

Nigeria: A Tale of Two Countries

Results from New Nationwide Terror Free Tomorrow Poll of Nigeria:

- *Deep Divisions between Muslims and Christians;*
- *Significant Minority Support for Rebel Attacks in Oil-Rich Delta;*
- *Consensus on the Importance of Increased Aid from the United States.*



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Executive Summary:

A new nationwide public opinion survey of Nigeria reveals a country deeply divided along religious lines. Nigerian Christians are decidedly pro-American and pro-Western, while the views of their Muslim compatriots are diametrically opposed, reflecting the prevalent anti-American view found elsewhere in the Muslim world.

The religious fault line runs through the heart of Nigeria:

- 44% of Christians but only 28% of Muslims say suicide terrorist attacks are *never* justified.
- 44% of Christians but only 16% of Muslims are *very* favorable to the United States.
- 80% of Christians but only half of Muslims are favorable to the U.S.
- 74% of Christians but only 37% of Muslims favor US-led efforts to fight terrorism
- 51% of Muslims oppose the US on terrorism, but only 14% of Christians express opposition.
- 75% of Christians but only 44% of Muslims like American business in Nigeria.
- 43% of Muslims and 13% of Christians dislike American business in Nigeria.
- 39% of Muslims but only 10% of Christians feel that the Danish cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad reflect Western antagonism against Islam itself.

Support for the rebel attacks on oil facilities in the oil-rich Niger River Delta region is higher among Christians (32%) than Muslims (20%), and higher still among those who live in the Delta (35%), as opposed to those who live elsewhere in Nigeria (26%).

However, attitudes towards the United States trump attitudes towards the rebels. Notwithstanding the fact that Muslims have less sympathy for the rebels, 58% of Muslims oppose US military involvement, compared with 37% among Christians. (48% of Christians and 26% of Muslims support US military involvement).

Reflecting a deep division within the Delta region itself, while 37% of Nigerians outside the Delta favor American military intervention against the rebels, within the Delta, 46% say they want the American military to intervene against the rebels.

Terror Free Tomorrow's survey of Nigeria reveals a society profoundly split along religious and regional lines. Nigeria stands as a house divided against itself, Christian and Muslim. As recent flare-ups in violence show, the potential for full-scale unrest lies just beneath the surface of Nigeria's troubling divide.

Yet despite these divisions between Christians and Muslims, there is one positive point of convergence that uncovers a hopeful sign for future relations between United States and the Nigerian people.

Three-quarters of all Nigerians, including nearly 60% of Muslims, feel that a dramatic increase in American humanitarian aid to help the victims of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria would make their opinion of the United States more favorable.

As Terror Free Tomorrow found in recent surveys in Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh, American humanitarian assistance can be a healing balm in relations between America and developing nations, for Muslims and Christians alike. In fact, American assistance results in a substantial favorable change in opinion toward the United States, from Nigeria to Bangladesh, Pakistan to Indonesia.

Indeed, the consensus approval of the role of direct American aid cuts across every element of society. Whether opposed to the U.S. war on terrorism, or even favorable to suicide terrorist attacks, American assistance leads to favorable opinions of the United States across every element of Nigerian society.

As Lee Hamilton, Co-Chair of the 9/11 Commission and the Iraq Study Group commented on Terror Free Tomorrow's Nigerian survey:

"Terror Free Tomorrow's survey of Nigerian opinion reinforces a lesson that America has learned in places as diverse as Pakistan and Indonesia: in the struggle against extremism, the effective and targeted use of U.S. assistance can be as effective - if not more effective - than the deployment of bombs and guns. To win the war of ideas and to combat the swelling turmoil around the world, the United States must use all aspects of American power - including the power of American generosity."

Chart I: American Aid Leads to More Favorable Opinion of U.S. among Nigerians

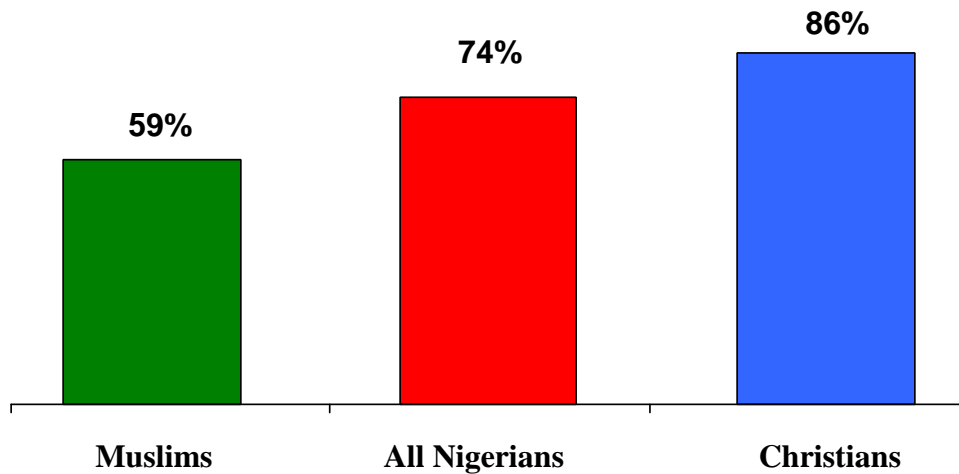


Chart II: Deep Divide in Views between Nigerian Muslims and Christians

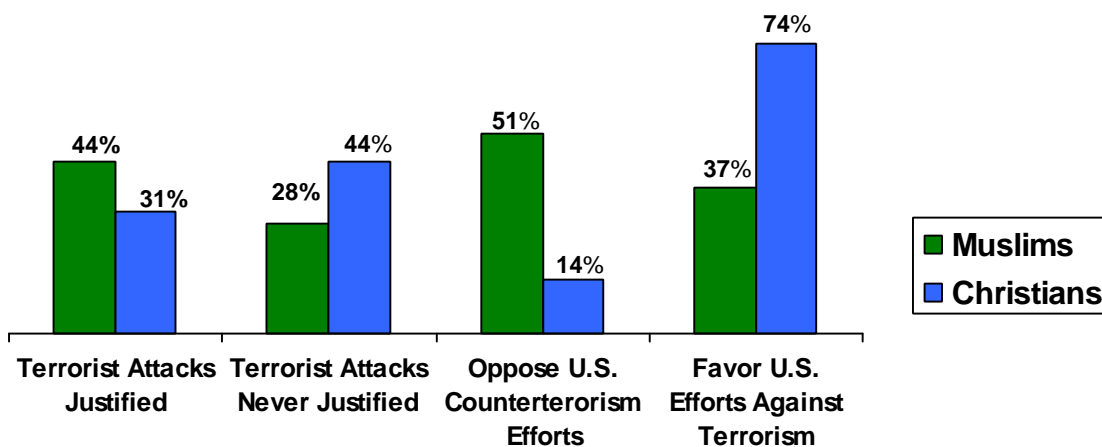


Chart III: Deep Divide in Views

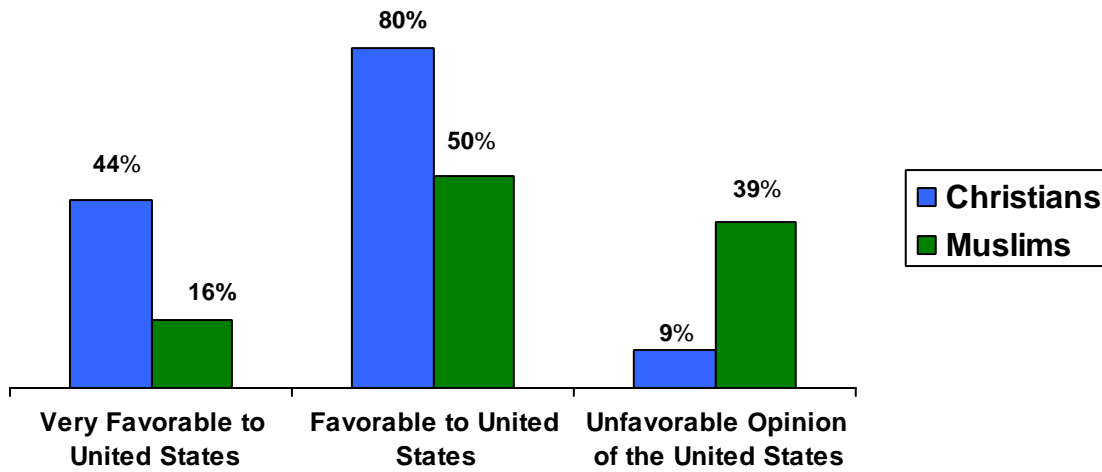


Chart IV: Deep Divide in Views

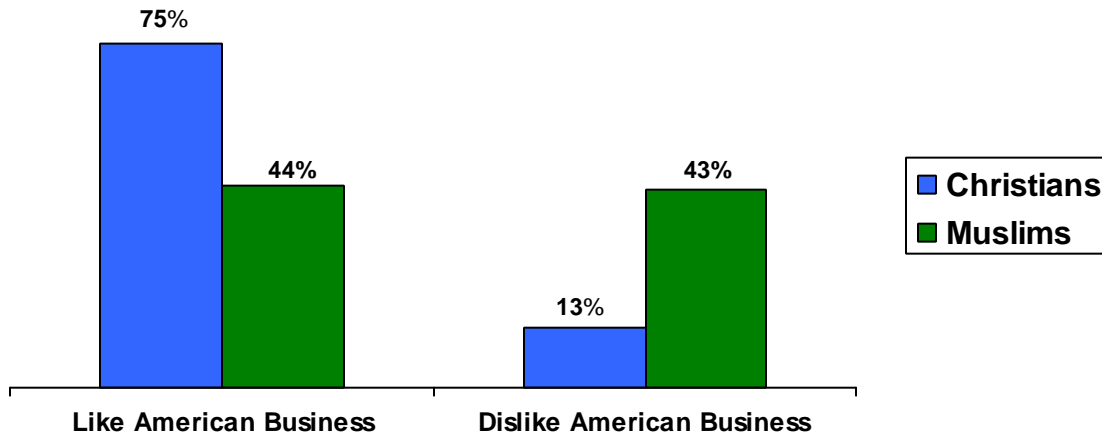


Chart V: Support for Attacks in Delta

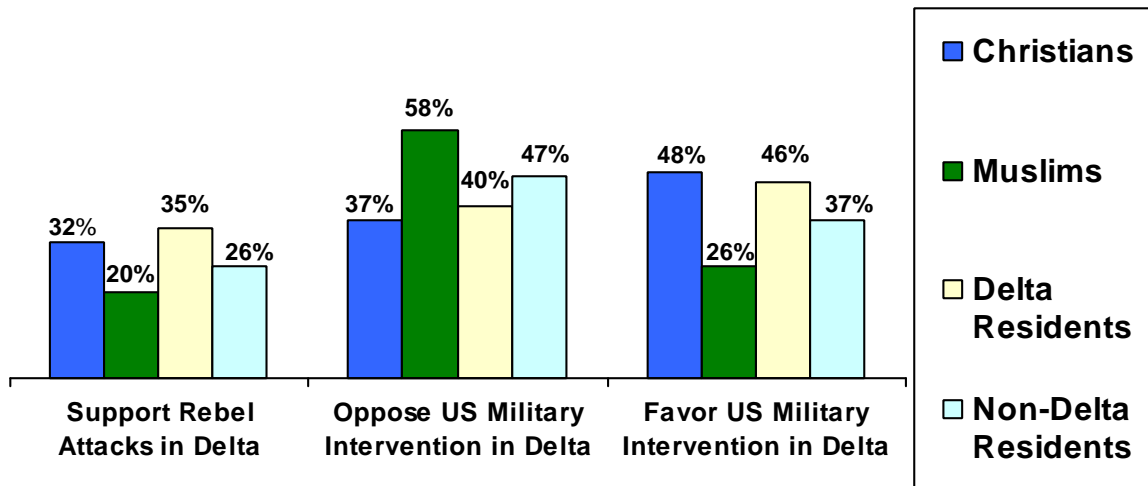
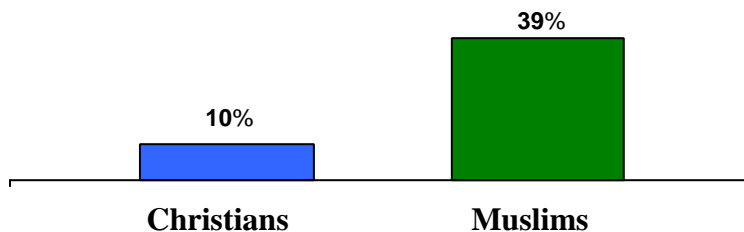


Chart VI: Danish Cartoons of Prophet Muhammad Reflect Western Antagonism against Islam



Background

Since 2005, Terror Free Tomorrow has conducted more than twenty public opinion surveys, including three nationwide public opinion surveys in Indonesia and Nigeria, two nationwide surveys in Pakistan and the West Bank and Gaza, and additional surveys in Bangladesh, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and elsewhere.

Terror Free Tomorrow's surveys have been cited by Presidents George Bush, Bill Clinton and George H.W. Bush, and in the US Congress (on the Senate Floor, by key Senators and Congressmen, and in both House and Senate testimony), at the United Nations, and by the US Department of State and Department of Defense.

Terror Free Tomorrow is a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization, whose mission includes understanding the popular support base that empowers global terrorists. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) and former 9/11 Commission Chairs Thomas Kean and Lee Hamilton lead our distinguished Advisory Board. As a federal prosecutor, Terror Free Tomorrow's President, Ken Ballen, successfully prosecuted international terrorists and played a leading role in the most important Congressional investigations over the past two decades.

Terror Free Tomorrow was the first to conduct a nationwide poll in Indonesia after the tsunami. President Bush, and former Presidents Clinton and Bush, all cited the poll as a key reason for sustained American tsunami relief. The US State Department also relied on Terror Free Tomorrow polling in testimony before the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

In addition, Terror Free Tomorrow conducted the first and only poll in Pakistan after the devastating October earthquake. The poll was featured in *The Wall Street Journal*, CNN and media around the world. Moreover, the poll served as the principal finding by the US Senate for the United States "to take the lead" in relief efforts to Pakistani earthquake victims (Senate Resolution 356, co-sponsored by Senators Lugar and Biden, Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee).

Terror Free Tomorrow's work has been cited by the White House, the United Nations, the US House and Senate (on the Senate Floor, by key Senators and Congressmen, and in both House and Senate testimony), and relied on by the State Department as an independent benchmark in evaluating the success of American foreign policy (*State Dept FY 2005 Performance and Accountability Report*), and by the Department of Defense in the 2006 *National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism*

Terror Free Tomorrow's work has received lead editorials and featured stories in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *Associated Press*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *USA Today*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Miami Herald*, CNN, National Public Radio, *Roll Call*, *The Hill* and *U.S. News & World Report*. Other coverage includes *The New York Times*, MSNBC, ABC News, CBS News, FOX News, *Reuters*, *The Washington Times*, *The New York Post*, *The National Review*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Houston Chronicle*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *United Press International*, *The White House Bulletin*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *The Globe and Mail* (Canada), *The Afghanistan Times*, *The Jakarta Post* (Indonesia), Metro TV

Indonesia, *Tempo* (Indonesia), *Kompas* (Indonesia), TV/Radio Australia, *Straits Times* (Malaysia), *Pakistan Dawn*, *The Nation* (Pakistan), GEO TV Pakistan, *Pakistan Daily Times*, Voice of America, *Jornal do Brasil*, *Die Welt* (Germany), *Le Monde* (France), BBC, *The Guardian* (UK), *The Daily Yomiuri* (Japan), *The China Post*, *The Seoul Times*, *The Indian Express* (India), *The Hindu* (India), *The Oman Tribune*, *The Gulf News* (UAE and pan-Arab), *The Middle East Times*, *The Iranian News*, *The Muslim News*, and *The Daily Star* (Lebanon and pan-Arab), among others. Terror Free Tomorrow has also been extensively covered in blogs throughout the Internet.

Terror Free Tomorrow findings have also been cited in scholarly journals including the *Harvard International Review*, the *New England Journal of Medicine*, and important books on American foreign policy, such as *The Audacity of Hope* by Senator Barack Obama (October 2006) and Peter Beinart's *The Good Fight* (June 2006). Terror Free Tomorrow is one of a select group of non-profits chosen as a participant in the 2006 Clinton Global Initiative. Our website is www.terrorfreetomorrow.org.

Methodology

Fieldwork was conducted for Terror Free Tomorrow by RMS Ltd of Lagos across the thirty-six states (36) of the Federation and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory. Each state's sample allocation is proportionate to its size in the 1991 Population Census. The actual fieldwork took place between September 28th 2006 and October 9th 2006.

Due to the metropolitan nature of Lagos and Abuja, only urban locations are sampled in these states; in all remaining states, the sampling was skewed towards urban, with an urban-rural split of 56:44. The state capitals are defined as urban areas; two rural locations were randomly selected within a 100km radius of any state capital.

The sample is drawn from the adult population age 18 and above. Male and females were interviewed face-to-face at the ratio of 50:50 that is, 2,500 males and 2,500 females, which was further stratified by age. A representative sample size of 5,000 was selected, which led a total of 5,015 interviews conducted, with a margin of error of +/- 1.38 %.

The methodology employed for data collection was in-home, face-to-face personal interviews using a **Modified Multi-Stage Random Probability Selection Procedure**. A detailed sampling description is given below.

Sampling Procedure

Sectors were divided into high, medium and low-density areas. Each of the sectors were thereafter randomly selected from each division using the available street maps already sectorised into different density areas. Where this was not available, an exhaustive list of sectors containing low, medium and high-density areas was used.

Group-interviewing techniques were adopted for the study across all the study locations. By this design, a team of interviewers and one supervisor moved as a group to each selected sector and

completed the assigned interviews for that sector before moving to another sector. This design afforded the supervisors opportunity to closely monitor the interviewers under them.

In each of the randomly selected sectors, the “Day’s Code” was used to determine each interviewer’s starting point (i.e. the First House/Dwelling Structure to enter). The Day’s Code is the summation of the day’s date to get a single digit.

A dwelling structure is defined as a floor of a distinct residential building within a sector of a town/village. Where only one household occupied a multi-storey building, the entire building (and not the floor) constituted a dwelling structure. Where it was a multi-storey building with multiple occupants, counting of floors was carried out consistently from the upper floor to the ground floor in an unbroken chain from floor to floor. A fixed sampling gap of one in three (1:3) and one in five (1:5) was observed after each successful call in low/medium and high-density areas respectively.

On entering a selected dwelling structure, the interviewer determined the number of households within the structure. Having done that, the interviewer then used the household selection grid to determine the household where the interview would take place. A household is defined as a discrete number of individuals living under the same roof and having a common arrangement for eating. However, members of a household were also expected to have stayed together for a period of not less than 6 months.

Quality Control Procedure Adopted:

In order to ensure accurate and reliable results of fieldwork, the following quality control measures were carried out at every stage of fieldwork:

- Pre-briefing and selection of only experienced interviewers for fieldwork in all the study locations.
- Organizing mock sessions and trial calls before commencement of actual fieldwork in all the study locations.
- All supervisors worked as interviewers during training and trial calls before assuming responsibilities as supervisors. This was to ensure that they became familiar with the methodologies and intricacies of the study.
- The group interviewing technique was also adopted in all the study locations. This allowed for close monitoring and effective check on all interviewers.
- Accompaniment: The supervisors, quality control officers and managers performed 30% accompaniment of each interviewer’s job.
- Spot Check: 25% of each interviewer’s job was spot-checked.

- Back-Checking: Both the supervisors and quality control officers back checked 35% of the total sample.
- Spot-Editing: 25% of each interviewer's job was spot-edited in the field for accuracy and clarity.

Detailed Topline Results: Nigeria

Q1: Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified or never justified?

	Muslims	Christians	Total
Often justified	14.5%	10.0%	12.0%
Sometimes justified	29.6	21.1	24.8
Rarely justified	17.5	11.6	14.2
Never justified	27.6	43.7	36.7
Don't Know	10.8	13.5	12.4

Q2: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States.

	Muslims	Christians	Total
Very favorable	15.9%	43.5%	31.4%
Somewhat favorable	34.2	36.5	35.4
Somewhat unfavorable	23.8	6.5	14.1
Very unfavorable	15.0	2.6	8.1
Don't Know	11.1	10.8	11.0
Total Favorable	50.1	80.0	66.8
Total Unfavorable	38.8	9.1	22.2

Q3: Which of the following phrases come closer to your view? I favor the U.S led efforts to fight terrorism, or I oppose the U.S. led efforts to fight terrorism?

	Muslims	Christians	Total
Oppose	50.8%	14.4%	30.4%
Favor	36.8	74.4	57.9
Don't Know	12.4	11.1	11.7

Q4. Do you like American ways of doing business in Nigeria, OR do you dislike American ways of doing business in Nigeria?

	Muslims	Christians	Total
Like American business	44.4%	75.3%	61.8%
Dislike American business	42.9	12.9	26.0
Don't Know	12.7	11.8	12.2

Q5. The United States has provided humanitarian aid to help victims of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria. If the United States were to dramatically increase this assistance, please tell me if this would make your opinion of the United States much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable or much less favorable?

	Muslims	Christians	Total
Much more favorable	26.3%	56.1%	43.0%
Somewhat more favorable	32.7	29.4	30.8
Somewhat less favorable	16.7	4.1	9.6
Much less favorable	13.9	1.4	6.9
Don't Know	10.4	9.0	9.7
Total Favorable	59.0	85.5	73.8
Total Unfavorable	30.6	5.5	16.5

Q6. Do you favor or oppose the persons now carrying out attacks against oil facilities in the Niger River Delta?

	Muslims	Christians	Delta Region	Non-Delta Regions	Total
Favor	20.4%	32.4%	35.4%	25.8%	27.1%
Oppose	64.6	53.7	52.4	59.4	58.4
Don't Know	15.0	13.9	12.2	14.8	14.5

Q7. Do you favor or oppose American military involvement against the persons now carrying out attacks against oil facilities in the Niger River Delta?

	Muslims	Christians	Delta Region	Non-Delta Regions	Total
Favor	25.8%	47.8%	45.6%	36.9%	38.2%
Oppose	58.3	37.1	39.7	47.4	46.3
Don't Know	15.9	15.0	14.7	15.6	15.5

Q8. Which of the following statements are the closest to your opinion concerning the Danish cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad?

	Muslims	Christians	Total
They are an isolated example that does not reflect the overall views of the West toward Islam	17.3%	25.8%	22.1%
They reflect the increasing secular attitudes of the West towards all religions	21.4	20.7	21.0
They reflect Western antagonism against Islam itself	39.4	10.4	23.1
Don't know	21.9	43.1	33.9

Detailed Demographics Nigeria

Sex

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Male	2520	50.2	50.2	50.2
Female	2495	49.8	49.8	100.0
Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Age Group

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 18-20 yrs	748	14.9	14.9	14.9
21-25 yrs	1033	20.6	20.6	35.5
26-30 yrs	1227	24.5	24.5	60.0
31-40 yrs	1258	25.1	25.1	85.1
41-50 yrs	497	9.9	9.9	95.0
51+ yrs	252	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Social Class

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid AB	157	3.1	3.1	3.1
C1	359	7.2	7.2	10.3
C2	880	17.5	17.5	27.8
DE	3619	72.2	72.2	100.0
Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Location

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Lagos	318	6.3	6.3	6.3
	Ibadan	195	3.9	3.9	10.2
	Abeokuta	130	2.6	2.6	12.8
	Akure	110	2.2	2.2	15.0
	Oshogbo	125	2.5	2.5	17.5
	Benin	120	2.4	2.4	19.9
	Enugu	90	1.8	1.8	21.7
	P/Harcourt	109	2.2	2.2	23.9
	Ilorin	90	1.8	1.8	25.7
	Calabar	105	2.1	2.1	27.8
	Awka	157	3.1	3.1	30.9
	Kaduna	225	4.5	4.5	35.4
	Kano	315	6.3	6.3	41.7
	Jos	92	1.8	1.8	43.5
	Sokoto	126	2.5	2.5	46.0
	Maiduguri	145	2.9	2.9	48.9
	Minna	140	2.8	2.8	51.7
	Yola	60	1.2	1.2	52.9
	Makurdi	156	3.1	3.1	56.0
	Bauchi	240	4.8	4.8	60.8
	Katsina	219	4.4	4.4	65.1
	Ado Ekiti	110	2.2	2.2	67.3
	Abuja	20	.4	.4	67.7
	Owerri	140	2.8	2.8	70.5
	Yenogoa	110	2.2	2.2	72.7
	Gombe	60	1.2	1.2	73.9
	Jalingo	85	1.7	1.7	75.6
	Lafia	92	1.8	1.8	77.4
	Asaba	145	2.9	2.9	80.3
	Lokoja	120	2.4	2.4	82.7
	Damaturu	80	1.6	1.6	84.3
	Aba	132	2.6	2.6	87.0
	Uyo	131	2.6	2.6	89.6
	Gusau	125	2.5	2.5	92.1
	Birinin Kebbi	150	3.0	3.0	95.1
	Dutse	159	3.2	3.2	98.2
	Abakaliki	89	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Sector

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	High density	2149	42.9	42.9	42.9
	Medium density	940	18.7	18.7	61.6
	Low density	1926	38.4	38.4	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Region-Urban

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Lagos	318	6.3	11.3	11.3
	West	462	9.2	16.4	27.6
	North	1330	26.5	47.1	74.7
	East	715	14.3	25.3	100.0
	Total	2825	56.3	100.0	
Missing	-99.99	2190	43.7		
Total		5015	100.0		

Region-Rural

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	West	442	8.8	20.2	20.2
	North	1252	25.0	57.2	77.4
	East	496	9.9	22.6	100.0
	Total	2190	43.7	100.0	
Missing	-99.99	2825	56.3		
Total		5015	100.0		

Total Region

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Lagos	318	6.3	6.3	6.3
	West	904	18.0	18.0	24.4
	North	2582	51.5	51.5	75.9
	East	1211	24.1	24.1	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Total Region

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Urban	2825	56.3	56.3	56.3
	Rural	2190	43.7	43.7	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Marital status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Married	2685	53.5	53.5	53.5
	Single	2205	44.0	44.0	97.5
	Widowed	96	1.9	1.9	99.4
	Divorced	29	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Age of children in household

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-17 months	81	1.6	1.6	1.6
	1.5-4 yrs	182	3.6	3.6	5.2
	5-10yrs	143	2.9	2.9	8.1
	11-14yrs	96	1.9	1.9	10.0
	15-17yrs	285	5.7	5.7	15.7
	None	4228	84.3	84.3	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Literacy

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	627	12.5	12.5	12.5
	Primary incomplete	229	4.6	4.6	17.1
	Primary complete	529	10.5	10.5	27.6
	Secondary incomplete	676	13.5	13.5	41.1
	Secondary complete	1633	32.6	32.6	73.7
	Uni/Poly OND	705	14.1	14.1	87.7
	Uni/Poly HND	377	7.5	7.5	95.2
	Post-Univ incomplete	125	2.5	2.5	97.7
	Post-Univ complete	114	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Religion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Christian	2805	55.9	55.9	55.9
	Muslim	2192	43.7	43.7	99.6
	Others	18	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Christian

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Catholic	887	17.7	31.6	31.6
	Protesant	1918	38.2	68.4	100.0
	Total	2805	55.9	100.0	
Missing	-99.99	2210	44.1		
Total		5015	100.0		

Type of lavatory (toilet)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	275	5.5	5.5	5.5
	Pit toilet	2743	54.7	54.7	60.2
	Water close inside (wc)	1466	29.2	29.2	89.4
	Water close outside (wc)	531	10.6	10.6	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Personal monthly income

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Below 5000	1638	32.7	32.7	32.7
	5001 - 10000	1106	22.1	22.1	54.7
	10001 - 20000	574	11.4	11.4	66.2
	20001 - 30000	290	5.8	5.8	71.9
	30001 - 40000	174	3.5	3.5	75.4
	40001 - 50000	88	1.8	1.8	77.2
	50001 - 75000	56	1.1	1.1	78.3
	76000 - 100000	23	.5	.5	78.7
	101000 - 150000	19	.4	.4	79.1
	151000 - 200000	5	.1	.1	79.2
	201000 - 250000	1	.0	.0	79.2
	301000 and above	2	.0	.0	79.3
	Refused/Don't know	1039	20.7	20.7	100.0
	Total	5015	100.0	100.0	

Personal monthly income

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Below 5000	203	4.0	4.0	4.0
	5001 - 10000	784	15.6	15.6	19.7
	10001 - 20000	925	18.4	18.4	38.1
	20001 - 30000	564	11.2	11.2	49.4
	30001 - 40000	433	8.6	8.6	58.0
	40001 - 50000	295	5.9	5.9	63.9
	50001 - 75000	189	3.8	3.8	67.7
	76000 - 100000	126	2.5	2.5	70.2
	101000 - 150000	61	1.2	1.2	71.4
	151000 - 200000	35	.7	.7	72.1
	201000 - 250000	16	.3	.3	72.4
	251000 - 300000	12	.2	.2	72.6
	301000 and above	13	.3	.3	72.9
	Refused/Don't know	1359	27.1	27.1	100.0
Total	5015	100.0	100.0		