a seven-man implementation committee headed by the Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice, Mr Olawale Fapohunda, to oversee the implementation of the report. The government paid a first tranche of compensation to 24 beneficiaries to the tune of over N7 million before the panel concluded its assignment in May 2021. Another N13.8 million was awarded to 28 victims.

The Ekiti state government was reported to have completed all compensation payments of N21.25 million in January 2022.<sup>41</sup> Mr Fapohunda also pointed out that the state government took steps on other aspects of the panel's recommendations, including the development of a Victim's Charter<sup>42</sup> that spells out in simple words the rights, the obligations, and the duties of state institutions to victims of crime. There was also a review of the state's Criminal Law to that effect.

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/03/endsars-group-wants-edo-government-to-implement-panels-recommendations/>

<sup>41</sup> <https://punchng.com/endsars-ekiti-begs-police-brutality-victims-pays-n21-25m-compensation/>

<sup>42</sup> <https://ngfrepository.org.ng:8443/jspui/bitstream/123456789/3328/1/THE%20VICTIM%20CHARTER.pdf>



## ENUGU STATE

On 21 November 2020, Governor Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi inaugurated a nine-man Judicial Panel of Inquiry headed by Justice Kingsley Ude. The panel received 147 petitions.

In the ten months the panel sat, there were allegations that it failed to carry out its responsibilities of administering justice to families of victims of police brutality in the state and that there was a subversion of due process.<sup>43</sup> The panel submitted its report to the state government in November 2021.

Osmond Ugwu, who represented the civil society on the panel wrote a report to the governor in December 2021, recommending that the panel's report be declared invalid and their work probed.<sup>44</sup> According to Mr Osmond, the panel did not follow its terms of reference and as such, compensation was not feasible because there was no investigation.

The civic tech organisation Gavel has campaigned that the state government implement the report and disburse compensation. However, there has been no implementation from the government.

Ifeanyi Onuorah, an observer at the panel proceedings, had this to say, "the Government did not respond effectively as the masses hoped for. The panel ended before the stipulated time frame and its findings were swept under the carpet."

## GOMBE STATE

On 31 October 2020, the Gombe State Governor, Inuwa Yahaya, inaugurated an 11-member commission to investigate cases of police brutality, headed by Justice Sa'ad Mohammed. The panel received 18 petitions.

When presenting the report to the Governor in June 2021, Justice Mohammed disclosed that the panel came up with 13 recommendations regarding ten members of the Nigeria Police, adding that recommendation was made for compensation to be paid to victims, in addition to certain measures to be taken to prevent future violations of human rights by security agents.<sup>45</sup>

There is no evidence of the fact that the state government has paid any compensation. Yusuf Keziah, an observer at the proceedings, confirmed that the government had done nothing regarding the recommendations of the panel.

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<sup>43</sup> <https://www.icirnigeria.org/endsars-families-suffer-as-corruption-injustice-mar-enugu-judicial-panel-part-one/>

<sup>44</sup> <https://www.icirnigeria.org/endsars-families-suffer-as-corruption-injustice-mar-enugu-judicial-panel-part-two/>

<sup>45</sup> <https://forefrontng.com/endsars-members-of-the-public-contributed-to-violations-gombe-panel-of-inquiry/>



## IMO STATE

Governor Hope Uzodinma, set up a 17-member panel headed by Justice Florence Duruoha-Igwe. The panel received a total of 145 petitions and nine memoranda. 45 petitions involved death, 36 of which pertained to death caused by policemen and nine by soldiers. Only 102 petitions were successful, while others were struck out for different reasons, including want of jurisdiction, lack of merit and for being sub-judice.

The panel's report was submitted in June 2021, recommending the sum of N770 million as compensation while N39.1 million was to be refunded by individual policemen.<sup>46</sup>

There has been no evidence of the Imo State Government paying compensation. Those whose petitions were successful are still waiting to receive the compensation.

## KADUNA STATE

The panel in the state was headed by Justice David Wyom. A total of 43 petitions out of the 64 petitions received were addressed, while 13 were struck out due to lack of merit.

The panel submitted its report in December 2021 and recommended paying about N272 million as compensation to 23 petitioners. It also recommended the prosecution of some erring police officers as well as the compliance by the police of rulings/orders of the High Courts.<sup>47</sup>

There is no evidence of the Kaduna State Government honouring the compensation recommendation.

## KATSINA STATE

Justice Abbas Bawal chaired the Katsina State Judicial Panel of Inquiry on police excesses. The panel received 100 petitions, of which 25 were struck out due to the non-appearance of complainants or lack of jurisdiction. Its report was submitted in February 2021.

The panel recommended that appropriate disciplinary action be taken against the erring officers and payment of compensation to victims as the case may be. The amount of dispensation to be paid was not disclosed, and there is no evidence of payment of such by the government.

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<sup>46</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/468449-endsars-panel-awards-n770million-compensation-for-victims-in-imo.html?tztc=1>

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.channelstv.com/2021/12/13/kaduna-govt-receives-endsars-panel-report-to-set-up-white-paper-committee/>

## KOGI STATE

Governor Yahaya Bello inaugurated a 10-member panel of enquiry. Unlike other states, the Kogi state government codenamed its panel - the Human Rights Special Intervention Group (HRSIG) panel. The chairman of the panel was Ibrahim Alhassan, a lawyer. 12 petitions were entertained, and the report was submitted in August 2022.<sup>46</sup> There was no public mention of the payment of compensation as a part of the recommendations given.

## KWARA STATE

Kwara State Governor AbdulRahman AbdulRazaq received the report from the Babatunde Garba-led Panel of Inquiry in February 2021 and promised to set up an implementation committee on its recommendations.

The panel addressed 25 petitions and recommended, among other things, that some erring F-SARS operatives named in unlawful activities be prosecuted and legitimate petitioners be compensated with varying sums. There was no public mention of a specific or total amount to be paid to compensate victims.

However, the government set aside N500 million to compensate business owners affected by the #EndSARS protest. Of this amount, a total of N180.7 million had been disbursed as at 2021.<sup>49</sup>

The report also recommended that officers of the Nigeria Police be made to enjoy adequate training, and their salaries and emoluments reviewed upward to reduce excesses and improve productivity in the system.

## NASARAWA STATE

The government set up a 7-man judicial commission of inquiry led by retired Justice Badamasi Maina. The panel received 16 petitions and, on 29 April 2021, submitted its report, and it recommended 480 million as compensation for victims of police brutality in the state.

In January 2022, the Attorney-General and Commissioner of Justice, Nasarawa State, Abdulkarim Kana, announced that the state implementation of the commission's report had begun with the payment of 10 million compensation to the only victim in the state. Abdulkarim explained that the other victims, as contained in the report, are for the federal government, saying compensation would be made to them as soon as the federal government releases funds to that effect.<sup>50</sup>

48 <https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2022/08/19/yahaya-bello-receives-kogi-endsars-panel-report/>

49 <https://dailytrust.com/endsars-lagos-bayelsa-imo-kwara-award-n1-1bn-as-judicial-panels-settle-police-brutality-victims/>

50 <https://newtelegraphng.com/endsars-nasarawa-begins-implementation-of-panel-report-pays-n10m/>

## NIGER STATE

The panel was chaired by Justice Ishaku Usman, and it addressed 17 petitions. The panel's report was submitted in February 2021. The Governor subsequently inaugurated a White Paper Committee headed by Bello Dan-Yahaya to go through the report and make recommendations for implementation.<sup>51</sup> There was no mention of the payment of compensation as a part of the panel's recommendation.

However, since the report was submitted, the government has not developed a white paper for implementation.

According to Jaafaru Ibrahim, an observer at the panel proceedings, *"the panel ended with a report submitted to the government. Another committee was created to come up with what they called white paper or something of sort. Up to when the last government left, the outcome of that Committee was not made public. Victims were never compensated."*

## OGUN STATE

The panel, headed by Justice Solomon Olugbemi, received a total of 106 petitions, out of which 58 were treated, and the remaining 48 were either withdrawn, rejected or abandoned wholly or halfway by the petitioners.

The panel submitted its report in July 2021 and recommended the payment of N218 million as compensation to 42 victims or families. Meanwhile, victims of police brutality in Ogun State said they had not been paid compensation as ordered by the judicial panel.<sup>52</sup>

Adefemi Adeleke, one of the observers of the Judicial panel in Ogun state, expressed displeasure at the state government for failing to take any step whatsoever to implement the recommendations. He also said no compensation had been paid. However, he was full of praise for the panel, citing that they did a good job.

## ONDO STATE

The Chair of the panel was Justice Salisu Adesola. The panel received 77 petitions, out of which 14 were criminal matters and 63 were civil cases. In its April 2021 report submitted to the government, the panel recommended the payment of N755 million to various petitioners who suffered damages.

A member of the panel, Mr Yemi Fashipe, has expressed worries over the government's delay in responding to the report.<sup>53</sup> There has been no evidence of the payment of any compensation by the Ondo State Government.

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51 <https://swiftreporters.com/endsars-gov-abubakar-bello-of-niger-state-receives-state-judicial-panel-of-inquiry-report/>

52 <https://dailytrust.com/endsars-victims-groan-as-ogun-fails-to-implement-report-one-year-after/>

53 <https://peoplenpolitics.com.ng/govs-split-over-multi-billion-naira-endsars-victims-compensation/>

## OSUN STATE

In August 2021, Governor Gboyega Oyetola, received the report of the Judicial Panel of Inquiry against Police Brutality, Human Rights Violations and Related ExtraJudicial Killings, led by Justice Akinwale Oladimeji.

The panel reviewed the 34 petitions received, out of which 13 were struck out for various reasons, two were dismissed after hearing and recommendation, and 21 were processed and contained in the report.<sup>54</sup> The panel recommended the payment of N53.2 million as compensation.

In May 2022, the Osun State government presented cheques totalling N53.2 million as compensation to 13 victims of police brutality in the state.<sup>55</sup>

## PLATEAU STATE

The Justice Philomena Lot-led judicial panel in Plateau state received 63 petitions, and submitted its report in June 2021. The sum of N152 million was recommended as compensation to victims of police brutality in the state.

The Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) has raised concerns that Plateau State had not implemented a single recommendation of the panel.<sup>56</sup> Meanwhile, the state has insisted it will not pay the compensation, saying that the federal government must pick up the bill since the policemen who committed the crimes were federal employees.<sup>57</sup>

## RIVERS STATE

The Justice Chukwunye Uriri-led panel received 190 petitions, struck out 82 for lack of due diligence or jurisdiction, and eventually considered 108 of them. The panel submitted its report to the state government in February 2021, recommending the payment of N1 billion.

Governor Nyesom Wike clearly stated that the government had done its bit by setting up the panel and would also produce the White Paper at the State Executive Council, showing no posture to pay any compensation.

He made it clear on the day of the inauguration of the panel, that there would be no payment of compensation for victims. The government, however, doled out N20 million each to families of

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<sup>54</sup> <https://dailypost.ng/2021/08/05/end-sars-oyetola-receives-judicial-panel-report/>

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/529412-endsars-osun-govt-presents-n53-2-million-to-victims.html?tztc=1>

<sup>56</sup> <https://leadership.ng/endsars-2-years-after-states-fail-to-implement-judicial-panels-recommendations/>

<sup>57</sup> <https://punchng.com/govs-split-over-multi-billion-naira-endsars-victims-compensation/>

## RIVERS STATE **Cont'd**

police and other law enforcement personnel who lost their lives in the hands of hoodlums.<sup>58</sup>

The state is part of the pack that has insisted that the federal government must pick up the bills since the policemen who committed the crimes were federal employees.<sup>59</sup>

## TARABA STATE

In Taraba State, a total of 34 petitions were received by the investigative Panel, headed by Justice Christopher Awubra out of which 28 were treated successfully. Five petitions were withdrawn by the petitioners and were subsequently struck out. One petition was abandoned by the petitioner and thus, struck out by the Panel.

The Panel recommended that the minimum educational qualification for entry into the Police Force should be Diploma (for recruit) and Degree or HND for officers, with emphasis on disciplines like Law, Sociology, Psychology, Criminology, Strategic Studies and Theology.

11 victims who died were awarded N20 million each, eight victims who were permanently incapacitated were awarded N15 million each, while four victims of torture were awarded N10 million each. A victim of torture was awarded N8 million, while the rest of the victims of torture, detention, arrest and extortion were awarded various sums of money ranging from N3 million to N7 million.<sup>60</sup> A grand total of N576 million was awarded as compensation.

The Panel also recommended that a body to be known as **Victims of Police Brutality Compensation Fund Committee** be established by the State Government, as well as a State-Based Human Rights Committee. However, there is no evidence that the report has been submitted to the state government. Members of the panel in the state have cited poor funding as a major challenge.<sup>61</sup> According to Jibrin Adamu, an observer at the panel, there has been no implementation, no compensation for victims, but the report has been forwarded to the National Economic Council (NEC), in the hope that something would be done.

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58 <https://dailytrust.com/endsars-many-victims-unaccounted-for-unpaid-after-billions-of-naira-compensation-award/>

59 <https://punchng.com/govs-split-over-multi-billion-naira-endsars-victims-compensation/>

60 <https://saharareporters.com/2022/03/22/taraba-state-panel-report-endsars-confirms-11-dead-eight-others-incapacitated-through>

61 <https://sunnewsonline.com/taraba-endsars-victims-in-dilemma-as-poor-funding-stalls-committees-work/>

# TABLES AND MAPS

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## SUMMARY OF STATE JUDICIAL PANEL ON POLICE BRUTALITY

STATES	Duration of Sitting	Number of Petitions Received	Submission of report	Is The Report Available to The Public?	Compensation awarded	Status of Compensation Payment
ABIA	15 Weeks	86 petitions were received, 46 went through full hearings, 40 were dismissed or struck out.	July 2021	NO	The panel awarded <b>N511 million</b> as compensation.	No evidence of any form of payment
ADAMAWA	12 weeks (October 2020 - 30 January 2021)	13 petitions	June 2021	NO	No evidence that compensation was part of the recommendations	No evidence of any form of payment
AKWA-IBOM	3 Months	143 petitions	July 2021	NO	No evidence that compensation was part of the recommendations	No evidence of any form of payment
ANAMBRA	11 Months (October 2020 - 30 January 2021)	310 petitions	March 2022	NO	N699.5 million	No evidence of any form of payment
BAUCHI	6 Months	32 petitions	Early in 2022	NO	No evidence that compensation was part of the recommendations	No evidence of any form of payment
BAYELSA	8 Months	50 petitions	July 2021	NO	N21 billion	No evidence of any form of payment
BENUE	More than 6 Months	72 petitions	October 2022	NO	N305 million	No evidence of any form of payment
BORNO	NO PANEL WAS SET UP					
CROSS-RIVER	The panel was suspended before the given six- month timeline	39 petitions	Undisclosed	NO	No evidence that compensation was part of the recommendations	No evidence of any form of payment
DELTA	3 Months	86 petitions	October 2021	NO	N102.45 million	No evidence of any form of payment
EBONYI	6 Months	71 petitions	September 2021	NO	N189 million	No evidence of any form of payment
EDO	3 Months	170 petitions	July 2021	NO	N288 million	No evidence of any form of payment
EKITI	6 Months (October 2020 - 30 January 2021)	85 petitions	May 2021	NO	N21.25 million	Full Payment



## SUMMARY OF THE STATES JUDICIAL PANEL ON POLICE BRUTALITY

Cont'd

STATES	Duration of Sitting	Number of Petitions Received	Submission of report	Is The Report Available to The Public?	Compensation awarded	Status of Compensation Payment
ENUGU	10 Months	147 petitions	November 2021	NO	Undisclosed	No evidence of any form of payment
FCT - ABUJA	18 Months (As a result of almost 9 month break)	295 petitions	September 2022	NO	N435 million	Full Payment
GOMBE	6 Months	18 petitions	June 2021	NO	Undisclosed	No evidence of any form of payment
IMO	6 Months	145 petitions	June 2021	NO	N770 billion	No evidence of any form of payment
JIGAWA	NO PANEL WAS SET UP					
KADUNA	6 Months	64 petitions	December 2021	NO	N271 million	No evidence of any form of payment
KANO	NO PANEL WAS SET UP					
KATSINA	2 Months	100 petitions	February 2021	NO	Undisclosed	No evidence of any form of payment
KEBBI	NO PANEL WAS SET UP					
KOGI	10 Months	12 petitions	August 2022	NO	No mention of the payment of compensation as a part of the panel recommendation	No evidence of any form of payment
KWARA	2 Months	25 petitions	February 2021	NO	Undisclosed	No evidence of any form of payment
LAGOS	1 Year	186 petitions	November 2021	YES	N410.2 million	Partial Payment
NASARAWA	3 Months	16 petitions	April 2021	NO	N480 million	Partial Payment
NIGER	2 Months	17 petitions	February 2021	NO	No mention of the payment of compensation as a part of the panel recommendation	No evidence of any form of payment



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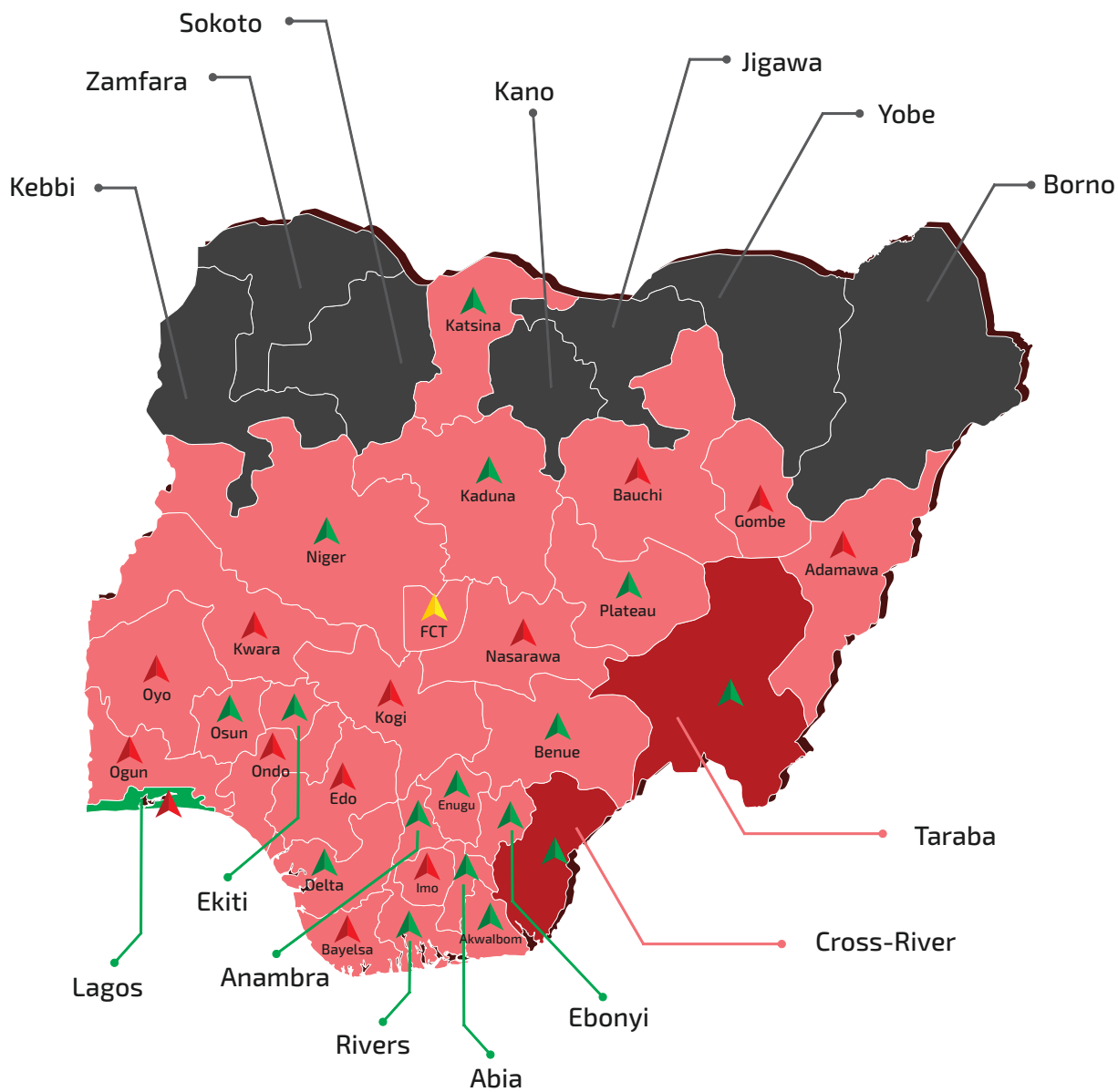
## SUMMARY OF THE STATES JUDICIAL PANEL ON POLICE BRUTALITY





Cont'd




STATES	Duration of Sitting	Number of Petitions Received	Submission of report	Is The Report Available to The Public?	Compensation awarded	Status of Compensation Payment
OGUN	6 Months	106 petitions	July 2021	NO	N218 million	No evidence of any form of payment
ONDO	6 Months	77 petitions	April 2021	NO	N755 million	No evidence of any form of payment
OSUN	6 Months	34 petitions	August 2021	NO	N53.2 million	Full Payment
OYO	6 Months	151 petitions	January 2022	NO	Undisclosed	No evidence of any form of payment
PLATEAU	6 Months	63 petitions	June 2021	NO	N152 million	No evidence of any form of payment
RIVERS	3 Months	190 petitions	February 2021	NO	N1 billion	No evidence of any form of payment
SOKOTO	NO PANEL WAS SET UP					
TARABA	6 Months	34 petitions	NOT YET	NO	N576 million	No evidence of any form of payment
YOBE	NO PANEL WAS SET UP					
ZAMFARA	NO PANEL WAS SET UP					

- ▶ Only four states are publicly known to have paid some form of compensation.
- ▶ Osun and Ekiti are the only states to pay compensation in full.
- ▶ Lagos is the only state to have made its panel's report available to the public.

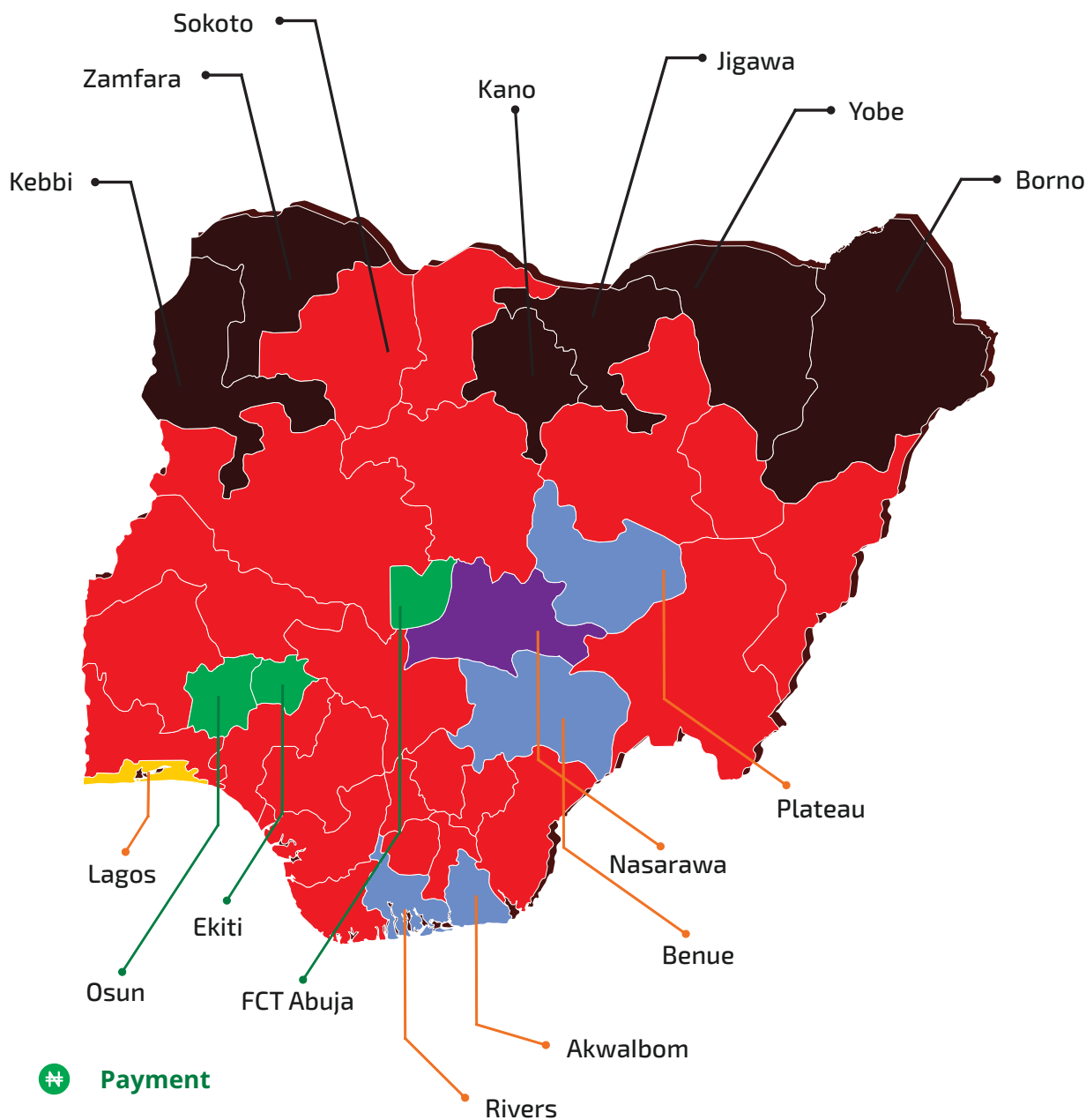
# Petition Reports



-  Submitted & Made Public
-  Submitted & Not Made Public
-  Not Submitted
-  No Panel created

-  New Government
-  Same Government
-  Same Executive Secretary, but New president, so considered New

# Payment/Non-payment



- Payment**
- Partial Payment**
- Non-Payment**
- Transferred Liability to Federal Government**
- Nasarawa made partial payment and transferred liability to the government**
- No Panel created**



# #EndSARS

A TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS (OCTOBER 2020 - OCTOBER 2023)

## Saturday, October 3<sup>rd</sup>

- An online video allegedly showing an officer of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) shooting a young man in front of Westland Hotel, Ughelli, Delta State went viral.
- Rinu called for a three-day protest at the Nigerian Police headquarters scheduled for the following week.

## Saturday, October 4<sup>th</sup>

- Omoyele Sowore announced a massive nationwide action for #EndSARS.
- Douglas Agu (Runtown) and Falz announced they will be leading an #EndSARS protest on Thursday, October 8.
- The Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Mohammed Adamu banned SARS and other tactical squads from carrying out routine patrols and other conventional low-risk duties (stop and search duties, checkpoints, mounting of roadblocks, traffic checks, etc).

## Wednesday, October 7<sup>th</sup>

- Youths in Lagos State (Rinu and others) began a protest to call for the disbandment of SARS.

## Thursday, October 8<sup>th</sup>

- Debo Adedayo (Mr Macaroni), Rinu Oduala and other Nigerian youths protesting the disbandment of SARS spent the night in front of the Lagos State House of Assembly, Alausa, Ikeja.

## Thursday, October 9<sup>th</sup>

- The #EndSARS protest began to spread across the nation and globally.

## Saturday, October 10<sup>th</sup>

- Jimoh Isiaq was killed when police opened fire to disperse protesters in Ogbomosho, Oyo State.
- Police shot at #EndSARS protesters in Abuja.

## Sunday, October 11<sup>th</sup>

- IGP announced the dissolution of SARS across all 36 states and the FCT.

## Monday, October 12<sup>th</sup>

- President Buhari addressed the #EndSARS protelevised speech.
- Youths began a sit-in protest at Lekki Toll Gate, Lagos.
- Police attacked the #EndSARS protesters in Surulere, Lagos; killed Mr Iloamauzor and arrested some protesters.

## Tuesday, October 13<sup>th</sup>

- IGP announced the set-up of the Special Weapons and Tactics Team (SWAT).
- Lagos State Governor, Babajide Sanwo-Olu received protesters' demands (#5for5) at the protest grounds in Alausa and presents them to President Buhari in Abuja.
- Youths in Enugu, Oyo, Plateau and Rivers joined the #EndSARS protests.

## Friday, October 16<sup>th</sup>

- Vice President, Yemi Osinbajo (SAN) announced that the 36 state governors and the FCT Minister will set up Judicial Panels of Inquiry that will adopt a public hearing model.

## Tuesday, October 20<sup>th</sup>

- Femi Gbajabiamila (Speaker, House of Representatives) vowed not to sign off on the 2021 Budget without provision for victims of police brutality.
- #EndSARS protesters were attacked by pro-SARS protesters in Abuja.
- **Peaceful protesters were shot by Nigerian Army officers at Lekki Toll Gate. There were casualties in other parts of Lagos and in other states.**

## Thursday, October 22<sup>nd</sup>

- President Buhari addressed the country in a broadcast on the #EndSARS protests in which he was silent on the shooting of protesters at the Lekki Toll Gate in Lagos State.

● 2020 ● 2021 ● 2022 ● 2023





# #EndSARS

A TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS (OCTOBER 2020 - OCTOBER 2023)



## Friday, November 6<sup>th</sup>

- Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) got a court order to freeze 20 #EndSARS promoters bank accounts. However, these accounts and more had been frozen by October 15, 2020, without a court order.

## Monday, November 23<sup>rd</sup>

- The UK parliament debated a petition seeking sanctions against the federal government and Nigeria Police over human rights violations during the #EndSARS protests.

## Saturday, February 13<sup>th</sup>

- Youths protesting the Lagos Judicial Panel of Inquiry's approval to reopen the Lekki Toll Gate were met with a show of force by the Nigerian Police.
- Over 39 youths (Mr Macaroni and others) were arrested for protesting and later released after public outcry.

## Wednesday, June 16<sup>th</sup>

- 18-year-old girl arrested during #EndSARS protest in Ondo gave birth in prison.

## Friday, October 15<sup>th</sup>

- A statement released by NEC, stated that the FG should pay compensation to victims of #EndSARS protests and prosecute those indicted.

## Wednesday, October 20<sup>th</sup>

- Protests and vigils happened in Abuja, Delta, Edo, Enugu, Kwara, Lagos, Osun, Oyo and Rivers States for the one year commemoration of the #LekkiMassacre. The protest was met with brutality, arrest, and teargas.

## Thursday, October 20<sup>th</sup>

- The 2022 anniversary protest was met with brutality, arrest, and teargas.
- Amnesty International released a report that more than 40 #EndSARS protesters were still in jail.

## Tuesday, January 10<sup>th</sup>

- 9 Protesters were released from Agodi Correctional Centre, Ibadan, after 2 years.

## Thursday, May 24<sup>th</sup>

- A Bill seeking compensation for the victims (protesters and police officers killed, business entities that suffered loss and destruction of properties) of the 2020 #EndSARS protest passed the second reading by the Nigerian Senate.

## Wednesday, July 19<sup>th</sup>

- A letter dated this day went viral indicating 'No objection' of the Lagos State Public Procurement Agency to the award of contract to Messrs TOS Funerals Limited at N61,285,000.

## Sunday, July 23<sup>rd</sup>

- The Lagos State Government responded to the leaked memo and said the bodies were the aftermath of #EndSARS violence and community clashes at Fagba, Ketu, Ikorodu, Orile, Ajegunle, Abule-Egba, Ikeja, Ojota, Ekoru, Ogba, Isolo and Ajah areas of Lagos State. Claiming none of them was from Lekki Toll Gate.

## Thursday, July 27<sup>th</sup>

- EiE Nigeria wrote Freedom of Information requests to TOS Funerals and the Lagos State Ministry of Health on the status of the bodies they allegedly got a contract from Lagos State to bury en masse.

## Thursday, October 19<sup>th</sup>

- EiE resent the Freedom of Information requests to TOS Funerals and the Lagos State Ministry of Health.

## Friday, October 20<sup>th</sup>

- #LekkiMassacre 3<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary

2020 2021 2022 2023



#ENDSARS  
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# CONCLUSION

Despite their commendable efforts, these judicial panels encountered several challenges in the execution of their duties, such as resistance from the police force and security officials, resource constraints, and political interference: there were allegations of political interference from government officials, especially in Enugu State.

The majority of the states have accepted the reports from their respective state judicial panels of inquiry. Still, there has been minimal progress made on the implementation of the panel recommendations, which flows from the fact that state governors who set up the panels do not have actual authority over the federal Police Force and have been reluctant to assume financial responsibility for the misconduct of police officers over whom they do not have legal authority. Furthermore, 16 of the 29 current governors were not in office during the investigations. As such, they have inherited the reports and now carry the responsibility of ensuring its implementation. The federal government that demanded that these panels be set up must follow through with the objective of administering justice and ensure that the recommendations of the judicial panels are implemented.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the dedication and progress of the judicial panels' in carrying out their duties are undeniable. They successfully received numerous petitions, conducted public hearings, carried out investigations, and made recommendations, thereby contributing significantly to the pursuit of necessary reforms within the police force and justice for victims of police brutality.

The collective efforts of these judicial panels have played a pivotal role in shedding light on the pervasive issue of police brutality and extrajudicial killings within the country. Their meticulous work serves as the cornerstone for essential reforms within the police force, ultimately ensuring that justice is served for the victims of police brutality.

Finally, attention must be paid to the bill sponsored by Gershom Bassey (Peoples Democratic Party, Cross-River State) of the Ninth Assembly, "A Bill for an Act to Amend the National Emergency Management Agency Act." The bill seeks to provide relief to all levels of victims, of police brutality, natural disasters, arson etc. Particularly, Mr Bassey in his lead debate said the bill sought to compensate victims of the #EndSARS protests, by the establishment of a Victims Compensation Fund, to compensate both individuals and businesses that were affected. The bill passed for second reading in the House of Senate.<sup>62</sup> The then Senate President, Ahmed Lawan, referred the bill to the Committee on Special Duties for further legislative input and to report back to plenary.

The bill has the potential to positively change the fate of victims of police brutality in Nigeria. However, there is a challenge. The sponsor - Gershom Bassey, is not a member of the 10th National Assembly. It will be interesting to see if another member of the National Assembly picks up the bill and restarts the process and how CSOs will choose to engage.

## CONCLUSION **Cont'd**

Being the main security force that citizens interface with, the notion of 'police being your friend' has not been experienced by most Nigerians. Ultimately, the police is a creation of the Constitution managed by the federal government and citizens must continue to demand for a police force that is designed to serve citizens and not protect the establishment - regime security.





[www.eienigeria.org](http://www.eienigeria.org)

[info@eienigeria.org](mailto:info@eienigeria.org)

07087784788



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