

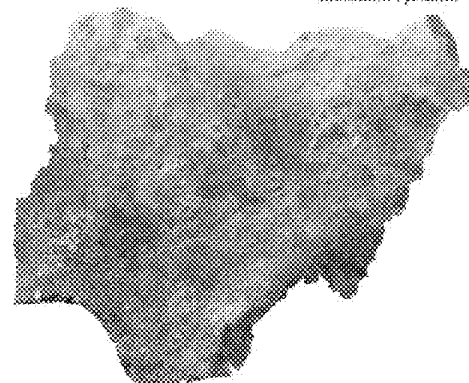
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Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

## Advanced Conflict Analytics

### Empirical Drivers of Violent Extremism in Nigeria

Advanced Conflict Analytics Team  
Office of Policy  
Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations



#### Summary

The Advanced Conflict Analytics Team applied statistical regression analysis to identify drivers for the use of and support for political violence in Nigeria (as a proxy for Violent Extremism). Analyses were conducted at both the national and subnational levels using data from the Afrobarometer Survey. Below are statistically significant results.

- Respondents that found religion as an important part of their life were less likely to use violence, suggesting that religiosity alone is likely not a driver of political violence.
- Those who perceived having more political freedom were less likely to use or support political violence. In contrast, those who reported paying bribes for receiving basic services and those who were deprived of basic necessities such as food, water, fuel and medicine were more likely to use violence for political purposes. Those who perceived Nigeria as having a positive economic outlook were also more likely to use violence for political purposes.
- In summary, the aggregate empirical findings suggests that the average person most likely to use violence for political purposes in Nigeria is someone who sees the country prosper economically but is not taking part in the prosperity as a result of having to pay bribes to the government while also being deprived of basic necessities. This person also likely does not have a strong sense of political freedom and is likely not deeply religious.

#### Characterizing Violence Extremism

There are multiple definitions of VE across government agencies and academia. While any number of definitions could be useful for guiding research, this report relies on a new VE characterization generated by the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO). CSO has recently been tasked with an in depth review of the VE concept. During this review CSO generated the following VE definition:

“Violence, and/or support for violence, motivated by an extremist ideology and committed or supported by non-state actors.”

This definition, while similar to others, has several elements that make it unique. Specifically, CSO notes that this definition should be thought of as having multiple parts: what, why, and who.

**What:** clearly, the CSO definition captures both violence activities and support for those activities.

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## Advanced Conflict Analytics



Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

**Why:** Perhaps the most unique element of the CSO definition is the “why” of violent extremism. CSO suggests that the why is constrained to violence “motivated by extremist ideology.”

CSO further clarifies this concept by stating that extremist ideology is ideology that cannot be reconciled with or coexist with other world views. From the CSO perspective, this definition would generally not include groups that use violence in the name of ethnic or nationalist goals. Likewise, organized crime organizations that might use violence as a result of profit motives would not be included in this definition. However a group that uses violence in the name of religion would be an especially good candidate to be considered at risk of VE by this definition.

**Who:** CSO’s VE concept includes individuals, groups, movements, and communities as possible perpetrators of violence. Essentially, most any collection of people could theoretically fit the definition of VE so long as that group is a non-state, non-intergovernmental, actor.

### Current Research Methods

This report presents a quantitative assessment of possible drivers of VE using data from the Afrobarometer organization’s 2012 survey of Nigeria. Survey participants were 2400 Nigerians (Males = 1200, Females = 1200) aged 18 and above. The survey was nationally representative with a margin of error of +/- 2

The survey was designed to provide analysts with a nationally representative sample of Nigerian’s. However, because the CSO VE concept includes the “community level” as a unit of particular interest as it relates to VE, the analysis conducted in this report will include subnational analysis at the “zone” level (The zone level was selected because any lower level of granularity would simply not have sufficient data available for analyses; see Table 1 below for zones and number of survey respondents as well as Lagos). However, it is important to understand that the Afrobarometer survey is designed to be nationally representative. Therefore, any subnational results reported in this report are for future research planning purposes only and should be interpreted with a certain caution.

**Table 1. Participants by Zones in Overall Survey**

Province	Number of Participants	Percent of Survey
Lagos	187	7.8
North Central	337	14
North East	297	12.4
North West	545	22.7
South East	302	12.6
South South	390	16.2
South West	343	14.3
Total	2400	100

Each of the “zones” in Nigeria contains several states. Table 2 lists each of the zones and the states contained within the zones.

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Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

## Advanced Conflict Analytics

**Table 2: States within Nigerian Zones**

Province	States included
Lagos	Lagos State
North Central	Benue State, Kogi State, Kwara State, Nassarawa State, Niger State and Plateau State
North East	Adamawa State, Bauchi State, Borno State, Gombe State, Taraba State and Yobe State
North West	Jigawa State, Kaduna State, Kano State, Katsina State, Kebbi State, Sokoto State and Zamfara State
South East	Abia State, Anambra State, Imo State, Enugu State and Ebonyi State
South South	Edo State, Delta State, Rivers State, Cross-River State, Akwa-Ibom State and Bayelsa State.
South West	Osun State, Oyo State, Ogun State, Ekiti State and Ondo State

### Measures

The Afrobarometer survey, while not designed to test the CSO VE concept, contains survey measures that can be leveraged to empirically explore the CSO VE concept. Specifically, the Afrobarometer data set contains measures that specifically examine the two “what” elements of the CSO VE concept: use of violence for political purposes as well as support for the use of violence for political purposes (see Table 3 for a brief overview list of all measures used in this study, and Appendix b for a detailed description of all survey items). In addition, the Afrobarometer survey also contained multiple survey measures that tap variables often thought to be drivers of VE. Specifically, the survey contained survey measures designed to examine economics perceptions, relative deprivation, political freedom, paying bribes, governmental ability/function, corruption, treatment of ethnic groups, employment status, education level, religious importance, extortion, age, and crime on both use of and reported support for political violence. Unfortunately, the Afrobarometer survey did not contain sufficient information to empirically test portions of the “why”/ideology element of the CSO definition. However, given that the data set was not designed for testing hypotheses related to the CSO VE concept, it is a helpful starting place for exploring elements of the CSO theory and providing initial empirical groundwork for future studies.

**Table 2. List of Overall Independent and Dependent Variables Included in Models**

Economics	Survey respondents personal perspectives on the economy
Deprivation	Self reported deprivation of staples such as food, water, fuel
Pol Freedom	Perspectives on Nigerian political freedom
Bribes	Degree to which respondents must pay bribes to accomplish basic goals
Natl. Gov. Abil.	The ability of the national government to provide multiple types of services
Local Gov. Abil.	The ability of local governments to provide multiple types of services
Corruption	Perceptions of governmental corruption
Ethnic Unfair	Belief that one's ethnic group is treated unfairly
Employment	Self reported employment status
Education	Self-reported educational attainment
Relig. Impt.	The degree to which one's religion is important to him or her
Extortion	Degree to which respondent must pay for personal or other kind of protection from non-governmental entities such as gangs
Fear Crime	Degree to which respondents fear crime
Physical Crime	Degree to which respondents have been the victim of crime
Age	The age of the respondent
(DV)	Reports of personal use of force or violence for political purposes
(DV)	Degree to which respondent believes violence is sometimes justified for political purposes in Nigeria

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Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

## Advanced Conflict Analytics

Each of these variables was examined in the context of current perspectives on their impact on VE. Appendix A provides additional perspective about the impact of the variables included in this study.

The following two equations were used to estimate the relationship between the 15 predictor variables just referenced and A) the use of violence and B) support for the use of violence.

### *Use of Violence:*

***Use of Violence  $\hat{f}$  Economic Perceptions + Familial Deprivation + Fear Crime + Crime Victim + Political Freedom + Paying Bribes + Natl. Gov. Ability + Local Gov. Ability + Corruption + Ethnic Group Tx + Education + Extortion + Importance of Religion + Age + Employment + e***

### *Support for Violence*

***Support for violence  $\hat{f}$  Economic Perceptions + Familial Deprivation + Fear Crime + Crime Victim + Political Freedom + Paying Bribes + Natl. Gov. Ability + Local Gov. Ability + Corruption + Ethnic Group Tx + Education + Extortion + Importance of Religion + Age + Employment + e***

Because this analysis is exploratory, specific hypotheses regarding the relationship of each variable and use of violence/support for violence are not put forth in this document. Rather, the variables included in this equation are included because prior theory and research suggests that each probably contributes to VE in one way or another. This set of analyses is designed to provide additional perspective into the exact nature, and direction, of such effects.

### Regression Analyses

#### *Personal Use of Violence.*

The first element of the CSO VE concept relates to the actual use of violence for political means. To test possible drivers of reports of actually using political violence, the personal use of violence dependent measure was regressed onto the 15 predictor variables described above. Importantly, the national level model for personal use of violence accounted for a significant, though relatively small, amount of variance ( $R^2 = .05$   $p < .01$ ). Because the Afrobarometer poll was designed for analysis at the national level, the national level model is highlighted below in bold.

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Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations

# Advanced Conflict Analytics

	<b>National</b>	<b>Lagos</b>	<b>North Central</b>	<b>North East</b>	<b>North West</b>	<b>South East</b>	<b>South South</b>	<b>South West</b>
	R2 = .05 p < .01	R2 = .28 p < .001	R2 = .03 p = .06	R2 = .35 p < .001	R2 = .01 p = n.s.	R2 = .12 p < .05	R2 = .13 p < .001	R2 = .02, p = n.s.
<b>Used Violence</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>
Constant	0.17	0.02	0.17	0.17	0.13	0.26	0.27	0.20
Economic Perceptions	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.35	-0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.17
Deprivation	0.04	-0.01	0.03	0.23	0.05	-0.03	0.01	0.04
Fear Crime	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.10	-0.03	0.08
Crime Victim	0.04	-0.01	-0.02	0.06	-0.04	0.21	0.00	0.02
Pol Freedom	0.04	0.01	-0.06	0.13	-0.02	-0.02	0.04	0.11
Bribes	0.13	0.14	0.22	0.12	0.03	0.23	0.05	-0.01
Natl Gov Abil	0.06	0.00	0.12	-0.08	0.02	0.00	-0.16	0.10
Local Gov Abil	-0.03	-0.01	-0.07	0.08	0.05	-0.03	-0.10	0.02
Corruption	-0.05	-0.03	-0.11	-0.29	0.00	0.06	0.09	0.00
Ethnic Unfair Tx	0.00	0.02	0.04	-0.06	-0.03	-0.04	0.06	-0.02
Education	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.07	0.03	-0.03	-0.03	0.00
Extortion	0.03	-0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.23	-0.01	0.07
Religion Import	0.21	-0.01	-0.04	0.13	-0.01	-0.16	0.25	0.05
Age	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.02	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00
Employment	-0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04	-0.02	0.07	0.08	-0.03

\* Green: p < .05; Yellow p < .10.

Five of seven of the subnational “zone” models were statistically significant. This indicates that the equation presented above was helpful for understanding reports of using violence for political purposes in 5 of the 7 zones of Nigeria. Though, only two of the significant models accounted for more than 20% of the explanation for using violence.

Across the national level and the zones, several variables produced consistent results. For example, having to pay bribes for basic services was associated with reports of using violence in four of the models above, better perceptions of the economy were related to increased use of violence in three of the models above, and familial deprivation was related to increased use of violence in two of the models above.

Both perceptions of political freedom (two models) and the importance of religion in one’s life (four models) were both associated with reduced reports of violence. Unexpectedly, perceptions of government corruption was associated with reduced reports of violence (three models).

The rest of the variables in the models either produced inconsistent relationships with reports of using violence, or, no relationship at all.

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Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations

# Advanced Conflict Analytics

## Personal Support for Violence.

The second element of the CSO VE concept relates to the support for the use of violence. In order to examine drivers of such support, the support for violence variable was regressed on the same 15 predictor variables described above. The national level model for support for the use of violence accounted for a significant, though extremely small, amount of variance ( $R^2 = .01, p < .05$ ).

	National	Lagos	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
	R2 = .01, p < .05	R2 = .14, p < .005	R2 = .11, p < .001	R2 = .12, p < .001	R2 = .05, p < .01	R2 = .27, p < .001	R2 = .08, p < .005	R2 = .11, p - n.s.
<b>Support Violence</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>
Constant	1.67	1.69	1.83	1.88	1.91	2.29	1.23	1.93
Economic Perceptions	-0.01	0.15	-0.09	-0.01	-0.08	0.01	-0.14	0.12
Deprivation	-0.04	0.13	0.13	-0.11	0.11	0.01	-0.07	0.13
Fear Crime	0.01	-0.02	0.17	0.11	0.04	0.09	0.01	0.04
Crime Victim	0.03	-0.03	0.21	-0.06	0.11	-0.02	-0.10	-0.05
Pol Freedom	0.11	-0.05	0.04	0.29	0.00	-0.08	-0.15	-0.07
Bribes	0.13	0.13	0.14	0.07	0.16	0.37	-0.18	0.08
Natl Gov Abil	0.15	0.14	-0.24	0.12	-0.11	0.12	0.25	0.09
Local Gov Abil	0.01	0.01	-0.07	0.14	-0.03	0.12	-0.13	-0.02
Corruption	-0.04	-0.04	-0.19	0.14	0.08	0.14	0.21	0.07
Ethnic Unfair Tx	0.03	0.15	0.16	0.07	0.07	0.15	0.06	-0.04
Education	0.00	0.01	0.00	-0.04	-0.03	0.07	0.03	0.02
Extortion	0.04	0.09	0.08	-0.08	0.02	0.14	-0.02	0.13
Relig Import	0.15	-0.28	-0.03	0.23	-0.02	0.27	-0.23	-0.18
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Employment	0.01	-0.03	0.01	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	-0.06	0.02

Six of seven of the subnational “zone” models were statistically significant. This indicates that the equation presented above was helpful for understanding reports of support for violence in 6 of the 7 zones of Nigeria. Though, only one of the significant models accounted for more than 20% of the explanation for support for violence.

Across the national level and the zones, very few variables produced consistent results. Having to pay bribes for basic services was associated with increased support for violence across four models. Perceptions of political freedom were associated with reduced support for violence for two models, and marginally associated with reduced support for violence in a third.

Interestingly, neither economic perceptions nor employment status were associated with support for violence at all.

### Conclusions

Across both sets of analyses there were several consistent themes. First, while numerous models were significant, very few of the models accounted for substantial amounts of the variance in the dependent VE measures (i.e. personal use of

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## Advanced Conflict Analytics



Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

violence and or support for violence). This suggests that, overall, the equations noted above are probably only marginally helpful for fully understanding the full nature of VE. Second, the individual predictor variables that produced the most consistent results were perceptions of political freedom (which was associated with reduced VE) and having to pay bribes for basic services (which was associated with greater VE).

Critically, there are two approaches for future research that CSO must make use of if the Bureau is going to better grapple with the issue of VE. To this end, it is important to understand that the Afrobarometer survey that has been used for understanding VE, both in this study and the prior report on Kenya, was not designed to examine the VE issue. Therefore it is imperative that future research either A) make use of existing data that was designed explicitly to examine VE topics (i.e. the SOCAF data that CSO has recently come into possession of) or B) commission new surveys, designed by expert methodologists and VE SMEs, that will explicitly examine this issue.

CSO's ability to fully address the VE issue will rely on research decisions made in the very short term. CSO's reliance on what amounts to recycled data can provide a useful first step in understanding VE—but it cannot be final word on the subject.

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## Appendix A: Additional Variables Descriptions

**Economics:** As described earlier, the impact of economic conditions on terrorism, violence, etc. is conflicting. Some reports suggest that poor economic conditions are a breeding ground for extremist support, while others suggest that poor economic conditions might reduce support for violence.

**Deprivation:** Deprivation, in this study, is intimately related to economic conditions. The degree to which economic conditions are positive *should* enhance citizen access to various household staples. Some perspectives of the impact of deprivation on VE would likely suggest that deprivation should increase support for VE. Yet, alternative perspectives might suggest that the degree to which people are seriously deprived of various household staples could reduce support for VE because deprived people must focus their efforts on providing for their family in the short term rather than being focused on other matters.

**Political Freedom:** Political freedom, in the Afrobarometer survey, measures the degree to which people believe they are free to speak their minds, join the groups they wish to join, and to vote for whom they wish without feeling pressured. Interestingly, political freedom has been demonstrated to impact terrorism (a concept related to VE) in prior research, but not necessarily in ways analysts might expect. One report found that countries with very low or very high political freedom tend to not have major problems with terrorism. Rather, nations with moderate levels of political freedom tend to struggle the most with terror, violence, etc.<sup>1</sup>

**Bribes/Corruption:** Transparency International, a think tank that ranks nations around the world on a corruption index, suggests that “corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It hurts everyone who depends on the integrity of people in a position of authority.”<sup>2</sup> While this perspective makes intuitive sense, the relationship between corruption and VE is not as well established as would be expected.<sup>3</sup> This report examines this issue using two sets of variables, one set that specifically asked about how often survey respondents have to pay bribes to government officials to accomplish basic bureaucratic goals, and another set of items that examines the degree to which survey respondents believe various government actors are corrupt.

**Government Ability/Function:** One of the primary tenants of counterinsurgency theory is that effective governments are a major part of tamping down insurgency, terrorism, and other VE related events. One recent empirical report provides support for this concept.<sup>4</sup> This report examines this issue by using Afrobarometer measures that tap survey respondent’s perspectives of both national and local government ability to function and provide services.

**Treatment of Ethnic Groups:** As would be expected, multiple perspectives suggest that the marginalization of ethnic groups (or any subjection of a society) can generate violence, terror, etc. The rise of ISIS in Iraq is often attributed to the systematic mistreatment of Sunni Muslims in Iraq by the Shia government of Nuri al-Maliki. A recent report out of the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory makes a similar point.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abadie, A. (2004). Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism. Retrieved from: <http://hks.harvard.edu/fs/aabadie/povterr.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.start.umd.edu/publication/bribe-or-bomb-do-corruption-and-terrorism-go-together>

<sup>4</sup> Lai, B. (2007). Draining the swamp: An empirical examination of the production of international terrorism: 1968-1998. Retrieved from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07388940701643649#.VMumAnDF9jQ>

<sup>5</sup> See author for report.

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Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

## Advanced Conflict Analytics

**Employment:** Multiple reports indicate that lack of employment opportunities can be a driver of VE.<sup>6</sup> However, other reports contrast this finding and suggest that employment is unrelated to violence.<sup>7</sup>

**Education:** As noted above, many perspectives on suggest that lack of education is a driver of VE. However, this relationship is not well established and may actually function in the reverse such that better educated individuals end up being more likely to support VE.

**Exploratory Items:** several additional items were also included in the analyses as exploratory variables. Specifically, the importance of one's religion, the degree to which people fear crime, extortion by outside non-governmental groups, and the degree to which people have been the victim of crime were all included in the models.

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<sup>6</sup> Goldstein, K. (2005). Unemployment, inequality, and terrorism. Another look at the relationship between economics and terrorism. Retrieved from: <http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu>

<sup>7</sup> Piazza, J. (2006). Rooted in Poverty? Terrorism, poor economic development, and social cleavages. Retrieved from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/095465590944578#.VMupKXDF9jQ>

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Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

## Advanced Conflict Analytics

### Appendix B: Survey Items Used for Analyses

The table below is a list of all survey items used in the analyses. In most cases, items were statistically combined to create composite variables where appropriate. The appropriateness of combining items into a composite is based on Cronbach's Alpha scores, a common measure of inter item reliability in the social sciences. Typically, Cronbach's scores above .70 are considered suitable for composite items and are said to be measuring the same construct. All scales in this study achieved at least .75 on the Cronbach's alpha scale.

<b><u>Economic Items (<math>\alpha = .72</math>)</u></b>	<b><u>Scale</u></b>
In general, how would you describe: The present economic condition of this country?	1=Very bad, 2=Fairly bad, 3=Neither good nor bad, 4=Fairly good, 5=Very good
In general, how would you describe: Your own present living conditions?	1=Very bad, 2=Fairly bad, 3=Neither good nor bad, 4=Fairly good, 5=Very good
In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other Kenyans?	1=Much worse, 2=Worse, 3=Same, 4=Better, 5=Much better
In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other Kenyans?	1=Much worse, 2=Worse, 3=Same, 4=Better, 5=Much better,
Looking back, how do you rate the following compared to twelve months ago: Economic conditions in this country?	1=Much worse, 2=Worse, 3=Same, 4=Better, 5=Much better
Looking back, how do you rate the following compared to twelve months ago: Your living conditions?	1=Much worse, 2=Worse, 3=Same, 4=Better, 5=Much better
Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse: Economic conditions in this country in twelve months time?	1=Much worse, 2=Worse, 3=Same, 4=Better, 5=Much better
Looking ahead, do you expect the following to be better or worse: Your living conditions in twelve months time?	1=Much worse, 2=Worse, 3=Same, 4=Better, 5=Much better

<b><u>Deprivation Items (<math>\alpha = .84</math>)</u></b>	<b><u>Scale</u></b>
Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without: Enough food to eat?	0=Never, 1=Just once or twice, 2=Several times, 3=Many times, 4=Always
Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without: Enough clean water for home use?	0=Never, 1=Just once or twice, 2=Several times, 3=Many times, 4=Always
Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without: Enough fuel to cook your food?	0=Never, 1=Just once or twice, 2=Several times, 3=Many times, 4=Always
Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without: Medicines or medical treatment?	0=Never, 1=Just once or twice, 2=Several times, 3=Many times, 4=Always

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED



Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations

# Advanced Conflict Analytics

<b>Fear Crime (r = .66 )<sup>8</sup></b>	<b>Scale</b>
Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Felt unsafe walking in your neighborhood?	0=Never, 1=Just once or twice, 2=Several times, 3=Many times, 4=Always,
Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Feared crime in your own home?	0=Never, 1=Just once or twice, 2=Several times, 3=Many times, 4=Always
<b>Victim of Crime (r = .47)</b>	<b>Scale</b>
During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: Had something stolen from your house?	0=No, 1=Once, 2=Twice, 3=Three or more times,
During the past year, have you or anyone in your family: Been physically attacked?	0=No, 1=Once, 2=Twice, 3=Three or more times,

<b>Political Freedom (α = .75)</b>	<b>Scale</b>
In this country, how free are you: To say what you think?	1=Not at all free, 2=Not very free, 3=Somewhat free, 4=Completely free
In this country, how free are you: To join any political organization you want?	1=Not at all free, 2=Not very free, 3=Somewhat free, 4=Completely free
In this country, how free are you: To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	1=Not at all free, 2=Not very free, 3=Somewhat free, 4=Completely free

<b>Natl. Gov. Ability (α = .88)</b>	<b>Scale</b>
How well or badly would you say the current government is managing the economy	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Improving the living standards of the poor.	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Creating Jobs.	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Keeping prices down.	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Narrowing income gap between rich and poor.	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Reducing Crime	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Improving basic health services	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Addressing educational needs	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Providing water and sanitation services	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well

<sup>8</sup> Where only two items are combined into a single composite, the Pearson R score is used as measure of reliability rather than Cronbach's Alpha.

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Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

## Advanced Conflict Analytics

Ensuring everyone has enough to eat	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Fighting corruption in the gov.	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Combating HIV/AIDS	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Maintaining roads and bridges	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Providing reliable supply of electricity	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Empowering women	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Protecting the environment	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Addressing threats from al-Shabaab	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well

<b>Local Gov. Ability (<math>\alpha = .86</math>)</b>	<b>Scale</b>
What about local government? I do not mean the national government. I mean your municipal or local government council. How well or badly would you say your local government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: Maintaining local roads	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Maintaining local market places?	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Maintaining health standards	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Keeping community clean/refuse removal	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well
Managing land use	1=Very badly, 2=Fairly badly, 3=Fairly well, 4=Very well

<b>Corruption (<math>\alpha = .89</math>)</b>	<b>Scale</b>
How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say: The President and Officials in his Office?	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them
Prime Minister and officials in his office	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them
Members of parliament	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them
Government officials	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them
Local gov. councilors	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them
Police	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them
Tax officials	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them
Judges and magistrates	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Bureau of Conflict and  
Stabilization Operations

## Advanced Conflict Analytics

<b>Bribes (<math>\alpha = .78</math>)</b>	<b>Scale</b>
In the past year, how often, (if ever, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor to government officials in order to: Get a document or a permit?	0=Never, 1=Once or twice, 2=A few times, 3=Often
In the past year, how often, if ever, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor to government officials in order to: Get water or sanitation services?	0=Never, 1=Once or twice, 2=A few times, 3=Often
In the past year, how often, if ever, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor to government officials in order to: Get treatment at a local health clinic or hospital?	0=Never, 1=Once or twice, 2=A few times, 3=Often
In the past year, how often, if ever, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor to government officials in order to: Avoid a problem with the police (like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest)?	0=Never, 1=Once or twice, 2=A few times, 3=Often
In the past year, how often, if ever, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor to government officials in order to: Get a place in a primary school for a child?	0=Never, 1=Once or twice, 2=A few times, 3=Often

<b>Additional Individual Items</b>	<b>Scale</b>
How often is your ethnic group treated unfairly by the government?	0=Never, 1=Sometimes, 2=Often, 3=Always
Education level	0=None, 1=Some of them, 2=Most of them, 3=All of them
In the last year, how often have powerful people or groups other than government, such as criminals or gangs, made people in your community or neighborhood pay them money in return for protecting them, their property or their businesses?	0= Never, 1=Only once, 2= A few times, 3=Often
Age	Numerical Age

<b>Dependent Variables</b>	<b>Scale</b>
Please tell me whether you, personally, have used force or violence for a political cause.	0=No, would never do this, 1=No, but would do if had the chance, 2=Yes, once or twice, 3=Yes, several times, 4=Yes, often
Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2. Statement 1: The use of violence is never justified in Nigerian politics today. Statement 2: In this country, it is sometimes necessary to use violence in support of a just cause.	1=Agree very strongly with Statement 1, 2=Agree with Statement 1, 3=Agree with Statement 2, 4=Agree very strongly with Statement 2, 5=Agree with neither (Recoded to 2.5)

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