
Values, Sentiment Analysis and the Stakeholders Segmentation on Nigerians Democratic System

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Table of Contents

Synopsis	2
Section 1: Values and Sentiment Analysis.	2
Section 2: Stakeholder Segmentation.....	30
Section 3: Media Platform Reach.....	32
Appendix	34

Synopsis

This report provides insight into how the identified values manifest in the research already conducted, including polls/surveys capturing the Nigerian sentiment around values, the weight they give to them, as well as how they manifest in the interviews conducted. It also shows the stakeholders and/or population segments receptive to the narratives and values identified throughout the analysis. This is done according to the urban, educated elites—who are more likely to advance pro-democratic narratives—as well as the age differentials, or gender breakdowns, etc. Lastly, the report summarizes the media platforms analyzed, their respective reach, and audience demographics.

Section 1: Values and Sentiment Analysis.

1. Security

The issue of security is a recurring theme that emerges in most narratives, especially in: (a) 'The Nigerian government is delivering democracy to its citizens,' (b) 'Democracy and the benefits it promises are not being delivered equally across the state; the democratic state is failing,' (c) 'The democratic state is supposed to provide Nigerians with security, and growing insecurity is a threat to democracy,' and (d) 'The democratic state is failing to provide us with security, and we must look elsewhere for protection and safety.' The perception of the citizens is that it is the responsibility of the government, as outlined in Section 14 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended), to provide security and welfare to the people as the primary purpose of government. It is believed that the government's inability to provide this service indicates the failure of democracy and its inability to maintain the high expected value. Public trust in the Nigerian government appears to be in decline, a result of the negative impacts caused by a sense of undelivered political promises, highlighting the importance of collective buy-in for the country's development aspirations.¹ The 2018 Buharimeter Poll findings revealed a poor rating on the campaign promises, with security receiving a lower average score of 2.33.² Thus, 40 percent of respondents thought that security is worse.³

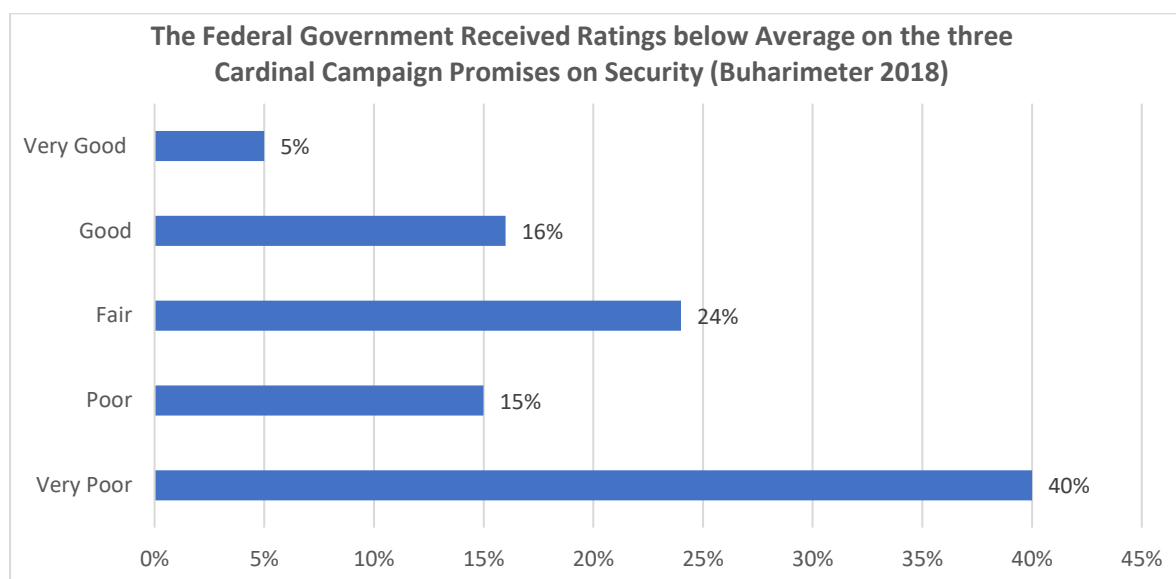
"We are under a government who does not obey court orders, under a government who chooses the part of the constitution to obey, we are under a civilian dictatorship, particularly under Buhari's administration". (MG Nigeria Researcher's Interview with Ayo Adebajo, Leader of Afenifere, South-West Nigeria. 16th August 2022)

Also, the African Youth Survey in the 2022 report revealed that the number of Nigerian youths who believed that the country is moving in that direction declined from 17% in the 2020 report to 5%.

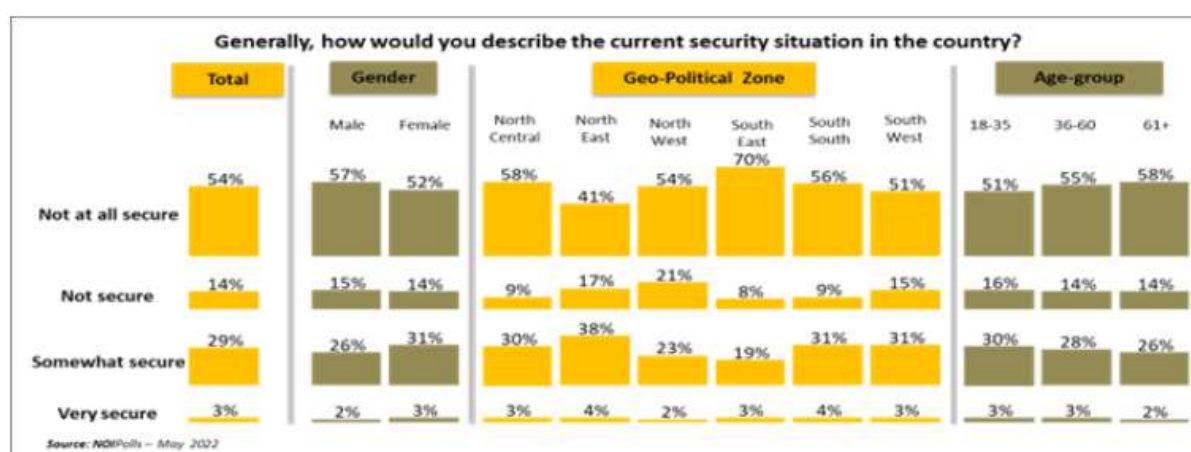
¹ [Five years on: are Nigerians better or worse under President Buhari? | Africa at LSE](#)

² Buharimeter Poll Report. (2018). Page 11. <https://cddelibrary.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Buharimetersurveyreport.pdf>

³ Buharimeter Poll Report. (2018). Page 11. <https://cddelibrary.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Buharimetersurveyreport.pdf>



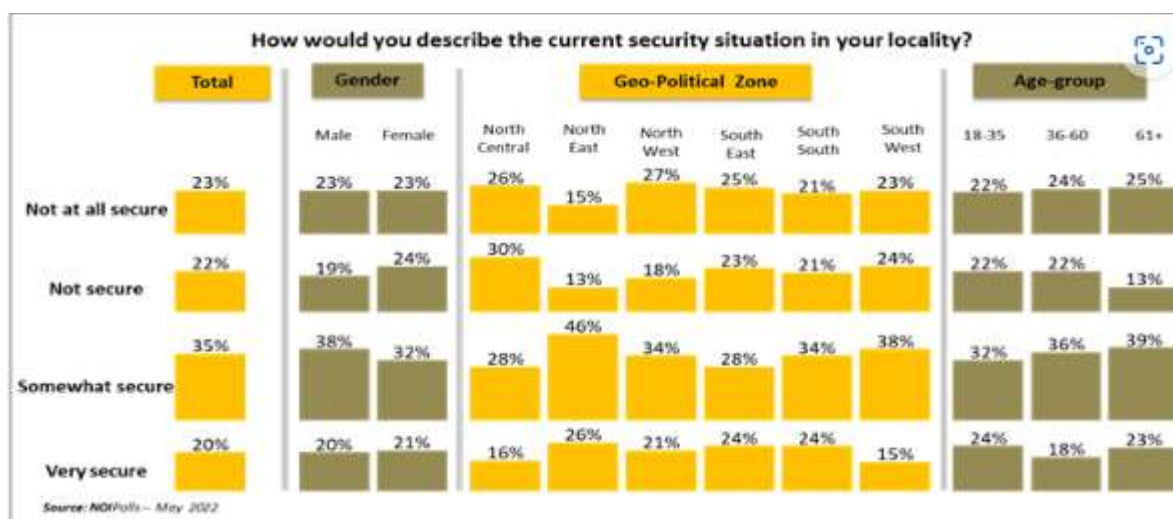
In the same vein, the narrative 'Only a strong leader and government can provide security and safety for people and the state' clearly demonstrates the government's ability to protect unity, solidify distinct entities, and safeguard the political and economic stability of the country. It has also subdued violent extremists, ethnic militias, and separatist groups such as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra and later the Indigenous People of Biafra (both in South-East Nigeria); the Odua Liberation Movement (OLM) and Yoruba Self-Determination Group (both in the South-West); and Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād, also called Boko Haram (in Northern Nigeria). It's important to note that the operations of these groups affect both the personal safety of citizens and threaten economic and political stability. Several surveys are capturing the sentiment of Nigerians on the issue of security. The 2022 NOI security survey revealed that 67% of Nigerians say the country is not secure, with 78% of these Nigerians being from the South-East zone.⁴



Source: NOI Security Poll 2022.

⁴ <https://noi-polls.com/almost-7-in-10-nigerians-describe-the-current-state-of-security-in-the-country-as-dreadful/>

From a regional perspective, in North-Central, 56% of respondents believed that their locality is insecure, while 44% believed otherwise. In the North-East, 28% of the respondents are of the opinion that the region is insecure, while 72% thought otherwise. In the North-West, 45% of the respondents are of the view that the region is insecure, while 55% thought otherwise. In the South-East, 48% of the respondents are of the view that the region is insecure, while 52% thought otherwise. In the South-South, 42% of the respondents are of the view that the region is insecure, while 58% thought otherwise. In the South-West, 47% of the respondents are of the view that the region is insecure, while 53% thought otherwise.⁵



Source: NOI Security Poll 2022

From the interviews, the respondents expressed a strong voice on the issue of security in Nigeria. When asked if they believe that democracy can be threatened by insecurity, Chief Anabs Sara Igbe noted that

“Insecurity is not only threatening democracy; it's also threatening the economy, farmers, and everybody. When you center security in a particular place, everything collapses. You can see the high cost of food in Nigeria today—it's because of insecurity. You can see the high cost of transportation and flight tickets; it's the problems of insecurity. People can no longer travel by road.”

In the words of Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed, OFR,

“Insecurity threatens the credibility of leaders. Citizens tend to lose faith in leaders. Citizen participation is frustrated by apathy and distrust of leaders to perform their most basic function, which is the security of citizens and the State.” Prof. Khalifa Ali Dikwa stated, “Insecurity is a threat to the survival of this nation.”

⁵ <https://noi-polls.com/almost-7-in-10-nigerians-describe-the-current-state-of-security-in-the-country-as-dreadful/>

Chief Ayo Adebajo believed that the government is an accomplice in the issue of insecurity in the country, and until it stops, democracy is at stake. Adding his voice, Rev. (Dr.) Gideon Para-Mallam noted that

“Insecurity right now is threatening the 2023 elections, so that is a direct threat—insecurity and insurgency in the north-eastern part of Nigeria and the north-western part of Nigeria, banditry is already taking place, and you can be sure that elections.”

The interviews underscore a unanimous concern among respondents about the severe impact of insecurity on various facets of Nigerian society, extending beyond the realm of democracy to encompass the economy, agriculture, and the daily lives of citizens. The consensus among the respondents reflects a shared apprehension that, unless addressed comprehensively, the pervasive insecurity poses a significant threat to the nation's stability and even its democratic processes, as echoed by Chief Ayo Adebajo and Rev. (Dr.) Gideon Para-Mallam in their respective perspectives on the potential ramifications for the upcoming 2023 elections.

Justice

The term 'justice' remains one of the fundamental elements of democratic values and is associated with accountability and the rule of law. This value cuts across various narratives, including both pro-authoritarian and pro-democratic perspectives. The associated pro-democratic narratives include: (a) Justice and unity are core values that the government is trying to project. (b) Only democracy, with equal application of the law, can guarantee safety, justice, and lay a solid foundation for economic and political development. (c) Democracy is fundamental to peace and security; it ensures fairness, equity, and respect for the rights of others. (d) Fairness, equity, and respect for the rights of others are fundamental to peace and stability.

One of the pro-authoritarian narratives states, 'Our government is providing Nigerians with the elements of a democratic state: freedom of the press, free and fair elections, transparency and accountability, and the rule of law.' This narrative highlights electoral, transparency and accountability, and judicial reforms and why they were instituted. It demonstrates that despite several efforts made to restore the sanctity of the law, more are still expected, especially in terms of punishment for corrupt public officials indicted in corrupt practices and related offenses, and noninterference of the government in the justice system.

Oftentimes, governors act with impunity and disdain for key processes of democratic consultation mandated by the Nigerian constitution. There are several cases in which governors acted like kings, showing disdain for judicial and legislative processes. The 2021 Social Cohesion Survey shows that 71% of respondents believe that there are persons above the law in Niger, and only 23% believe that laws protect everyone. The perception that some persons are above the law in Nigeria did not change even across urbanization and religious groups. According to the survey, respondents who believe that some persons are above the law were highest among those with a secondary education. Also, respondents who believe that some persons are above the law were highest among those with secondary education and above (72%), compared to those with no formal education (64%). Similarly, more Traditionalists (82%) than Christians (76%) and Muslims (63%) also opined that some persons are above the law, while it is 71% among urban respondents compared to 70% among rural respondents.

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
There are persons above the Law in Nigeria	71%	72%	70%	72%	70%	72%	62%	66%	67%	84%	83%	69%
The Laws protects everyone equally in Nigeria	23%	23%	23%	22%	25%	22%	35%	27%	26%	9%	14%	24%
I'm not sure	6%	5%	7%	6%	5%	6%	3%	7%	7%	7%	3%	7%

Table 17: Demographic Analysis on Feelings of Nigerians concerning the Laws of Nigeria by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Also, the World Justice Project (WJP) Rule of Law Index assessed the country's criminal justice system, including the police, lawyers, prosecutors, judges, and prison officers. The findings of the 2021 assessment showed that Nigeria scores 0.40 and is ranked 83rd out of 139 countries. The results indicate that the criminal justice system is weak in Nigeria. Similarly, the index also measures whether ordinary people can resolve their grievances peacefully and effectively through the civil justice system. It assesses whether civil justice systems are accessible and affordable, as well as free of discrimination, corruption, and improper influence by public officials. In the 2021 assessment, Nigeria scored 0.48 and was ranked 86th out of 139 countries. The results indicate that civil justice is weak. Therefore, the overall country's score on the WJP Rule of Law Index dropped from 0.43 in 2020 to 0.41 in 2021. The ranking also moved down from 108th in 2020 to 121st in 2021.

Similarly, the 2021 Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey showed that 68% of respondents are concerned that only the rich and powerful can access justice in Nigeria. This view was also popular across genders: male (68%) and female (68%); among age groups—18-35 years (68%), 36 to 60 years (68%), and 61 years and above (73%); geopolitical zones—South-South (81%), South-East (79%), South-West (67%), North-East (66%), North-West (63%), and North-Central (60%). Similarly, among those with secondary education and above, 69% of respondents believe that only the rich and powerful can access civil justice in Nigeria, compared to those with no formal education/primary education (63%). While it is 69% among urban respondents, it is 68% among rural respondents. Among the regional groups—Traditionalists (77%), Christians (73%), and Muslims (60%).

Moreover, the 2020 Afrobarometer survey revealed that 62.1% of the respondents believed that people are treated unequally under the law, against 60% in 2007. In 2007, 43% of Nigerians believed that the president ignores the constitution, while in the 2020 survey, it was discovered that 49.5% of Nigerians believed that the president ignores the courts and laws of the country.

All the respondents interviewed believe that the justice system does not care for all, and in most cases, the Executive interferes in the affairs of the Judiciary. Chief Adebajo observed that

'This government (President Muhammadu Buhari administration) has no respect for the rule of law. It chooses the court orders to obey. There are several judgments, including from ECOWAS courts, that the government has refused to obey.'

Dr. Hakeem noted that

'The judicial system is basically corrupt, and the pervasive perception is that justice can and is bought. In essence, justice does not care for all.'

Chief Anabs observed that there is so much interference in the judiciary. According to him,

'The Executive has been able to intimidate the judiciary to an extent that they are forced by their whips and caprices. You can see the executive raiding the houses of Judges in the midnight, early morning hours and trying to arrest judges of Supreme courts, arrest Justices of the high courts and so on, intimidating them. So what do you expect them to do, and they are also spending so much money to buy them, so the whole judges are dancing to the tune of the executive, and we are not getting separation of power completely.'

Similarly, Prof. Khalifa noted that

'...our justice system should decide what they deem right for them.' Social inequality contributes to unequal access to justice. Luke Chijiuba argued that 'In a country that is replete with a high level of poverty, how can most people rely on the justice system? The lawyer must be paid, and it is only the rich that can stand the legal charges.'

Rev. Para-Mallam also observed that

'The justice system favors the rich; it favors the powerful. The poor man is not guaranteed justice in Nigeria today, which is a threat to the survival of democracy in our country.'

Both the World Justice Project (WJP) Rule of Law Index and the Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey highlight critical weaknesses in Nigeria's criminal and civil justice systems. The declining scores and rankings indicate significant challenges, while public perceptions, as revealed in various surveys, underscore widespread concerns about the accessibility and fairness of the justice system, further emphasizing the urgent need for comprehensive reforms to ensure equal justice for all citizens and strengthen the foundations of democracy in the country.

2. Transparency

The issue of transparency was more inherent in the pro-authoritarian narrative, 'Corruption poses a serious threat to Nigerian democracy and its existence.' Corruption prevails due to a lack of openness, accountability, and effective institutional mechanisms. Several polls and indices support these notions, including the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and the Open Budget Index.

The Transparency (Open Budget Index) is released by the International Budget Partnership (IBP). The Open Budget Survey assesses whether the central government makes eight key budget documents available to the public online on time and whether these documents present budget information in a comprehensive and useful way. Every country receives a composite score (out of 100) that determines its ranking on the Open Budget Index. Nigeria's score on the Open Budget Index fell from 24 out of 100 in 2015, dropped to 17 in 2017, and rose to 21 in 2019. Thus, Nigeria was ranked 97th out of 117 countries in 2019.

Also, the Nigeria Corruption Perception Index (CPI) score went down from 25 in 2020 to 24 in 2021. This also affected the ranking, with the country being ranked 154th out of 180 countries assessed, compared to 149th in 2020. The 2021 API Social Cohesion Survey findings indicated that 5 in 10

Nigerians (50%) said there is a high corruption level in the country. This was followed by 45% of respondents who said there is an average corruption level, and only 5% said it is low."

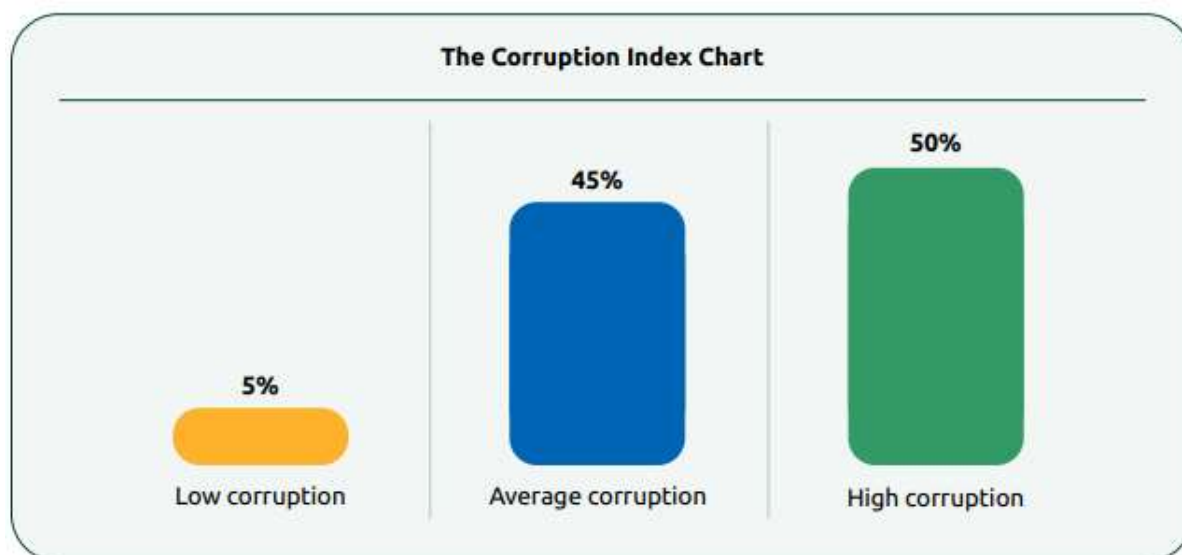


Figure 20: Corruption Sub-Index

From the interview, one of the respondents, while explaining the danger of corruption to Nigeria's democracy, Luke Chijiuke, noted that "In Nigeria today, you are either rich or poor; no middle class anymore. The fear of the unknown, plus unfriendly political policies, is putting people on the edge." Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed observed that "Corrupt leadership is both the reason behind weaknesses of the State and its consequence. Corruption weakens the capacity to build and use resources that will facilitate development and improve citizens' faith and trust in leaders and the democratic system."

It was observed that the government is genuine in the fight against corruption. In the words of Chief Anabs, "Then the government said they are fighting corruption; we have not seen those they have sent to prison. Even those they sent to prison have been released recently by the security council. So, they are not serious about corruption. They are not after corruption; all you need to do in Nigeria is to steal as much as you can and take care of the judiciary." To him, corruption is not a threat to the survival of democracy but a threat to the survival of the economy. "It's a big threat to the survival of the economy of Nigeria. Before Nigeria is getting used to corruption, so they believe that for you to be in a government position, you must be corrupt, which means you have the tendency to go and acquire more, which is part of Nigeria politics. It will destroy the economy." However, Hassan Kukah sees corruption differently. According to him, "Your inability to manage citizens and their expectations is the far worst form of corruption."

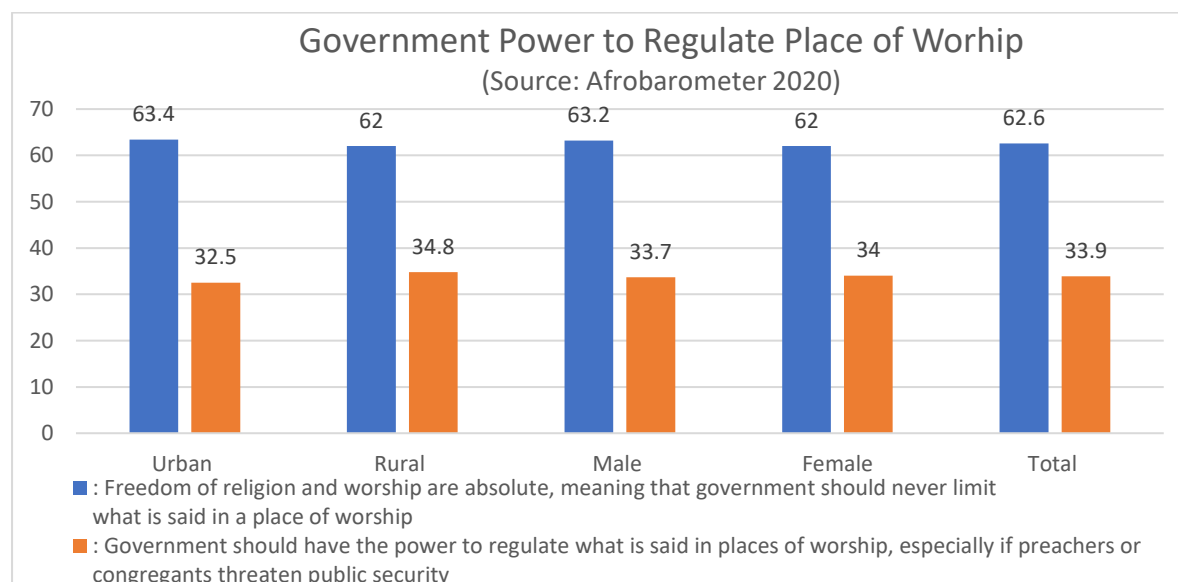
3. Freedom

This value is believed to be associated with liberty and self-determination, and fundamental human rights such as freedom of expression, religion, speech, public participation, assembly, freedom from discrimination, etc. This value manifests in pro-authoritarian narratives: (a) Democracy is messy and complicated and takes time to develop; (b) Media and CSO actors who speak negatively about the state are self-interested and pursuing their political gains. (c) Civil society, the media, and the political

opposition are agents of Western imperialism and enemies of Nigeria. It is observed in the research that frequent attacks on the CSOs and the media to curtail their freedom are some of the challenges to the country's democracy. For instance, from January to November 2019, there were over 60 attacks on the CSOs and media.⁶ The International Press Centre (IPC), a media monitoring organization, lamented that 149 journalists have come under attack by state and non-state actors in recent times.⁷ As a result of the attacks, the Nigeria Guild of Editors (NGE) and the coalition raised an alarm in 2022,⁸ stating that the frequent assault on the media was a threat to the country's democracy. Several media platforms such as Channel TV, AIT, Trust TV, etc., are being sanctioned. Nigeria's score for the world freedom index reduced to 46/79 in 2022 from 60.31 in 2021. The ranking also went down from 120 out of 180 countries in 2021 to 129 in 2022.

The Afrobarometer Survey 2020 shows that 36% of the respondents feel that they are not free to say whatever they think, and 63% believe that they are free to say what they think. Among the gender – males 33.7% and females 40.2%. While 38% of the respondents from rural areas are concerned that they are not free to say what they think, and 35.5% of respondents from urban areas expressed similar worries. On the contrary, 59% of the female gender believed that they are free to say what they think; it was 66% among the male respondents. 61.6% of the respondents in rural areas believed that they are free to say what they think, and 63.8% of the urban respondents have the same opinion.

Moreover, 53% of the respondents agreed that the government should be able to ban any organization that goes against its policies, while 43.6% disagreed. Among the male respondents, 54.7% agreed and 42.7% disagreed. Of the male respondents, 53.1% agreed and 44.4% disagreed. In the rural areas, 55.3% agreed and 42.6% disagreed. In the urban area, while 52% agreed, 45% disagreed.



⁶ [Under Buhari, Nigeria records worst attacks on journalists in 34 years — Report - Premium Times Nigeria \(premiumtimesng.com\)](https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/nigeria/under-buhari-nigeria-records-worst-attacks-on-journalists-in-34-years-report-1071000.html)

⁷ [World Press Freedom: IPC cries out as 149 journalists, media professionals suffer attack in Nigeria - Daily Post Nigeria](https://www.dailypostnigeria.com/news/world-press-freedom-ipc-cries-out-as-149-journalists-media-professionals-suffer-attack-in-nigeria-1071000.html)

⁸ [Media under attack in Nigeria; democracy in danger — Guild of Editors - \(vanguardngr.com\)](https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/01/media-under-attack-in-nigeria-democracy-in-danger-guild-of-editors/)

Respondents believed that social media has both positive and negative impacts but frowned upon a total ban. According to Chief Adebajo, “it is a wonderful platform. There is no platform without bad eggs, but to cancel them is to infringe on democratic principles and freedom of expression. If there is anyone that misuses it, the law is there to charge them for libel and defamation.” Dr. Hakeem noted, “social media allows citizen participation in the democratic process, but it also threatens the right to be protected from abuse by weak regulation. Luke Chijiuba also observed, “any attempt to curb social media may lead to unpleasant consequences. People must listen and draw good conclusions on the way forward.” Rev. Para-Mallam also observed, “social media has helped us positively and negatively at the same time. Positive in the sense that social media has created awareness of things that people would otherwise not have known. Negative in the sense that there are a lot of things - fake news, and it’s difficult to make a distinction. So fake news threatens democracy any day, anywhere in the world, not just in Nigeria, even in advanced societies like Britain and America. Fake news actually threatens... So, it’s the ability to be able to filter social media in a way that the correct messaging gets to the people so maybe large groups such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter need to do more to address the incidences of fake news.” In the words of Prof. Khalifa, “You see now where traditional values, original values come in, bringing back the role of the traditional system; this will check the excesses of social media. We have lost our tradition to foreign ones, so we need to go back to our source, which is the traditional system.”

On separatists, four respondents agreed that the government has failed to address issues that give a chance to irredentists, secessionists, lack of inclusion, abusing our diversity, as well as reaching out and finding a way to integrate aggrieved individuals and groups into the mainstream political system. Rev. Para-Mallam observed that “when a group complains about marginalization, why can’t the Federal government just try to either respond to that situation in a positive way, that will encourage others, or the Federal Government simply just develops cold feet, they refuse to bring all of these agitations together and find ways to address them...” According to him, Bishop Kukah, “So what I am saying is these groups should be seen as a consequence. They are not the perpetrators. They are the consequence of the government’s inability to do this, that, and the other.” While Luke Chijiuba and Prof. Khalifa did not make any strong position on this, Chief Anabs blames this development on the constitution. All the respondents see the issues as constitutional problems. To them, the constitution does not make provisions for secessionists, and if there is no such provision, the government cannot be said to have failed in giving the demand. In the words of Chief Anabs, “...our constitution is in such a way that there is no room for secession. We don’t have a clause where we can have or ask for a referendum, and since we don’t have such a clause in the constitution, anybody praying for secession cannot succeed because there is no room for secession. If those who are writing the constitution brought the clause of secession or given conditions in which it will succeed in a country, it would have been, but because there is no such clause, it becomes a suppression, and that is choking the entire country.

Honesty

The value is associated with pro-authoritarian narratives, which include (a) Corruption poses a serious threat to Nigerian democracy and its existence; (b) The democratic state is leading to resources and benefits being unfairly distributed or shared; (c) The democratic state is failing to provide us with security, and we must look elsewhere for protection and safety. Oftentimes, citizens withdraw from public life, engagement, and active citizenship because they lose trust in their ability to affect change

and the ability of their representatives to make meaningful changes. This is amidst debilitating official corruption and the recurring narrative that democratic institutions are of no use to them.⁹ The fallout from hypocritical postures toward corrupt practices has been a ceaseless cycle of political and legitimacy crises.¹⁰ Citizens expressed their discontent against irresponsible governance and invariably lost faith in the system. An aggrieved Nigerian noted that “Nothing seems good in democracy, rather than the symphony of the fund. Nothing, they will promise you this, and after the campaign and if you protest, they detain you.”¹¹ The situation further exacerbated in recent years with the selective prosecution of corruption cases and the ruling party's principles of “once you have joined APC, all your sins are forgiven.”¹² Against this background, there is a serious trust deficit in public institutions at the national and subnational levels.

At the national level, an Afrobarometer Survey 2020 on the level of trust the citizens have for their public officeholders and institutions shows that 38.2% of respondents did not trust the president at all. This is 29.5% among rural respondents. For gender, 29.5% were male and 36.9% were female. Overall, 33.2% did not trust the president at all. Only 24.6% of urban respondents trust the president just a little, and 27.1% of rural respondents. For gender, 27.6% were male and 24.5% were female. Therefore, only 26% of respondents trust the president just a little. For the National Assembly, 46% of urban respondents did not trust the National Assembly at all; this is 37.9% among rural respondents. For gender, 38.9% were male and 43.8% were female. Overall, 41.4% did not trust the National Assembly at all. Only 29.3% of urban respondents trust the National Assembly just a little, and 29.6% of rural respondents. For gender, 30.6% were male and 28.4% were female. Therefore, only 29.5% of respondents trust the National Assembly just a little.

Also, the API Social Cohesion Survey 2021 results across socio-demographics showed that the South-South (93%) and the South-East (90%) have the most little or no trust in the President and his government. Following this is 74% from North-Central, 57% from the North-East, and 55% from the North-West sharing this view. The respondents from the South-South have little or no trust (90%) in the National Assembly, followed by the South-East (89%), South-West (83%), North-Central (80%), North-East (70%), and North-West (65%). Regarding the Judiciary, only 19% in the South-East and 18% in the South-South and South-West said they have a lot of trust or some trust in the judiciary. The apparent lack of trust in the country's key arms of government expressed by the citizens is worrisome; if citizens fail to trust the country, it will be difficult for them to support the country and obey government laws. On average, the survey shows that 74% of Nigerians did not trust the president, 78% did not trust the National Assembly, and 74% did not trust the Judiciary."

⁹ [Policy Brief 33: Impact of corruption on democracy and development | DEMOCRACY WORKS FOUNDATION](#)

¹⁰ Omololu Fagbadebo. (2019). "Corruption, Governance and Political Instability in Nigeria: A Dysfunctional Conundrum", in (Eds.) *Current Research in Education and Social Studies*, Vol. 1. Page 55-68.

¹¹ [Democracy Day: Nigerians lament bitterly over governance | Legit TV - YouTube](#)

¹² [Once you join APC, all your sins are forgiven – Oshiomhole | Dailytrust](#)

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
		The Government of President Buhari										
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	26%	25%	27%	26%	27%	23%	26%	43%	45%	10%	7%	16%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	74%	75%	73%	74%	73%	77%	74%	57%	55%	90%	93%	84%
National Assembly												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	22%	22%	22%	22%	24%	21%	20%	30%	35%	11%	10%	17%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	78%	78%	78%	78%	76%	79%	80%	70%	65%	89%	90%	83%
Judiciary												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	26%	27%	27%	26%	28%	24%	23%	37%	40%	19%	18%	18%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	74%	73%	73%	74%	72%	76%	77%	63%	60%	81%	82%	82%

The significant disparity or gap in the percentages between Christians (16%) and Muslims (42%) suggests a difference in the support base for the current federal government under President Buhari, especially when compared to the substantial percentage of those who have little or no trust at all, as seen in the case of traditional leaders.

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal /Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
	The Government of President Buhari							
lot of Trust & Some Trust	26%	27%	25%	16%	42%	5%	39%	24%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	74%	73%	75%	84%	58%	95%	61%	76%
National Assembly								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	22%	22%	22%	15%	31%	5%	30%	21%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	78%	78%	78%	85%	69%	95%	70%	79%
Judiciary								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	26%	27%	27%	21%	35%	14%	33%	25%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	74%	73%	73%	79%	65%	86%	67%	75%

A trust deficit exists for subnational public institutions and authorities. Among urban respondents, 37.1% did not trust the state government at all, compared to 29.2% among rural respondents. By gender, 30.8% of males and 34.3% of females had no trust. Overall, 32.5% expressed no trust in the state government. Only 24.6% of urban respondents and 26.3% of rural respondents trust the state government just a little, resulting in an overall trust rate of 25.6%.

Concerning the State House of Assembly, 43.4% of urban respondents and 32.1% of rural respondents did not trust it at all. By gender, 35.3% of males and 38.5% of females had no trust. Overall, 36.9% expressed no trust in the State House of Assembly. Only 28.6% of urban respondents and 32.4% of rural respondents trust the State House of Assembly just a little, resulting in an overall trust rate of 30.8%.

For the local government council, 44% of urban respondents and 33.3% of rural respondents did not trust it at all. By gender, 38.6% of males and 37.1% of females had no trust. Overall, 37.9% expressed no trust in the local government council. Only 29.7% of urban respondents and 29.0% of rural respondents trust the local government council just a little, resulting in an overall trust rate of 29.3%.

The 2020 'Trust in the Police in Nigeria Survey' by 'Statista.com' revealed that most Nigerians did not trust the police at all, with a lack of trust higher than 60.2% among the urban population, where six in 10 respondents declared not to trust the police. This sentiment was shared by 43.3% of rural respondents. Additionally, 19% of urban respondents and 26.8% of rural respondents stated that they trusted the police just a little.¹³ The 2020 Afrobarometer showed that 50.4% did not trust the Nigerian police at all, compared to 23.8% for the military. Trust in the police just a little was at 23.5%, compared to 29.2% for the army. Somewhat trusting the Nigerian police was reported by 16.1% of respondents, compared to 30.0% for the army. Only 8.1% of respondents trust the Nigerian police a lot, compared to 14.4% for the army. This indicates that Nigerians have more confidence and trust in the military over the police.¹⁴

The API Social Cohesion Survey 2021 also revealed a disturbing result as the overwhelming lack of trust in the security forces cut across socio-demographics. The majority of respondents from the South-South (92%), South-East (88%), and South-West (85%) expressed little or no trust in the police. Most respondents from North-Central (74%), North-East (68%), and North-West (66%) similarly expressed little or no trust in the police. The army was also not trusted by most respondents from the South-East (74%), South-West (69%), and South-South (69%).

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Police												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	22%	21%	23%	23%	23%	14%	26%	32%	34%	12%	8%	15%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	78%	79%	77%	77%	77%	86%	74%	68%	66%	88%	92%	85%
Army												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	38%	38%	38%	38%	37%	34%	39%	43%	49%	26%	31%	31%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	62%	62%	62%	62%	63%	66%	61%	57%	51%	74%	69%	69%

Source: API Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey 2021 Report

The inability to trust these public officeholders and institutions is due to a lack of transparency, accountability, and a high level of corruption and mismanagement in the system. Bishop Hassan Kukah emphasized this during the interview, stating, "...if you tell your wife there is no money and then she comes back and sees you with a new watch and a new phone tomorrow, something is not right. But if your family trusts you, they can live through thick and thin. In the same way, when the government tells us it doesn't have money, what did they want us to do? When they have money, we didn't know.

¹³ • [Nigeria: trust in the police by area 2020 | Statista](#)

¹⁴ [afrobarometer_sor_nig_r8_en_2021-01-27.pdf](#)

So, why should we be concerned now that they do not have money? The critical ingredient is trust, which, for us in Nigerian democracy, or where we are today, is almost totally absent."

Similarly, Baba Hakeem observed that "Corruption weakens the capacity to build and use resources that will facilitate development and improve citizens' faith and trust in leaders and the democratic system." According to him, this level of distrust affects citizen participation in the political process. Explaining the reason for the trust deficit in the system, Reverend (Dr.) Gideon Para Mallam argued that "a lot of our politicians do not model what their party constitution/manifesto says. Permit me to repeat, it says... if you read the manifesto of a party, you say, 'Oh, these are good ideas,' but then what you see coming out of those in power is the direct contrary. So, if both political messaging and enforcing what needs to be practiced are needed to improve our political experience.

4. Faith

This value results in the pro-authoritarian narrative: 'The democratic state is failing to provide us with security, and we must look elsewhere for protection and safety.' The argument here is that when the state fails to protect the interests of the people, they look elsewhere for comfort. The level is based on the states of opportunity and the extent to which people are indoctrinated, believe in religious ideology, and are ready to commit, as well as how religious groups believe in the current democratic system.

The perception of Nigeria about religion and the extent of trust they have in them vary from one poll to another. The 2020 Afrobarometer Survey shows that 37.2% of Nigerian respondents do not trust religious institutions. Among urban respondents, 42.3% do not trust religious leaders, while this figure is 33.4% among rural respondents. In terms of gender, 36.7% of males and 37.7% of females express distrust.

Additionally, findings from the 2019 Pew Research Centre survey on 'Nigerians' views of their country's economy and political system' reveal a wide gap between Christians and Muslims in their views of the political system. According to the report, only 16% of Christians in Nigeria are satisfied with the way democracy functions in their country, while a large majority (83%) are unsatisfied. Meanwhile, 62% of Muslims are happy with the state of their democracy, and 38% are unsatisfied. It was noted that the satisfaction among Muslims about the Nigerian political system dropped slightly since 2017 (when it was 68%) but is much higher than in 2013 (33%) when there was a Christian president. The share of Christians who are satisfied with democracy, however, has decreased slightly since 2013 (22%).

Chief Anabs observed that the values working against democracy are the failures of democratic leaders to fulfill legitimate roles. 'The various Houses of Assemblies have not been able to check the excesses of the executives. The executives have excesses; they operate as if they are Demi Gods, as if nobody is there, as if they are Gods, as if they are emperors just because the legislatures are not doing their jobs well.' These and other related actions create distrust and loss of confidence in institutions and individuals attributed to them, thereby making people seek alternative systems that they believe could work for them, which in most cases are not legitimate.

Consequently, Rev. Para Mallam argued, 'We don't have separatists in Nigeria. What we have are Boko Haram and extremist ideology. Unfortunately, some of us think that majority of the Muslim population has a secret admiration and sympathy for Boko Haram. Had they united, Muslims and Christians, we probably wouldn't be where we are today.' To him, 'Boko Haram is not just a militia; Boko Haram is

an ideology. Fulani herdsmen and bandits, whether you like it or not, are an ideology. They may not have professed it, but in the end, that is what it is going to become, if you ask me. Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen, bandits are different sides of the coin.'

Order

The value related to 'order' is effectively conveyed in the narrative: 'The democratic state is supposed to provide Nigerians with security, and growing insecurity is a threat to democracy.' It is believed that while the government establishes rules to guide the conduct of members of society, it is another matter entirely whether the government itself adheres to these rules. The second dimension involves citizens' responses to rules, regulations, and orders.

From the narrative analysis, some Nigerians believe that laws and policies are created, yet the creators of such laws and policies seldom obey or respect them. Instead, they expect the public to adhere to the laws and authority (see 'Justice' above). People would be more likely to obey rules and regulations if they have confidence that government officials act in ways that benefit them. When democratically elected governments fail to provide services, they lose trust and credibility, and that is the situation in Nigeria today.

Another piece of evidence supporting this value is the notion of unity in diversity and a sense of belonging. The 2021 API Social Cohesion Survey reveals that 65% of respondents express concern that the country is much more divided today than it was four years ago. This is in contrast to only a few (12%) who believe the country is much more united today than it was four years ago, while 23% think the country has stayed the same.

Breaking down the data by age group, respondents aged 61 years and above (72%) and citizens based in the South-East (79%) and South-South (76%) regions of the country are among the highest proportions of citizens who believe that the country is much more divided today than it was four years ago. A similar trend is observed among citizens aged 18-60 years (65%), as well as across North-Central (68%), South-West (67%), North-East (56%), and North-West (52%). Slightly more males (67%) than females (63%) also express the consensus opinion that the country is much more divided than it was four years ago.

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Much more united	12%	12%	12%	13%	11%	11%	19%	16%	16%	6%	7%	8%
Much more divided	65%	67%	63%	65%	65%	72%	68%	56%	52%	79%	76%	67%
Stayed the same	23%	21%	25%	22%	24%	17%	13%	28%	32%	15%	17%	25%

Table 9: Demographic Analysis on the Extent of Unity and Division among Nigerians by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Related to the findings above, more traditionalists (82%) than Christians (73%) and Muslims (54%) equally expressed concern that the country is much more divided than it was four years ago. Additionally, more respondents with secondary education and above (67%), compared to those without formal and informal education (58%), also opined that the country is much more divided. This concern about the country was also shared by the majority of rural (63%) and urban (66%) respondents. According to one of the interviewers, Dr. Hakeem, who observed that the issue of division and instability is political, stated, 'Political elites weaken consensus by exploiting divisions and deepening religious, ethnic, and regional divisions. These strategies for retaining power weaken the growth of democracy and its survival beyond being a process by which elites retain power.'

5. Prosperity

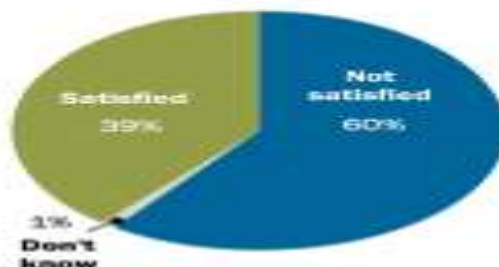
This value is emphasized in pro-authoritarian narratives: 'What has democracy done for me? What benefits have I/my family/my community received from democratic institutions?' Every citizen seeks to benefit from the dividends of democracy, achieving socioeconomic prowess and access to basic needs. However, the views of Nigerians on this value vary according to the survey.

For instance, the 2019 International Foundation for Electoral System (IFES) post-election survey on people's perception of democracy revealed that only 32% of people in the North-West saw Nigeria's democracy as a system with minor problems, 31% in the northeast, 23% in the north-central, 27% in the southwest, 12% in the southeast, and 17% in the South-South. These percentages are far below average. Given this result, it could be argued that people may not likely support democracy.

On satisfaction with democracy, the survey shows that 56% of respondents in the North-West geopolitical zone were very satisfied and/or somewhat satisfied with democracy in Nigeria. This compares to 55% in the northeast, 40% in the north-central, 42% in the southwest, 12% in the South-East, and 27% in the South-South region. In the 2019 Pew Research report, 39% of Nigerians are satisfied with the way democracy is working in their country, while 60% say they are not satisfied. According to the report, the negative sentiment is similar to what was evident in 2017 but is slightly improved from 2013 when Goodluck Jonathan was president, and 72% were dissatisfied with the way democracy was working.

Nigerians unsatisfied with how their democracy works

How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in our country?



Source: Survey of Nigerian adults conducted June 25-July 30, 2018. Q4.

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Similarly, the API Nigeria Speak Survey 2022 revealed citizens' opinions on how they feel about the state of affairs in the country. Forty-one percent of respondents said they feel sad, while 37% said they feel extremely sad. On the other hand, 14% said they feel indifferent, while only a meager 8% said they feel happy. The data shows that the majority of respondents (78%) are not pleased with the state of affairs in the country. Further disaggregation of the data reveals that the displeasure expressed by the majority of citizens regarding the state of affairs cuts across gender (an average of 78%), age (an average of 79%), and geopolitical zones: South-East (89%), South-South (89%), South-West (85%), North-East (81%), North-Central (73%), and North-West (66%).

How do you feel about the current state of affairs in the country?

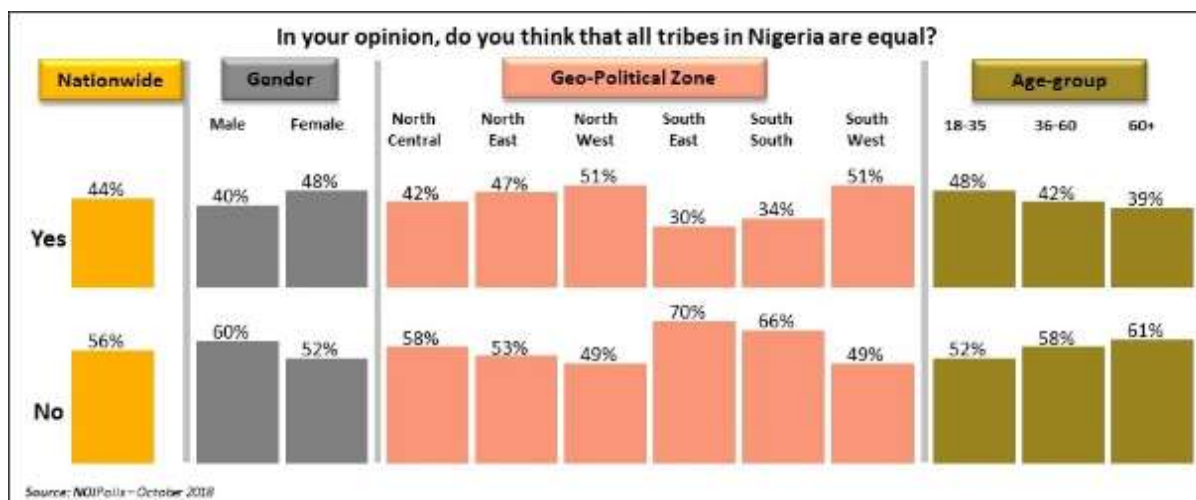
	National	Gender		Age Group			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18 – 35 Years	36 – 60 Years	60+	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
I Feel Extremely Sad	37%	38%	36%	35%	37%	53%	31%	23%	31%	50%	34%	54%
I Feel Sad	41%	40%	42%	40%	44%	29%	42%	59%	33%	39%	53%	31%
I Am Indifferent	14%	13%	15%	16%	12%	16%	16%	13%	22%	6%	10%	10%
I Feel Happy	8%	9%	7%	9%	7%	2%	11%	5%	14%	4%	3%	5%
I Feel Extremely happy	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%

The six respondents in five geopolitical zones agreed that the government is not doing enough in the provision of social services such as water, electricity, food, good road, healthcare, security, etc. Rev. Para-Mallam argued that “the government has literally become done little or nothing about it some of those social amenities”. Dr. Hakeem observed that the failure to deliver basic social services alienates leaders from the population and generates frustrations and insecurity. In the words of Luke Chijiuba, “To a hungry man, utopian is a place where there is plenty of food. A hungry man does not stand up for any national anthem”. Chief Anabs recounts his experience when he said “I wanted to go into manufacturing but the first thing I think of is power. You can see the cost of diesel, for me to run diesel I know what I spend. Just for a vessel to go to the hinterland from Port Harcourt and come back, I spent up to N2m to

buy diesel and PMS, so you can see the high cost of fuel, so when there is a power you can see that power will reduce the cost of living”. Prof. Khalifa associates the reason for poor social service by the government to “lack of planning, mega corruption, our economic system, and nepotism as well as mismanagement our resources.” Rev. Para-Mallam stressed that government oftentimes politicized the provision of the social amenities when said “...lawmakers receive constituency allowance which is government money but they go to their constituency and make it look like they are doing a favour to the people by supplying some of these things that they supply and guess what? What a community will get will be determined by the voting for this government, whether they vote for that candidate or not. Our leaders need to know that whether you vote for me or not you are first and foremost a Nigerian, we are Nigerians first that is the ideal we are not APC first or PDP second or Labour Party third or Nigeria National Democratic Congress first, we are first and foremost Nigerians”. Lastly, Bishop Kukah noted that (Democracy) should “offer people an opportunity for self-grow, self-development because these are the propelling forces that will create a sense of urgency in citizens participation. Democracy should also help people to be able to come together. Call it patriotism or whatever. And democracy must also give people the freedom to explore the things they feel strongly about. Democracy should make it possible for me to thrive in my cultural expression”.

6. Fairness.

This value was established from the pro-democratic narrative: “Democracy is fundamental to peace and security; it ensures fairness, equity and respect for the rights of others. Fairness, equity and respect for the rights of others are fundamental to peace and stability. What gives elected representatives legitimacy among the people is good service delivery and capacity to ensure equal distribution of resources and treatment of the diverse regardless of region, tribe, religion, sex, and status. The 2019 NOI Poll on “Perception on Tribal Discrimination in Nigeria” survey indicated that 44 percent of Nigerians nationwide, stated that all tribes in Nigeria are equal; while 56 percent of this proportion are of the view that all tribes in Nigeria are unequal. Analysis across geo-political zones revealed that the North-West and South-West regions (51 percent each) had the highest proportion of Nigerians who believed that all tribes in Nigeria are treated equally. On the other hand, the South-East region (70 percent) had the highest percentage of Nigerians which stated that all tribes in Nigeria are not treated equally.



The API Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey 2021 also revealed that 7 in 10 Nigerians (70%) believe that their ethnic groups are only sometimes or never treated unjustly by the government. On the contrary, 3 in 10 citizens (30%) stated otherwise, expressing that their ethnic groups are always or often treated unjustly by the government. Similarly, the respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether their religion is treated unfairly by the government. the findings showed that most of the respondents (68%) believed that their religion is sometimes and never treated unfairly by the government, while few respondents (30%) believed that their religion is always and often treated unjustly by the government.

There is little difference in the proportion of respondents from North- Central (35%); South-South (31%) and South-West (32%) who opined that their ethnic groups are always and often treated unfairly. On the other hand, citizens from the North-East (22%) and North-West (23%) are less likely to think that their ethnicities are always and often treated unfairly. more females (32%) than male respondents (29%) are likely to think that their ethnicity is unfairly treated. A similar trend is observed for religion, as 5 in 10 respondents from the South-East geopolitical zones feel that their religion is always or often treated unfairly.

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Q9. How often do you believe your ethnic group is treated unfairly by the government?												
Always + Often	30%	29%	32%	31%	29%	43%	35%	22%	23%	49%	31%	32%
Sometimes + Never	70%	71%	68%	69%	71%	57%	65%	78%	77%	51%	69%	68%
Q10. How often do you believe your religion is treated unfairly by the government?												
Always + Often	32%	32%	31%	31%	31%	43%	38%	24%	26%	50%	33%	30%
Sometimes + Never	68%	68%	69%	69%	69%	57%	62%	76%	74%	50%	67%	70%

Table 21: Demographic Analysis on the Treatment of Various Ethnic Groups and Religion in Nigeria by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

As the survey revealed, respondents with secondary education and above (32%) are more likely to think that their ethnicity and religion are always or often treated unfairly, compared to those with little to no formal education (26%). more Traditionalists (64%) and (45%), than Christians (36%) and (36%), and Muslim (23%) and (26%) respondents, think that their religion and ethnicity are always or often treated unfairly by the government. Similarly, respondents from urban areas (32%) are more likely to think that their ethnicity and religion are always or often treated unfairly, compared to those in rural areas (29%).

Chief Anabs Sara Igbe one of the interviewers observed that “if the government is talking of fighting insecurity they should be talking about justice and equity. Insecurity has totally affected the economy and the entire country”. To him, Nigeria’s current 1999 constitution as amended does not create an opportunity for fairness. In his words, “There should be balance such that religion and ethnicity should be removed from our constitution so that every Nigerian should see him or herself as a Nigerian. That any part of Nigeria you are, it's your country, it's your home until we do that, we will continue to have the problem of ethnicity, religion and that will not argue well. When a section feels offense that is where you see agitations. Everybody in Nigeria should have a sense of belonging in any part of the country. Every person should be an indigenous person in any part of the country they find themselves. If we do that Nigeria will be better off”.

7. Patriotism

This value is well demonstrated in the pro-authoritarian narratives (a). Democracy is messy and complicated and takes time to develop. (b) the Nigerian democracy, it must be recognized that there are some achievements on the journey toward democracy. It shows how long citizens seek to go and trust the system even in trouble. The API Social Cohesion survey showed most Nigerians (79.9%) expressed high participation and patriotism, while 20.1% opted for low participation and patriotism. The High level of patriotism opined by the citizens could be responsible for the country’s resilience in overcoming countless obstacles threatening its corporate existence as a nation.

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
I feel truly proud of Nigeria	42%	42%	42%	43%	42%	35%	49%	41%	58%	16%	34%	39%
I feel really disappointed in Nigeria	49%	49%	49%	48%	49%	54%	44%	51%	31%	72%	56%	52%
I'm indifferent about Nigeria	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	8%	6%	6%	7%	9%	7%	8%
I'm not sure	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	1%	2%	4%	3%	3%	1%

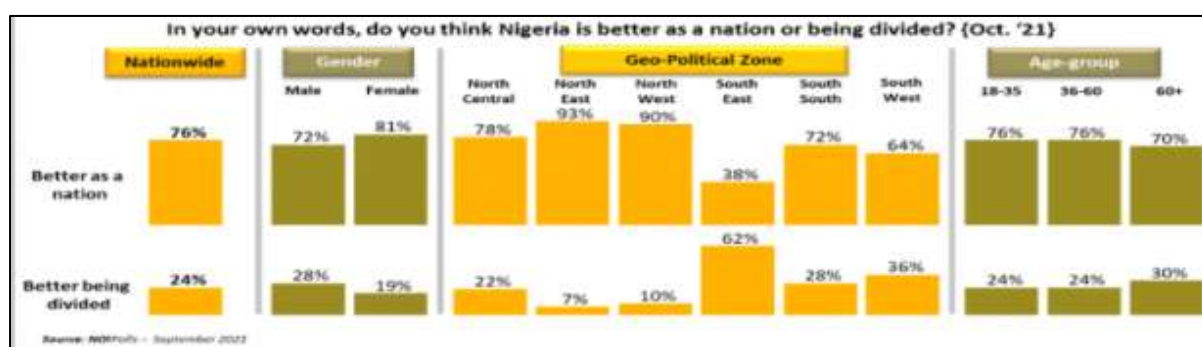
Table 3: Socio-Demographic of how Nigerians feel about the Nation by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Furthermore, with regard to religion, educational attainment, and urbanization, there was a minor difference in how citizens felt about the country. The results showed more Christians (56%) and Traditionalists (50%) than Muslims (38%) felt truly disappointed about the country. Remarkably, more respondents (52%) with primary education / no formal education and Muslims (52%), felt truly proud of the country; compared to respondents (51%) with secondary education and above who felt truly disappointed about the country.

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
I feel truly proud of Nigeria	42%	42%	42%	35%	52%	32%	52%	40%
I feel really disappointed in Nigeria	49%	49%	48%	56%	38%	50%	39%	51%
I'm indifferent about Nigeria	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	14%	6%	7%
I'm not sure	2%	2%	3%	2%	3%	4%	3%	2%

Table 4: Socio-Demographic of how Nigerians feel about the Nation by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

The 2021 'Independence Day' Poll which inquired on whether Nigeria is better as a nation or being divided, showed 76 percent of the respondents said that Nigeria is better as a nation, while 24 percent felt otherwise. The report saw the result as gratifying, especially in the face of ongoing agitation for secession and other critical challenges to the corporate existence of the country. More findings across social categories revealed some variations in terms of gender, geographical locations, and age distribution. For instance, while the North-East region (93%) had more respondents who stated that Nigeria is better as a nation, the South-East zone (38%) had the lowest number of respondents who asserted this perspective. The result is overwhelming across all age-group and genders (male 72% and female 81%).



In the 2021 APS Social Cohesion Survey the proportion of Nigerians who felt truly disappointed in the country was more, particularly in South-East (72%); followed by South-

South (56%) and South-West (52%). The level of disappointment expressed here could stem from the inability of citizens of this region to appreciate the much-cherished dividends of democracy and inclusive government. Again, equal male and female respondents (49%) each felt truly disappointed about the country, compared to those (42%) who felt truly proud of the country.

Bishop Hassan Kukah, one of the interviewers, raised a critical concern about the issues of patriotism and the willingness of Nigeria to serve the country genuinely. In his words, “The president of Nigeria cannot summon everybody now for anything. Imagine if the president of Nigeria decided to call Nigerian citizens to go and register to join the army. Well, of course, there are so many jobless people who will want to go because they want a job. But who will go and join the Nigerian Army out of patriotism? Or that you are setting up a volunteer force. The government will call them volunteer force because they don't want anybody to pay, no anybody who want to put his life at risk if he doesn't have an incentive”.

8. Tradition

This value is established under a pro-authoritarian narrative “What has democracy done for me? What benefits have I/my family/my community received from democratic institutions? The core narrative underpinning value from the research already conducted is the cleavages means of self-definition, primordial attachment to regional and ethnic groups as more important sources of pride, and cultural norms serving as a standard for assessing public policies and lack of enduring political culture. Today, people tend to be associated with their tribal or religious groups more than the Nigerian nation. For the instance, the API 2021 Social Cohesion Survey shows that respondents who feel more only (ethnic) are of majority compared to those who feel only Nigerians across the gender, and age groups. There is a uneven pattern according to the geopolitical zones. While South-East, South-South, South-West, North-West, and North-Central feel only ethnic more than Nigeria, the reverse is the case in the North-East where respondents feel more of Nigeria (11%) than ethnic (8%).

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
I feel only (ethnic)	13%	14%	12%	14%	12%	17%	13%	8%	9%	21%	14%	16%
I feel more (ethnic) than Nigerian	33%	33%	33%	33%	33%	36%	36%	33%	25%	44%	37%	34%
I feel equally (ethnic) and Nigerian	40%	38%	42%	38%	41%	37%	35%	36%	50%	28%	40%	39%
I feel more Nigerian than (ethnic)	9%	10%	8%	9%	9%	6%	12%	12%	11%	5%	6%	6%
I feel only Nigerian	5%	5%	5%	6%	5%	4%	4%	11%	5%	2%	3%	5%

Table 5: Socio-Demographic on Choices between being Nigerian and from an Ethnic Group by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

The perception of some people did not change even according to the urbanization, region and education attainment, except the traditionalist who feels more Nigeria (14%) than ethnic. In an interview, Bishop Kukah opines that stealing national assets is dangerous to the democratic consolidation. In his words “you don’t have that environment in which that the citizens feel they have a right, that a country feels it has a right over its properties. He also noted that democracy has not been able to win its citizens away from some of those primordial sentiments. That is why you will still find in Nigeria today people are more loyal to their home constituency which is what justifies their stealing of state resources”.

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
I feel only (ethnic)	13%	12%	15%	15%	10%	5%	11%	14%
I feel more (ethnic) than Nigerian	33%	33%	33%	37%	28%	28%	31%	34%
I feel equally (ethnic) and Nigerian	40%	40%	40%	36%	45%	49%	40%	40%
I feel more Nigerian than (ethnic)	9%	10%	7%	8%	10%	4%	10%	8%
I feel only Nigerian	5%	5%	5%	4%	7%	14%	8%	4%

Table 6: Socio-Demographic on Choices between being Nigerian and from an Ethnic Group by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

On agitation for ethnic and religious identity, all the interviewers’ respondents have diverse opinions in this regard. Chief Adebajo sees them as protecting themselves as the government failed to protect them. Bishop Kuka disagreed that ethno-religious separatists and warlords are in essence not representing the core values of the majority of their sect members. According to him, “they are after their pocket, their stomach and their immediate

family and children. If they used Christianity. Somebody just says he is going to represent Christianity”. Similarly, Chief Anabs noted that “some of the Islamic leaders are not doing what the Islam said and the Christians are not also following the bible. So, you see the confusion in the entire system. If there is a clear-cut administration that will stand on justice and the truth things will correct itself”. In essence, Luke Chijiuba noted that they do not represent anybody. Prof. Khalifa sees Sec as an agent of foreign power. In his words “Sect are always created by powerful people outside of a country and sent to Africa in other to cause division or a crisis to confuse and instability in Africa to oppose anything that would not benefit the west”. It was, however, believed that they are the greatest enemies of democracy and they could undermine national unity, said Dr. Hakeem. Rev. Para-Mallam did not believe that there are separatists in Nigeria “We don’t have separatists in Nigeria, what you have are Boko Haram and extremist ideology but unfortunately, some of us kind of think the majority of the Muslim population have a secret admiration and sympathy for Boko Haram, had they united the Muslims and the Christians united, we probably wouldn’t be where we are today. I have refused to agree with the Federal Government that IPOB in the East should be labelled a terrorist group while Fulani herdsmen and bandits should not that is the contradiction in Nigeria, that is where democracy is threatened. So apart from that talk about the Odudua group by Sunday Igboho, the Federal Government likes chasing shadows so many times rather than facing reality and that is why the leadership of Nigeria gives a conflicting signal because they believe in denialism, when you run a government of denials contradictions will continue to stare you in the face every single day”.

9. Representation

The issues of representation cut across the spectrum were evident in some of the narratives, especially (a). Democracy and the benefits it promises are not being delivered equally across the state. The democratic state is failing. (b) In Nigeria, the democratic process is too expensive, complex and violent for women’s participation. (c) The democratic state is leading to resources and benefits being unfairly distributed or shared. While some Nigerian alleged poor representation in state affairs, and the reason for raising their continued agitation, other believe that resources and opportunities are not equally distributed. The issue of women’s low participation is also evident in the findings. The API Social Cohesion Survey 2021 shows that almost 6 in 10 Nigerians (58%) surveyed believed that the Federal Government's effort at promoting a sense of inclusion for all ethnic groups in the country has been “Poor”. On the contrary, 15% of citizens assessed the government's effort positively, while 27% assessed the government's effort “Fairly”. This perception was very high in the South-South (81%), and lower in the North-East (45%). This is also very high among the age category 61 and above (65%), and lower among the age category 15-35 years (56%). There is a slightly different in the position among the gender - male (57%) and female (58%).

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very Good + Good	15%	15%	16%	16%	14%	14%	19%	24%	16%	13%	6%	14%
Fair	27%	28%	26%	28%	27%	21%	24%	31%	35%	18%	13%	33%
Very Poor + Poor	58%	57%	58%	56%	59%	65%	57%	45%	49%	69%	81%	53%

Table 23: Demographic Analysis on Effort of the Government in Promoting Inclusion by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

The findings of the survey across urbanization, religion, and education attainment also attest to the government's poor efforts to promote inclusion. This is highest among the traditionalist (68%), Christians (66%), etc.

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal/Informal/Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
Very Good + Good	15%	16%	15%	12%	20%	13%	21%	14%
Fair	27%	28%	27%	22%	35%	19%	28%	27%
Very Poor + Poor	58%	56%	58%	66%	45%	68%	51%	59%

Table 24: Demographic Analysis on Effort of the Government in Promoting Inclusion by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

The survey also revealed that gender equity is essential to achieving a peaceful and inclusive society. From the survey, it was found almost 6 in 10 Nigerians (59%) believed that there is average gender equity in the country. Again 3 in 10 Nigerians (30%) believed gender equity is low. There were few respondents (9%) who either believed that gender equity is high (9%) or no gender equity (2%) in the country.

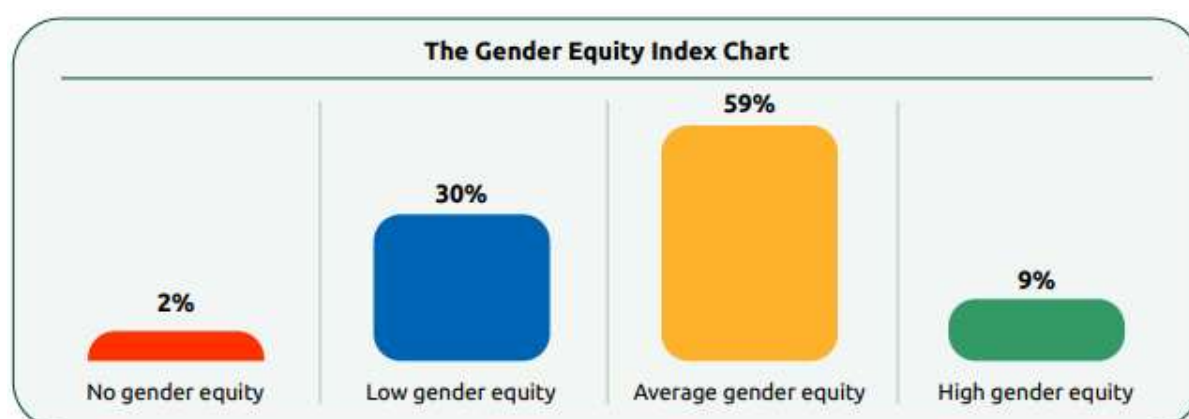


Figure 15: Gender Equity Sub-Index

Therefore, on whether or not democracy is expensive for women, Pa Adebajo and Dr. Baba-Ahmed agreed that democracy is too expensive for women in Nigeria. Chief Anabs blame women for not using their population to their advantage. To him, "If women agreed to vote for themselves, they will win, said Chief Anabs. However, Bishop Kukah is against the notion

saying that it is beyond money a lot of women have money but the culture and religious did not allow such a move. “Now you hear people saying “*ai musulunci yace Mata karsu jagorance mu*”, meaning, Islam forbids women to lead. That is already engraved in us culturally”, he said. He associates low women representative to the issue of gender stereotypes. Prof. Khalifat argued that a women should be given more roles in politics but not executive ones and referred to women as mother who may never want to take a hard decision. “Women should be given more roles or representation, not as an executive, give women the roles of advisers, ministers, boards members, I repeat not executive positions where there would need for hard decisions. Women as mothers would not comfortably take some hard decisions even among the judges”, he said. Rev. Para-Mallam did not believe that democracy is expensive for women, in his words “I think it’s more cultural, it’s more religious bias, its more dominants, men want to be dominant and control things, it’s more of it than the cost of democracy”. He stressed that “Very few Christian groups actually encourage women to be in positions of leadership, in most of the churches the women are actually taught to be silent. In the Mosque I don’t even think of any woman occupying any position, have you ever heard of a woman Muslim Imam? No, I don’t think so, I have never heard it so that’s a bit problematic, that is not good”.

10. Strength

This value is associated with the capacity of the leader and institution to deliver services, manage the population and resources and unite the nation. It is well established in the pro-authoritarian narrative: (a) President Buhari was more effective as a military leader than a democratic official. The people want strength and action from their leadership. (b) Only a strong leader and government can provide security and safety for people and the state. Some of the views of the Nigerians on this are well established in various survey. For instance, In May 2018, Buharimeter Opinion Poll was conducted to assess Nigerians' rating of the President Muhammadu Buhari administration after three years in office. The Centre for Democracy and Development released the report and revealed that 40 percent of Nigerians approved of the Presidents' performance, while 44 percent disapproved, with the remaining 16 percent neither approving nor disapproving of his performance.

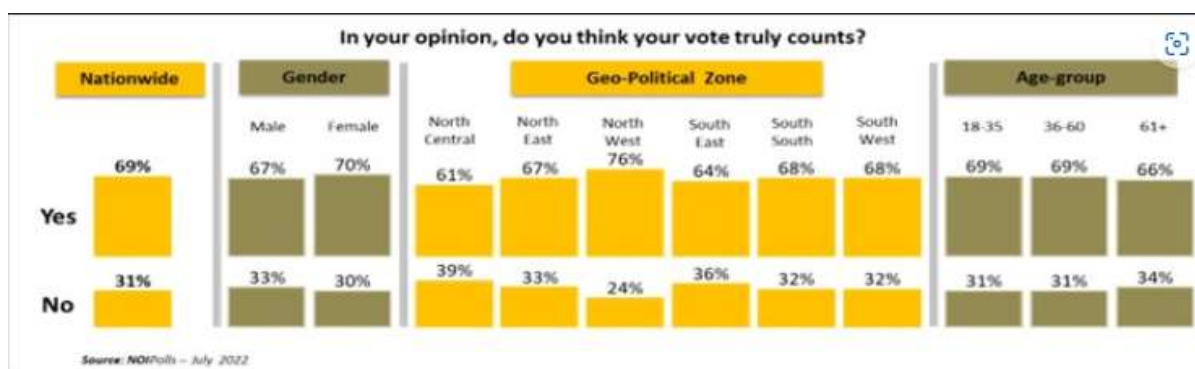
The poll also revealed the received ratings below average on the three cardinal campaign promises- Corruption, Security and Economy. When Nigerians were asked to rate President Buhari's performance on Economy, 67 percent of respondents rated it poorly while 21 percent and 12 percent rated it as fair and good respectively. Compared to the 2017 National Survey, 39 percent of respondents rate economic performance as poor. On a geopolitical zone dimension, 71 percent, 82 percent, and 80 percent of its sampled population rated the economic performance of the incumbent administration as poor in North- Central, South-South and South-West respectively with the highest recorded in the South-East (85 percent). In the North-East and North-West, the economic performance of Buhari's administration was rated poor at 47 percent and 48 respectively. (www.buharimeter.ng) May, 2018.

In the words of Dr. Hakeem, Insecurity threatens the credibility of leaders. Citizens tend to lose faith in leaders. Citizen participation is frustrated by apathy and distrust of leaders to perform their most basic function, which is the security of citizen and State.” Insecurity is a threat to the survival of this nation said Prof. Khalifa. According to Pa Adebajo believed that the government is an accomplice on the issue of insecurity in the country. And until it stops, democracy is at stake. In adding his voice to this, Rev. Para-Mallam noted that “Insecurity right now is threatening the 2023 elections so that is a direct threat, insecurity and insurgency in the north-eastern part of Nigeria and the north-western part of Nigeria, banditry is taking place already you can be sure that elections”.

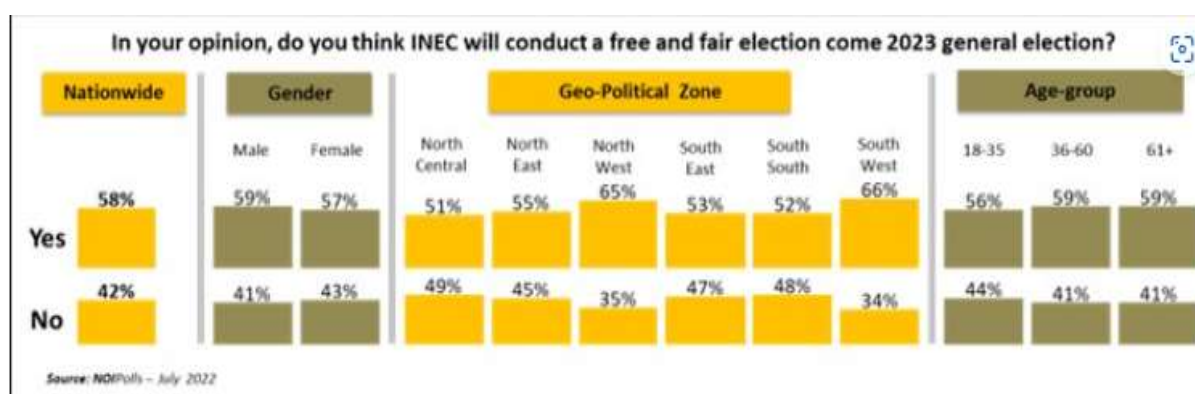
11. Stability

This value is established in the pro-democratic narrative, “Democracy takes time to develop because nation-building is a long-term project. So, while there are imperfections in the Nigerian democracy, it must be recognized that there are some achievements on the journey towards democracy”. It relates to the successful transition of power from one civilian government to the other as well as the ability of the citizens to set out timelines for a successful power shift. Twenty-three years after, democracy has come and stayed with successful transitions of power from one party to another through the electioneering process. Today, the country has refuted the doubt about its capability to sustain its democracy has been demonstrated on several occasions through, its representative government, and free and fair elections.¹⁵ The election has been consistent at the federal and state levels and many Nigerians still express confidence in the institution. This was alluded to by Bishop Kukah when he said “Well, in terms of being able to have a relatively peaceful transfer of power without violent overthrows or killings, yes in that regard. I mean power went successfully from one civilian administration in 2003 to another, the same person though that was re-elected twice and I think so far there has been that little level of stability at the federal level and the state level so it’s positive in that regards there is progress.” Chief Anabs affirmed this submission, when he said “Like I said from the beginning the only thing we have enjoyed is that we were able to change from one government to another to the extent that a ruling government lost election to an opposition and that is very good in our electoral system and to that extent we have gain but the dividend of democracy”. In essence, the 2022 NOI Poll on “Electoral Poll” showed almost 7 in 10 adult Nigerians are certain their votes will count during the 2023 General Elections. 69 percent of adult Nigerians nationwide acknowledged that their votes do count. The assertion cuts across gender, geopolitical zones, and age group with a minimum of 61 percent representation. On the contrary, 31 percent claimed that their votes do not count and Nigerians residing in the North-Central zone had more proportions who made this assertion.

¹⁵ [Assessing Nigeria’s 2019 Elections Through a National Post-Election Survey | IFES](#)



In the same vein, 58 percent of the respondents were confident that INEC would conduct a free and fair election in the 2023 general elections, whereas, 42 percent stated otherwise. There was no significant difference across the age group and gender for Nigerians who stated that INEC will conduct free and fair elections in 2023.



12. Dignity

This value is established in the pro-authoritarian narrative: (a) Only a strong leader and government can provide security and safety for people and the state. (b) The democratic state is supposed to provide Nigerians with security, and growing insecurity is a threat to democracy. (c) Fairness, equity and respect for the rights of others are fundamental to peace and stability. In any democratic setting, citizen needs a secure environment and effective policy and working institution to be able to achieve their full potential. When the leaders and the democratic institution failed to provide basic services, it becomes so difficult for the citizens to strive. Bishop Kukah observed that the “politicians only come together to dry the country and to achieve their common personal goals not in the interest of the government.” Similarly, the 2022 API ‘Nigeria Speak’ survey sought to examine the biggest challenge facing Nigerians today. The respondents identified “Heightened Insecurity” (38%) as the biggest challenge facing them personally today. This was followed closely by the “Inability to Meet Basic Needs” (34%); as well as “Unemployment” (20%), “Electricity Outages” (4%) and “Lack of Basic Infrastructure” (4%). The disaggregated data highlights that heightened insecurity is a major challenge affecting citizens in the North-West (62%), North-East (48%), and the Elderly (50%). Similarly, while the inability to meet basic needs is considered a major challenge

in the South-East (50%), South-West (44%) and South-South (42%) regions; unemployment remains a major issue amongst younger citizens aged 18 to 35 years (26%), and those in South-East (30%) and North-Central (25%) zones.

In your opinion, what is the biggest challenge facing you personally today?

	National	Gender		Age Group			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18 – 35 Years	36 – 60 Years	60+	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Heightened Insecurity	38%	39%	38%	35%	42%	50%	36%	48%	62%	14%	23%	30%
Inability to meet basic needs	34%	31%	36%	31%	35%	43%	26%	30%	20%	50%	42%	44%
Unemployment	20%	21%	19%	26%	16%	3%	25%	18%	14%	30%	27%	15%
Lack of basic infrastructure (Road, Transport, water)	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	2%	7%	2%	2%	3%	3%	6%
Electricity (Blackouts & Outages)	4%	5%	3%	4%	3%	2%	6%	2%	2%	3%	5%	5%

Section 2: Stakeholder Segmentation

Although some of these explanations have been provided above, a more specific explanations will be provided in the subsequent paragraphs. The analysis of the polling and survey across the narratives and identified value above showed that some Nigerians are pro-authoritarian, while others support the pro-democratic narrative. For instance,

The 2022 API Nigeria Speak Poll, shows that there are people who still feel happy about the current state of affairs, especially the ways democracy is being delivered in the Country. 8% of the respondents feel happy about the state affairs in terms of the level of security, employment generation, availability of the basic infrastructure, and other basic needs for Nigerians. The population of the citizens across gender: male (9%) and female (7%), among the group: 18-35 years (9%), 36-60 years (7%), and 60 and above (2%). North-West (14%) has the highest population of respondents supporting this notion. This follows by North-Central (11%), North-East, South-East, South-West (5%) each, and South-South (1%). These identified set of the population are more likely to advance pro-democratic narratives

On the application of the laws, the 2021 API Social Cohesion Survey showed 23% of respondents feel that laws protect everyone equally in Nigeria. Across gender male and female that 23% each; Age group 22% for age 18-35, 25% for age 36-60 and 22% for age 61 and above; the respondents' population among geopolitical zones vary, it was highest in North-Central with 35%, 27% from the North-East, 26% from the North-West, 9% from the South-East, 14% from the South-South and 24% from the South-West. The widely held opinion that some persons are above the law in Nigeria did not change even across urbanization, religion and educational attainment. respondents who believed that some persons are above the law were highest with those having secondary education and above (72%), compared to those with no formal education (64%), Similarly, more Traditionalists (82%) than Christians and Muslims (63%) also opined that some persons are above the law. Again, a slight majority of urban respondents (71%) compared to rural respondents (70%) equally shared the same sentiments.

Citizens who believed that all citizens can access civil justice were highest from the North-Central (37%), followed by North-East (30%) and North-West and North-East (30%) each, South-South (17%), South-West 25%, and South-East 15%. In terms of gender desegregation: male (27%) and female (26%); Age Groups- 18-35years (27%), 36 to 60years (27%), and 61years and above (23%). The perception of access to justice in Nigeria did not change even across urbanization, and religious groups. According to the survey, respondents who believed all citizens can access civil justice when they need to were highest with those with no formal education (31%) compared to those with secondary education (26%). Similarly, more Muslims (34%). Traditionalist (82%) than Christians (22%). While it is 26% among urban respondents compared to 27% of rural respondents 70%.

The 2020 Afrobarometer Survey showed that 74% of respondents on the national average preferred democracy than kind of government. The disaggregation respondents according to urbanization, 69.8% in urban and 77.1% among the rural respondents; Gender. 74.0% for female and male respondents each. This is despite the current states of affairs. However, only 14.4% of the respondents on the national average would in some circumstances, prefer a non-democratic government or would not likely advance the pro-democratic narratives.

The Survey also showed that that the president elected to lead the country must always obey the laws and the courts, even if [he] thinks they are wrong. There is a large proportion of the respondents among different populations affirming this notion. 72.9% of the urban 72.9% and 68.1% of the rural respondents, Male 70.6% and female 69.6%.¹⁶ The national average stands at 70.1% of respondents who shared the same notion. This notion cut across narratives demanding a sense of equity, fairness, and treatment for all irrespective of status, position, sex, region, religion, and tribe.

The NOI 2019 Post Election Survey on the level with regional satisfaction of democracy in Nigeria shows that 40% of the respondents in the North-West were not satisfied with how democracy works in Nigeria. 43% of the respondents in the North-East, 58% of the respondents in the North-Central and South-West, 87% of the respondents in the South-East and 72% of the respondents in the South-South. On the contrary, 56% of the respondents in the North-West were satisfied with Nigeria democracy. This is 55% in the North-East, 40% from the North-Central, 42% from the South-West, 12% from the South-East, and 27% from the South-South. 29% of the National average of the respondents were satisfied with Nigeria's democracy. Note that satisfied with Nigeria democracy means accommodating all weaknesses, and the strength in policy implementation resource management, and sociocultural and political development.

¹⁶ [afrobarometer_sor_nig_r8_en_2021-01-27.pdf](#)

Section 3: Media Platform Reach

About twelve media platform were tracked including print, television and online media with total of 932 articles/report reviewed: Daily Trust (212), Premium Times (73), Guardian (141), Punch (228), lindaikejisblog.com (1), SaharaTV (1), TVC News (1), The cable (1), Daily Post (2), Business Day (1), and The Sun Nigeria (1).

S/N	News Platform	Number of Articles/Report Reviewed	Respective Reach	Audience Demographics
1	Daily Trust	212	Facebook (1.2million); Twitter (2.3million); Instagram (500,000); Print (30,000, daily)	Northern Nigeria; Muslim; 19 out of 36 states. Youth, Women, and Elderly
2	Premium Times	270	Twitter (1.9m); Facebook (1.4 million);Instagram (287,000); Website national	Elite; national; both gender
3	Guardian	73	Twitter (2.5million); Facebook (1,077,375); Instagram (429,000), estimated print run (20,000)	South-West,South-South and South-East; Elite and Christian population, both male and female
4	Channel TV	141	Facebook (3.5 million); Twitter (5.9 million); Instagram (1.2 million); YouTube (2.35million)	National; Elite population, both Christian and Muslim population, and both male and female gender
5	Punch	228	Instagram (1 million); Facebook (3.7 million); Twitter (5.7 million)	National, but read more in South-West; youth population; Christians and Muslims in equal measure; Women and Male genders in equal measure
6	lindaikejisblog.com	1	Instagram (1.8 million); Twitter (1.8 million) Facebook YouTube (67,000)	Youth population; Women; South-West; South-South & South-East.
7	SaharaTV	1	Twitter (4.7 million); Instagram (1 million); Facebook (3.7 million) YouTube (565,000)	Youth; South-West; partially national; social activists; both Christian and Muslim faiths.
8	TVC News	1	Facebook (314,000); Instagram (315,000); Twitter (186,000); YouTube (671,000)	South-West, and partially national; Muslim and Christians; women, youths, politicians
9	The Cable	1	Instagram (47,000); Twitter (1 million); Facebook (707,000); YouTube)	National; elite population; Muslims & Christians; youth population.
10	Daily post	2	Twitter (583,000); Facebook (1,06 million); Instagram (2,900)	North-Central; general readers
11	Business day	1	Facebook (106,615); Twitter (89,700); YouTube (6,440)	National; business community; Christians and Muslims

			Estimated daily print run (10,000)	
12	The Sun Nigeria	1	Facebook (920,000); Twitter (16,000); YouTube (8,500)	South-West, South-East & South- South; social activists; women and youth population
Total		932		

For social media, the volume of data mines is over 1 million comments or conversation across Twitter and Instagram and keywords. To carry out analysis, Python libraries including Selenium and BeautifulSoup were major for data mining. The analysis were conducted on two social media platforms: Twitter and Instagram with some key influential cutting across politicians and public office holders (such as the president, governor, special adviser, head of MDAs), government agencies (such as Nigeria police, DSS, Army, Navy, ONSA, Airforce), activists (such as the Aisha Yesufu, Shehu Sani, DJ Switch, Obi Ezekwesili, Mr. Macaroni, Sheun Kuti Anikulapo etc.), the socio cultural and secessionist groups (such as IPOB, Afenifere Renewal Group (ARG), Northern Elders' Forum, Yoruba Self-Determination Group, etc.), religious groups (such as Christians association of Nigeria, Nigeria Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs and other religious groups; students and professional groups. Their posts and replies on other people's post on key events were tracked and categorized under 31 indicators: authoritarianism, Boko haram, Christians, civic space, corruption, Endsars, freedom, Fulani gender, equality, governance, impunity, IPOB, Kidnaping, Militant, Muslim, National Assembly new Nigeria, Niger delta, Nigeria zoo, Northern Nigeria, restructuring, Ruga, Social justice, social media bill, Southeast terrorism and women in politics. About 6,309 messages were successfully tracked from the Twitter account of the above-mentioned targets and 4,081 from Instagram posts.

Word cloud, MS Excel and Nvivo were tools explored for first layer analysis before further analysis were conducted. For Instagram, messages were arranged according to the username, link, content, likes, comment and date. Every indicator is assigned an excel sheet with similar messages/contents collected from the different usernames. This procedure was also used for the Twitter: username, full name of the user where applicable, the tweet, likes, retweet, links and dates. The weight of the messages was established through the number of likes and retweet/report, replies, and reaction on the post.

Appendix

Polls ad Survey	Key Indicator	Population	Geographical Coverage
NOI Buharimeter Poll 2018	Economy, security, Social	1,000	Six geopolitical regions and 36 states and the FCT of the country
Citizens Trust in Electoral Integrity (Elections Poll) ¹⁷ – NOI poll, 2022	Voter's registration, free and fair elections	1,000	Six geopolitical regions and 36 states and the FCT of the country
Nigeria Speak Poll - API 2022 Jan.	Social, economic, political, governance and public-life issues.	1,026	Six geopolitical zones in the country,
Social Cohesion Survey - API 2021	Identity, Trust, Social Justice, Participation and Patriotism, Natural Resources, Governance, Gender Equity, Impunity, Corruption, Self-Worth, and Future Expectation.	5363	Six geopolitical regions and 36 states and the FCT of the country
Public Opinion on Corruption in Nigeria- MacArthur Foundation, 2015 ¹⁸	experiences with corruption in fundamental sectors, including education, electricity, and health care	2,000	Across all Nigerian states
Human Right Survey NOI poll 2022 Jan. ¹⁹	human rights violation is prevalent, incidence report,	1,000	Six geopolitical regions and 36 states and the FCT of the country.
Perception on Tribal Discrimination in Nigeria – NOI poll 2019 ²⁰	Unity, tribalism	1,000	Six geopolitical regions and 36 states and the FCT of the country.
Independence Day Poll Report ²¹ – NOI Poll 2021	patriotism	1,000	Six geopolitical regions and 36 states and the FCT of the country.
Nigeria Post-Election Survey- IFES 2019 ²²	Perception on election and Democracy; INEC, Information on Elections, and Views on Electoral System	2,736 r	Nigeria's six geopolitical zones,
Security Poll – NOI Poll 2022	Security	1,000	Six geopolitical regions and 36 states and the FCT of the country.
Afrobarometer Survey– NOI Poll 2020	Country Overall direction, Economic Life, Democracy ad Politics, Election, institution and leaders, Public Service and Government Performance, Corruption, Identity ad Society, Media and Access to Information and Youth	1,599	Six geopolitical regions and 36 states and the FCT of the country.
African Youth Survey 2022	Employmentt, Security & Stability, Equality, Connectivity & Media, AfroOptimism, Democratic Ambitions, Environment, Foreign Relations, Entrepreneurship & Personal Ambitions	4,507	geria

¹⁷ [Citizens Trust In Electoral Integrity \(ELECTIONS POLL\) - NOI Polls \(noi-polls.com\)](https://noi-polls.com/citizens-trust-in-electoral-integrity-elections-poll-noi-polls-com)

¹⁸ [Print \(macfound.org\)](https://macfound.org/print)

¹⁹ [Police and Government Officials Main Violators Of Human Rights In Nigeria – New Poll Reveals - NOI Polls \(noi-polls.com\)](https://noi-polls.com/police-and-government-officials-main-violators-of-human-rights-in-nigeria-new-poll-reveals-noi-polls-com)

²⁰ [Poll Report on Perception on Tribal Discrimination in Nigeria - NOI Polls \(noi-polls.com\)](https://noi-polls.com/poll-report-on-perception-on-tribal-discrimination-in-nigeria-noi-polls-com)

²¹ [INDEPENDENCE DAY POLL REPORT - In Commemoration Of Nigeria's 61st Independence Day; Nigeria Is Better As A Nation – New Poll Reveals - NOI Polls \(noi-polls.com\)](https://noi-polls.com/independence-day-poll-report-in-commemoration-of-nigeria-s-61st-independence-day-nigeria-is-better-as-a-nation-new-poll-reveals-noi-polls-com)

²² [IFES, Presentation, '2019 Post-Election Survey in Nigeria: Key Findings', December 2019](https://www.ifes.org/presentation-2019-post-election-survey-in-nigeria-key-findings-december-2019)

