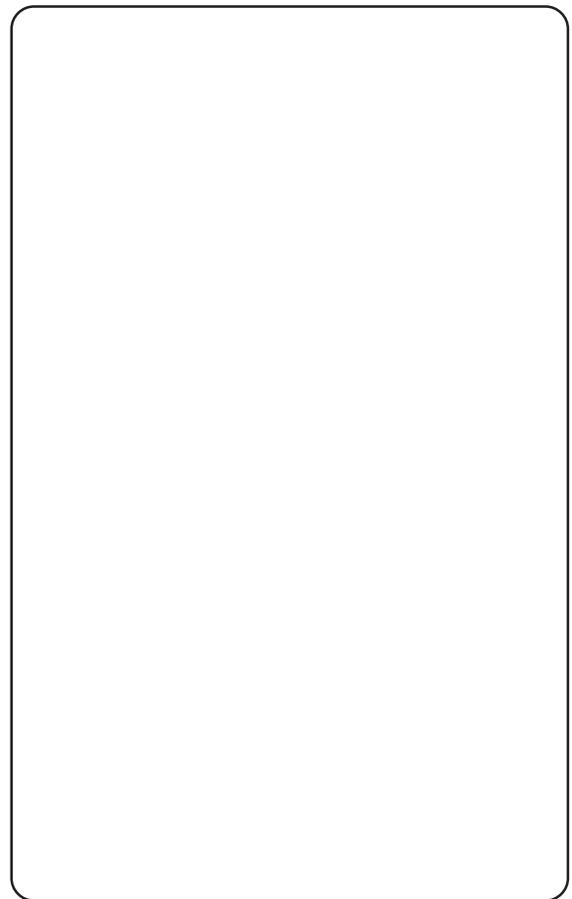


EXECUTIVE WATCH

A Public Assessment Of President Olusegun Obasanjo's
Government Policy Statements And Actions

**Nigreians
Score
Obasanjo
Low On
Security**



January 2002

...promoting and protecting press freedom and freedom of expression

Executive Watch

**A Public Assessment Of President Olusegun Obasanjo's
Government Policy Statements And Actions**

January 2002



**(c) Media Rights Agenda
ISSN 1595-6857**

Other Publications by Media Rights Agenda (MRA)

- * *Media Rights Monitor* (Monthly Journal) published since 1995
- * Annual Reports on the state of the Nigerian Media
 - + *Sentenced to Silence* 1998
 - + *Back from the Brink* 1999
 - + *A Harvest of Blooms* 2000
 - + *At A Crossroads* 2001
- * Other reports and publications
 - + *Unshackling the Nigerian Media: An Agenda For Reform*, July 1997 (In collaboration with ARTICLE 19)
- * *Media Scorecard* (Report on the Print Media Coverage of the Political Transition Programme - six issues, from January - June 1999)
- * *Airwaves Scorecard* (Report on the Broadcast Media Coverage of the Political Transition Programme - six issues, from January - June 1999)
- * *Unlocking Nigeria's Closet of Secrecy*, August 2000 (A Report on the Campaign for a Freedom of Information Act in Nigeria)
- * *Broadcasting In Nigeria: Unlocking The Airwaves*, February 2001 (A Report on the Framework for Broadcasting and Telecommunications in Nigeria - In collaboration with ARTICLE 19)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was written by **Osaro Odemwingie**, Publications Officer for Media Rights Agenda, while **Ademoyewa Johnson**, Campaign Officer at MRA, coordinated the research exercise for the report.

Mercy Epete Jones, Secretary/Receptionist at MRA, provided the secretarial support for the report.

The report was edited by **Tive Denedo**, MRA's Acting Executive Director, who supervised the project.

Media Rights Agenda gratefully acknowledges the kind assistance of The Ford Foundation in providing the funds for this survey and for the publication of this report.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Other publications by Media Rights Agenda-----	i
Aknowledgements-----	ii
Table of Contents-----	iii
Introduction / Objectives-----	1
Justification for the Topic-----	2
Summary of Findings-----	3
Outline of Findings-----	4
Research Methodology-----	6
Questionnaire Rate of Return / Mortality-----	7
Question One-----	8
Aggregate Response-----	8
City-by-City Responses-----	8
Question Two-----	9
Aggregate Response-----	9
City-by-City Response-----	9
Question Three-----	10
Aggregate Response-----	10
Question Four-----	11
Aggrregate Response-----	11
City-by-city Response-----	11

INTRODUCTION / OBJECTIVES

The return of civil rule in Nigeria after more than 15 years of military rule came with promises of civil liberties, freedom, respect for rule of law as well as constitutional and participatory democracy. By its nature, democracy as a system of governance requires active participation and regular intervention through commentaries, questions, suggestions and debates by every section of the society.

But the constant interruption of the democratic process in Nigeria by successive military regimes eroded the culture of effective participation in governance in the country. Elected officers at the Federal, States and Local Government levels show, by their utterances, attitudes, and actions, the tendencies of military officers holding public office. With government's seeming disregard for interaction, there are fears of alienation by government, which portend grave danger for the new experiment at democratization.

Majority of the civil populace who are not consulted and are barely included in the scheme of governance are those mainly affected by the discrepancy between government policy plans and implementation. A common reaction is a feeling by the governed that there is no difference between military dictatorship and democracy as practised in Nigeria. Experiments on democracy have seen three unsuccessful models, all of which failed largely due to the lack of communication between the leaders and the governed.

However, for the current experiment to yield dividend, there has to be a way of measuring reactions from civil society. There need to be an established forum through which the people can effectively participate in the daily events that shape the present and define the future or, at the very least, be given an opportunity to have a say on such matters. The culture has to be developed as a way of giving assurance to civil society that democracy is indeed, a government of the people by the people and for the people, not merely by proclamation.

The Executive Watch is designed to open a communication line for civil society to effectively participate in the growth and sustenance of democracy. Through the Executive Watch project, Media Rights Agenda monitors the activities and policies of the Executive arm of Government, particularly the Presidency, to ascertain the popularity such activities and policies enjoy among a wide spectrum of Nigerians, the overall objectives being to ensure greater public participation in governance and create a feedback mechanism for the government to enable it gauge its popularity and the acceptance of its policies.

The specific objectives of the Executive Watch project are:

- * To regularly monitor and document the discrepancies in government's policies and actions and thereby provide a primary source of information on these for the local and international communities on public reactions and responses to them.
- * To provide a framework for the Nigerian government, its departments and agencies to assess their performance in relation to their policies and their implementation, and understand the public attitude to such policies and governmental action.
- * To provide the citizens a forum to respond to and highlight areas of distortions in government policies and their implementation and contribute to the effective management of these distortions and thereby participate in the governance process.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE TOPIC

Nigeria's return to democratic rule on May 29, 1999, which is generally considered a mile stone achievement, is being threatened because of insecurity to lives and properties arising from a spate of politically motivated killings, ethno-religious crises and other forms of unrest and violence.

Almost every part of the country is affected: from the political violence in Osun, Ebonyi, and Bayelsa states; the bloody ethnic clashes in Nasarawa, Plateau, Benue and Taraba states; and religious riots in Kaduna and Kano states. Till date, it is estimated that about 2,000 people have been killed and properties worth billions of Naira destroyed.

In a recent meeting with the Federal Executives, comprising the heads of the nation's security outfits, President Obasanjo ordered the overhaul of the security system of the nation as a first step in restoring peace and order in the nation.

This study had four main questions:

To ask respondents to rate President Olusegun Obasanjo administration's performance in terms of its constitutional responsibility to secure the lives and properties of Nigerians.

To inquire further from respondents, whose rating is negative, what factors in their views contributed to the said poor performance of the government in this area?

To seek the views of respondents on what impact the state of insecurity currently in the country, could have on the year 2003 elections.

Finally, to inquire from respondents their prescriptions on how to curb the wanton destruction of lives and properties that have characterised President Obasanjo's administration.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Pointing to the spate of politically motivated killings, ethno-religious crises, and other forms of unrest and violence that have characterized President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, since inception, Nigerians have rated the administration's performance in securing lives and properties as a failure, and blamed it on the bad economic situation in the country.

Nigerians who described the present security situation in the country as a "time bomb", said it portends danger for the year 2003 elections, while noting that there are indications that political maturity and tolerance are yet to be firmly rooted. This, they said, could truncate the democratic experiment.

However, they suggested that the government should address the issue of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, as these would ensure the depletion of the army of restive citizens and hired assassins, and improve the security situation in the country.

Out of the 8,000 copies of questionnaire administered, 7,261 were filled and returned. This shows a return rate of 90.8 per cent and a mortality rate of 9.2 per cent.

Regarding the question that asked respondents to rate President Obasanjo's administration performance in terms of its constitutional responsibility to secure the lives and properties of Nigerians, the response pattern shows that 4,739 (65.3%) respondents out of the total of 7,261, rated it 'Bad', 2,662 (56.2%) said it is 'Fair', while 1,129 (15.5%) others said it is 'Good'.

Probing further, a question asked respondents who rated the performance of President Obasanjo's administration on security as 'Bad', to state the factors that contributed most to it. One thousand four hundred and three respondents (29.6%) blamed it on political immaturity and intolerance, 2,662 (56.2%) said unemployment, poverty and ignorance, while 514 (10.8%) others said neglect of national security by successive governments.

Asked what respondents think the current state of insecurity would impact on the year 2003 elections, the general view was that it is a "time bomb" that portends danger in form of political upheaval and violence to the nascent democracy, and it could provide the military an excuse to seize power.

On measures to curb the wanton destruction of lives and properties, 4,170 (57.4%) respondents suggested that government should address the issue of unemployment, poverty and ignorance; 2,237 (30.8%) suggested that adequate punishment should be meted to identified culprits; while 730 (10.1%) others suggested that the society should be restructured to guarantee equal opportunity for all. One hundred and twenty four others were undecided.

OUTLINE OF FINDINGS

Out of a total sample of 7,261 respondents, 4,739 (65.3%) constituting an overwhelming majority said President Obasanjo's administration has fared badly in the discharged of its constitutional responsibility to ensure the security of lives and properties, 1,393, (19.2%) said its performance is 'Fair', while 1,129 (15.5%) said it is 'good'

On a city-by-city basis, the response pattern showed that except in Abuja where majority of respondents rated President Obasanjo administration's performance in terms of national security as 'Good', majority of respondents in other cities have a contrary view and said it is 'bad'

For instance, in Abuja, 448 (46%) rated the performance of the administration "Good", while 335 said it is "Bad". One hundred and ninety two others said it is 'fair'.

In Benin, 630 (76.2%) said it is "Bad", 108 (13.0%) said it is "Fair", while 89 others said it is "Good". Enugu; 578 (64.2%) said it is "Bad", 284 (31.5%) said it is "Fair", while 39 (4.3%) said it is "Good". Ibadan; 686 (76.8%) said it is "Bad", 107 (12%) said it is "Fair", while 100 (11.2%) said it is "Good". Kaduna; 702 (75.2%) said it is "Bad", 117 (12.6%) said it is "Fair", while 114 (12.2%) said it is "Good". Kano; 656 (72.5%) said it is 'bad' 147 (16.3%) said it is 'fair' while 101 (11.2%) said it is "Good". Lagos; 542 (64.4%) said it is "Bad", 162 (19.3%) said it is "Fair", while 137 (16.3%) said it is "Good". Port Harcourt; 610 (61.8%) said it is "Bad", 276 (28%) said it is "Fair", while 101 (10.2%) said it is "Good".

On the question that asked respondents who rated President Obasanjo's administration performance "Bad" in terms of securing lives and properties, to state the most contributory factor, 2,662 (56.2%) said it is as a result of unemployment, poverty and ignorance. One thousand four hundred and three (29.6%) put the blame on political immaturity and intolerance on the part of Nigerians, while 514 (10.8%) others said it is as a result of neglect of national security by successive governments. One hundred and sixty (3,4%) others were undecided.

On a city-by-city basis, the survey showed that beside Ibadan where majority of respondents agreed that the most contributory factor that led to the state of insecurity in Nigeria is political immaturity and intolerance, majority of respondents in other cities covered by the survey, said it is unemployment, poverty and ignorance.

For instance, in Abuja, 126 (37.6%) respondents said unemployment, poverty and ignorance, while 105 (31.3%) said it is political immaturity and intolerance. Thirty-two others fingered neglect of national security by successive governments. Seventy two (21.5%) others were, however, undecided.

In Benin, 199 (31.6%) blamed it on political immaturity and intolerance, 384 (60.9%) said unemployment, poverty and ignorance, while 45 (7.5%) said neglect of national security by successive governments. Enugu; 121 (20.9%) said political immaturity and intolerance, 410 (70.9%) said unemployment, poverty and ignorance, while 47 (8.2%) said neglect of national security by successive governments. Kaduna; 100 (14.2%) said political immaturity and intolerance, 435 (62%) said unemployment, poverty and ignorance, while 79 (11.3%) said neglect of national security by successive governments. Eighty-eight (12.5%) others were undecided. Kano; 149 (22.7%) said political immaturity and intolerance, 415 (63.3%) said unemployment, poverty and ignorance, while 92 (14%) said neglect of national security by successive governments. Lagos; 129 (23.8) said political immaturity and intolerance, 328 (60.5%) said unemployment, poverty and ignorance, while 85 (15.7%) said neglect of national security by successive governments. Port Harcourt; 199 (32.6%) said political immaturity and intolerance, 367 (60.2%) said unemployment, poverty and ignorance, while 44 (7.2%) said neglect of

national security by successive governments.

On what impact respondents think the current state of insecurity would have on the year 2003 elections, majority of them said it a time bomb and portends grave danger in form of political upheavals and violence.

On measures to curb the wanton destruction of lives and properties that have characterized President Obasanjo's administration, 4,170 (57.4%) respondents suggested that the government should address the issue of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, 2,237 (30.8%) suggested that adequate punishment should be meted out to identified culprits of violent acts, while 730 others (10.1%) suggested that the society should be restructured to guarantee equal opportunities for all Nigerians. One hundred and twenty four others (1.7%) were undecided.

On a city-by-city basis, the response pattern showed that except in Ibadan, where majority of respondents expressed the view that where adequate punishments are meted out to identified perpetrators of violent acts, majority of respondents in all other cities polled in the survey are of the view that tackling the problem of unemployment, poverty and ignorance would precipitate the most positive effect in reducing insecurity.

Specifically, 285 (31.9%) respondents in Ibadan suggested that government should address the problems of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, 168 others (18.6%) suggested that the society should be restructured to guarantee equal opportunities for all Nigerians, and 492 (55.1%) said attention should be focused on meting out appropriate punishments on identified culprits to serve as deterrent.

In Abuja, 535 (54.9%) of the respondents suggested that government should address the problems of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, 354 (36.3%) suggested that adequate punishment should be meted out on identified culprits, while 76 (7.8%) suggested restructuring the society to guarantee equal opportunities for all. Ten (1.0%) others were undecided.

In Benin, 426 (51.5%) suggested that government should address the problems of unemployment, poverty and ignorance 201, (24.3%) suggested that adequate punishments should be meted out to identified culprits while 200 (24.2%) suggested restructuring of the society to guarantee equal opportunities for all. Enugu; 410 (45.5%) suggested that government should address the problems of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, 236 (26.2%) suggested that adequate punishment should be meted out on identified culprits, while 168 (18.6%) suggested restructuring the society to guarantee equal opportunities for all. Eighty-seven (9.7%) others were undecided.

Kaduna 684 (73.3%) suggested that government should address the problems of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, 210 (22.5%) suggested that adequate punishments should be meted out on identified culprits while 39 (4.2%) suggested restructuring the society to guarantee equal opportunities for all. Kano; 521 (57.6%) suggested that government should address the problems of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, 281 (31.3) suggested that adequate punishments should be meted out on identified culprits, while 75 (8.3%) suggested restructuring the society to guarantee equal opportunities for all. Twenty-seven (3%) others were undecided. Lagos: 578 (68.7%) suggested that government should address the problems of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, 232 (27.6) suggested that adequate punishments should be meted out on identified culprits, while 31 (3.7%) suggested restructuring the society to guarantee equal opportunities for all. Port Harcourt; 731 (74.1%) suggested that government should address the problems of unemployment, poverty and ignorance, 231 (23.4%) suggested that adequate punishments should be meted out on identified culprits, while 25 (2.5) suggested restructuring the society to guarantee equal opportunities for all Nigerians.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Eight thousand copies of the questionnaire were produced and administered for the survey. Out of these, 7,261 were returned. This number represents 90.8 per cent. Seven hundred and thirty nine were, however, not returned. This represents 9.2 per cent.

One thousand copies of the questionnaire were administered in each of the eight cities covered in the survey. These include Ibadan, Kano, Kaduna, Lagos, and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Others cities are Benin, Enugu and Port Harcourt.

The survey was conducted between January 7 and 18, 2002. The questionnaire for the survey contained four structured questions, three of which were close-ended. This required respondents to indicate their choices among the response-options provided. The open-ended question, however, required respondents to state their responses in their own words.

The questionnaire was distributed among Nigerians of 18 years and above, both male and female. It also deliberately attempted to capture, in significant ratio, people of three broad educational backgrounds, i.e. No formal education to primary school education; post primary education and post secondary education.

Respondents who do not possess sufficient literacy ability were assisted by MRA's researchers to read and interpret the questions and elect appropriate options according to the preferences of the respondents concerned.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Out of the total respondents numbering 7,261, 3,846, representing 53 per cent, are male, while the remaining 3,415 respondents, representing 47 per cent, are female. It also shows that 2,486 of the respondents are single, 3,332 are married, 914 are widowed, 529 are separated.

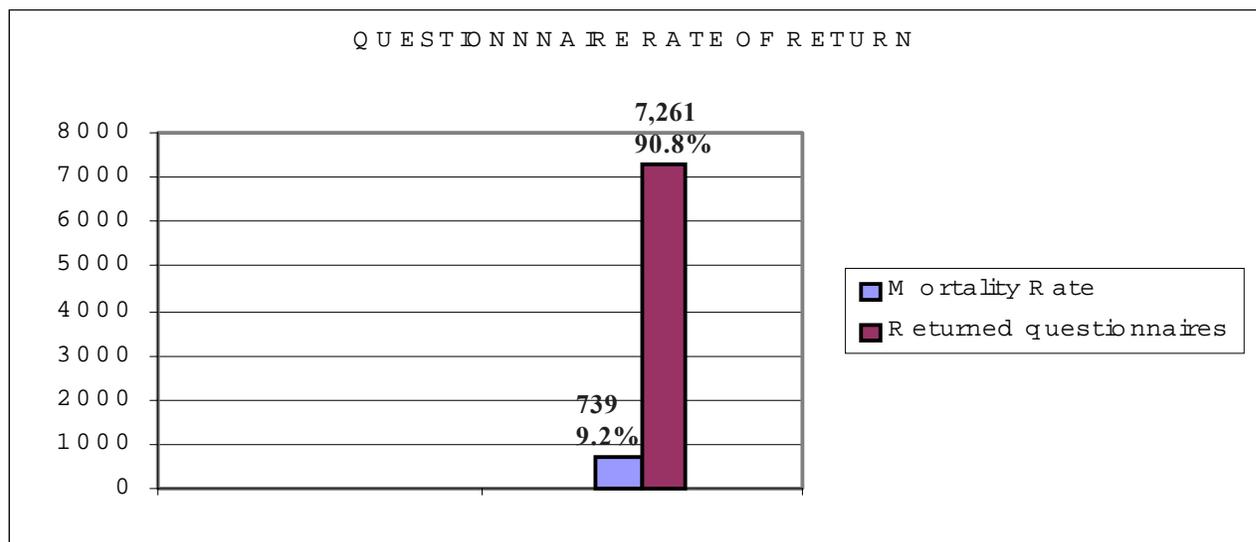
The survey also showed that 2,158 of the respondents are between the ages of 18 and 30 years, 4,012 are in the range of 31 to 50 years old and 745 are between the bracket of 51 to 60 years old. Three hundred and forty-six respondents are over 60 years old.

The occupation of the respondents ranges from civil servants, professionals, artisans, traders, housewives, unemployed persons and faith ministers.

QUESTIONNAIRE RATE OF RETURN / MORTALITY

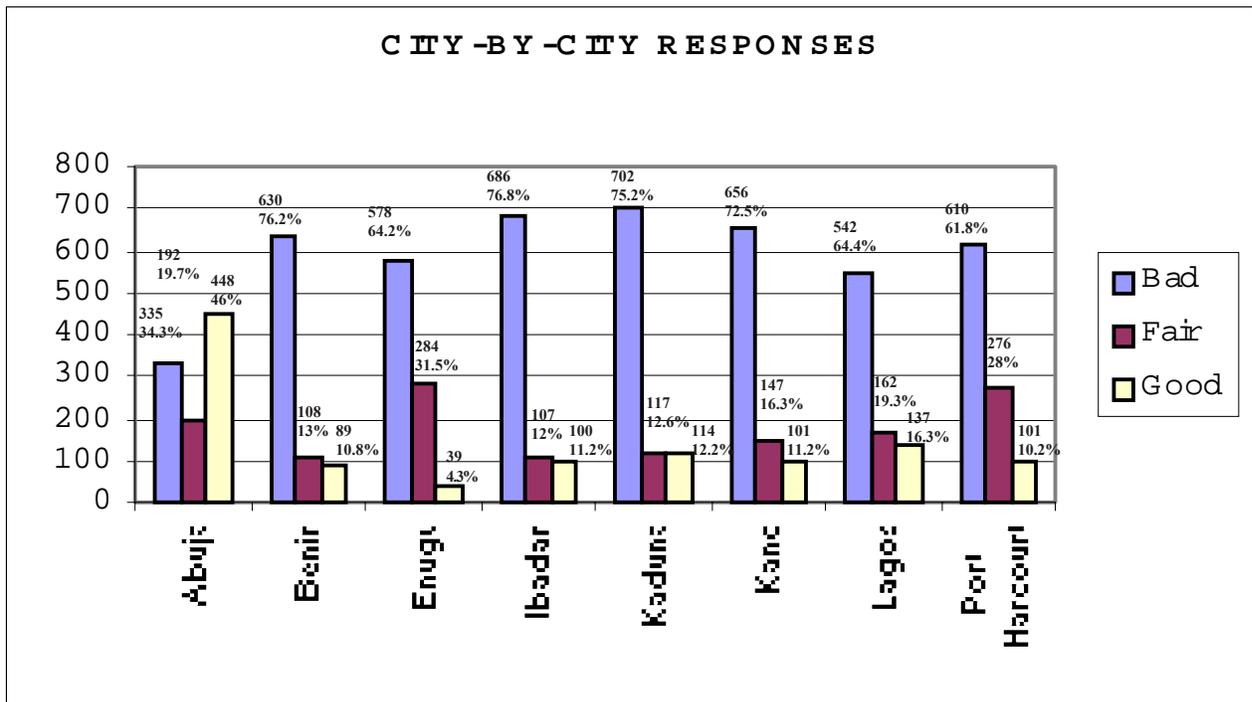
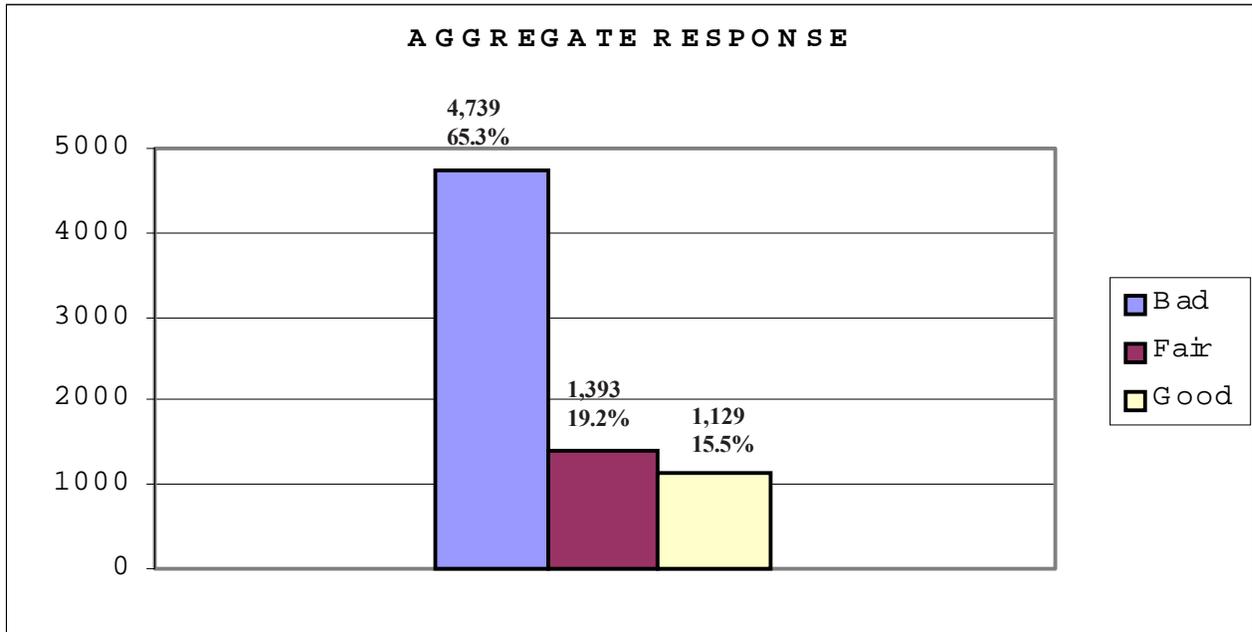
ACHIEVED SAMPLE

Sample sizes Sample groups	Nos of questionnaires administered	Nos of questionnaires received and %	Nos of questionnaires not received and %
Abuja	1,000	975 97.5%	25 2.5%
Benin	1,000	827 82.7%	273 27.3%
Enugu	1,000	901 90.1%	99 9.9%
Ibadan	1,000	893 89.3%	207 20.7%
Kaduna	1,000	933 93.3%	67 6.7%
Kano	1,000	904 90.4%	96 9.6%
Lagos	1,000	841 84.1%	159 15.9%
Port Harcourt,	1,000	987 98.7%	13 1.3%
Grand Total	Cumulative 8,000	Cumulative % 7,261 90.8%	Cumulative % 739 9.2%



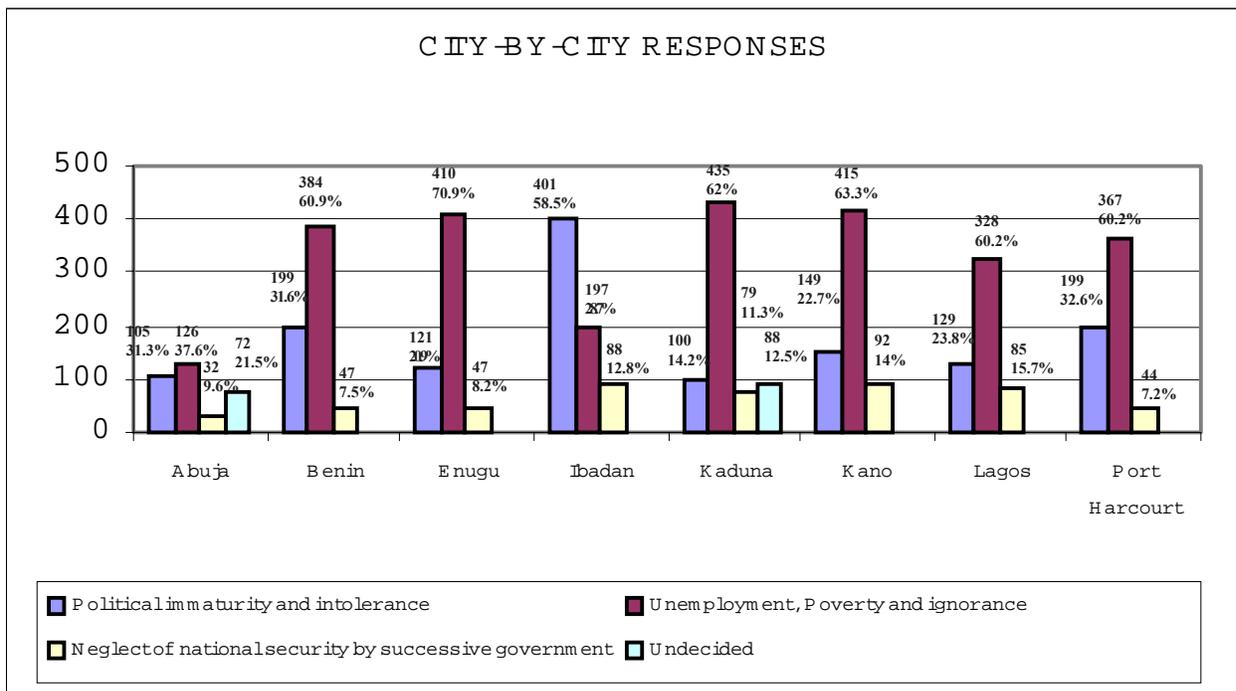
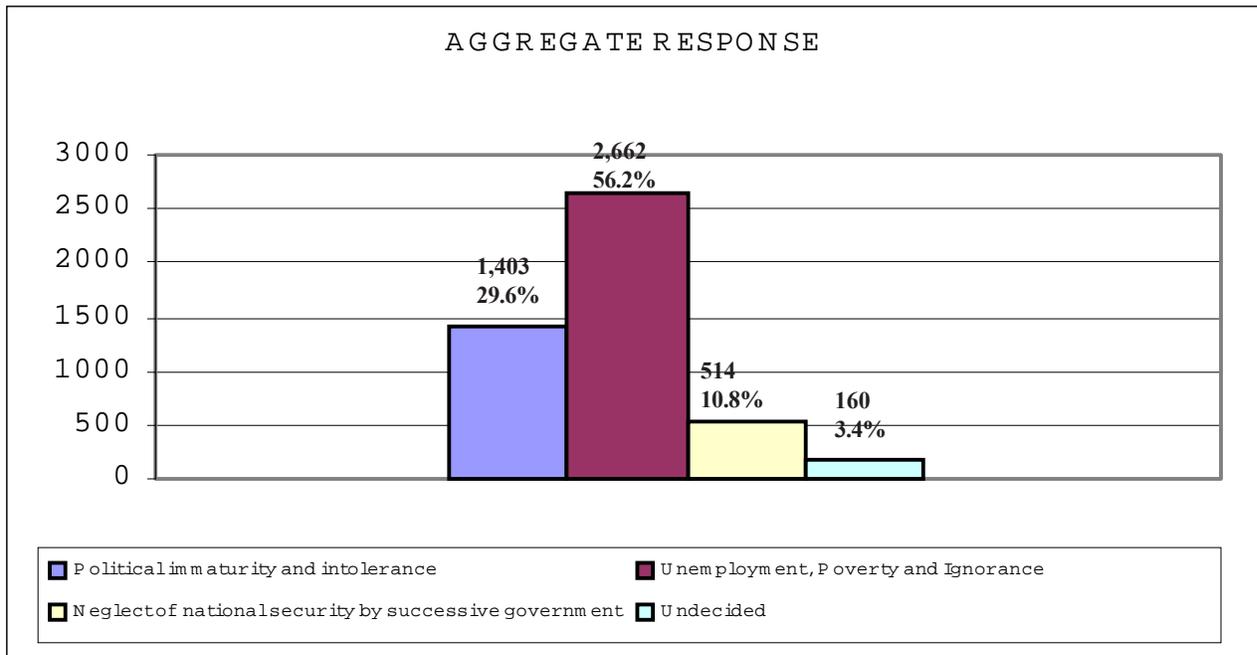
Q1. How would you rate President Obasanjo administration’s performance in terms of its constitutional responsibility to secure the lives and properties of Nigerians?

- A Bad
- B Fair
- C Good



Q2. If your answer to the above question is ‘Bad’, which of the following factors contributed most to it?

- A Political immaturity and intolerance
- B Unemployment, poverty and ignorance
- C The neglect of national security by successive governments



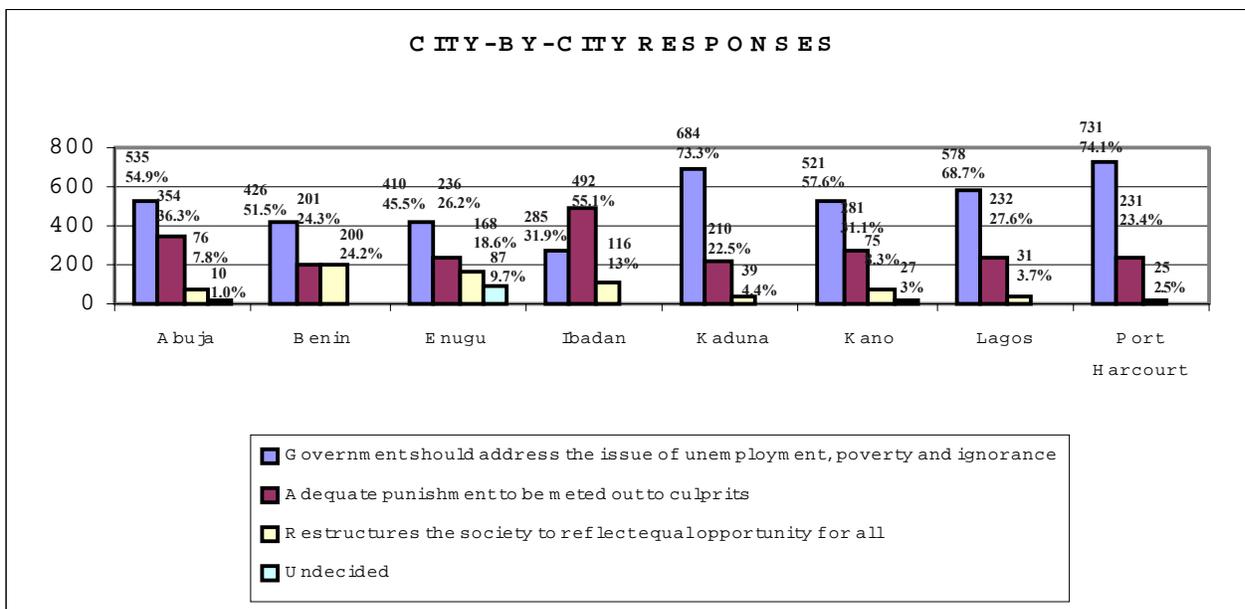
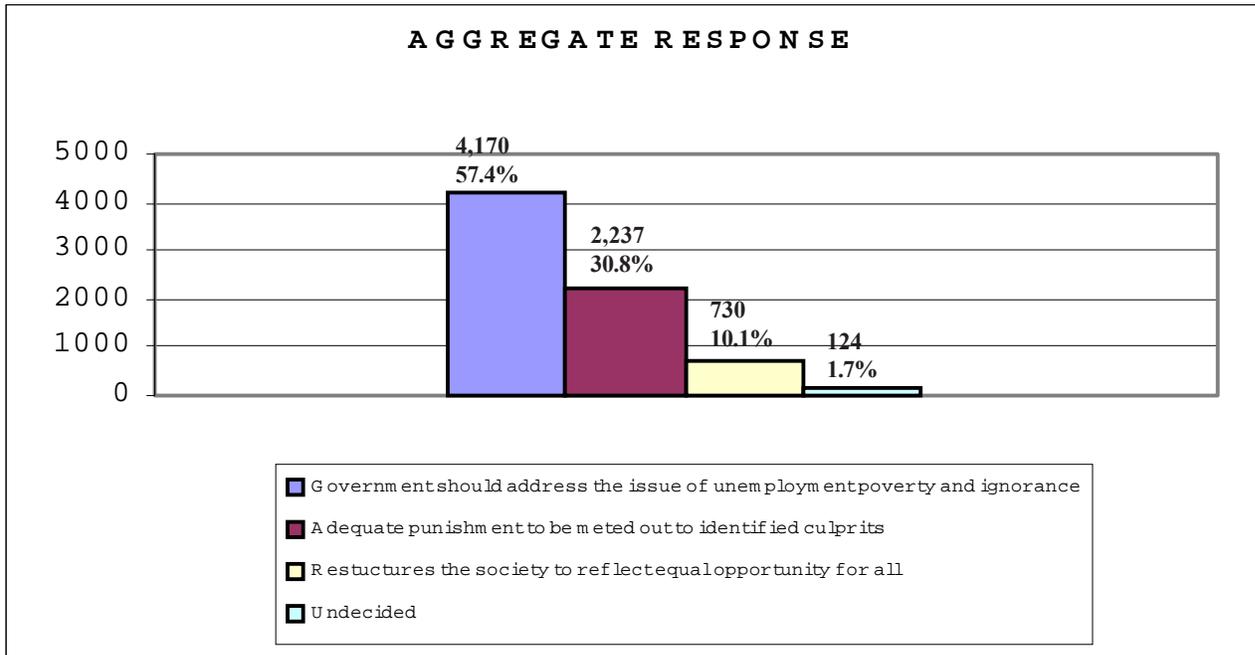
Q3. How do you see the current insecurity in relations to the year 2003 elections?

AGGREGATE RESPONSE

COMMENTS	FREQUENCY
1. It portends danger in form of political violence and mass rigging of the up-coming election	2,573
2. The military could use it as an excuse to take over the government	1,846
3. It is a clear indication that Nigerians have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing about past political experiences	1,376
4. It shows that Nigeria is a 'timebomb' which might soon explode	521
5. Undecided respondents and unusable responses	945
Total	7,261

Q4. Which of the following measures would you suggest to President Obasanjo as a way of curbing the wanton destruction of lives and properties that have characterised his administration?

- A Government should address the issue of unemployment, poverty and ignorance
- B Adequate punishment to be meted out to identified culprits
- C Restructure the society to guarantee equal opportunities for all Nigerians





Media Rights Agenda (MRA) is an independent, non-governmental organisation established in August 1993 for the purpose of promoting and protecting press freedom and freedom of expression in Nigeria. MRA is registered in Nigeria, and has Observer Status with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in Banjul, The Gambia.

The Aims and Objectives of Media Rights Agenda are:

- to promote respect and recognition for press freedom and freedom of expression in Nigeria;
- to provide protection and support for journalists and writers engaged in the lawful pursuit of their professional duties;
- to promote the highest standards of professional ethics, integrity, training and conduct in the journalism profession; and
- to bring about a conducive social and legal atmosphere for the practice of journalism, and ensure the protection of the journalist's right not to be compelled to work against his or her conviction or disclose confidential sources of information.

Executive Board

Morenike Ransome-Kuti, Chair
Josephine Bamidele, Vice Chair
Edetaen Ojo, Executive Director
Tive Denedo, Acting Executive Director
Tunde Fagbohunlu, Legal Director
Austin Agbonsuremi, Publications Director
Eze Anaba, Director of Projects
Anselm Chidi Odinkalu, Member

Secretariat

Tive Denedo, Acting Executive Director
Osaro Odemwingie, Publications Officer
Maxwell Kadiri, Country Advocate for Nigeria, Global Internet Policy Initiative (GIPI)
Ayode Longe, Programme Officer
Joyce Enaboifo, Legal Officer
Ferdinand Chucks Egede, Legal Officer
Edith Ebuehi, Accountant
Ademoyewa Johnson, Campaigns Officer
Oluwabunmi Oke, Administrative Secretary
Mercy Jones Epete, Secretary
John Gbadamosi, Administrative Assistant
Rose Aikhuele, Office Assistant

<p>Editorial Board Tive Denedo (Chairman) Eze Anaba Josephine Bamidele Edetaen Ojo Austin Agbonsuremi</p>	<p>MEDIA MONITORING Banji Adeyanju, Project Manager Coordinators Ayo-Lawal Gbenoba (Lagos), Sam Otitolaiye (Kaduna) Josephine Bamidele (Abuja) Monitors Lagos Centre Olajiga Feyi Oluwatosin, Adeola Akinremi, Seun Akioye Joan Iyore Odiase, Kayode Adebuseyi, Gbade Ademola, Gboyega Adeoye, Bukola Ogunlade, Uche Nnadozie, Angela Okoyomon Abuja Centre Esther Iyogun, Josiah Oluwole Kaduna Centre Olufemi Oloruntoba, Ibrahim Lapinni, Ibrahim Almasih Data Officers Ayode Longe, Oluwabunmi Oke</p>	<p>EXECUTIVE WATCH Tive Denedo Supervisor Osaro Odemwingie Publications Officer Ademoyewa Johnson Co-ordinator Mercy Jones Epete Secretary Researchers Charles Elamah (Lagos) Bola Sadiat Yekini (Ibadan) Clement Mordi (Benin) Segun Apologun (Abuja) Ench Ifeoma (Enugu) Macleans Briggs (P. Harcourt) Ngukwase Surma (Kaduna) Tajudeen Sulaiman (Kano)</p>
<p>Journal Eze Anaba Editor Osaro Odemwingie Publications Officer Ayode Longe Research Officer John Gbadamosi Circulation Officer</p>		

Head Offices

Media Rights Agenda, 44, Alhaja Kofoworola Crescent, Off Obafemi Awolowo Way, Ikeja,
P. O. Box 52113, Ikoyi, Lagos, Nigeria
Tel: 234-1-4936033-4, Fax: 234-1-4930831.; E-mail: pubs@mediarightsagenda.org; Web site: www.internews.org/mra

Regional Office

<p>Abuja Suite 52, Corner Shop Zone 2, Wuse, Abuja</p>	<p>Kaduna AK. 7, Yoruba Road Kaduna Tel. & Fax: 062-240083</p>
--	--

Executive Watch

Media Rights Agenda