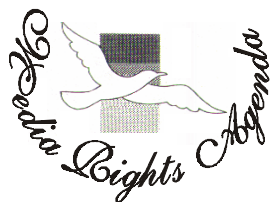


# EXECUTIVE

# WATCH

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



OCTOBER 2000

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**...promoting and protecting press freedom and freedom of  
expression in Nigeria.**

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This is the second report under the Executive Watch Project of Media Rights Agenda, a non governmental organisation established for the purpose of promoting and protecting press freedom and freedom of expression.

Media Rights Agenda is a member of Transition Monitoring Group (T.M.G) a coalition of human rights, non-governmental and civil society organisations formed in August 1998 for the purpose of developing integrity in the electoral process by monitoring on the prosecution of the political programme.

Under 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.

This report was written by **Osaro Odemwingie**, Publication Officer for M.R.A, while **Ademoyewa Johnson**, Campaign Officer at M.R.A, conducted the research exercise for the report with the assistance of **Mercy Jones Epete**, Litigation Officer at M.R.A.

The project is supervised by **Edetaen Ojo**, M.R.A.'s Executive Director.

## **EXECUTIVE WATCH**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Executive Watch is a project of Media Rights Agenda through which it 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 objective of the project is to monitor our nascent democracy by keeping track of the Executive's performance and popularity and serve as a feedback to the government to enable it serve Nigerians better.

The monitoring exercise is being carried out on a monthly basis and it involves identification of some major policy decisions, comments and actions of the Executive, particularly President Olusegun Obasanjo, during the preceding months.

This is the second report under this project. There are two issues addressed in this report. One relates to public perception of President Obasanjo's performance during his first 100 days in office. The second issue covered in the report is the National Re-birth, a moral and an ethical re-orientation programme. The respondents in this report is limited to the Lagos area. It is, however, hoped that this shall be broadened in future to include respondents from other states all the federation including the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

### **SUMMARY OF RESULT**

#### **100 DAYS IN OFFICE: LAGOSIANS RATE PRESIDENT OBASANJO FAIR.**

A great many Lagosians have rated President Olusegun Obasanjo "fairly good" in his performance in office during the first 100 days. By their rating, Lagosians are saying that President Obasanjo did not perform beyond the half way point of 50 percent of their expectations while he was being sworn into office on May 29, 1999.

But among the various issues they say the President has directly or indirectly touched since his assumption office a little over a hundred days ago, Lagosians particularly singled out the restoration of constant fuel supply and improvement in power supply, the enthusiastic campaign against corruption and the purge of military officers who have held political offices as the most profound achievements of the administration.

These views of Lagosians is the out-come of a survey carried out by Media Rights Agenda, a press freedom and freedom of expression group.

It would be recalled that when President Obasanjo recently clocked 100 days in Office there was much public and media inquisition into and assessment of his performance during the period. While some commentators were of the view that 100 days in office was too short a period to truly assess the performance of any government and so considered any such attempt as an exercise in sterile academism, especially given the fact that the rot in Nigeria has assumed a monstrous dimension, others were, however, of the opinion that the period is sufficient to have achieved measurable dividends.

The survey conducted between September 16 and 22, involved the administration of 550 questionnaires

comprising six questions, four of which were open ended requiring respondents to state in their own words their responses, and two close-ended questions.

The first question sought to know at most four expectations of respondents from the Obasanjo's government at the end of 100 days in office during the swearing-in of the government on May 29. The second question asked respondents to score, between the options of Poor (0-30 percent); Fair (31-50 per-cent); Good (51-70 per-cent); and Very Good (71-100 per-cent), how far these expectations identified in question number one were met.

Question three however, sought to know, in-spite of respondents' rating of how far the Obasanjo's government has met their expectations, how well they considered that he has performed generally. They were given options ranging from Very Bad, Bad, Fairly Good, Good and Very Good, to choose from.

Other questions sought to establish from respondents specifically four things the government has done well and as well four areas deserving, in the opinion of respondents, urgent attention from the government. Lastly, respondents were asked their expectations from the government by the time it would be celebrating its first anniversary in office.

The questionnaires were distributed to include people of broad educational background. These include people with no formal education up to primary education level, post primary education level and post-secondary education level, in the ratio of 70, 150 and 330 respectively.

Out of the 550 questionnaires distributed, 420 were returned and 130 were not returned. This shows a return rate of 76.4 per cent and thus a mortality rate of 23.6 per cent.

From the total of 420 respondents, 50 of them are in the sub-group of respondents with at most primary education background. One hundred and four belong to the group of respondents with post-primary education background and the other 266 belong to the group of respondents with post-secondary education background.

Between the 420 respondents there were no less than 19 expectations from the government to effect within its first 100 days in office. as at May 29 when President Obasanjo was sworn-in during the swearing-in ceremony of President Obasanjo chief of these are improvement in fuel and power supply, improvement in standard of living, improvement in the economy including stabilisation of the value of the naira creation of a conducive investment climate and enactment of a poverty alleviation policy.

Others were improvement in respect for human rights, attention to the educational sector, resolution of the Niger-Delta and other inter communal crises and creation of employment opportunities.

Further, expectations include improvement in security including improved police efficiency, taming of corruption and indiscipline probe of past office holders, improvement in the health sector, sound agricultural policy, resolution of the minimum wage issue and payment of outstanding salary arrears, and a united Nigeria devoid of marginalisation.

So also were some respondents expecting a review of the Constitution, action on Nigeria Airways, a pragmatic foreign policy and an efficient communication system.

Although some of these expectations are definitely not achievable within a short period of 100 days into the civilian democratic governance, 306 respondents out of the total of 420 respondents say President Obasanjo

has performed “fairly”. That translates to a score of between 31 to 50 per cent and represents a percentage total of 73 of the 420 respondents.

Also, 70 respondents rate President Obasanjo’s performance as “good”, indicating a score of between 51 and 70 per cent. This in percentage term translates to 21.4 per cent of the respondents. Twenty and four respondents respectively, rated the President “poor” and “very good” representing 4.5 and 0.4 per cent.

Broken into the three sub-groups the rating all correlated almost perfectly with the aggregated responses save for minor differences. For example, all 50 respondents in the group having at most a primary school education all back-ground scored the president “fair” in performance. The President also got a fair performance rating from the 70 respondents in the group of respondents who have a post-primary school education back ground representing 67.3 per cent. 22 respondents from the same sub-group scored him “good” representing 21.2 per cent, and four respondents each scoring “bad” and “very good” representing 5.8 each.

Among the sub-group of respondents having a post-secondary educational background, 192 representing 72.2 per cent also scored the President “fair” in performance while 33 representing 12.4 per cent scored him “good”. Five respondents scored “poor” while none scored him “very good”.

Responses to the question asking respondents to generally ascertain the performance of the President in terms of how far their expectations have been met followed the same pattern of responses to meeting expectations. The only slight differences were in the sub-group of respondents with -post secondary school education background where the number of respondents who scored the president’s performance “fair”, increased with converts from respondents who had scored the president “good” and “poor” in the area of meeting expectations. One hundred and thirteen respondents rated the President “fair” over all, 170 respondents representing 81 per-cent scored the president fair in performance while 30 respondents representing 14.3 per-cent scored him “Good”. Five of the remaining seven respondents scored “bad” and while two scored very good.

Asked to specifically list four things respondents think the government has done well within the 100 days, no less than 19 things were listed. But coming top among these were the respite in fuel shortage and improvement in power supply, improvement in human rights, purging of the military, revoking of dubiously allocated oil licenses, the Obasanjo government determined fight against corruption, the institution of probe panels into the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) and other parastatals, initiation of respectful foreign policy and palpable good governance committed to addressing problems of the educational sector, Commitment to paying minimum wage and launching of National Rebirth.

But in the interim, respondents say that they would like the Obasanjo government to tackle the problem of inefficient police force vis a vis the security issue, address the educational problem, create job opportunities for the mass of teeming unemployed Nigerians, address the Niger-Delta problem and issues of marginalisation, ethnic crises and provide basic amenities.

They would also want this government to have adequately attended to the problem of employment, security, full energy supply, recovery of monies looted by past corrupt office holders, increased minimum wage, increased agricultural production, improved educational sector and generally improved standard of living by the time it would be celebrating its first anniversary.

**ONLY LEADERSHIP BY EXAMPLE CAN ENSURE OBJECTIVES OF NATIONAL RE-BIRTH.**

To achieve the objectives of the recently launched National Re-birth and avoid the pitfalls that killed the previous ethical re-orientation programmes of past governments, the President must give Nigerians a transparent leadership by example, address the welfare needs of the common man and provide employment opportunities for the teeming mass of unemployed Nigerians.

In addition, the President Obasanjo government must institute a reward system to serve as an incentive to Nigerians to embrace the new ethical re-orientation campaign as well as embrace the virtues of listening to public opinion.

These were the views of cross sections of Nigerians who responded to a survey carried out by Media Rights Agenda, a press freedom and freedom of expression group.

Curiously, about half of the 420 respondents in the survey which saw 550 questionnaires being administered, precisely 208, said they were reading about and knowing of the President Obasanjo's National Re-birth campaign for the first time through the questionnaire. This figure stands at 50.5 per cent against 49.5 per cent that had been unaware of the campaign.

For the 212 respondents who say that they had heard and known about the President Obasanjo's campaign aimed at a moral re-awakening of Nigerians, their chief source of information has been the print media made up of the newspapers and magazines. This is followed closely by the broadcast media made up of the radio and television, with one-on-one discussion with friends coming at a distant rare. However, 115 of the respondents say they have had the benefit of all the above media combined.

It would be recalled that to fight the various social ills government that have rendered the Nigerian prostrate, various governments have at various times promoted one form of programme or the other. The Shehu Shagari administration pursued a programme called Nigeria Ethical Revolution and the General Ibrahim Babangida regime pursued a mass mobilization agenda in the name of mass Mobilisation for Social and Economic Recovery (MAMSER). Perhaps the most profound was the General Muhammadu Buhari regime's War Against Indiscipline (WAI) which employed a measure of force for its enforcement in spite of these, the nation sank deeper in corruption and indiscipline.

It is against this background that President Obasanjo on September 10, 1999 launched the campaign for National Re-birth. The programme aims at educating both the public and the ordinary citizens about the limits of power and to enlighten Nigerians on their duties and responsibilities to the state, communities and the families.

But bearing in mind the fact that similar programmes and projects have been embarked upon by previous governments and they all failed to achieve the objectives for which they were set up, Media Rights Agenda sought to establish in this survey, three basic issues. These are: The reasons for the failures of previous attempts at seeking an ethical re-orientation of Nigerians; what the Obasanjo's government must do to ensure that it has a positive attunement of the citizens and that they pay heed to the tenets of this new crusade at ensuring a new and positive attitude from Nigerians towards building a harmonious and united country; and what is expected of Nigerians as a people and as individuals in achieving the objectives of this crusade.

The survey conducted between September 16 and 22, 1999, involved the administration of 550 questionnaires comprising five questions. Three of the questions were open ended requiring respondents to state their opinions in their own words, and the remaining two were close-ended questions.

The questionnaires were distributed to include people of three broad educational back-ground. These include people with no formal education up to primary education level; post primary education level; and post-secondary education level, in the ratio of 70, 150 and 330 respectively.

Out of the 550 questionnaires distributed, 420 were returned and 130 were not returned. This shows a return rate of 76.4 per cent and thus a mortality rate of 23.6 per cent.

From the total of 420 respondents, 50 of them are in the sub-group of respondents with at most primary education background. One hundred and four belong to the group of respondents with post-primary education background and the other 266 belong to the group of respondents with post-secondary education background.

The first of the five questions sought to know from respondents by a simple “Yes and “No response, whether they had been aware of President Obasanjo’s National Re-birth project apart from reading about it on the questionnaires. The second question was directed at respondents who answered “Yes” in question number one. It sought to know respondents’ chief source of information on the National Re-birth. The question provided respondents three options to choose from in addition to indicating whether they have had the benefit of more than one source of information.

Question number three sought to know from all the respondents why in their opinion previous attempts at ethical re-orientation of Nigerians have not met with the desired objectives. Respondents were equally given four options to choose from.

Questions number four and five, which were both open ended, asked respondents to state two provisions in each, what encouragement they would need from the government to be willing to imbibe the new attitude expected of Nigerians and the medium they consider best for government to propagate the message.

Respondents were unanimous in their opinion that the chief reason for the failure of previous attempts at ethical re-orientation of Nigerians such as the Alhaji Shehu Shagari administration’s Nigeria Ethical Revolution; General Babangida’s MAMSER and General Buhari’s WAL to make their desired impact on the society was as a result of the failure of leaders and officials of government to lead by example. This position was shared by 298 out of the 420 respondents to the question making a total percentage of 71. The problem of lack of proper enlightenment campaign came second with 116 of the total respondents representing 28 per cent. The remaining six respondents said lack of clear-cut objectives could be blamed for the pitfall of previous attempts at ethical re-orientation. This represents 1.4 per cent.

Curiously, the use of force to enforce adherence to ethical code which was the hallmark of the General Buhari’s WAI, was tacitly given the thumbs-up as none of the respondents elected it as having been responsible for the failure of past ethical re-orientation programmes.

But for the current efforts of President Obasanjo to achieve its desired objectives of re-orientating the mass of Nigerians, all the respondents between them identified nine dos. Foremost amongst these is the contention that the government must ensure a transparent leadership by example. The 384 respondents share this position. This requirement is followed closely by the caveats that the government must address the welfare needs of the people and provide job opportunities for the teeming mass of the peoples. These got mentions of 104 and 90 respectively. Respondents also want the President Obasanjo’s government to institute a reward system for Nigerians who display exemplary conduct in the promotion of the ideals of good citizenship, which is the whole gamut of the National re-birth campaign.

As a vehicle for the propagation and prosecution of the current efforts to steer Nigerians from negative moral standards to positive values, the inevitable role of the mass media was made manifest. Respondents favour the use of the mass media comprising radio, television and newspapers above all else. This is followed by public enlightenment campaign through the use of outdoor broadcasting tools and the use of posters and handbills.

## **BACKGROUND**

Alexandra Pope once posited that: “For forms of government, let’s fools debate, what is best, is best administered”. What the learned gentleman was trying to convey is that there is inherently no form of government that guarantees fulfillment of the people’s aspiration, be it an authoritarian or feudal government, communism or democracy. To him the temperament and vision of the leaders determine the success or otherwise of the government.

But some people would consider Alexandra Pope’s position to be an exercise in sterile academism. To them, democracy is the beacon of good governance. This is essentially so for two basic reasons. The first is because of the elaborate provisions it makes for the psychological appeasement of the people by way of giving them the dignity of having been given a say in deciding who does, or who does not, govern them. It is obviously with this at the back of his mind that former American President Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as a “government of the people by the people for the people.” The other reason is the checks and balances provided for leaders in a democratic setting. These make democracy the chief appeal as a form of government to many people all over the world. Hence several countries of the world are fast embracing democratic rule. It is believed that autocratic rule is archaic, barbaric and old fashioned. This was one of the basis for the Africa leaders at the 35<sup>th</sup> O.A.U Summit in the Algerian Capital of Algiers to pass an anti-coup resolution which says any government that comes to power in any African country through a coup d-etat, would be diplomatically isolated. In effect such a leader, would not be admitted as a member of O.A.U.

It is also worthy of note that with three decades of military rule (1966 – 1979) and (1983 – 1999), Nigeria has been brutalized and bastardized in the face of the outside world. In this age of democracy sweeping through the entire world, no one is left in the doubt that military rule is an aberation and a phenomenon with more vices than virtues, if any.

There had been occasions when Nigeria’s military rulers have aborted series of moves to restore Nigeria to a civilized system of governance, democracy. For example, General Yakubu Gowon refused to hand-over to civilians in 1976 as promised. On three occasions, General Ibrahim Babangida postponed handing-over to an elected government. When he finally ‘stepped aside’, he left the country in a mess never witnessed before in the country’s history and handed the government over to an unelected interim government. Like a pack of cards, the Interim National Government collapsed to the whims of General Abacha, who until his death was planning to succeed himself and thereby perpetuate his regime. In this circumstance, it comes as no surprise that development has been a victim of authoritarianism in Nigeria. A country whose founding fathers had work relentlessly for a Federal system of government with decentralized powers, but which the military turned into a Unitary State.

That Nigeria is long overdue for a democratic governance is not in dispute. Everyone, both old and young,



civilians and military populations, except for small cabal, have since agreed on the need to restore democracy in Nigeria with utmost urgency and have fought tooth and nail in its quest.

For the new democracy to be sustainable, we must draw some lessons from the past mistakes and be able to guide against the future of the new democracy. It is with this as a motivation that Media Rights Agenda has undertaken this project: “Executive Watch”. The project seeks to monitor the new government of President Obasanjo to guard against possible derailment. It is to act as a feed back to President Obasanjo on what the populace, cutting across all sections of the society, feel about his policies and decisions, and also their reaction to his statements on crucial state matters.

Media Rights Agenda was involved in activities aimed at developing integrity in the electoral process during the transition by monitoring and reporting on the prosecution of the political transition programme and as well monitoring and reporting on the media coverage of the process to determine the extent of fairness exhibited by them in giving each political party equal access to air its views. (see *Media Scorecard* and *Airwaves Scorecard*, Media Rights Agenda, (January, February, March, April, May and June, 1999)).

## **OBJECTIVES**

That Nigerian recently passed through one its most trying periods in her political history is not debatable. With that experience in mind, and a desire to ensure the success of the present civilian democratic government, Media Rights Agenda (MRA) is undertaking to monitor some major activities and policies of President Olusegun Obasanjo the aims of which are:

- to ascertain the popularity such activities and policies enjoy among a wide spectrum of Nigerians
- to ascertain how well the government is carrying along the Nigerian people who had given all to ensure the enthronement of a civilian democratic government.

The overall objective being, not only to keep track of the President’s performance and popularity, but also serve as a feed back to the government to enable it, accordingly, serve Nigerians better.

## **JUSTIFICATION FOR THE TOPICS**

### **a)**

On September 4, 1999, Nigeria as a nation paused to reflect on the first 100 days of our nascent democracy. So far, how well? There emerged divergent views in the assessment of the civilian administration in terms of performance profile.

When viewed against the background that the nation had had to go through most of its difficult periods in the hands of the military, the expectations from some segments of people from the civilian administration became very high. They wanted fast and drastic change, thus so far have scored the civilian administration low, describing it as being dull and a drab.

Another cross section of people are of the opinion that a hundred days into the nascent democracy is too short a period within which to judge it in terms of performance, given the enormous task and the challenges ahead. This group concludes that there however, have been exciting moments.

these, only a tiny segment of the society which has access to the mass media have its views reflected. Again, these views did not necessarily pass through a scientific methodical process of aggregation. These reason in addition to the overall aim of the entire project, account in the main for the selection of this topic for inquiry.

**b)**

In Nigeria today there are few issues on which there are unanimity of opinion. Foremost is that corruption and indiscipline are the most entrenched social vices in our society.

To fight these ills various governments at various times have promoted one form of programme or the other. The Shehu Shagari administration pursued a programme called Nigeria Ethical Revolution and Babangida regime pursued a mass mobilization agenda in the name of MAMSER. Perhaps the most profound was the Buhari War Against Indiscipline which employed a measure of force for its enforcement. Yet the nation sinks deeper in corruption and indiscipline.

It is against this background that President Obasanjo on September 10, 1999 launched the campaign for National Re-birth. The programme aims at educating both the public and the ordinary citizens about the limit of power and to enlighten Nigerians on their duties and responsibilities to the state, communities and families.

But bearing in mind the fact that similar programmes and projects have been embarked upon by previous governments and they all failed to achieve the objectives for which were instituted, the questions to be addressed are:

Why did previous attempts at seeking an ethical re-orientation of Nigerians fail?

What should government do to ensure that it has a positive attunement of the citizens and that they pay heed to the tenets of the crusade at ensuring a new and positive attitude from Nigerians towards building a harmonious and united country?

What is expected of Nigerians as a people and as individuals in achieving the objective of this crusade?

## **METHODOLOGY**

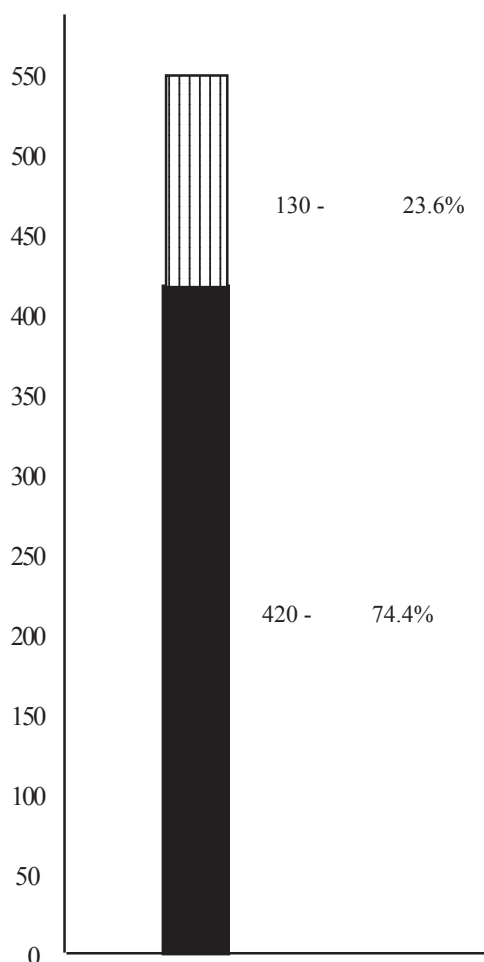
- This is the second report under this project and response sampling is restricted to Lagos State.
- It involves the administration of structured questionnaires of eleven questions broken into two groups of six and five alongside the two issues under focus.
- The sample comprises 550 respondents aged between 18 years and above both male and female.
- The sample is made up of three sub-groups of persons which include people with non-formal education / those who attained primary school level, post-primary school level, and post-secondary school level.
- The three sub-groups are represented in the sample in the ratio of 70, 150 and 330 respectively.
- The sub-group of non-formal education/primary school level were assisted by MRA's researchers to read and interpret the questions and elect appropriate options according to the preferences of the respondents concerned.

# PRESENTATION OF RESULT

## ACHIEVED SAMPLE

Sample groups	Sample sizes	Nos of questionnaires administered	Nos of questionnaires received and %	Nos of questionnaires not received and %
Non formal/primary school level		70	50 71.45%	20 28.6%
Post primary education		150	104 69.3%	46 30.7%
Post secondary education		330	266 80.6%	64 19.4%
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>Cummulative 550</b>	<b>Cummulative % 74.4%</b>	<b>Cummulative % 23.6%</b>

## QUESTIONNAIRE RATE OF RETURN / MORTALITY



Q1. During the swearing in of the civilian government on May 29, what were your expectations from the government at the end of 100 days in office?

### AGGREGATE RESPONSES

Encouragement	Frequency
1. Respite in fuel supply/electricity	83
2. Creation of job opportunities	82
3. Improved standard of living	82
4. Conducive investment atmosphere, economy and stable value of the Naira	76
5. Improved educational sector	68
6. Efforts at settling the Niger Delta problem	57
7. Atmosphere of peace and security of citizens	48
8. Improvement in respect for human rights	47
9. Provision of basic amenities	38
10. Probe of corrupt past office holders	34
11. Efforts at addressing the salaries/minimum wages issue	27
12. Improved foreign policy	23
13. Improvement in telecommunication	13
14. Improved infrastructure	12
15. Efforts at unifying the nation	12
16. Eradication of poverty	6
17. Improved health-care services	6
18. Full separation of power in government	5
19. Improved agricultural sector	5
20. Repairing of refineries	2
21. Rejuvenate Nigeria Airways	2
22. Review of the Constitution	2
23. Re-organisation of the police force	1

### SUB GROUPS RESPONSES

#### No Formal/Primary Education

Encouragement	Frequency
1. Creation of job opportunities	19
2. Respite in fuel supply/electricity	15
3. Improved infrastructure	12
4. Improved standard of living	12
5. Atmosphere of peace and security of citizens	8
6. Improvement in respect for human rights	7
7. Efforts at settling the Niger Delta problem	5
8. Improved educational sector	3
9. Efforts at addressing the salaries/minimum wages issue	3
10. Improved health-care services	2
11. Improved agricultural sector	1
12. Resolution of marginalisation crisis	1

## SECONDARY EDUCATION

<b>Encouragement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1. Provision of food and better living condition	23
2. Respite in fuel supply/electricity	22
3. Creation of job opportunities	22
4. Improved educational sector	21
6. The economic to improve	10
7. Efforts at settling the Niger Delta problem	9
8. Atmosphere of peace and security of citizens	7
9. Improved agricultural sector	4
10. Improvement in respect for human rights	3
11. Improve the value of the Naira	3
12. Resuscitate Nigeria Airways	2
13. Review of the Constitution	2
14. Government to bring looters to book	2
15. Government to stop importation of goods	2
16. Re-organisation of the police force	1
17. Creation of conducive atmosphere for investment	1

## POST SECONDARY

<b>Encouragement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1. Improved standard of living	47
2. Respite in fuel supply/electricity	46
3. Improved educational sector	43
4. Conducive atmosphere for investment	42
5. Efforts at settling the Niger Delta problem	42
6. Creation of job opportunities	41
7. Provision of basic amenities	38
9. Improvement in respect for human rights	37
10. Atmosphere of peace and security of citizens	33
11. Probe of corrupt past office holders	32
12. Efforts at addressing the salaries/minimum wages issue	22
13. Improved foreign policy	23
14. Improve the value of the Naira	17
15. Improvement in telecommunication	13
16. Efforts at unifying the nation	12
17. Eradication of poverty	6
18. Full separation of power	5
19. Improved agricultural sector	4
20. Improved health-care services	4
21. Repairing of refineries	2
22. Food for all	1

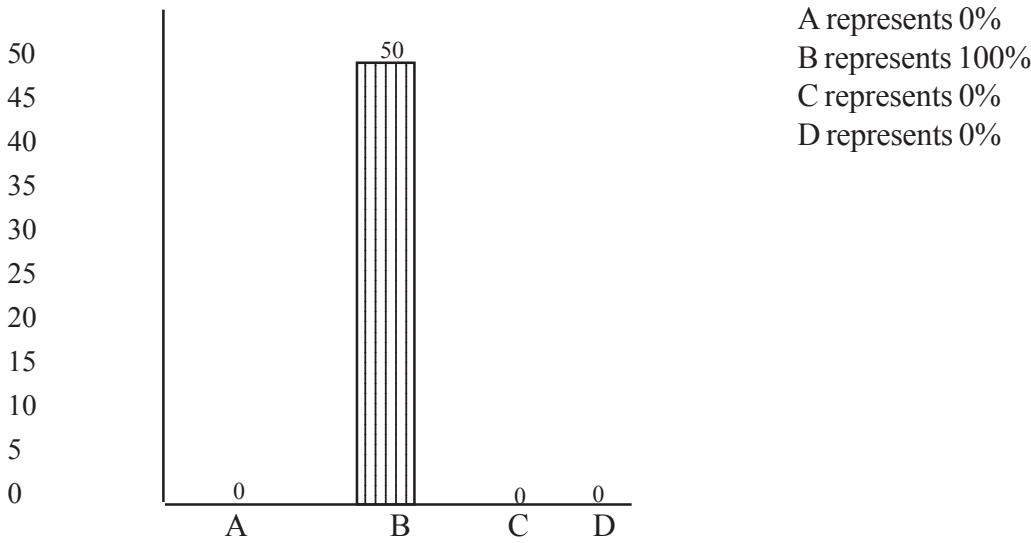
Q2. How far have these expectations been met generally?

Score:

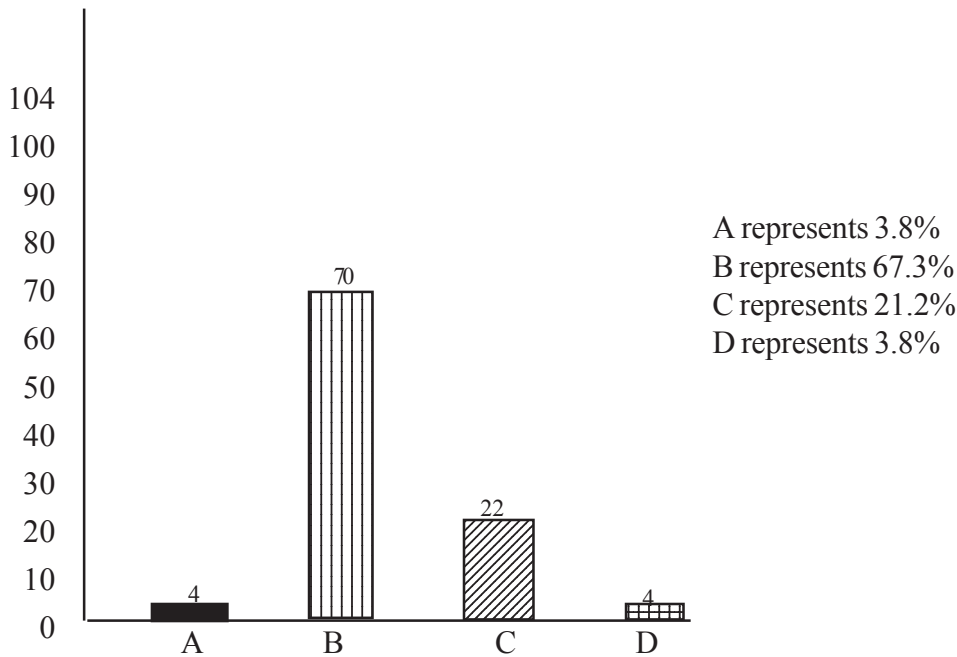
- A) Poor 0 – 30%
- B) Fair 31 – 50%
- C) Good 51 – 70%
- D) Very Good 71 - 100%

**RESPONSES**

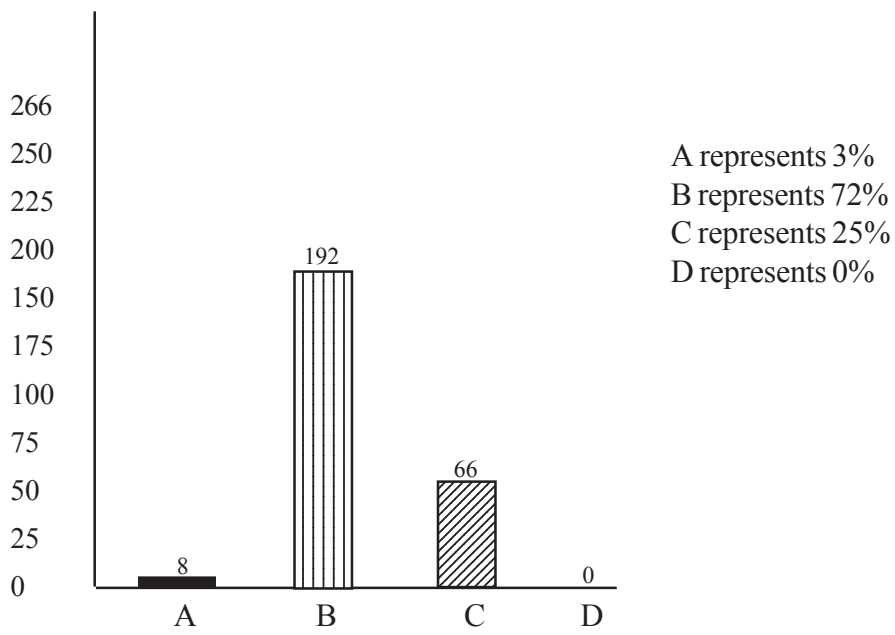
**Non-Formal/Primary Education**



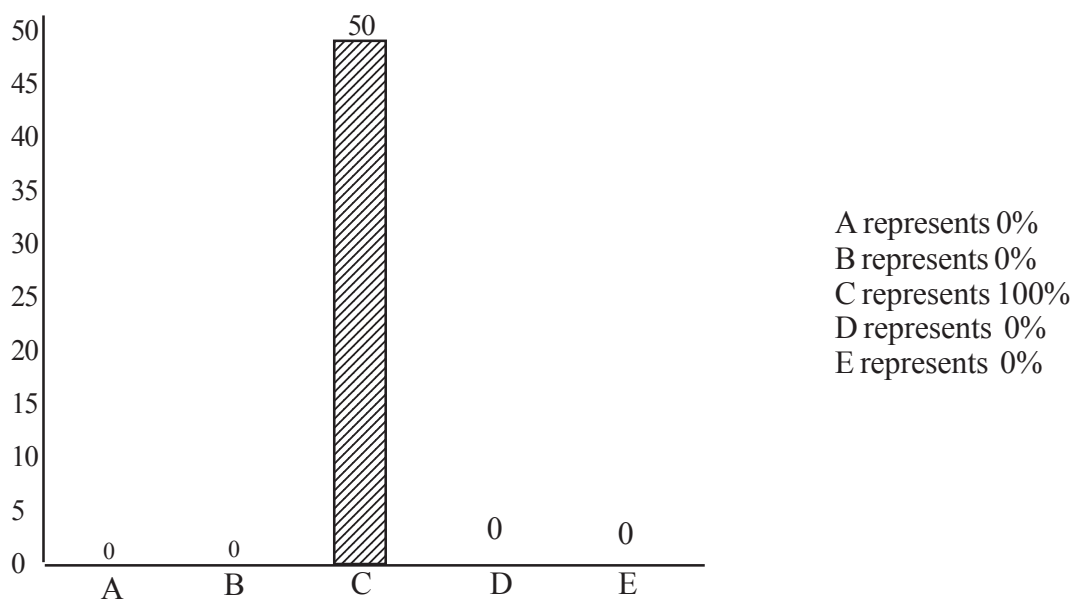
**Post-Primary Education**



### Post Secondary



### Non-Formal/ Primary Education



Q4. List in order of importance four things you think the government has done well.

- a) .....
- b) .....
- c) .....
- d) .....

**AGGREGATE RESPONSES**

<b>Encouragement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1. Respite in fuel supply/electricity	105
2. Crusade against corruption	98
3. Retiring of the military boys	84
4. Efforts at addressing the salaries/minimum wages issue	75
5. Improved foreign policy	62
6. Scrapping of P.T.F.	54
7. Improvement in respect for human rights	48
8. Revocation of oil licenses	47
9. Good governance	44
10. National Re-birth campaign	37
11. Sacking and redeployment of envoys	21
12. Efforts at unifying the nation	19
13. Lifting of embargo on employment	15
14. Selection of the executive members	13
15. Issuance of passport within 72 hours	10
16. Setting up of human rights abuse investgative panel	10
17. Cancellation of environmental sanitation	8
18. Fair sharing of political appointment	7
19. Efforts at settling the Niger Delta problem	6
20. Moves to recover looted monies	4
21. Relocation of parastatals to Lagos	4
22. Listen to people’s opinion	3
23. Reducing police checking point	2
24. Cancellation of 5% traditional rulers allocation	2
25. Approval of Apropriation Bill	1
26. War against cultism	1
27. Reduction in Telephone charges	1

**SUB GROUPS REPOSSES**

**No formal/Primary Education**

<b>Encouragement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1. Retiring of the military boys	23
2. Efforts at addressing the salaries/minimum wages issue	19
3. Respite in fuel supply/electricity	18
4. Crusade against corruption	18
5. Scrapping of P.T.F.	9
6. Lifting of embargo on employment	6
7. Selection of the executive members	6
8. Improved foreign relations	3
9. Efforts at unifying the nation	2
10. Efforts at settling the Niger Delta problem	1



## SECONDARY EDUCATION

<b>Encouragement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1. Respite in fuel supply/electricity	37
2. Crusade against corruption	34
3. Retiring of the military boys	19
4. Efforts at addressing the salaries/minimum wages issue	18
5. Setting up of human rights abuse investigative panel	10
6. Efforts at unifying the nation	8
7. Fair sharing of political appointment	7
8. Efforts at settling the Niger Delta problem	5
9. Improvement in foreign relations	5
10. Scrapping of P.T.F.	5
11. Lifting of embargo on employment	4
12. Moves to recover looted monies	4
13. Sacking and redeployment of envoys	3
14. Reducing police checking point	2
15. Relocation of parastatals to Lagos	2
16. Revocation of oil licenses	2
17. War against cultism	1
18. National Re-birth campaign	1
19. Issuance of passport within 72 hours	1
20. Reduction in Telephone charges	1

## POST SECONDARY EDUCATION

<b>Encouragement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1. Respite in fuel supply/electricity	50
2. Human right record (improvement)	48
3. Improvement in foreign policy	47
4. Stamping out corruption	46
5. Revoking of oil licenses	45
6. Good governance	44
7. Purge in the military	42
8. Salaries/Minimum wage	38
9. Scrapping of P.T.F.	37
10. Launching of National Re-birth Campaign	36
11. Sacking of envoys	18
12. Efforts at unifying the nation	9
13. Issuance of passport within 72 hours	9
14. Cancellation of environmental sanitation	8
15. Tackling the issue of marginalisation	7
16. Lifting of embargo on employment	5
17. Listen to people's opinion	3
18. Relocation of parastatals to Lagos	2
19. Cancellation of 5% traditional rulers allocation	2
20. Approval of Appropriation t Bill	1

Q5. If your expectations have not been met, list at most four areas, which you think deserves urgent attention?

### Non Formal/Primary Education

Encouragement	Frequency
1. Infrastructure (water, transport, road & housing)	39
2. Educational sector	24
3. Job opportunities	20
4. Security	16
5. Energy sector (Fuel and Electricity)	11
6. Increase in salary	9
7. Prosecution of looters	7
8. Improve the nation's economy	7
9. Review of the Constitution	6
10. Health	6
11. Police force	5
12. Price control/inflation	5
13. Cultism	4
14. Agriculture	4
15. Telecommunication (reduction in price)	4
16. Set up a panel to probe P.T.F.	3
17. Improve Naira value	3
18. Environmental sanitation should not be cancelled	1
19. Upkeep of the disable	1
20. Restructuring the army	1
21. Judicial system	1

### SECONDARY EDUCATION

Encouragement	Frequency
1. More efforts at ensuring efficiency of NEPA	37
2. Firmer efforts at reducing corruption/indicipline	34
3. Review of salary and minimum wage	18
4. Sustain effort at unifying the country	7
5. Fairer sharing of political appointment	5
6. More positive role in the Niger Delta/ethnic crises	5
7. More efforts at foreign relations improvement	5
8. More efforts at moves to recover looted monies	4
9. Reducing police checking point	2

### POST SECONDARY EDUCATION

Encouragement	Frequency
1. More efforts at ensuring efficiency of NEPA	50
2. Improvement in respect for human right	48
3. More efforts at foreign relations improvement	47
4. Firmer efforts at reducing corruption/indicipline	46
5. Good governance	44

Q6. What are your expectations from the government by the time it will be celebrating its first anniversary?  
List four areas.

### AGGREGATE REPOSSES

<b>Encouragement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1. Improve standard of living of the people	94
2. Availability of job opportunities	76
3. Sustained improvement in NEPA services	75
4. Improve educational sector	74
5. A strong economy	73
6. Security for all	57
7. Resolution of Niger Delta problem	44
8. Increase in salary and minimum wage	42
9. Achievement of a united, peaceful and confident country	42
10. An efficient police force	40
11. Improve in infrastuctural facilities	40
12. Stable exchange rate for the Naira	37
13. Retrieval of looted monies	26
14. Improved health care for all	20
15. Highly minimised corruption	18
16. Improvement in Agricultural production	14
17. Review of the Constitution	9
18. An improved economy	8
19. Equal opportunities for all Nigerians	7
20. Resolution of issues of marginalisation	6
21. Improvement in respect for human rights	5
22. Conduceive atmosphere for local and foreign investment	5
23. Release of report of human rights abuse probe panel	5
24. Review of the Constitution	4
25. Sustain improvement in foreign policy	4
26. Restructured country	4
27. Review of the revenue allocation formular	3
28. Reduction in external debt	1

### SUB GROUPS REPOSSES

#### No Formal/Primary Education

<b>Encouragement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1. Improve standard of living of the people	17
2. Sustained improvement in NEPA services	17
3. Availability of job opportunities	16
4. Security for all	8
5. Resolution of Niger Delta problem	8
6. Improvement in Agricultural production	8
7. Highly minimised corruption	7
8. An efficient police force	6
9. Review of the Constitution	5
10. Improved health care for all	4
11. Improve in infrastuctural facilities	3

## SECONDARY EDUCATION

Encouragement	Frequency
1. Improve standard of living of the people	32
2. Availability of job opportunities	24
3. Improve educational sector	24
4. Sustained improvement in NEPA services	14
5. Security for all	9
6. Resolution of Niger Delta problem	9
7. Highly minimised corruption	8
8. An improved economy	8
9. Equal opportunities for all Nigerians	7
10. Increase in salary and minimum wage	6
11. Improvement in Agricultural production	6
12. Conducive atmosphere for local and foreign investment	5
13. Review of the Constitution	4
14. Improved health care for all	3
15. An efficient police force	2
16. Improvement in respect for human rights	2
17. Review of the revenue allocation formula	3
18. Stable exchange rate for the Naira	2
19. A united Nigeria	2

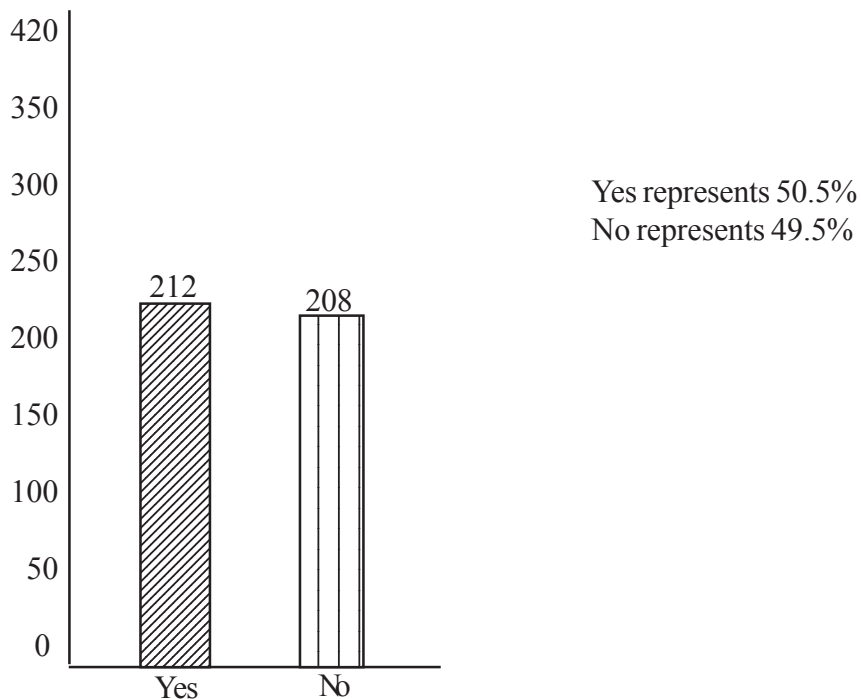
## POST SECONDARY EDUCATION

Encouragement	Frequency
1. Improve educational sector	50
2. Availability of job opportunities	46
3. Improvement in the standard of living	45
4. Sustained improvement in NEPA services	44
5. Improve security for all and reduce crime rate	40
6. Achievement of a united, peaceful and confident country	40
7. A strong economy	39
8. Improvement in basic amenities	37
9. Resolution of Niger Delta problem	35
10. Improvement in value of the Naira	33
11. A new look and efficient police force	32
12. Improved salaries/minimum wage	28
13. Retrieval of looted monies	26
14. Improved health care	13
15. Resolution of issues of marginalisation	6
16. Release of report of human rights abuse probe panel	5
17. Sustain improvement in foreign policy	4
18. Improvement in respect for human rights	3
19. Highly minimised corruption	3
20. Restructured country	2
21. Reduction in external debt	1

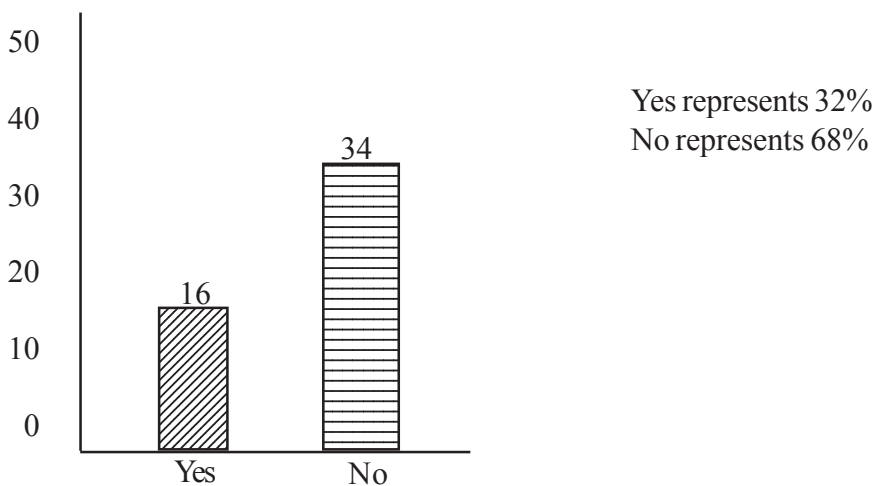
## PRESENTATION OF RESULT ON NATIONAL RE-BIRTH

Q1. Apart from reading about President Obasanjo's campaign for National Re-birth in this questionnaire have you heard it before now? Yes  No

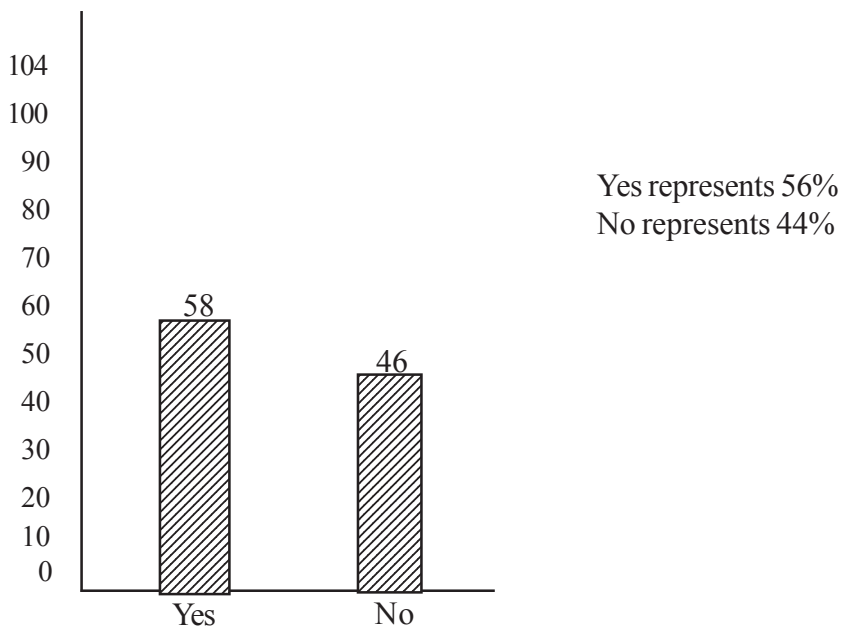
### Aggregate Response



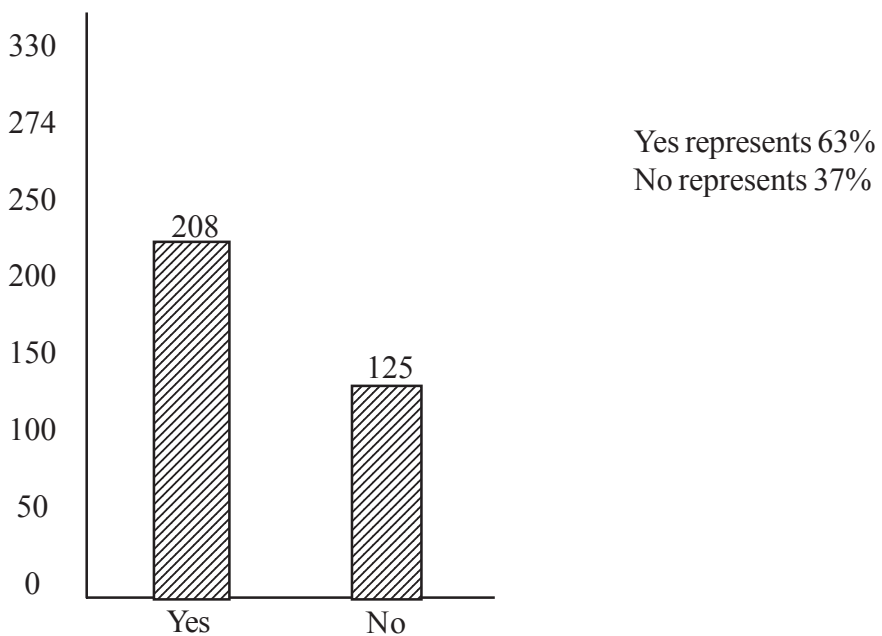
### No Formal/Primary Education



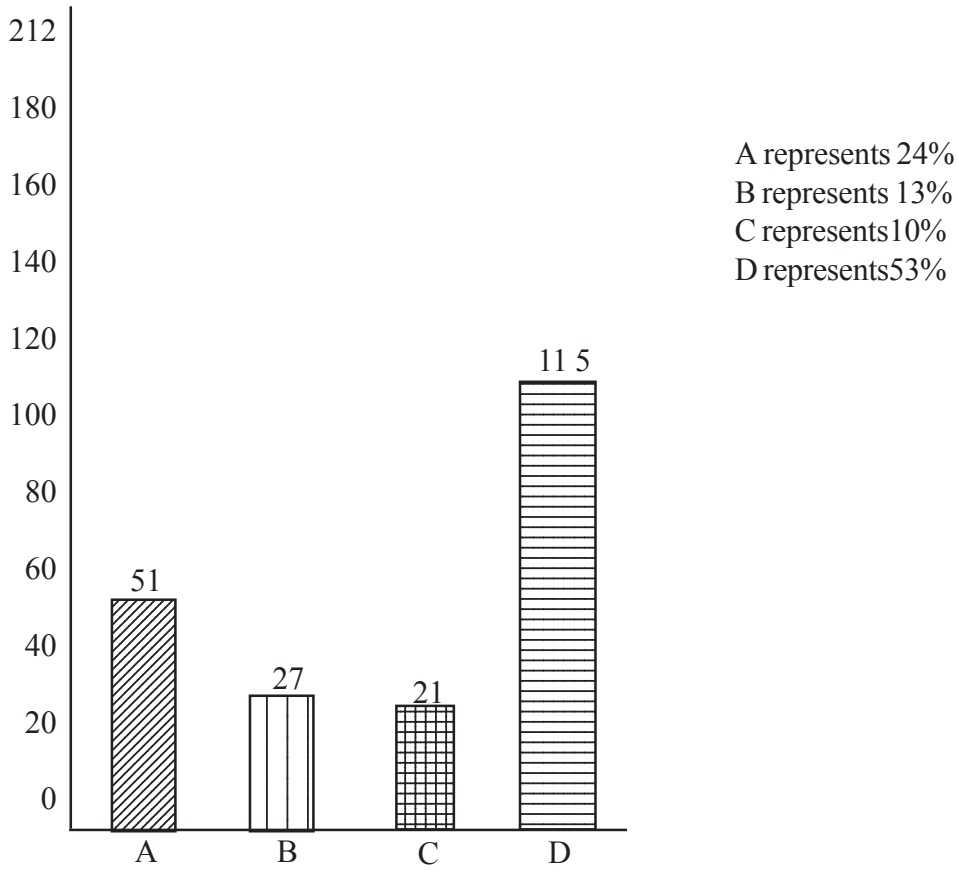
### Post Primary Education



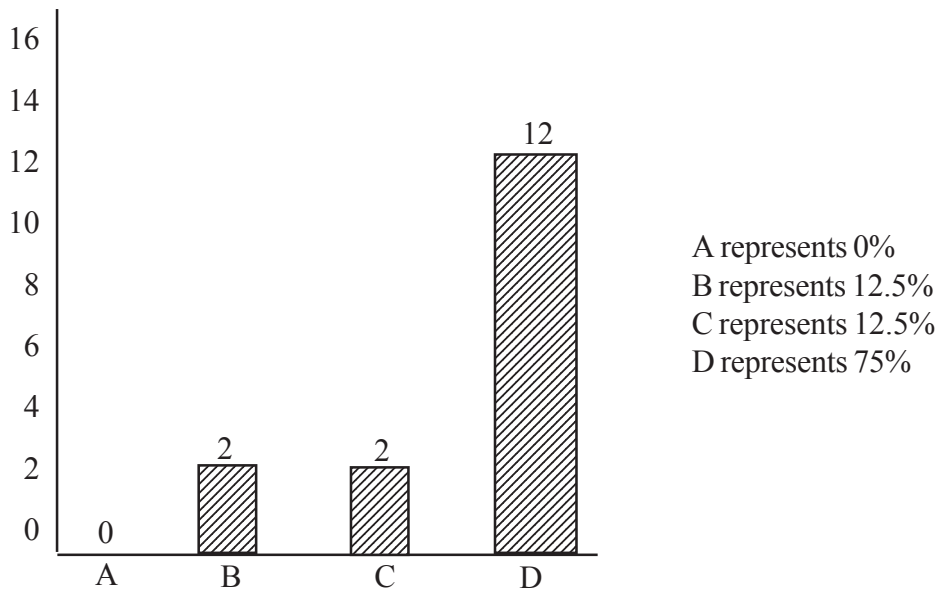
### Post Secondary Education



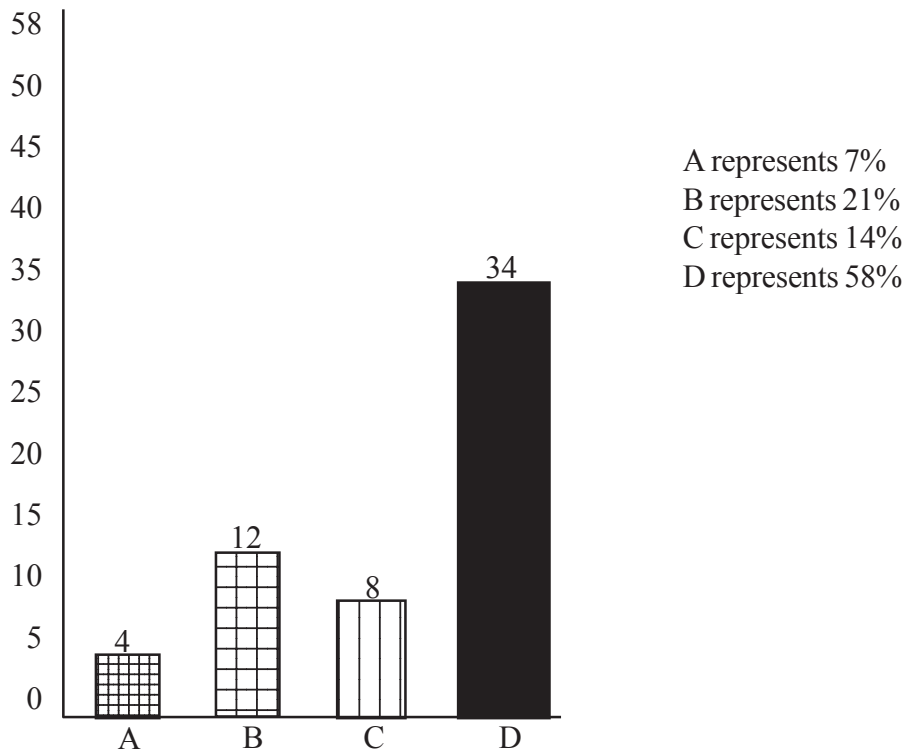
### Aggregate Response



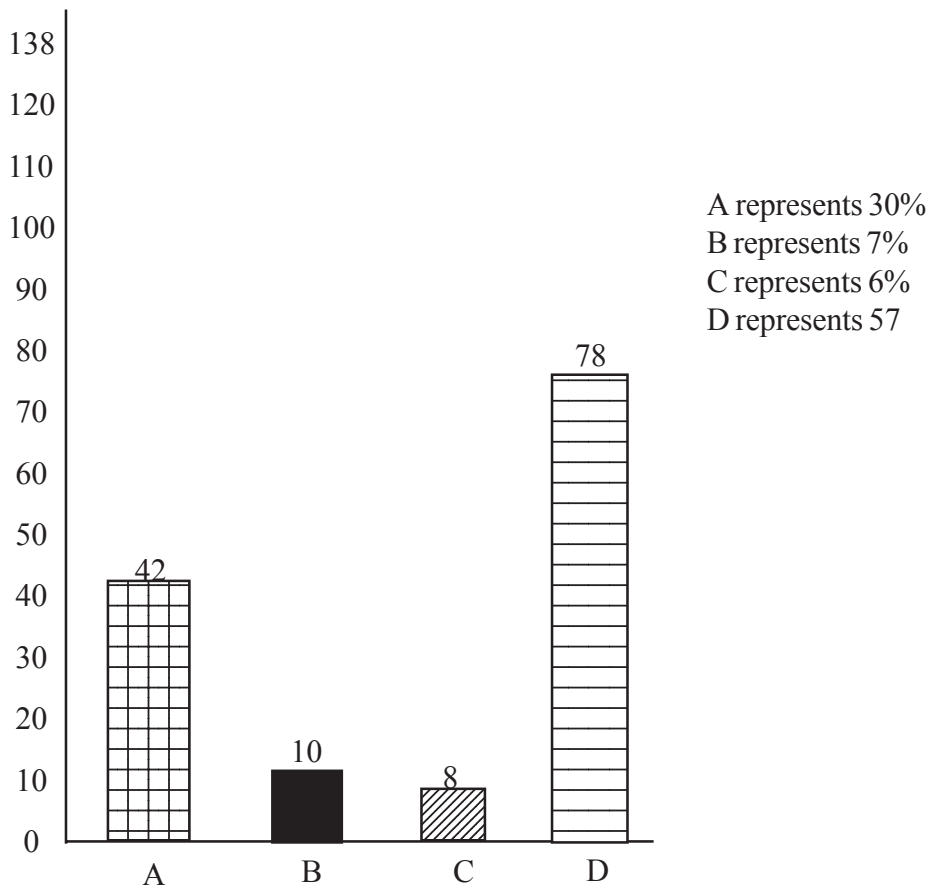
### No Formal/Primary Education



### Post Primary Education



### Post Secondary

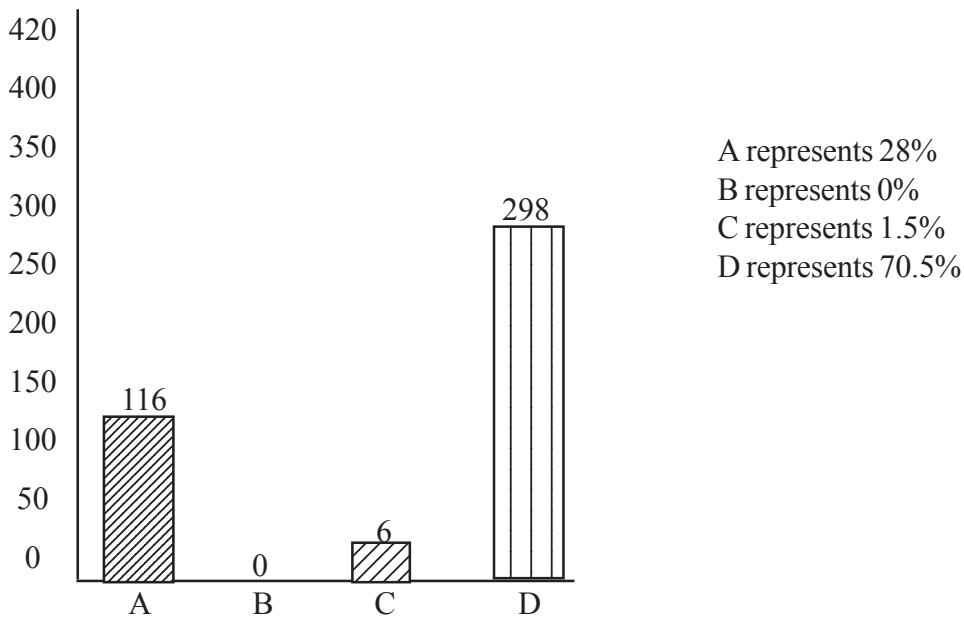




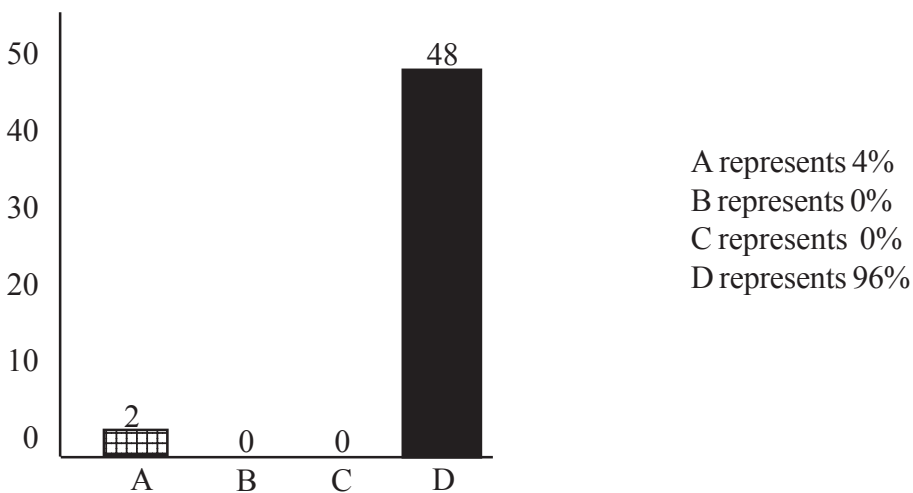
Q3. Previous attempts at ethical re-orientation have not had much impact on the society. What in your own opinion were the reasons for these?

- a) Lack of proper enlightenment
- b) Use of force
- c) Lack of clear-cut objectives
- d) Failure of leaders and officials of government to lead by example

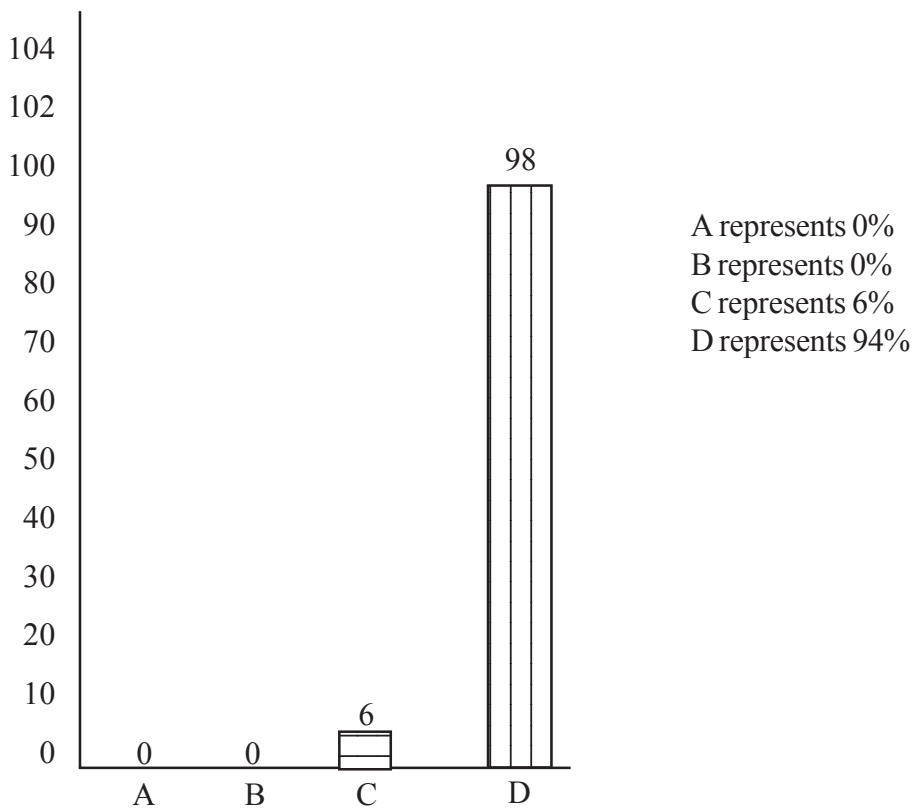
**Aggregate Reponse**



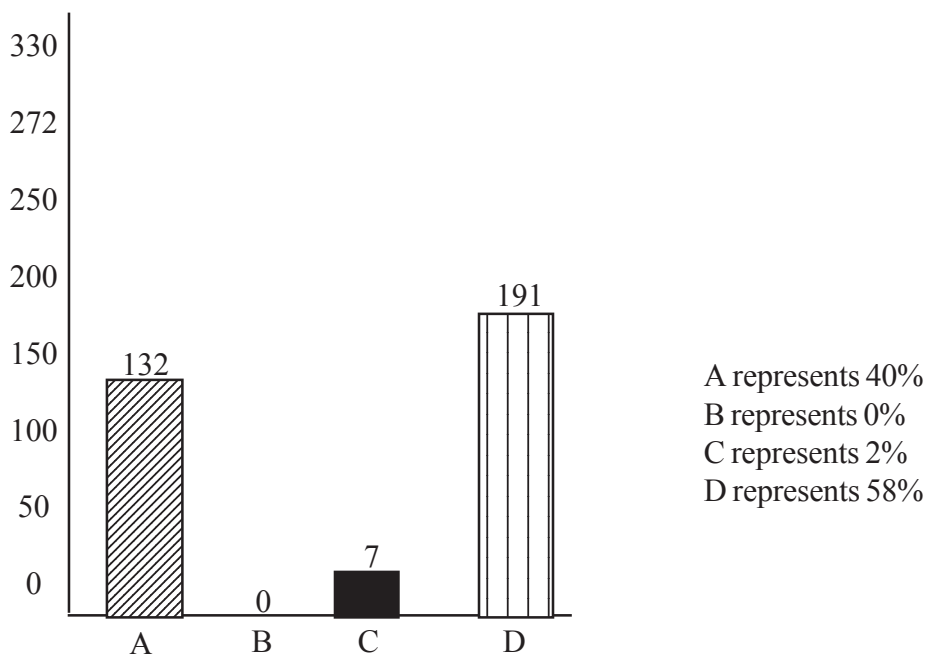
**No Formal/Primary Education**



### Post Primary Education



### Post Secondary



Q4. As an individual, what encouragement do you need from the government to be willing to imbibe the new attitude expected of Nigerians?

- a) .....
- b) .....

**Aggregate Response**

<b>ENCOURAGEMENT</b>	<b>CHANCES</b>
A) Leadership by example	384
B) Address welfare need of Nigerians	104
C) Provide job opportunities	90
D) Reward system	36
E) Listen to public opinion	18
F) Enlightenment campaign	14
G) Prompt salary payment	4
H) Legalise the campaign	4
I) Don't use force	2

**No Formal/Primary Education**

A) Leadership by example	48
B) Address welfare need of Nigerians	38
C) Listen to public opinion	10
D) Reward system	2
E) Legalise the campaign	2

**Post Primary Education**

A) Leadership by example	72
B) Provide job opportunities	33
C) Enlightenment campaign	14
D) Listen to public opinion	8
E) Reward sytem	4
F) Legalise the campaign	2
G) Welfare	2
H) Force	2

**Post Secondary Education**

A) Leadership by example	264
B) Welfare	64
C) Reward system	34
D) Provide job opportunities	24
E) Prompt payment of salary	4

Q5. What medium do you consider best that the government should use to propagate the message?

**Aggregate Response**

A) Radio/Television/Newspapers	417
B) Public enlightenment campaign	270
C) Poster/Handbill	89
D) Discussion	2

**No Formal/Primary Education**

A) Radio/Television/Newspapers	49
B) Public enlightenment campaign	28
C) Posters/Handbill	21

**Post Primary Education**

A) Radio/Television/Newspapers	102
B) Public enlightenment campaign	56
C) Poster/Handbill	12
D) Discussion	2

**Post Secondary**

A) Radio/Television/Newspapers	266
B) Public enlightenment campaign	186
C) Posters/Handbill	46



Media Rights Agenda (MRA) is an independent, non-governmental organisation established for the purpose of promoting and protecting press freedom and freedom of expression in Nigeria. The MRA is registered under Nigerian law and has Observer Status with the African Commission on Human and People's Rights. MRA's Aims and Objectives are:

- a. to promote respect and recognition for press freedom and freedom of expression in Nigeria;
- b. to provide protection and support for journalists and writers engaged in the lawful pursuit of their professional duties;
- c. to promote the highest standards of professional ethics, integrity, training and conduct in the journalism profession; and
- d. 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.

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