

ATTITUDES TO DEMOCRACY AND MARKETS IN NIGERIA

AFROBAROMETER SURVEY

Interviewer's I.D. No.				Respondent No.				
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Interviewer's Name		Order of Call	
Respondent's First Name		Address	
Town			
Back Checked by		Edited by	

Questionnaire Code	
Number of Rooms/Flats in Dwelling Structure	
Number of Rooms/Flats in Dwelling Selected	

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is from Research & Marketing Services Limited. We are currently conducting a national survey in Nigeria. Our sample consists of 3,600 interviews selected at random from all parts of this country. Your household happens to be one of such choice and we wish to select at random one member of your family i.e. of the household.

Q. A. How many members are there in your household?		
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[Interviewer: Be sure to include children, but exclude visitors and servants.]

Q. B. Among these members, how many children are there below 18 years of age?		
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Q. C. Please tell me the names and ages of all males/females who are 18 years of age or older. Please list the names of these males/females in alternate order starting from the oldest.
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[Interviewer: Record the names of all adult (aged 18) male/female members from the oldest to the youngest and choose one using the Kish-grid table below.]

	Name	Age	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K
1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2			2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2
3			3	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	1
4			2	2	3	3	1	2	4	3	4	4
5			4	2	4	5	5	3	1	5	3	3
6			5	5	5	2	3	4	1	3	2	6
7			6	1	2	1	2	4	2	5	7	6
8 & over			3	1	5	3	6	3	7	8	2	8

Now select one member with the help of the selection chart printed above. The rest of the questionnaire is to be administered to the selected member. If selected respondent has traveled and will not be available within 48 hours, no substitution will be made. Such call should be regarded as ineffective calls. No substitution is allowed

in any situation.

I would like to speak to *[insert selected name]*. Is this person presently at home?

[If Yes] May I please interview this person now?

[If No] Will this person return here at any time today?

[If No] Thank you very much. I will select another dwelling structure. Substitute with the next dwelling structure on the walk pattern. Erase all the names on the list above. Start again.

[If Yes] Please tell this person that I will return for an interview at *[insert convenient time]*. Make two return visits. If the randomly selected respondent is not present at this time, replace the dwelling structure with the next dwelling structure on the walk pattern.

Good day. My name is _____ from Research and Marketing Services Limited. I do not represent the government or any political party. We are studying the views of citizens in Nigeria about how the government and economy are run.

Your answers will be confidential. It will be impossible to pick out your answers from the many others we are collecting. So please feel free to tell us what you think. While you are not obliged to take part in the survey, we would like to include you because every Nigerian's opinion is important. The interview will take about one hour. Are you willing to proceed?

How many calls were made to the household where the interview actually took place?	1
	2
	3

Date of Interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter day and month]</i>					0	0
Time Interview Started <i>[Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, circle A.M or P.M.]</i>					A	P

	Male	Female
Q. D. Interviewer: What is the respondent's gender?	1	2

BEGIN INTERVIEW

I would like to start with a few questions about yourself.

1. How old were you at your last birthday? <i>[If respondent cannot answer] In which year were you born?</i>	
<i>[EITHER: Write in age]</i> _____	
<i>[OR: Write in year born]</i> _____	
Could not determine age <i>[Enter DK for "Don't Know"</i> _____	
Age <i>[Office use only]</i>	PC

2. Which Nigerian language do you speak most often? DO NOT READ OUT. (Single Code)	
Hausa	1
Yoruba	2
Ibo	3
Tiv	4
Ijaw	5
Nupe	6
Kanuri	7
Ibibio-Efik	8
Edo	9
Other <i>[Interviewer: Specify on this line]</i>	P C

3. Can you:	No	Yes
A. Understand spoken English?	0	1
B. Read or write in English?	0	1

4. How much education have you had? READ OUT.	
No formal schooling	00
Informal schooling (including Koranic) only	01
Some primary schooling	02
Primary school completed	03
Some secondary school	04
Secondary school completed	05
Post-secondary qualifications, other than university	06
Some university, college	07
University, college completed	08
Post-graduate	09
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	10

5. What is your religion, if any? DO NOT READ OUT. (Single Code)	
None	0
Islam	1
Catholic	2
Protestant (mainstream)	3
Protestant (evangelical/pentecostal)	4

African independent church	5
Traditional religion	6
Others <i>[Specify]</i>	7

6. Now I am going to read out a list of voluntary organizations. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an active member, an inactive member or not a member of that type of organization? SHOW CARD.			
	Active Member	Inactive Member	Not a Member
Church, mosque or religious organization	2	1	0
Sport or recreation organization	2	1	0
Art, music or educational organization	2	1	0
Trade union/farmers organization	2	1	0
Professional or business association	2	1	0
Development association	2	1	0
Women's organization	2	1	0
Pro-democracy or human rights organization	2	1	0
Environmental association	2	1	0
Charitable organization	2	1	0
Other (Specify)	2	1	0

7. Do you hold an official leadership position in any of these organizations?	
No	0
Yes	1
Not applicable [<i>i.e. if "not a member" of any organization</i>]	9

Now let us speak about your economic conditions.

8. What is your main occupation? DO NOT READ OUT (Single Code Only).	
Unemployed	00
Farmer/fisherman	01
Informal Marketeer	02
Businessperson	03
Clerical Worker	04
Artisan	05
Domestic Worker	06
Miner	07
Technical Worker	08
Teacher	09
Government Worker	10
NGO Worker	11
Professional	12
Retired	13
Housewife	14
Student	15
Other [<i>Interviewer: Specify on this line</i>]	PC

9. In the past year, have you been unemployed (that is, without a cash job) at any time for a period of at least one month or more?	
No	0
Yes	1
Don't remember [<i>Do not read</i>]	2

10. Considering ALL your economic activities (that is, your main occupation plus other things you do to earn money), do you currently: READ OUT (Ask for Each Item).	No	Yes
A. buy and sell goods?	0	1
B. sell your skills or services to other people?	0	1
C. employ other people to work for you?	0	1
D. operate a bank or savings account?	0	1
E. owe money that you have borrowed for business purposes?	0	1

11. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you gone without: READ OUT (SHOW CARD).				
	Never	Occasionally	Frequently	Always
A. Food for your family?	0	1	2	3
B. Water for domestic use?	0	1	2	3
C. Schooling for children?	0	1	2	3
D. Health care for your family?	0	1	2	3

12. To whom do you usually turn when you are unable to get: PROMPT IF NECESSARY.							
	No-one	Kin	Community group	Private provision	Gov't provision	Illicit provision	Not applicable
A. Food for your family?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Water for domestic use?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Schooling for children?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. Health care for your family?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9

13. How satisfied are you: ASK FOR EACH ITEM (SHOW CARD).				
	Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied
<i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i>				
A. with the general state of the Nigerian economy today?	1	2	3	4
B. with your own living conditions today?	1	2	3	4

14. Would you say that your own living conditions are worse, the same, or better than other Nigerians? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]</i> SHOW CARD.	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
About the same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

15. When you look at your life today, how satisfied do you feel compared with five years ago? SHOW CARD.	
Much less satisfied	1
Slightly less satisfied	2
About the same	3

Slightly more satisfied	4
Much more satisfied	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

16. When you look forward at your life's prospects, how satisfied do you expect to be in one year's time? SHOW CARD.	
Much less satisfied	1
Slightly less satisfied	2
About the same	3
Slightly more satisfied	4
Much more satisfied	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

17. In your opinion, who is most responsible for the current economic conditions in Nigeria? Single Code.	
The previous government	1
The current government	2
The IMF/World Bank	3
We, the people	4
Structural Adjustment Programme	5
Internal opposition forces	6
International economic forces	7
Other <i>[Specify]</i>	PC
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

18. How well would you say the current government is handling the following problems? SHOW CARD.					
	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. Creating jobs	1	2	3	4	9
B. Keeping prices low	1	2	3	4	9
C. Narrowing income gaps between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	9
D. Reducing crime	1	2	3	4	9
E. Addressing the educational needs of all Nigerians	1	2	3	4	9
F. Improving basic health services	1	2	3	4	9
G. Assuring that all Nigerians have enough to eat	1	2	3	4	9
H. Fighting corruption in government	1	2	3	4	9

19. What is your overall assessment of the performance of the current government? SHOW CARD.	
Very bad	1
Bad	2
Neither bad nor good	3
Good	4
Very good	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

20. How long do you think it will take: ASK FOR EACH ITEM. SHOW CARD.	
--	--

	Within two years	Within four years	Within eight years	More than eight years	Never	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. before the government fulfills the promises it has made?	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. before your own living standards meet your expectations?	1	2	3	4	5	9

Let us turn to another topic.

21. How often do you get news from: SHOW CARD.							
	Never	Less than once a month	About once a month	About once a week	Several times a week	Every day	DK [Do not read]
A. The radio?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Television?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Newspapers?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9

22. In your opinion, do these various news sources promote public understanding on important issues or do they stir up conflict among people? SHOW CARD. [Interviewer: Circle codes only for news sources that respondent uses. Otherwise circle "0" for "not applicable (NA)"]					
	Promote Understanding	Neither	Stir Up Conflict	DK	NA
A. Radio	1	2	3	9	0
B. Television	1	2	3	9	0
C. Newspapers	1	2	3	9	0

23. How interested are you in politics and government? SHOW CARD.	
Not interested	0
Somewhat interested	1
Very interested	2
Don't know [Do not read]	9

24. How often do you discuss politics and government with other people? READ OUT. Single Code.	
Never	0
Sometimes	1
Often	2
Don't know [Do not read]	9

25. Can you tell me the name of			
A. the Local Government Chairman/woman for this area?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
[Interviewer: Write in name given]		Correct	1
		Don't know [Do not read]	9

25. Can you tell me the name of			
B. the Member of the House of Representatives for this area?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
[Interviewer: Write in name given]		Correct	1
		Don't know [Do not read]	9

25. Can you tell me the name of			
C. The Governor of this state?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
<i>[Interviewer: Write in name given]</i>		Correct	1
		Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

25. Can you tell me the name of			
D. the Minister of Finance?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
<i>[Interviewer: Write in name given]</i>		Correct	1
		Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

25. Can you tell me the name of			
E. the Vice-President of Nigeria?			
_____	PC	Incorrect	0
<i>[Interviewer: Write in name given]</i>		Correct	1
		Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

26. In Nigeria, is there a difference between what the following organizations do, or do they do the same thing?	Same	Differen t	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. the traditional rulers and the government	1	2	9
B. the army and the government	1	2	9
C. a political party and the government	1	2	9
D. federal government and local government	1	2	9

I am now going to give you several pairs of statements. Please tell me which one you agree with most. Choose Statement A or Statement B. [Interviewer: Probe: "Do you agree strongly or just somewhat?"]		
27.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In discussions about politics with friends and neighbors, I can influence the opinions of others.	2	1
B: As far as politics are concerned, friends and neighbors do not listen to me.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

28.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The way the government operates sometimes seems so complicated that I cannot really understand what is going on.	2	1
B: I can usually understand the way that government works.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

29.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: As a community, we are generally able to make our elected representatives listen to our problems.	2	1
B: We are usually unable to make our elected representatives listen to us.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

30.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In Nigeria today, there is not enough respect for authority.	2	1
B: We Nigerians should be more active in questioning the authority of our leaders.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

31.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: No matter who we vote for, things will not get any better in the future.	2	1
B: We can use our power as voters to choose leaders who will help us improve our lives.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

32. When you hear the word “democracy”, what is the first thing that comes to your mind? <i>[Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: “What, if anything, does ‘democracy’ mean to you?”]</i>	P	
	C	

33. People associate democracy with many different meanings such as the ones I will mention now. In order for a society to be called democratic, how important is each of these: <i>[Probe for strength of opinion]</i> SHOW CARD.					
	Very Important	Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. The majority rules	1	2	3	4	9
B. Anyone is free to criticize the government	1	2	3	4	9
C. Elections are held regularly	1	2	3	4	9
D. At least two political parties compete with each other	1	2	3	4	9
E. Everyone enjoys basic necessities like shelter, food and water	1	2	3	4	9
F. Jobs for everyone	1	2	3	4	9
G. Education for everyone	1	2	3	4	9
H. A small income gap between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	9

34. In your opinion, was the change to democracy in 1999 good or bad for the country? <i>[Interviewer: Probe to see how strongly opinion is held] SHOW CARD. Single Code.</i>	
Very bad	1
Bad	2
Neither bad nor good	3
Good	4
Very good	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

<i>[Interviewer: Ask only if respondent has some idea what democracy is at Q32 and Q33]</i>	
35. In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Nigeria today? SHOW CARD AND READ OUT.	
Not a democracy	0
Major problems, but still a democracy	1
Minor problems, but still a democracy	2
Full democracy	3
Not applicable	9

36. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? SHOW CARD. (Single Code)	
A. Democracy is preferable to any other form of government.	1
B. In certain situations, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	2
C. To people like me, it doesn't matter what form of government we have.	3

Now we will return to pairs of statements. Please tell me which one you agree with most. Choose Statement A or Statement B. <i>[Interviewer: Probe: "Do you agree strongly or just somewhat?"]</i>		
37.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: It is dangerous and confusing to allow the expression of too many different points of view.	2	1
B: If people have different views than I do, they should be allowed to express them.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

38.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: All people should be permitted to vote, even if they do not fully understand all the issues in an election.	2	1
B: Only those who are sufficiently well educated should be allowed to vote.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

39.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The President of Nigeria should be able to change the Constitution whenever he chooses.	2	1
B: In Nigeria, even the President should obey the Constitution.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	

40.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In Nigeria, it is sometimes alright to use violence in trying to reach political goals	2	1
B: The use of violence is never justified in Nigerian politics	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

41.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The best form of government is a government elected by the people.	2	1
B: The best form of government is a government that gets things done.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

42. We are now going to discuss how much you like different kinds of government. I would like you to give marks out of ten. Let us say that the best government gets 10 out of 10 and the worst government gets only 1 out of 10. What mark would you give to: SHOW CARD.										
A. our present system of government with free elections and many parties?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B. the former system of military rule?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
C. the former colonial system (that is, when the British ruled)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
D. the old system of government by traditional rulers?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E. the system of government that you expect Nigeria to have in five years time?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

43. We are going to compare our present system of government with the former system of military rule. Please tell me if the following things are better or worse now than they used to be. SHOW CARD.						
	Much Worse	Somewhat Worse	No Change	Somewhat Better	Much Better	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. People are free to say what they think.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. People can join any organization they want.	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Each person can freely choose who to vote for without feeling pressured.	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. Ordinary people can influence what government does.	1	2	3	4	5	9
E. Everybody is treated equally and fairly by the government.	1	2	3	4	5	9
F. People have an adequate standard of living.	1	2	3	4	5	9

44. Some people say that we would be better off if the country was governed differently. What do you think about the following options? SHOW CARD.					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know [Do not read]
A. We should get rid of elections so that a strong leader can decide everything.	1	2	3	4	9
B. We should have only one political party.	1	2	3	4	9
C. The army should come in to govern the country.	1	2	3	4	9
D. The most important decisions, for example on the economy, should be left to experts.	1	2	3	4	9

45. Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in Nigeria? [Interviewer: Probe to see how strongly opinion is held] SHOW CARD.	
Very dissatisfied	1
Somewhat dissatisfied	2
Somewhat satisfied	3
Very satisfied	4
Don't know [Do not read]	9

Once again, please choose whether you agree with Statement A or B. [Interviewer: Probe: "Do you agree strongly or just somewhat?"]		
46.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: Our present system of elected government should be able to deal with inherited problems, even if this takes time.	2	1
B: If democracy can't produce results soon, we should try another form of government.	3	4
Do not agree with either [Do not read]	5	
Don't know [Do not read]	9	

47. I am going to read out some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. Could you please tell me if you agree or disagree after I read out each one? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	DK [dnr]
A. In a democracy, the economic system runs badly	1	2	3	4	9
B. Democracies are indecisive and have too much squabbling	1	2	3	4	9
C. Democracies aren't good at maintaining order	1	2	3	4	9
D. Democracy may have problems, but its better than any other form of government	1	2	3	4	9

Let's turn to your views on your fellow citizens.

48. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you must be very

careful in dealing with people?	
Most people can be trusted	1
You must be very careful	2
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

I am now going to read you a list of people. I would like to know whether, generally speaking, you trust them to do what is right.
[Interviewer: Probe to see whether or not views are held strongly.]

49. Do you trust the following people? SHOW CARD.

	I do not trust them at all	I distrust them somewhat	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. Your relatives	1	2	3	4	9
B. Your neighbors	1	2	3	4	9
C. Someone in your own tribe	1	2	3	4	9
D. Nigerians from other tribes	1	2	3	4	9
E. President Obasanjo	1	2	3	4	9

50. Do you trust the following institutions? SHOW CARD.

	I do not trust them at all	I distrust them somewhat	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. traditional rulers	1	2	3	4	9
B. Local Government authorities	1	2	3	4	9
C. the police	1	2	3	4	9
D. courts of law	1	2	3	4	9
E. political parties	1	2	3	4	9
F. the army	1	2	3	4	9
G. the National Assembly	1	2	3	4	9
H. the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)	1	2	3	4	9

51. And do you trust the following social institutions? SHOW CARD.

	I do not trust them at all	I distrust them somewhat	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. churches	1	2	3	4	9
B. mosques	1	2	3	4	9
C. trade unions <i>[ask urban]</i> OR farmer organizations <i>[ask rural]</i>	1	2	3	4	9
D. NGOs	1	2	3	4	9
E. banks	1	2	3	4	9
F. businesses	1	2	3	4	9

52. We know that some people obey the law and others do not. In your opinion, how often do Nigerians break the law by engaging in the following acts? SHOW CARD.

	Never	Occasionally	Most of the time	Always	DK <i>[Do not read]</i>
A. throwing rubbish in public places	0	1	2	3	9

B. disregarding traffic signs and traffic lights	0	1	2	3	9
C. selling goods without a trader's licence	0	1	2	3	9
D. not paying for services like piped water	0	1	2	3	9
E. evading income taxes	0	1	2	3	9
F. offering bribes to public servants	0	1	2	3	9

53. Have you ever heard about the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)? [Interviewer: Prompt, if necessary: "You know, the reforms to the economy introduced in the 1980s."]	
No [If No, Go to Q.56]	0
Yes	1

54. What, in your opinion, is the Structural Adjustment Programme supposed to do?	P	
	C	

55. How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with the SAP? SHOW CARD.	
Very unsatisfied	1
Unsatisfied	2
Neutral	3
Satisfied	4
Very satisfied	5
Don't know [Do not read]	9
Not applicable	0

I am again going to give you several pairs of statements. Please tell me which one you agree with most. Choose Statement A or Statement B. [Interviewer: Probe: "Do you agree strongly or just somewhat?"]

56.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: It is not wise to plan too far ahead, because many things turn out to be a matter of luck.	2	1
B: I always try to plan ahead because I feel I can make my plans work.	3	4
Do not agree with either [Do not read]	5	
Don't know [Do not read]	9	

57.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: People should look after themselves and be responsible for their own success in life.	2	1
B: The government should bear the main responsibility for ensuring the well-being of people.	3	4
Do not agree with either [Do not read]	5	
Don't know [Do not read]	9	

58.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The best way to create jobs is to encourage people to start their own businesses.	2	1
B: The government should provide employment for everyone who wants to work.	3	4
Do not agree with either [Do not read]	5	
Don't know [Do not read]	9	

59.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: Everyone should be free to earn as much as they can, even if this leads to differences in income between people.	2	1
B: The government should place limits on how much the rich can earn, even if this discourages some people from working hard.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

60.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In rural areas, land should be owned by the community and allocated by the traditional rulers.	2	1
B: People should be able to own their own land, including buying and selling it, even in rural areas.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

61.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: There is no sense in trying to start a new business because many enterprises lose money.	2	1
B: If a person has a good idea for a business, they should invest their own savings or borrow money to try to make it succeed.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

62. I am going to read out a list of things that are important for the development of our country. In your opinion, who is responsible for providing these things? The government, private businesses, or individuals? Or some combination of these providers? SHOW CARD.							
	Government	Private Companies	Individuals	Government and Businesses	Government and Individuals	Businesses and Individuals	All three
A. protecting the nation's borders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B. building your house	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C. extending agricultural credit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
D. producing and marketing oil	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E. selling consumer goods	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F. providing school and clinics	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G. creating jobs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
H. reducing crime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Once again, please choose whether you agree most with Statement A or B. <i>[Interviewer: Probe: "Do you agree strongly or just somewhat?"]</i>		
63.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: It is better to have goods available in the market, even if the prices are high.	2	1
B: It is better to have low prices, even if there are shortages of goods.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	
64.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: It is better to have free schooling for our children, even if the quality of education is low.	2	1
B: It is better to raise educational standards, even if we have to pay school fees.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	
65.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: All civil servants should keep their jobs, even if paying their salaries is costly to the country.	2	1
B: The government cannot afford so many public employees and should lay some of them off.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	
66.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The government should retain ownership of its factories, businesses, and farms.	2	1
B: It is better for the government to sell its businesses to private companies and individuals.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	
67.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: In order to create jobs, the government should encourage foreign companies to invest in our country.	2	1
B: The government should be wary of foreign investors because they may gain control of our national wealth.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	
68.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The costs of reforming the economy are too high; the government should therefore change its economic policies.	2	1
B: In order for the economy to get better in the future, it is necessary for us to accept some hardships now.	3	4

Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

69.	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A: The government's economic policies have helped most people; only a few have suffered.	2	1
B: The government's economic policies have hurt most people and only benefitted a few.	3	4
Do not agree with either <i>[Do not read]</i>	5	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9	

70. <i>[If respondent chose 69B]</i> In your opinion, which group has benefited most? Single Code.	
People close to the government	1
Foreign businesses	2
Rural dwellers	3
People in selected regions of Nigeria	4
<i>[If 4, Specify which region(s)]</i> PC	
Other	5
<i>[If Other, Specify]</i> PC	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

71. Are you a registered voter?	
No	0
Yes <i>[If yes, go to Q.73]</i>	1

IF NOT A REGISTERED VOTER ASK Q72 AND GO TO Q75

72. <i>[If yes, circle 0 = not applicable.] [If no]</i> Why not? DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS.	
Not applicable	0
Missed registration	1
Ill health	2
Absent from area	3
Registration process was not credible	4
Voter card not available	5
Under 18 during registration	6
Not interested in voting	7
Otherwise engaged	8
Other <i>[Specify]</i> PC	

73. Understanding that some Nigerians choose not to vote, let me ask you: Did you vote: ASK FOR EACH ONE.	No	Yes
A. In the Presidential election of February 1999? <i>[Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: that is, the last elections for President.]</i>	0	1
B. In the National Assembly elections of February 1999? <i>[Interviewer: Prompt if necessary: that is, the last elections for Parliament.]</i>	0	1
C. In the state government elections of January 1999?	0	1
D. In the local government elections of December 1998?	0	1
<i>[If No to Q.73B, Go to Q.75]</i>		

74. When you voted for the National Assembly, did you vote for an individual or for a political
--

party?	
Individual	1
Party	2
Don't know [<i>Do not read</i>]	9

75. In your opinion, were the following elections conducted honestly or dishonestly? SHOW CARD.					
	Very Dishonestly	Somewhat Dishonestly	Quite Honestly	Very Honestly	DK [Do not read]
A. The Presidential elections (of February 1999)?	1	2	3	4	9
B. The state government elections (of January 1999)?	1	2	3	4	9

76. Since the last election, how satisfied have you been with the performance of: SHOW CARD.						
	Very unsatisfied	Somewhat unsatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	NA (E only)	DK [dnr]
A. your Representative to the National Assembly?	1	2	3	4		9
B. your Representative to the State Assembly	1	2	3	4		9
C. the Governor of this state?	1	2	3	4		9
D. the Local Government Chairman/woman for this area?	1	2	3	4		9
E. any judge or lawyer you have encountered?	1	2	3	4	0	9
F. political parties?	1	2	3	4		9

77. I will read out a list of things that people sometimes do as citizens. Please tell me how often you, personally, have done any of these things during the last five years. SHOW CARD.				
	Never	Only once	Sometimes	Often
A. attending a community meeting	0	1	2	3
B. getting together with others to raise an issue	0	1	2	3
C. attending an election rally	0	1	2	3
D. working for a political candidate or party	0	1	2	3
E. signing a petition	0	1	2	3
F. writing a letter to a newspaper	0	1	2	3
G. attending a demonstration	0	1	2	3

78. During the last five years, how often have you contacted any of the following persons for help to solve a problem? SHOW CARD.				
	Never	Only once	Sometimes	Often
A. a traditional ruler	0	1	2	3
B. a Local Government Chairman/Councillor	0	1	2	3
C. a National Assembly representative	0	1	2	3
D. A State Assembly representative	0	1	2	3
E. an official of a government ministry	0	1	2	3
F. a religious leader	0	1	2	3
G. some other influential person	0	1	2	3

79. What would you do if the government took any of the following actions: SHOW CARD.							
	Support the government	Nothing	Contact an elected representative	Support an opposition party	Join a protest or boycott	Other [Specify below]	DK [Do not read]
A. told you which religion you had to follow	8	0	1	2	3		9
B. stopped you from traveling freely within the country	8	0	1	2	3		9
C. shut down newspapers that criticized the government	8	0	1	2	3		9
D. dismissed judges who ruled against the government	8	0	1	2	3		9
E. suspended the National Assembly and canceled the next elections	8	0	1	2	3		9
<i>[If Other, Specify]</i>						PC	

Please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell me what you think. SHOW CARD.					
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	DK [dnr]
80. The best way to get ahead in this life is to have contacts with important people in high places.	1	2	3	4	
81. Politicians and civil servants are trying their best to look after the interests of people like me.	1	2	3	4	
82. Rather than protecting his friends, the President will fight corruption wherever he finds it.	1	2	3	4	
83. Bribery is not common among public officials in Nigeria.	1	2	3	4	
84. The President's region of the country gets more government services than any other region.	1	2	3	4	
85. Corruption was a worse problem under the old military government than these days.	1	2	3	4	

86. How often, if ever, has a public official asked you for a bribe or a favor in return for getting something you were entitled to? SHOW CARD.	
Never <i>[If never, go to Q.88]</i>	0
Once	1
A few times	2
Often	3

87. <i>[If asked for a bribe]</i> Which office(s) or agency(ies) did the official work for? <i>[Record up to 2 answers]</i>	
	P C
	P C

88. In the past two years, have you or anyone else you know: SHOW CARD.				
	No, no-one	Friend or acquaintance	Family member	Yes, self
A. been attacked or robbed when moving about in	0	1	2	3

public?				
B. had your/their home broken into and had something stolen?	0	1	2	3

89. Compared with five years ago, do you feel less safe or more safe when you go walking about alone? SHOW CARD.	
Much less safe	1
Somewhat less safe	2
About the same	3
Somewhat more safe	4
Much more safe	5

90. If you ever felt unsafe in your surroundings, how likely would you be to take the following actions: SHOW CARD.				
	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
A. report to the police?	0	1	2	3
B. carry something for protection, like a weapon?	0	1	2	3
C. have other people with you when going out?	0	1	2	3
D. try to form a group with other citizens to combat crime?	0	1	2	3

Let us close with a few final questions about yourself.

91. We have spoken to many Nigerians and they have all described themselves in different ways. Some people describe themselves in terms of their language, ethnic group, or religion and others describe themselves in economic terms, such as working class, middle class, or a farmer. Besides being Nigerian, which specific group do you feel you belong to first and foremost? [Interviewer: Enter respondent's exact response on the line below]	
	PC

[Read RESPONDENT'S IDENTITY GROUP from question 91 out to the respondent into all the blank spaces below. Probe for strength of opinion]

92. Here are a series of things people might say about how they see their group in relation to other Nigerians. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in <u>your</u> opinions. Please tell me whether you disagree or agree with these statements. [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion] SHOW CARD.						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	DK [Do not read]
A. You feel proud to be _____.	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. You would want your children to think of themselves as _____. (mention answer at Q91)	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Of all the groups in this country, ____ people are the best.	1	2	3	4	5	9
D. You feel much stronger ties to _____s than to other Nigerians. (mention answer at Q91)	1	2	3	4	5	9
E. It makes you proud to be called a Nigerian.	1	2	3	4	5	9
F. You would want your children to think of themselves as Nigerian.	1	2	3	4	5	9
G. All people who were born in this country, regardless of what group they belong to, should be treated as equal citizens of Nigeria.	1	2	3	4	5	9

H. People who were not born in this country should be allowed to become Nigerian citizens.	1	2	3	4	5	9
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93. Are _____s' [RESPONDENT'S IDENTITY GROUP AT Q91] economic conditions worse, the same as, or better than other groups in this country? [Probe for strength of opinion] SHOW CARD.	
Much worse	1
Worse	2
About the same	3
Better	4
Much better	5
Don't know [Do Not Read]	9

94. In your opinion, how often are _____ (mention identified group at Q91) people treated unfairly by the government? SHOW CARD.	
Always	1
To a large extent	2
To some extent	3
Hardly at all	4
Never	5
Don't know [Do Not Read]	9

95. Do you think that the government represents the interests of all Nigerians, the interests of just a few groups, or the interests of one group only?	
All Nigerians [Skip to Q.97]	3
Just a few groups	2
One group only	1
Don't know [Do Not Read]	9

If respondent says "all Nigerians", Skip to Q.97.

96. [If one or a few groups] Which group(s) do you mean?		
	P	
	C	
	P	
	C	
	P	
	C	

97. Do you feel close to any political party?	
No [If No, circle 0 for Q.98, and Go to Q.99]	0
Yes	1

98. [If Yes] Which one?	
Not applicable	0
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	1
All People's Party (APP)	2
Alliance for Democracy (AD)	3
Other [Specify]	PC

99. Roughly how much money do you (and your spouse together) earn per month?	
None	0
Less than 1,000 naira	1
1,000-5,000 naira	2
5,000-10,000 naira	3
10,000-20,000 naira	4
20,000-30,000 naira	5
30,000- 40,000 naira	6
40,000- 50,000 naira	7
Over 50,000 naira	8

100. How would you describe your financial situation during the past year? Did you save money, spend all your income, spend some of your own savings, or borrow money? Single Code Only.	
Save	1
Spend Income (i.e., break even)	2
Spend Savings	3
Borrow	4
Spend Savings and Borrow	5

Thank you so much. Your answers have been very helpful. Please be assured that they will remain confidential.

Time Interview Ended [Interviewer: Enter hour and minute, then circle A.M. or P.M.]						A	P
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END INTERVIEW

Contextual Data

[Interviewer: The following items should be completed after the interview is ended.]

101. State	
Abia	1
Adamawa	2
Akwa-Ibom	3
Anambra	4
Bauchi	5
Bayelsa	6
Benue	7
Borno	8
Cross River	9
Delta	10
Ebonyi	11
Edo	12
Ekiti	13
Enugu	14
F.C.T.	15
Gombe	16
Imo	17
Jigawa	18
Kaduna	19
Kano	20
Katsina	21
Kebbi	22
Kogi	23
Kwara	24
Lagos	25
Nassarawa	26
Niger	27
Ogun	28
Ondo	29
Osun	30
Oyo	31
Plateau	32
Rivers	33
Sokoto	34
Taraba	35
Yobe	36
Zamfara	37

102. Generally speaking, how would you describe the locality? [If in doubt, ask Supervisor]	
Urban	1
Rural	2

103. More specifically, what sort of settlement was it?	
Urban (formal)	1
Suburban (formal)	2
Rural township / town	3
Rural village	4
Rural, individual homestead	5
Urban non-permanent, informal settlement	6
Rural non-permanent, informal settlement	7
Don't know; Can't determine [<i>Interviewer: Try to avoid this response</i>]	9

104. In what type of shelter did the respondent live?	
Non-traditional (formal house)	1
Traditional house	2
Temporary structure on own plot	3
Temporary structure in backyard	4
Flat in block of flats	5
Single room in larger dwelling structure	6
Other	9

105. Was the roof made of: [<i>One response only</i>]	
Metal, tin, zinc	1
Tiles	2
Shingles	3
Thatch	4
Plastic sheets	5
Asbestos	6
Multiple materials	7
Could not see/could not tell	9

106. How many houses within the locality are formal houses?	
None	0
Some	1
Most	2
All	3
Don't know; Can't determine [<i>Interviewer: Try to avoid this response</i>]	9

107. Roughly how much of the last 10km. of your journey were spent on these different sorts of roads?				
<i>[Circle all that apply]</i>				
	Length of journey spent on each road			
	0 kms	<5kms	5 - 9 kms	All
Graded sand/dirt roads	0	1	2	3
Ungraded dirt roads	0	1	2	3
Off road	0	1	2	3
Tarred or concrete roads	0	1	2	3

	No, no-one	Spouse	Children only	A few others	Small crowd

108. Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?	0	1	2	3	4
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109. Did the respondent check with others for information to answer any question?	
No	0
Yes	1

110. Do you think anyone influenced the respondents' answers during the interview?	
No	0
Yes	1

111. What proportion of the questions do you feel the respondent had difficulty answering?	
None	0
Few	1
Some	2
Most	3
All	4

112. What was the respondent's attitude toward you during the interview?			
A.	1 Friendly	2 In between	3 Hostile
B.	1 Interested	2 In between	3 Bored
C.	1 Cooperative	2 In between	3 Uncooperative
D.	1 Patient	2 In between	3 Impatient
E.	1 At ease	2 In between	3 Suspicious
F.	1 Honest	2 In between	3 Misleading

113.	No	Yes
A. Did your presence in the area arouse interest from neighbors?	0	1
B. Did your presence in the area arouse suspicion from neighbors?	0	1
C. Were you approached by community and/or political representatives?	0	1
D. Did you feel threatened during the interview?	0	1
E. Were you physically threatened during the interview?	0	1

114. Interviewer: Do you come from a rural or urban area?	
Urban	1
Rural	2

115. Interviewer: What is your gender?	
Male	1
Female	2

Interviewer: Do you have any other comments on the interview?

Interviewer: I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondent who was chosen by the appropriate selection method.

Signature:

Date: