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# In Key African Nations, Widespread Discontent With Economy, Corruption

But most are optimistic about future in South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya

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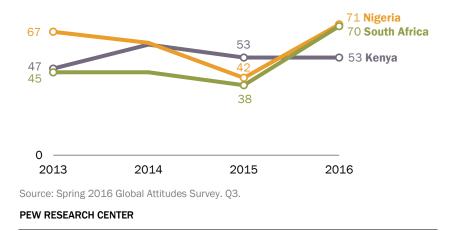
# In Key African Nations, Widespread Discontent With Economy, Corruption

But most are optimistic about future in South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya

Just over a year ago, the United Nations agreed to an ambitious agenda for bettering the lives of people around the world - the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs call for countries to improve across 17 issue areas, including economic growth, accountable institutions and reduced inequality, among others. While the target for achieving the SDG goals is not until the year 2030, the publics in three major African nations are increasingly concerned about

## In Nigeria and South Africa, sharp increase in negative views of economy

The current economic situation in our country is bad 100 %



some key development issues. At the same time, they express considerable optimism about the future.

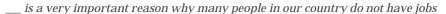
In South Africa and Nigeria – sub-Saharan Africa's two largest economies – economic sentiments have turned sharply negative since 2015. Around seven-in-ten South Africans and Nigerians now say their economies are in bad shape. Meanwhile, in the East African economic hub of Kenya, just over half say the same. Large majorities in all three countries consider the lack of employment opportunities a very big problem.

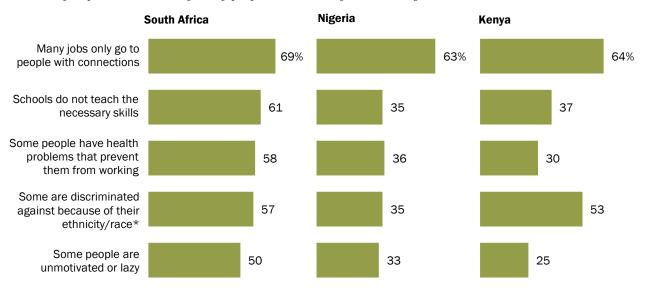
Moreover, as a new Pew Research Center survey of these three major African nations illustrates, many believe the political and economic system is stacked against them. Political corruption — seen by many <u>experts</u> as a key stumbling block to a country's development — is a major public concern. Broad majorities in all three countries name government corruption as a very big problem. Most South Africans, Kenyans and Nigerians believe that government is run for the benefit of only a few groups of people in society. And, perhaps most troublingly, only around a

third of South Africans and Kenyans say government corruption will be better in their countries when today's children grow up. Nigerians are more optimistic that there will be less corruption in the future -60% expect things to improve.

In the economic realm, most see rewards and opportunities going primarily to those at the top. Majorities in all three nations say the gap between rich and poor has increased over the past five years. And when asked why so many people lack jobs in their country, the top reason given is that many jobs go only to people with connections.

#### Lack of connections is viewed as major obstacle to employment





\*In Kenya and Nigeria, asked "ethnicity." In South Africa, asked "race." Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q67a-e.

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Despite these concerns, there is considerable optimism about the future across the three nations surveyed. At least six-in-ten in each country say health care and education — two key issue areas that are highlighted by the SDGs — will be better for the next generation. And even though their views about the current state of the economy are negative, most are upbeat about the short-term economic future: Majorities in Nigeria, South Africa and Kenya believe their countries' economies will improve in the next 12 months.

Moreover, roughly three-in-four Nigerians, Kenyans and South Africans believe that young people today who want to live a good life should stay in their countries rather than move abroad.

These are among the key findings of a new Pew Research Center survey, conducted in South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya among 3,330 respondents from March 29 to July 9, 2016. Pew Research Center is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, its primary funder. This report was made possible by The Pew Charitable Trusts, which received support for the survey from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

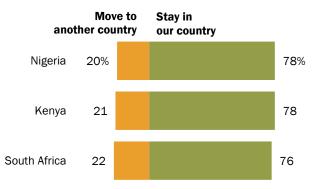
## Models of development

The Sustainable Development Goals are wide-

ranging, covering topics such as poverty, clean water and sanitation, and climate change. Among publics, however, there are clear priorities as to what they believe are most important for development. When South Africans, Nigerians and Kenyans are asked about the best example of an economically developed country, they tend to cite the U.S. and China. In Kenya, 36% say the U.S. is the best example, while 15% feel this way about China. South Africans are split between the two countries (27% U.S. vs. 22% China), as are Nigerians (25% vs. 28%).

# Nigerians, Kenyans and South Africans widely believe young people have a bright future in their countries

What would you recommend to a young person in our country today who wants a good life – should they move to another country or stay in our country?

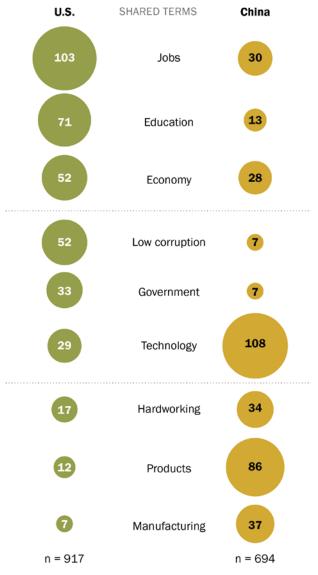


Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8.

When asked what makes the U.S. or China the leading model for development, many respondents note the economic opportunities and growth in the two nations. Beyond this, however, people provide very different rationales for what makes the U.S. or China the best example. Respondents who name the U.S. tend to focus on American governance, citing good leadership and low levels of corruption, as well as education as reasons why the U.S. is economically successful. People who think China is the best example of an economically developed nation attribute this to Chinese technology, as well as their manufacturing and exports and their work ethic.

## Top reasons given for why the U.S. and China are economically successful

When thinking about what makes the U.S./China the best example of an economically developed country, what first comes to mind? Of those who said \_\_ was the best example of an economically developed country, number saying ...



Note: These are the numbers of respondents from Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa who offered each of the top responses. These are NOT percentages. Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q70a.

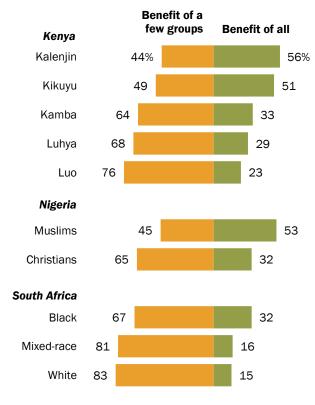
#### National cleavages: Dividing lines in public opinion

South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya are complex societies, each with its own deep, long-standing cleavages that often divide public opinion. In South Africa, there are significant differences among the nation's white, black, and mixed-race (known there as "coloured") communities.

On a number of questions in this survey, South African blacks are more optimistic than others about the future of the country. Roughly seven-in-ten blacks (69%) think the national economy will improve in the next 12 months, compared with 46% of white and 30% of mixed-race respondents, and they are also more likely to believe their own personal finances will improve in the coming year. South African blacks are more optimistic that the next generation will see improvements to such challenges as education, poverty, health care and corruption. And they are more likely than white or mixed-race South Africans to believe that young people should stay in South Africa to pursue a good life, rather than leave for another country. And while majorities of all three groups say the government is run for the benefit of only a few groups in society, whites and mixed-race respondents are more inclined than blacks to think so.

## Wide internal divisions on whether government benefits all or few

In general, would you say the government is run for the benefit of all the people in our country or is it run for the benefit of only a few groups of people?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.

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Nigerian public opinion frequently divides along religious lines, with notable differences between Muslims and Christians. In our current poll, Muslims are much more upbeat about the economy, and more likely to believe that the national economy will improve in the next 12 months. Although majorities of both groups see inequality as a very big problem, Christians are especially likely to hold this view. And opinions about the fairness of government have shifted over the past year, perhaps reflecting a transition of power from former President Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian, to

current President Muhammadu Buhari, a Muslim. Among Nigeria's Christians, 65% now say government is run for the benefit of a few groups, up slightly from 58% in 2015. Meanwhile, the share of Muslims expressing this view has dropped from 64% to 45%.

Ethnic divisions are prominent on many issues in Kenya, with the Kikuyu and Kalenjin people expressing a much more positive outlook about the nation than the Luhya and Luo. Kikuyu and Kalenjin respondents are more satisfied with current economic conditions, and much less likely to say that the government is run for the benefit of only a few groups (current President Uhuru Kenyatta is Kikuyu, and all presidents since the country's independence have been either Kikuyu or Kalenjin).

#### High levels of political engagement

Despite widespread concerns about political corruption, majorities in each of the three nations say that ordinary citizens can influence their government if they make the effort. And while concerns about government fairness divide these publics along racial, ethnic or religious lines, majorities of all groups believe their actions can make a difference.

This belief among Kenyans, Nigerians and South Africans that they can impact their politicians is reflected in the publics' reported level of participation in political activity. Broad majorities say they have voted in the past year or in the more distant past, on par with the percentage of Americans who report voting. Another form of traditional political activity, attending a political campaign event, is even more common in these three nations than in the U.S. Finally, while lack of internet access may limit somewhat the number of people who participate politically online, many in these three nations are particularly active in this way. (See "Even in Era of Disillusionment, Many Around the World Say Ordinary Citizens Can Influence the Government" for more on political participation around the world.)

## Other findings of note

Education in South Africa. Following a year that has included a number of high-profile university-based protests of tuition fees, education is clearly a major issue for the South African public. The percentage naming poor-quality schools as a very big problem has increased 13 percentage points since 2015. And today, a 36% plurality names it as the nation's top priority. However, there is considerable optimism that over the long term the country will make progress on this issue – two-thirds of South Africans believe education will be better for the next generation.

Food shortages and energy in Nigeria. When Nigerians are asked about the top priorities for their country, the food supply and energy shortages are at the top of the list. Over the past year, there

have been food shortages in northern Nigeria and fuel shortages across the country, and concerns about both of these issues have risen since our 2015 poll.

Corruption in Kenya. Concern about government corruption is especially widespread in Kenya. The public is also the most likely to see a connection between governance and economic success. At least twice as many Kenyans as Nigerians or South Africans say good leadership and low levels of corruption help explain why a country is economically developed.

# 1. South Africans worried about crime and corruption, prioritize education

More than a year after the United Nations adopted 17 global objectives for development, known as the Sustainable Development Goals, South Africa is facing increasingly serious hurdles to achieving some of those key targets. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has projected that the country's economy will weaken even further this year from its already-slowed 2015 growth, due in part to political uncertainty and electricity shortages. President Jacob Zuma <a href="survived">survived</a> an April 5 impeachment vote stemming from accusations of corruption, and his party, the African National Congress (ANC), <a href="suffered">suffered</a> significant losses in local elections in August.

Almost three-quarters of South Africans are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country. Overwhelming majorities see many issues, including crime, unemployment and government corruption, as serious problems for their country. Moreover, most of the public says that the government is run for the benefit of just a few groups, and roughly half believe that government corruption will be worse when young people today grow up.

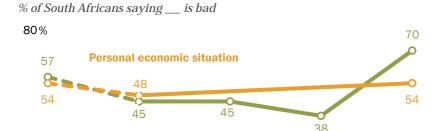
Despite this current moment of negativity, though, South Africans display considerable optimism about the immediate economic future as well as prospects for the next generation on a range of issues. A plurality of South Africans want education to be the top priority for their country, and a

majority is optimistic that the education system will improve in the future. Similarly, most say that health care and gender equality will also be better by the time today's children grow up.

### Current mood negative, but optimism about the future rises

South Africans are more dissatisfied with the way things are going in their

## Concerns about national economy rise faster than those about personal finances



**Current economic situation in South Africa** 



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3 & Q5.

country than they were at any time the question was asked in the past eight years. Whereas South Africans were split on their country's direction in 2014 (47% satisfied, 49% dissatisfied), 74% now say they are unhappy with the way things are going and only 24% are satisfied. Whites (86%) and mixed-race people, also called "coloured" in South Africa (83%), are more dissatisfied with the country's direction than blacks (71%).

The poor state of the economy may be one driver of the souring mood in South Africa. A large majority (70%) describes the economy as bad, with 45% saying it is *very* bad. By comparison, about half that percentage (38%) said the economy was bad in 2015. Older South Africans are slightly more likely to view their national economy in a negative light, with 76% of those ages 50 and older saying the national economic situation is bad versus 65% of 18- to 34-year-olds.

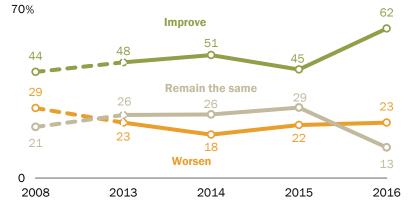
The pessimistic view of South Africa's economy is mirrored in individuals' views of their own

economic situation, albeit less intensely. More than half of people (54%) think their personal finances are bad, a rise of 6 percentage points since 2013, the last time the question was asked. Another 44% say their personal economic situation is good.

Despite their negative views of the current economic situation, South Africans are broadly optimistic about the future. A full 62% think the country's economic situation will improve in the next year,

#### Majority thinks the economy will improve

Over the next 12 months, the economic situation in South Africa will ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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with most of those people (42%) saying it will improve a lot. In 2015, only 45% of South Africans believed the economy would get better in the coming year. Older South Africans are less optimistic about the future than younger ones; roughly half of those ages 50 and older (52%) think the economy will improve, compared with a large majority (69%) of those ages 18 to 34.

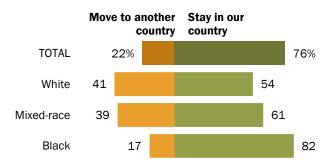
Similarly, 73% of South Africans expect their own personal economic situation to get better in the next year, a significant jump from the 45% who felt the same back in 2013. Black people are

significantly more optimistic than whites when it comes to both the national economy (69% vs. 46%, respectively) and their own economic situation (79% vs. 56%).

Perhaps due to this optimistic outlook toward economic circumstances, 76% of South Africans would encourage a young person to stay in South Africa in order to have a good life; only 22% would recommend that a young person move away. However, the story is quite different by race. Only 54% of whites and 61% of mixed-race people would encourage a young person looking for a good life to stay in South Africa. A full 82% of blacks say the same.

## Blacks most likely to say young people should stay in South Africa

What would you recommend to a young person who wants a good life?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8.

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This racial dynamic is reflected in views by political party: Among those who identify with the ANC -96% of whom are black - an 85% majority says that a young person should stay in South Africa for a good life. This is in contrast to just 60% of Democratic Alliance (DA) identifiers - a much more racially diverse group comprising 35% whites, 24% blacks and 35% mixed-race people.

#### Crime and health care are rising concerns for South Africans

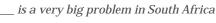
Security, employment and corruption top South Africans' list of development concerns. At least eight-in-ten South Africans say that crime, lack of employment opportunities, government corruption and poverty are very big problems in their country. Slightly smaller majorities are concerned about health care (75% very big problem), poor-quality schools (74%), the gap between rich and poor, and food shortages (both 71%). Similar percentages express worry about poor infrastructure, lack of clean drinking water and pollution.

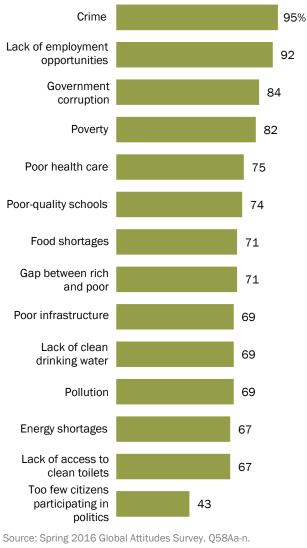
Two-thirds say that energy shortages and lack of access to clean toilets are very big problems. At the bottom of the list of problems in South Africa is that too few citizens participate in politics – only 43% say this is a very big problem in their country.

Compared with 2015, more South Africans express concern today about almost all of the issues tested. The biggest increases were on health care (up 18 percentage points), crime (+16) and food shortages (+15).

White South Africans (94%) are more likely than their black counterparts (82%) to say that government corruption is a very serious problem. On several issues, black South Africans are more likely to be concerned than whites or people of mixed race. For example, 74% of blacks see poor infrastructure as a very

#### Crime, jobs and corruption are top problems





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big problem in South Africa, compared with 53% of whites and 48% of mixed-race individuals. Black South Africans also are more likely than people of mixed race to view energy shortages (70% vs. 51%) and a lack of access to clean drinking water (72% vs. 56%) or toilets (71% vs. 55%) as serious problems in their country.

Those who self-identify with the ANC (79%) are less inclined than those who feel closer to the DA (93%) to see government corruption as a very big problem.

Coupled with the view that the gap between rich and poor is a very big problem is the view that

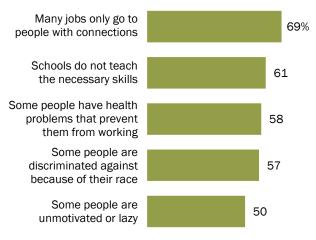
this gap is increasing. A full 64% of South Africans – and 82% of white South Africans – say the gap between rich and poor has increased in the past five years.

An extremely high proportion of the public says the lack of employment opportunities in South Africa is a big problem. A robust 69% say a very important reason for the unemployment rate is that jobs only go to those who have connections.

Roughly six-in-ten say that schools not teaching the necessary skills (61%) and people having health problems that prevent them from working (58%) are very important reasons for unemployment. Other major reasons for joblessness include the perception that some people are discriminated against

## Lack of connections, poor schooling seen as largest obstacles to employment

\_\_ is a very important reason why many people in South Africa do not have jobs



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q67a-e.

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because of their race (57%) or are unmotivated or lazy (50%).

Blacks (55%) are less likely to think that racial discrimination in the job market is a significant reason people do not have jobs, compared with people of mixed race (68%). White (67%) and mixed-race (66%) South Africans are more likely than blacks (45%) to believe that laziness is a very important reason people do not have jobs.

South Africans are split over whether globalization also contributes to high unemployment. Roughly half (48%) say involvement in the global economy is a good thing because it provides opportunities for growth, while 46% say it is a bad thing because it lowers wages and costs jobs.

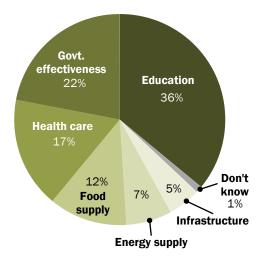
## Education a top priority

When asked to pick among six possible development priorities for South Africa — health care, education, agriculture and food supply, the supply of energy, infrastructure and government effectiveness — a plurality (36%) picks education as the top priority for improvement. About two-in-ten (22%) say government effectiveness, such as reducing corruption, is the country's top priority. Ranked lower are the issues of health care (17%) and agriculture and food supply (12%), while few say energy (7%) or infrastructure (5%) should be the most important priority.

For the second most-important priority, South Africans again highlight education (29%). Roughly two-in-ten mention health care (22%) or agriculture (18%). Another 16% say government effectiveness, while roughly one-in-ten say infrastructure or energy supply.

## **Education is the clear priority for South Africans**

What do you think should be the most important priority for our country?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q64B.

When asked about their children's future, South Africans are optimistic about education, with 67% expecting it to get better for the next generation. Young South Africans are more hopeful that education will improve (72%)

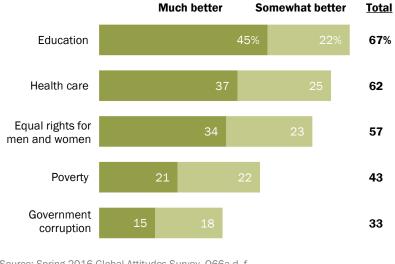
than are those ages 50 or older (60%).

Roughly six-in-ten South Africans expect health care (62%) and gender equality (57%) to be better by the time today's children grow up. South Africans are split in their views on poverty, however -43% say it will be better while 40% believe it will be worse for the next generation.

When it comes to government corruption, views are more pessimistic. Just 33% say corruption will get better, while a plurality

#### Two-thirds say education will be better for future generations

When children today in South Africa grow up \_\_\_ will be ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q66a-d, f.

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(48%) believes it will actually get worse for the next generation.

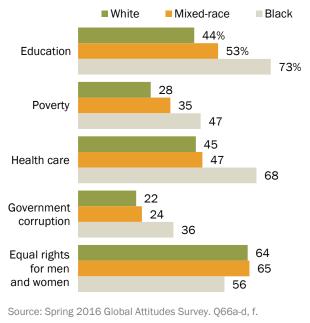
On four out of the five issues tested, blacks are more optimistic than either white or mixed-race South Africans. When it comes to education, poverty, health care and corruption, there is at least a 12-point gap between blacks and the other racial groups — and in many cases the difference is more substantial. Only when it comes to equal rights for men and women do whites, blacks and mixed-race people express similar levels of optimism.

## South Africans divided on choice of economic model

South Africans are divided on which country they look to as the best example of an economically developed nation: 27% point to the U.S. and 22% point to China. Other countries like Germany, Australia, Botswana and the UK receive mentions from roughly 5% of the public.

## Blacks consistently most optimistic about the future

% saying that when children in South Africa today grow up, \_\_ will be better than it is today



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Among those who see the United States as the top economically developed nation, a plurality (38%) cites economic opportunities, growth and stability as the reason why. Another 8% cite the U.S. education system and standards as the reason it stands out as an economically developed nation. Among those who choose China, on the other hand, 22% cite manufacturing, production and goods as the reason why. Another 18% say it is economic opportunities that make China the best example of an economically developed country.

## South Africans dubious about government inclusiveness

Contributing to the consistent and pervasive theme of corruption being a serious issue in South Africa is the fact that 70% feel the government is run for the benefit of just a few groups of people. Only 28% say that the government is run for the benefit of all South Africans.

Despite the apparent lack of faith in the representativeness of South Africa's government, 62% believe that ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence government if they are willing to make the effort.

Black South Africans (32%) are more likely to say the government is run for the benefit of all than are whites (15%) or mixed-race people (16%). Despite this, whites (67%), people of mixed race (62%) and blacks (61%) hold similar views on whether ordinary citizens can influence government.

Among those who identify with the DA, 82% think the government is run for the benefit of just a few, whereas a smaller 64% majority of ANC-identifiers feel the same. However, those who identify with the ANC are also less convinced that ordinary citizens can do much to influence the government (58%) than those who feel close to the DA (70%).

Among a range of possible forms of political participation, South Africans are most likely to say they have voted, either in the previous year or the more distant past (77%). Other traditional forms of participation are also relatively popular, with 39% of South Africans saying they have participated in a political or charitable volunteer organization and 37% saying they attended a political campaign event.

The past year has seen an increase in <u>protests</u> in South Africa fueled by political and social unrest. Roughly a quarter of South Africans (27%) say they have participated in an organized protest of some kind in the past, a 12-point increase since 2014. The younger generation, those ages 18 to 34, is 11 points more likely than those 50 years and older to be open to participating in a protest in the future, even though they have not yet.

Fewer South Africans have participated in other nontraditional forms of political engagement. Roughly two-in-ten have encouraged others to take action online (22%), posted political thoughts online (19%) or signed an online petition (17%). Among internet users, about a quarter have encouraged others to take action (26%) or posted their own political opinions (25%), while 21% say they have signed an online petition.<sup>1</sup>

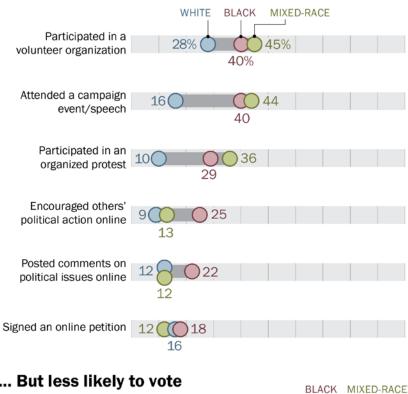
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Internet users include those who use the internet at least occasionally or report owning a smartphone.

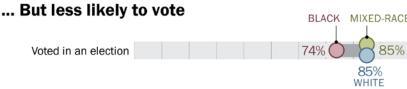
White and mixed-race South Africans (both 85%) are more likely to have voted than their black counterparts (74%). But on other forms of political participation, whites are far less engaged than blacks. For example, only 10% of whites have participated in an organized protest in the past, compared with 36% of people of mixed race and 29% of blacks. A further 16% of whites have attended a political campaign event, a far lower share than among people of mixed race (44%) or blacks (40%).

A slightly different racial pattern emerges when it comes to online actions. Among both white and mixed-race South Africans, 12% say they have posted political thoughts online, compared with 22% of blacks. Similarly, blacks (25%) are more likely to have encouraged others to take political action online, compared with people of mixed race (13%) or whites (9%).

## Black South Africans are more likely than whites to take political action ...

% of South Africans saying they have \_\_\_ in the past



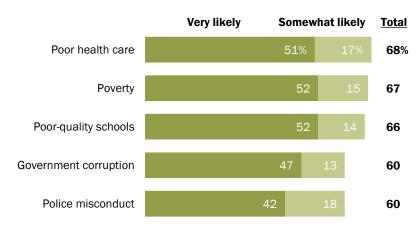


Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q92a-g.

The issues of health care, poverty and poor-quality schools seem to drive people's willingness to take political action more than other issues. Roughly twothirds say they would be likely to take action, such as contact an elected official or participate in a demonstration, to address these issues. Six-in-ten say the same about government corruption and police misconduct. While 52% are very likely to act on the issues of poverty and poorquality schools, the share that

## Majorities say they would take action to confront social issues

% of South Africans saying they are \_\_\_ to take political action, such as contact an elected official or participate in a demonstration, on ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q94a-d, f.

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is very likely to take action drops to under half for government corruption and police misconduct.

## 2. Nigerians concerned about food and energy supplies

Nigeria, one of Africa's largest economies, has been hit hard by falling oil prices and rising food, fuel and electricity costs, contributing to the country's first <u>recession</u> in more than a decade. In addition, the terrorist group Boko Haram has displaced millions of people and <u>disrupted</u> <u>agricultural activities</u> — contributing to food shortages and famine in northern Nigeria.

Faced with these circumstances, many Nigerians are concerned about the current economy and cite key development issues as very big problems for the country. The food supply, energy supply and a lack of clean drinking water are all growing concerns for Nigerians. And a plurality (27%) says improving the food supply should be the most important priority for the country. Nonetheless, Nigerians remain largely optimistic about the future of the economy.

Religion is often a major demographic cleavage in Nigerian politics. Muslims are nearly three times as likely as Christians to say the economy is good. Christians, meanwhile, are more likely to think that the government is run for the benefit of a few groups of people, as opposed to 2015 when majorities of both groups felt that way. Both groups hold overwhelmingly negative views of Boko Haram; however, Muslims are much more likely than Christians to believe that the government is making progress against the terrorist group.

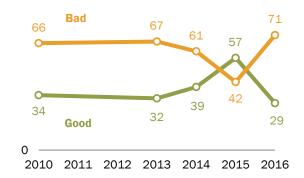
#### Nigerians unhappy with current economy, but still optimistic

Most Nigerians (79%) are dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country today, comparable to 2014, the last time the question was asked.

Similarly, a majority of Nigerians (71%) describe the country's current economic situation as bad, a reversal from 2015, when Nigeria saw its first peaceful democratic transition. In 2015, less than half (42%) felt the economic situation was bad.

## Nigerians' negative view of their economy returns to pre-2015 levels

The current economic situation in Nigeria is ... 100%



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3.

Despite the economy's struggles and dissatisfaction with the way things are going, Nigerians continue to be optimistic about the future of the economy. A large majority (86%) reports that they expect the economic situation to improve in the next 12 months, similar to 2015, when 92% held the same view. Since 2013, the percentage of Nigerians expecting the economy to improve *a lot* has more than doubled, from 23% to 52%.

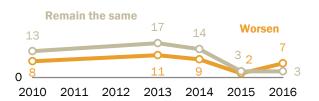
Nigerians are more positive about their personal economic circumstances than those of the country overall. More than half (53%) describe their personal finances as very or somewhat good.

Nigerians are also very optimistic about their personal economic future. More than nine-inten (93%) expect their personal finances to

## Nigerians optimistic about the future of their economy

Over the next 12 months, the economic situation in Nigeria will ...





Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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improve over the next year, up from roughly three-quarters (77%) in 2013, the last time the question was asked. The degree of optimism in particular has improved since 2013, when about four-in-ten (39%) said their personal economic situation would improve *a lot*, compared with 68% who say the same in 2016.

Muslims and Christians diverge in their assessments of the economy and their personal finances. Nearly three times as many Muslims (43%) as Christians (15%) say the economy is good. Muslims are also more optimistic about the economy in the next year (58% improve a lot) than Christians (46%). And a majority of Muslims (62%) say that their personal economic situation is good, compared with just 43% of Christians.

Nigerians with lower incomes are generally more positive and optimistic about the economy than those with higher incomes. Four-in-ten lower-income adults say that the economy is good, compared with just 23% of wealthier adults. Further, a majority of lower-income Nigerians (61%) expect the economy to improve a lot over the next year, compared with 47% of Nigerians with higher incomes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Income categorizations are based on income levels that are higher and lower than the median household income within Nigeria.

Nigerians also express a great deal of optimism about the future of the country for the next generation. More than three-quarters of Nigerians (78%) would recommend that a young person who wants a good life stay in Nigeria rather than move to another country (20%). The percentage saying that young people should stay in Nigeria is up 10 percentage points since 2014, the last time the question was asked.

# Shortages of energy, food and clean water seen as growing challenges

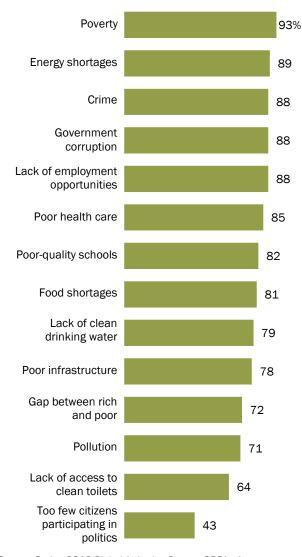
Poverty is the top issue for Nigerians, with 93% saying it is a very big problem. Energy shortages (e.g., blackouts or fuel scarcity), crime, government corruption and a lack of employment opportunities round out the top five concerns, with roughly nine-in-ten citing each as a very big problem. Lack of public participation in politics was the only issue not viewed as a very big problem by a majority of Nigerians.

Compared with 2015, a larger share of the Nigerian public now sees the energy supply, food shortages and a lack of clean drinking water as very big problems (at least a 10-percentage-point increase). Notably, fewer today (43%) say a lack of citizen participation in politics is a major concern than said the same in 2015 (54%).

Muslims and Christians are divided on the gravity of various issues facing Nigeria. The largest difference between these two groups is on the wealth gap, with 78% of Christians saying the gap between rich and poor is a very big problem, a full 13 points higher than among Muslims.

## In Nigeria, poverty is top domestic concern

\_\_ is a very big problem in Nigeria



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q58Aa-An.

A large majority of Nigerians (70%) believe that the gap between rich and poor has increased in the past five years. Just 15% say the gap has decreased and 13% think it has stayed the same. Although Christians and Muslims disagree about how significant a problem the wealth gap is, nearly equal percentages of Christians and Muslims believe the gap has increased in the past five years.

This perception of a widening wealth gap comes at a time of heightened unemployment. The Nigerian government <u>estimates</u> that by March 2016, the unemployment rate was at approximately 12%, up from 8% a year prior. A majority of Nigerians (63%) say that a very important reason for unemployment in their country is that many jobs only go to people with connections. At least a

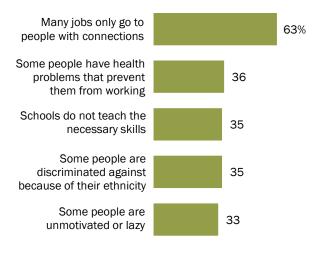
third think that health issues (36%), schools not teaching the necessary skills (35%), discrimination because of ethnicity (35%) and laziness and apathy (33%) are also very important reasons for unemployment.

Christians and Muslims generally agree on how important these factors are in driving unemployment, but Christians (69%) are more likely than Muslims (57%) to say that positions only going to people with connections is a very important reason many people do not have jobs.

Few Nigerians blame globalization for job losses, with only 25% saying the nation's involvement in the global economy is a bad thing because it costs jobs and lowers wages. Conversely, 70% believe Nigeria's involvement in the global economy is a good thing because it provides the country with new markets and opportunities for growth.

## A lack of connections is seen as top barrier to employment

\_\_ is a very important reason why many people in Nigeria do not have jobs



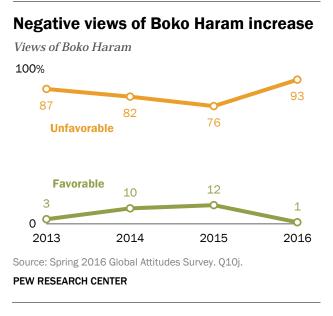
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q67a-e.

## Amid food shortages and displacement, most Nigerians see progress against terrorism

The terrorist group Boko Haram was a key issue in the 2015 presidential election and the eventual

winner, Muhammadu Buhari, vowed to defeat the organization. Boko Haram has also been blamed for the food shortages facing parts of the country. Today, the vast majority of Nigerians (93%) hold an unfavorable view of the organization, up from 76% in 2015. These unfavorable views of Boko Haram are shared by Muslims (94%) and Christians (93%) alike.

Roughly three-quarters of Nigerians (76%) think that the government is making progress in its campaign against Boko Haram, up from 61% in 2015. Just 10% believe the government is losing ground, compared with 19% who said the same in 2015.



Today, at least eight-in-ten rural Nigerians (81%) and Muslims (91%) say progress is being made against Boko Haram, compared with 69% of urban Nigerians and 62% of Christians.

#### Nigerians want to see food supply issue addressed

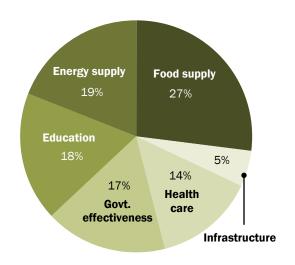
Of the six development issues asked about, a plurality of Nigerians (27%) say that agriculture and the supply of food should be their country's top priority. Roughly two-in-ten Nigerians say each of

the following are the most important priority: the supply of energy, such as electricity or petrol (19%), education (18%) and government effectiveness, such as reducing corruption (17%). Fewer say health care (14%) or the country's infrastructure, such as roads and bridges (5%), are the top priorities.

Northern Nigerians in particular would like to see the food supply prioritized, with a plurality (33%) listing it as the most important issue. This contrasts with Nigerians in the south, 20% of whom say the food supply is the most important priority for improvement. Muslims, who are the majority in the north of the country, and Christians, who are concentrated in the south, similarly do not see eye to eye on the relative urgency of improving the food supply. Muslims (32%) are more likely than Christians (22%) to rate the food supply as the most important issue.

## Nigerians want their country to prioritize improving the food supply

What do you think should be the most important priority for Nigeria?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q64B.

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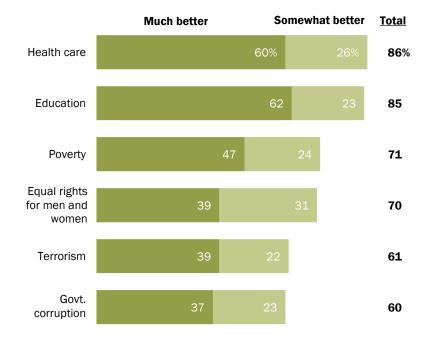
Nigerians were also asked which of the six options should be the second most-important priority for the country. On this, Nigerians are divided across the issues of education (23%), agriculture and the food supply (21%), the energy supply (18%) and health care (18%). About one-tenth of Nigerians each name either government effectiveness (11%) or infrastructure (9%) as the second-highest priority.

A majority of Nigerians are optimistic about the potential for improvement across key issues. More than eight-inten say health care (86%) and education (85%) will be better for the next generation. Approximately seven-in-ten say poverty (71%) and gender equality (70%) will be better, while smaller majorities report optimism on terrorism (61%) and government corruption (60%).

Nigerians are especially optimistic about health care and education. A majority believes education (62%) and health care (60%) will be *much* better for the next generation, while less than

## Nigerians especially optimistic about future of education and health care

When children today in Nigeria grow up \_\_\_ will be ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q66a-f.

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half have the same degree of hope for the other issues asked about.

Women are more optimistic than men on most of the issues, including gender equality (75% better vs. 65%). Muslims and Christians differ on how positive they are about the future of terrorism (68% vs. 55%) and government corruption (68% vs. 53%) in Nigeria.

Lower-income and higher-income Nigerians differ on their degree of optimism on several issues. Those with lower incomes are more likely than higher-income individuals to believe that education (70% vs. 58%), health care (67% vs. 57%) and government corruption (43% vs. 33%) will be *much* better for future generations.

### U.S. and China seen as best examples of developed economies

When asked to name which other country they think is the best example of an economically developed country, Nigerians tend to name either China (28%) or the United States (25%). The next most common answer is Saudi Arabia at 4%.

Christians (33%) are more likely than Muslims (17%) to name the United States. Meanwhile, no Christians believe that Saudi Arabia is the best example, compared with 8% of Muslims.

Those selecting China and the U.S. differ in what they believe makes their choice the best example of an economically developed country. Among Nigerians who name China, the top reasons are manufacturing (23%) and advanced technology and innovation (22%). More specifically, respondents see China as economically developed because "most of the things imported into Nigeria are from China" or because "they manufacture all the things that they need within their country." 3

Those who choose the United States say that economic opportunities (27%) as well as political stability and good governance (11%)

# Nigerians see U.S. strength in economic opportunity, Chinese strength in manufacturing and technology

% of Nigerians saying \_\_ makes China/U.S. the best example of an economically developed country

	China	U.S.	Diff
	%	%	
Jobs/economic opportunities/ growth/stability	10	27	+17
Political stability/low corruption/ good government	3	11	+8
High living standards/affordable goods	2	7	+5
World power/foreign aid/foreign investment	1	6	+5
Peaceful/security	0	4	+4
Education system/standards	1	4	+3
Individual rights/unity/equality	2	4	+2
Infrastructure/roads/ electricity/industry	4	5	+1
Health care system/facilities	0	1	+1
Agriculture/farming/ natural resources	4	1	-3
Strong individual values/ hardworking/creative	14	8	-6
Advanced technology/innovation	22	6	-16
Manufacturing/production/goods	23	5	-18

Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold**. Open-end responses combined into general categories.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q70a.

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make the U.S. the best example of an economically developed country. For example, respondents mention that the U.S. "creates job opportunities for their citizens and provide social amenities too," that "the government has the interest of the people at heart" and that "there's less corruption, therefore citizens live [in] comfort."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Quotes are verbatim responses, edited only for minor spelling and grammar corrections.

#### Government seen as more inclusive than in 2015

A majority of Nigerians (55%) continue to feel that the government only benefits a few groups of people, but that percentage is down from 61% in 2015, around the time that Buhari was elected. The percentage of Nigerians believing that the government is run for the benefit of all has increased from 36% in 2015 to 42% in 2016.

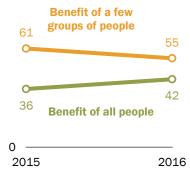
Higher-income Nigerians (60%) are more likely than lower-income individuals (41%) to believe that the government is run for the benefit of a few groups. Supporters of former President Goodluck Jonathan's People's Democratic Party (67%) are much more likely than supporters of current President Muhammadu Buhari's All Progressives Congress party (44%) say the government only benefits a minority of people. Similarly, Christians (65%) are much more likely than Muslims (45%) to take this position — a change from last year, when majorities of both Christians (58%) and Muslims (64%) felt this way.

Still, 68% of the public thinks that ordinary Nigerians can do a lot to influence the government if they are willing to make the effort. Compared with those with lower incomes (61%), higherincome Nigerians (72%) are more confident that ordinary people have a say in politics. Despite disagreeing on whether government is run for the benefit of all or a few, roughly two-thirds of both Christians (67%) and Muslims (69%) believe that they can influence the government.

#### Nigerians more positive on government's inclusiveness

In general, would you say the government is run for the benefit of all the people in our country or is it run for the benefit of only a few groups of people?

100%



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.

ourvey. Qoo.

## Most Nigerians report having voted, say they are likely to take action on a range of issues

The vast majority of Nigerians report having voted (85%) in either the last 12 months or the more distant past. Attending a political campaign event or speech (44%) and participating in a political, charitable or religious-based volunteer organization (40%) are the next most common forms of political participation.

Fewer say they have engaged in nontraditional political activities. Just 22% say they have participated in an organized protest of any kind and the same share report having posted comments about a political or social issue online. One-in-five say they have encouraged other people to take action on a political or social issue online. Only 8% say they have signed an online petition. Access to the internet likely plays a role in limiting online engagement. Among internet users (53% of Nigerians), 34% have posted comments about an issue, 32% have encouraged other people to take action on an issue and 12% have signed a petition online.<sup>4</sup>

There are large differences in levels of political activity by gender. Across most activities, men are more active than women. This is true for attending a political campaign event (59% men vs. 28% women), participating in a volunteer organization (52% vs. 30%), posting comments online (28% vs. 15%) and voting (89% vs. 80%).

Nigerians with a secondary education or higher are more likely than those with less than a secondary education to have posted social or political comments online (25% vs. 8%) and encouraged others to take action online (24% vs. 8%).

## In Nigeria, women less likely to report being politically active

% of Nigerians saying they have \_\_ in the past

	Men %	Women %	Diff
Attended a campaign event/speech	59	28	-31
Participated in a volunteer organization	52	30	-22
Posted comments on political issues online	28	15	-13
Voted in an election	89	80	-9

Note: Differences shown are statistically significant. Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q92a, c, e, g.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Internet users include those who use the internet at least occasionally or report owning a smartphone.

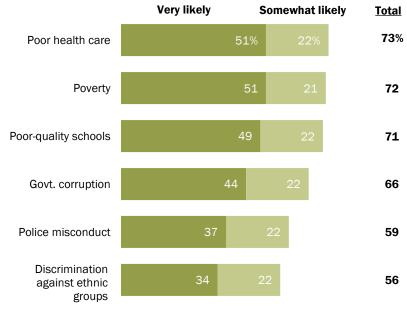
Roughly seven-in-ten Nigerians say they are personally likely to take political action on the issues of poor health care (73%), poverty (72%) and poor-quality schools (71%). Moreover, majorities are inclined to take action on government corruption (66%), police misconduct (59%) and discrimination against ethnic groups (56%).

About half of Nigerians say they are *very* likely to take action on the issues of poor health care (51%), poverty (51%) and poorquality schools (49%).

Discrimination against ethnic groups is again the least galvanizing issue, with just 34% saying they are very likely to take action on it.

## Nigerians most galvanized to action by health care, poverty and schools

\_\_\_ to take political action, such as contact an elected official or participate in a demonstration, on ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q94a-f.

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On the issues of poor-quality schools (52% vs. 39%), government corruption (46% vs. 35%), poverty (53% vs. 43%) and police misconduct (39% vs. 30%), those with a secondary education or higher are more inclined to say they are very likely to take action.

# 3. Kenyans worried about economy and corruption, but optimistic for the future

As Kenyans face the <u>prospect</u> of a contentious national election next year, more than half say they are dissatisfied with their country's direction and the national economy. Besides economic concerns, government corruption is broadly viewed as a major problem in the country. And while Kenyans name corruption as one of the top priorities to address, they see little hope for substantial improvement. Moreover, the ethnic divide over these issues runs deep, with the Kalenjin and Kikuyu people much more satisfied with current conditions than the Luhya and Luo.

Despite these concerns about key development challenges in their country, Kenyans remain optimistic for the future, especially people younger than 35. In particular, Kenyans think education and health care — two development issues the public names as priorities for the country — will be much better when kids today come of age. And despite widespread dissatisfaction with political corruption, a majority still says ordinary citizens can have an influence on the government.

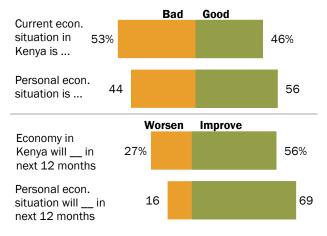
#### Kenyans dissatisfied with current conditions, but say it will get better

A majority of Kenyans (56%) are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country. Four-in-ten are happy with current conditions. While a majority remains concerned about national conditions, dissatisfaction today is much lower than it was in 2015 (75%).

Many Kenyans say the national economy is bad (53%), including roughly a quarter (26%) who think it is *very* bad. Less than half (46%) say the economy is doing well. Attitudes about the economy have remained stable over the past 12 months.

Despite concerns about current national conditions, a majority of Kenyans say their personal finances are very or somewhat good

## Majorities in Kenya optimistic about their economic future



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3, Q4, Q5 & Q6.

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(56%). This is up slightly from 2013, when half were happy with their personal economic situation.

Moreover, optimism about future finances — both national and personal — is high. More than half (56%) say the national economy will improve in the next 12 months. Kenyans are even more bullish about their personal economic circumstances, with roughly two-thirds (69%) believing their own finances will improve over the coming year. This level of economic optimism is comparable to previous years.

A broad majority of Kenyans (78%) would recommend that young people who want a good life stay in Kenya. Just 21% think they should move to another country. Belief that young people will do better in Kenya than elsewhere is up by 11 percentage points since 2014.

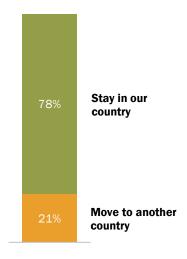
Overall, young people, those ages 18 to 34, are much more positive about their country's financial outlook than older Kenyans. Roughly half of the younger generation (51%) says the economy is doing well, compared with just 28% of people ages 50 and older. And young people are 14 points more likely than their elders to say the economy will improve a lot over the next 12 months.

There is also wide disagreement between ethnic groups over national conditions. The Kikuyu and Kalenjin people are much more content with current conditions than the Luhya and Luo. For example, at least half of the Kikuyu (61%) and Kalenjin (53%) say the economy is doing well, while just 34% of Luhya and 19% of Luo say the same.

When it comes to personal finances, people with lower incomes are more likely than those with higher incomes to say things are currently very bad (22% vs. 13%, respectively) and to believe that they will get worse over the coming year (20% vs. 9%).

#### Kenyans widely believe young people have a future in the country

What would you recommend to a young person who wants a good life?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8.

#### Economy, corruption and crime top concerns in Kenya

While Kenyans are generally optimistic about the future, they still say a range of development issues pose serious challenges for their country today. At the top of the list, with at least eight-in-ten Kenyans saying each is a very big problem, are government corruption (91%), economic issues such as a lack of employment opportunities (87%) and poverty (86%), and crime (82%).

Somewhat lower down the list but still of widespread concern are poor health care and lack of clean drinking water (75% each). Roughly seven-in-ten say the gap between rich and poor (72%), poor infrastructure (72%) and food shortages (71%) are very big problems.

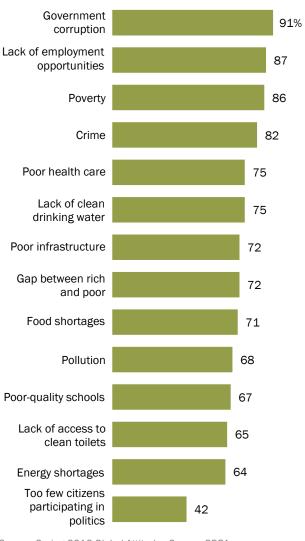
About two-thirds of Kenyans rank pollution (68%), poor-quality schools (67%) and the lack of clean toilets (65%) as a top concern. And 64% say energy shortages are a very big problem.

At the bottom of the list of concerns is the issue of too few citizens participating in politics (42% very big problem).

Income inequality ranks high on Kenyans' list of concerns, and a majority believes it has gotten worse over the past five years (68%). Little more than one-in-ten (13%) say the gap between rich and poor has stayed the same in that time period, while 18% believe it has gotten better.

## Kenyans worried about corruption, economy, crime





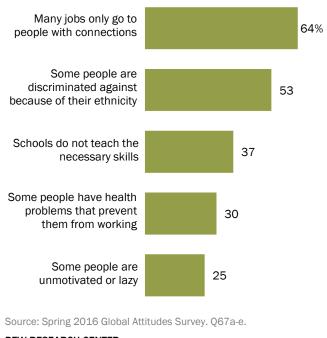
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q58Aa-n.

When asked why many people in the country do not have jobs, Kenyans are more likely to blame systemic factors rather than personal issues. More than half believe that jobs going to people with connections (64%) and discrimination based on ethnicity (53%) are very important reasons for a lack of employment. Nearly four-in-ten (37%) blame schools for not teaching the skills needed to get a job. Three-in-ten or fewer say health problems (30%) or personal laziness (25%) on the part of job seekers are barriers to finding work.

Looking outside their national borders, few Kenyans blame engagement with the global economy for the lack of employment opportunities in their own country. Just 25% say such involvement lowers wages and costs jobs in Kenya. Seven-in-ten think engagement with other nations provides their country with new markets and opportunities for growth.

# Connections, discrimination seen as largest obstacles to finding a job

\_\_ is a very important reason why many people in Kenya do not have jobs



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Higher-income Kenyans (73%) are more likely than lower-income people (59%) to say connections are a very important reason why many people do not have jobs. Conversely, lower-income people (35%) are more likely than wealthier Kenyans (24%) to blame health problems for a lack of employment. Women and men also disagree on the relevance of health problems (35% of women say these are very important vs. 25% of men).

There is a deep divide over whether ethnic discrimination plays a role in unemployment. Majorities of the Kamba (74%) and Luo (61%) ethnic groups say discrimination is a major barrier; less than half of the Kalenjin (44%) and Kikuyu (39%) agree.

### Education tops Kenyans' priorities

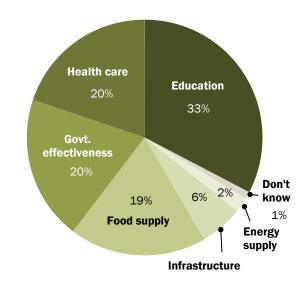
When Kenyans are asked to select from a list of six possible priorities for improving the country, 33% say education is the most important. Two-in-ten choose health care and another 20% mention government effectiveness, such as reducing corruption. A similar percentage picks agriculture and the supply of food (19%). Just 6% say infrastructure and 2% prioritize the supply of energy.

For their second most-important priority, Kenyans mention health care (27%), education (25%) or agriculture (20%). All other issues garner support from 10% or less of the public.

Health care is a higher priority for women (26%) than it is for men (15%). Men (9%), on the other hand, place a greater emphasis on improving infrastructure than do women (3%). Nonetheless, education tops the list for both women (34%) and men (32%).

# Kenyans believe education should be their country's top priority

What do you think should be the most important priority for our country?



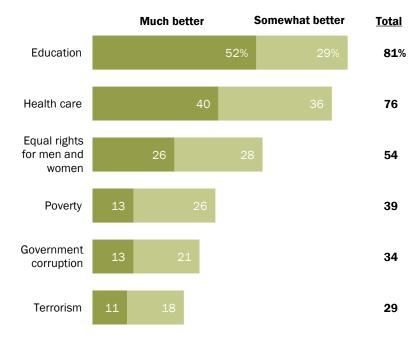
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q64B.

Kenyans see varied potential for future improvement across issue areas. A broad majority of Kenyans (81%) think education will be better when today's children grow up, including 52% who say it will be much better. Similarly, 76% believe health care will have improved when the younger generation comes of age, with 40% saying it will be *much* better. More than half say gender equality will be better in the future as well.

However, roughly four-in-ten or fewer think poverty or government corruption will be better for the next generation; just 13% of Kenyans say either of these

# Kenyans optimistic about future of education, but not terrorism, corruption or poverty

When children today in Kenya grow up \_\_\_ will be ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q66a-f.

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issues will be much better. Similarly, only 29% believe terrorism will improve, including just 11% who say this concern will be much improved. Pessimism is deeply held on these three issues. Pluralities say each of these concerns will be much worse for the next generation -47% for terrorism, 42% for government corruption and 36% for poverty.

### U.S., China seen as development role models

Roughly a third of Kenyans (36%) mention the U.S. as the best example of an economically developed country and another 15% say China. Japan, Tanzania and South Africa are mentioned by 4% each. No other country is named by more than 2% of respondents.

For both the U.S. and China, one of the top reasons Kenyans say they have been successful is because of economic conditions in those countries, such as employment opportunities and economic stability. However, the other drivers of economic success named by Kenyans differ considerably between the two country models. Those who admire the U.S. are more likely to mention political stability, including low levels of corruption, the presence of peace and security, and the quality of the education system. For those who name China, the top reasons named are more likely to be manufacturing and the export of products, as well as high-quality infrastructure and industry.

# In Kenya, Chinese strength seen in manufacturing, U.S. in political stability

% of Kenyans saying \_\_ makes China/U.S. the best example of an economically developed country

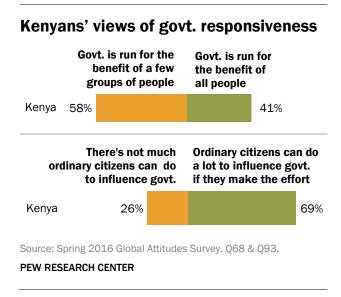
	China	U.S.	Diff
	%	%	
Political stability/low corruption/ good government	5	18	+13
Peaceful/security	1	10	+9
Education system/standards	1	8	+7
World power/foreign aid/foreign investment	4	10	+6
Jobs/economic opportunities/ growth/stability	15	16	+1
High living standards/affordable goods	3	4	+1
Individual rights/unity/equality	7	7	0
Agriculture/farming/natural resources	2	1	-1
Advanced technology/innovation	6	1	-5
Strong individual values/ hardworking/creative	15	7	-8
Infrastructure/roads/ electricity/industry	18	7	-11
Manufacturing/production/goods	18	2	-16

Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold**. Open-end responses combined into general categories. Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes survey. Q70a.

### Kenyans say political action can be influential

The quality of governance generally, and corruption specifically, is a major concern for most Kenyans. A majority (58%) thinks their government is run for the benefit of a few groups of people. Roughly four-in-ten think the government is run for the benefit of all. Luo (76%), Luhya (68%) and Kamba (64%) are much more likely to say the government benefits only a few groups than do the Kikuyu (49%) or Kalenjin (44%).

Despite these concerns, Kenyans remain optimistic about their potential to have an impact on politics. Nearly seven-in-ten say ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the



government (69%). Just 26% believe citizens have little effect. Majorities across all ethnic groups say they can have a voice in government.

Kenyans are much more likely to try to influence their government through traditional means. Voting is the most widespread political action, with nearly threequarters saying they have voted in an election, either in the previous year or in the more distant past. Roughly half say the same about attending a political event or speech. Four-in-ten have participated in a political, charitable or religious-based volunteer organization.

# Other, nontraditional forms of political activity are much less

### Large age differences in political action in Kenya

% of Kenyans saying they have \_\_\_ in the past

		Age			Oldest - youngest
	TOTAL	18-34	35-49	50+	gap
	%	%	%	%	
Voted in an election	74	59	92	95	+36
Attended a campaign event/speech	49	42	58	60	+18
Participated in a volunteer organization	40	36	40	52	+16
Posted comments on political issues online	13	16	11	6	-10
Encouraged others' political action online	13	14	13	11	-3
Participated in an organized protest	10	10	10	9	-1
Signed an online petition	8	10	8	6	-4

Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold.**Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q92a-g.

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common. Just 10% of Kenyans have participated in an organized protest. Roughly one-in-ten have participated in online activities, such as posting comments online, encouraging others to take action online or signing a petition online. Among internet users, people are more likely to have either posted their own thoughts (23%) or encouraged others to take political action (20%) than they are to have signed a petition (12%).

Kenyans ages 50 and older (58%) are less optimistic than those under 35 (76%) that ordinary citizens have any influence over the government. Nonetheless, the oldest generation is more likely than the youngest to say they have voted (95% vs. 59%), attended a political event (60% vs. 42%) or participated in a volunteer organization (52% vs. 36%). The only activity that young people are more likely to have done is posting thoughts or comments online about political and social issues (16% among 18- to 34-year-olds vs. 6% of those 50+).

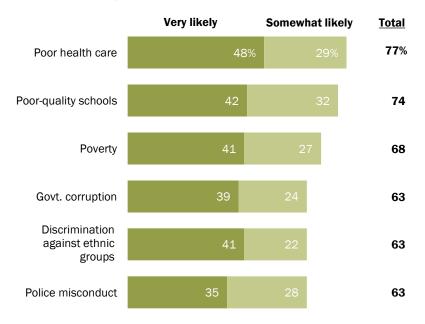
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Internet users include those who use the internet at least occasionally or report owning a smartphone.

Health care (77%) is the top issue among the six asked about on which Kenyans say they are likely to personally take political action. This includes nearly half who say they are *very* likely to do so. Roughly three-quarters (74%) say they are very or somewhat likely to be active around the issue of education, and 68% express the same level of motivation about poverty.

Majorities also say they would be politically active on the issues of government corruption, discrimination or police misconduct. Still, with the exception of health care, only about four-in-ten or

# Kenyans most motivated to take political action on health care

% of Kenyans saying they are personally \_\_\_ to take political action on ...



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q94a-f.

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fewer say they are very likely to do something about each issue.

## **Acknowledgments**

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## Methodology

About the Pew Research Center's Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of ORB International. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are <u>available</u> <u>here</u>.

Detailed information on survey methods for this report

General information on international survey research

## **Topline Questionnaire**

### Pew Research Center Spring 2016 Survey November 14, 2016 Release

#### Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our <u>international survey methods database</u>.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, the Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes Surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- For some countries, trends for certain years are omitted due to differences in sample design or population coverage. Omitted trends often reflect less representative samples than more recent surveys in the same countries. Trends that are omitted include:
  - Nigeria prior to 2010
  - South Africa in 2007
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2016 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q2. Overall, are y	ou satisfied or di	ssatisfied with the ountry today?	way things are
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	40	56	4	100
	Spring, 2015	24	75	1	100
	Spring, 2014	30	69	1	100
	Spring, 2013	48	51	1	100
	Spring, 2011	19	81	0	100
	Spring, 2010	17	82	1	100
	Spring, 2009	9	90	1	100
	Spring, 2007	45	54	1	100
	Summer, 2002	8	90	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	20	79	1	100
	Spring, 2014	15	83	2	100
	Spring, 2013	12	87	1	100
	Spring, 2010	23	77	1	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	24	74	1	100
	Spring, 2014	47	49	4	100
	Spring, 2013	45	54	2	100
	Spring, 2008	36	62	2	100
	Summer, 2002	20	79	1	100

				omic situation, how is it very good, som			
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	6	40	27	26	1	100
	Spring, 2015	11	36	26	27	0	100
	Spring, 2014	10	30	27	33	1	100
	Spring, 2013	12	40	27	20	0	100
	Spring, 2011	5	21	20	55	0	100
	Spring, 2010	7	36	26	30	1	100
	Spring, 2009	5	14	21	59	0	100
	Spring, 2007	7	53	27	12	1	100
	Summer, 2002	0	7	26	66	0	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	6	23	22	49	1	100
	Spring, 2015	26	31	17	25	0	100
	Spring, 2014	11	28	25	36	1	100
	Spring, 2013	6	26	30	37	1	100
	Spring, 2010	10	24	31	35	0	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	10	18	25	45	3	100
	Spring, 2015	20	39	18	20	3	100
	Spring, 2014	14	37	29	16	3	100
	Spring, 2013	17	36	25	20	1	100
	Spring, 2008	12	27	29	28	4	100
	Summer, 2002	6	23	28	42	1	100

		Q4. And over the	e next 12 months		e economic situatione, worsen a little o		to improve a lot, i	mprove a little,
		Improve a lot	Improve a little	Remain the same	Worsen a little	Worsen a lot	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	23	33	11	11	16	5	100
	Spring, 2015	16	37	15	12	16	4	100
	Spring, 2014	13	33	20	14	14	6	100
	Spring, 2013	27	32	18	8	8	8	100
	Spring, 2011	13	32	19	13	18	4	100
	Spring, 2010	13	44	19	10	9	5	100
	Spring, 2009	7	19	21	21	27	5	100
	Summer, 2002	4	30	28	13	10	15	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	52	34	3	3	4	4	100
	Spring, 2015	58	34	3	1	1	3	100
	Spring, 2014	32	40	14	6	3	5	100
	Spring, 2013	23	43	17	7	4	5	100
	Spring, 2010	34	42	13	5	3	3	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	42	20	13	9	14	2	100
	Spring, 2015	15	30	29	11	11	4	100
	Spring, 2014	19	32	26	12	6	5	100
	Spring, 2013	18	30	26	12	11	3	100
	Spring, 2008	19	25	21	15	14	6	100
	Summer, 2002	27	23	17	15	15	3	100

		Q5. Now thinking	Q5. Now thinking about your personal economic situation, how would you describe it — is it very good, somewhat bad or very bad?							
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	8	48	25	19	1	100			
	Spring, 2013	11	39	28	20	1	100			
	Spring, 2009	6	28	33	32	0	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	12	41	26	21	0	100			
	Spring, 2013	7	42	36	15	1	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	12	32	22	32	1	100			
	Spring, 2013	17	35	26	22	1	100			
	Spring, 2008	10	34	29	25	2	100			

		Q6. And over	Q6. And over the next 12 months do you expect your personal economic situation to improve a lot, improve a little, remain the same, worsen a little or worsen a lot?						
		Improve a lot	Improve a little	Remain the same	Worsen a little	Worsen a lot	DK/Refused	Total	
Kenya	Spring, 2016	29	40	11	7	9	4	100	
	Spring, 2013	28	37	16	8	6	6	100	
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	68	25	2	1	1	2	100	
	Spring, 2013	39	38	12	4	3	4	100	
South Africa	Spring, 2016	48	25	15	4	5	2	100	
	Spring, 2013	17	28	31	12	9	3	100	

		Q8. What would you recommend to a young person in our country today who wants a good life — should they move to another country or stay in (survey country)?						
		Move to another country	Stay	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	21	78	1	100			
	Spring, 2014	30	67	3	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	20	78	2	100			
	Spring, 2014	27	68	5	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	22	76	1	100			
	Spring, 2014	16	72	12	100			

		Q10j. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or ve unfavorable opinion of j. Boko Haram							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	1	0	4	89	6	100		
	Spring, 2015	6	6	7	69	12	100		
	Spring, 2014	5	5	3	79	8	100		
	Spring, 2013	1	2	5	82	10	100		

		Q43. Which statement comes closer to your view about (survey country)'s involvement in the global economy, even if neither is exactly right?						
		It is a good thing because it provides (survey country) with new markets and opportunities for growth	It is a bad thing because it lowers wages and costs jobs in (survey country)	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total		
Kenya	Spring, 2016	70	25	1	4	100		
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	70	25	0	4	100		
South Africa	Spring, 2016	48	46	3	4	100		

			Q58Aa. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. a. poor quality schools						
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total		
Kenya	Spring, 2016	67	19	9	4	0	100		
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	82	12	4	3	0	100		
	Spring, 2015	87	10	3	0	0	100		
South Africa	Spring, 2016	74	13	7	5	1	100		
	Spring, 2015	61	20	11	7	1	100		

Q58Ab. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a m problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. b. crime							derately big
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	82	8	6	2	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	88	8	3	1	0	100
	Spring, 2015	83	14	3	0	0	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	95	3	1	0	1	100
	Spring, 2015	79	14	4	3	0	100

		Q58Ac. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. c. poor health care						
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total	
Kenya	Spring, 2016	75	15	6	3	1	100	
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	85	9	4	1	0	100	
	Spring, 2015	81	15	2	1	0	100	
South Africa	Spring, 2016	75	13	8	4	0	100	
	Spring, 2015	57	26	10	6	0	100	

					think it is a very b n at all. d. the gap		
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	72	14	7	6	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	72	15	7	5	1	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	71	14	10	4	1	100

Q58Ae. As I read each one, please tell me if you thi problem, a small problem or not a proble							
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	91	4	2	1	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	88	7	2	1	1	100
	Spring, 2015	86	11	3	0	1	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	84	6	5	3	2	100
	Spring, 2015	78	14	4	2	2	100

			Q58Af. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. f. lack of access to clean toilets								
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total				
Kenya	Spring, 2016	65	17	12	6	1	100				
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	64	20	12	4	0	100				
	Spring, 2015	57	24	14	4	1	100				
South Africa	Spring, 2016	67	15	12	5	0	100				
	Spring, 2015	54	22	15	8	2	100				

					think it is a very b energy shortages carcity					
Very big Moderately big Not a problem Problem Small problem at all DK/Refused To							Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	64	20	11	4	0	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	89	7	3	1	0	100			
	Spring, 2015	77	18	4	1	0	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	<b>Spring, 2016</b> 67 16 12 4 1 100								
	Spring, 2015	72	18	6	3	1	100			

					think it is a very b at all. h. lack of e		
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	87	8	4	2	0	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	88	9	2	1	0	100
	Spring, 2015	83	13	3	1	0	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	92	5	2	0	0	100
	Spring, 2015	79	13	3	3	1	100

Q58Ai. As I read each one, please tell me if you think problem, a small problem or not a prol							lerately big
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	71	15	10	4	0	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	81	11	6	2	0	100
	Spring, 2015	69	22	8	1	0	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	71	15	10	3	1	100
	Spring, 2015	56	27	11	5	1	100

			Q58Aj. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. j. poor infrastructure, such as roads and bridges								
Very big Moderately big Small problem Small problem at all DK/Refused							Total				
Kenya	Spring, 2016	72	17	8	2	0	100				
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	78	16	5	1	0	100				
	Spring, 2015	72	23	4	1	0	100				
South Africa	Spring, 2016	69	18	9	3	1	100				
	Spring, 2015	57	25	12	5	1	100				

			Q58Ak. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big oblem, a small problem or not a problem at all. k. pollution and other forms of environmental dam							
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	68	16	12	3	1	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	71	20	7	2	1	100			
	Spring, 2015	65	24	9	2	0	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	69	15	12	3	2	100			
	Spring, 2015	55	26	11	5	3	100			

Q58Al. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. I. too few citizens participating in politics							
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	42	19	20	16	3	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	43	26	17	12	2	100
	Spring, 2015	54	24	12	8	1	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	43	21	19	11	5	100
	Spring, 2015	50	23	13	9	5	100

		Q58Am. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. m. lack of clean drinking water							
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total		
Kenya	Spring, 2016	75	14	7	4	0	100		
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	79	13	6	2	0	100		
	Spring, 2015	69	22	8	1	0	100		
South Africa	Spring, 2016	69	14	10	7	0	100		
	Spring, 2015	55	21	10	12	2	100		

Q58An. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. n. pov							derately big
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	86	9	3	2	0	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	93	4	2	1	0	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	82	9	6	2	1	100

				een the rich and the poor in (survey country) l r stayed the same in the last five years?			
		Increased	Decreased	Stayed the same	DK/Refused	Total	
Kenya	Spring, 2016	68	18	13	2	100	
	Spring, 2013	80	13	7	1	100	
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	70	15	13	2	100	
	Spring, 2013	80	7	10	3	100	
South Africa	Spring, 2016	64	14	21	1	100	
	Spring, 2013	66	14	18	2	100	

		Q64B. ASK SPL	64B. ASK SPLIT B ONLY: I am now going to read you a list of things some people say could be improved in our country. Of this list, please tell me which one you think should be the most important priority for our country.										
		Health care	Education	Agriculture and the supply of food	The supply of energy, such as electricity or petrol	Infrastructure, such as roads and bridges	Government effectiveness, such as reducing corruption	DK/Refused	Total	N=			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	20	33	19	2	6	20	1	100	582			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	14	18	27	19	5	17	0	100	553			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	17	36	12	7	5	22	1	100	586			

			Q6	5B. ASK SPLIT B C	NLY: And which	hould be the seco	nd most importan	t priority?		
		Health care	Education	Agriculture and the supply of food	The supply of energy, such as electricity or petrol	Infrastructure, such as roads and bridges	Government effectiveness, such as reducing corruption	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Kenya	Spring, 2016	27	24	20	8	10	9	1	100	582
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	18	23	21	18	9	11	0	100	553
South Africa	Spring, 2016	22	29	18	7	8	16	1	100	586

Q66a. When children today in (survey country) grow up, do you think each of the following things will be much bett than it is today in our country, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse? a. education									
Somewhat About the Somewhat Much better better same worse Much worse DK/Refused Total							Total		
Kenya	Spring, 2016	52	29	4	5	9	1	100	
Nigeria	Nigeria Spring, 2016 62 23 5 4 4 1 100								
South Africa	Spring, 2016	45	22	11	7	13	1	100	

					ow up, do you thin er, about the same				
Somewhat About the Somewhat Much better better same worse Much worse DK/Refused Total							Total		
Kenya	Spring, 2016	13	26	11	11	36	2	100	
Nigeria Spring, 2016 47 24 10 8 8 3 100									
South Africa	Spring, 2016	21	22	15	11	29	3	100	

		Q66c. When children today in (survey country) grow up, do you think each of the following things will be much better than it is today in our country, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse? c. health care								
		Much better	Somewhat better	About the same	Somewhat worse	Much worse	DK/Refused	Total		
Kenya	Spring, 2016	40	36	7	7	9	2	100		
Nigeria Spring, 2016 60 26 6 3 3 2 100										
South Africa	Spring, 2016	37	25	12	8	15	1	100		

Q66d. When children today in (survey country) grow up, do you think each of the following things will be much better than it is today in our country, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse? d. government corruption												
		Much better	Somewhat better	About the same	Somewhat worse	Much worse	DK/Refused	Total				
Kenya	Spring, 2016	13	21	9	12	42	4	100				
Nigeria Spring, 2016 37 23 12 11 13 4												
South Africa	Spring, 2016	15	15 18 13 8 40 5 100									

Q66e. When children today in (survey country) grow up, do you think each of the following things will be much better than it is today in our country, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse? e. terrorism								
		Much better	Somewhat better	About the same	Somewhat worse	Much worse	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya Spring, 2016 11 18 7 14 47 4 100								100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	39	22	10	11	12	6	100

Q66f. When children today in (survey country) grow up, do you think each of the following things will be much better than it is today in our country, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse? f. equal rights for men and women												
		Much better	Somewhat better	About the same	Somewhat worse	Much worse	DK/Refused	Total				
Kenya	Spring, 2016	26	28	17	9	15	5	100				
Nigeria Spring, 2016 39 31 14 7 5 3 100												
South Africa	Spring, 2016	34	34 23 20 6 13 3 100									

	Q67a. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all an important reason why many people do not have jobs. a. schools do not teach the necessary skills									
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	37	20	20	21	2	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	35	25	20	19	1	100			
South Africa	<b>Spring, 2016</b> 61 18 10 10 2 100									

	Q67b. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all an important reason why many people do not have jobs. b. some people are unmotivated or lazy										
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total				
Kenya	Spring, 2016	25	20	23	30	3	100				
Nigeria	Nigeria Spring, 2016 33 25 21 20 1 100										
South Africa	Spring, 2016	50									

	Q67c. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all an important reason why many people do not have jobs. c. many jobs only go to people with connections									
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	64	11	11	14	1	100			
<b>Nigeria Spring, 2016</b> 63 17 11 8 1 100										
South Africa	Spring, 2016	69	13	8	10	1	100			

	Q67d. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very important, somewhat important, no too important or not at all an important reason why many people do not have jobs. d. some people a discriminated against because of their ethnicity/race						
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	53	14	15	16	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	35	24	19	20	2	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	57	15	15	12	2	100

In Kenya and Nigeria, question asked about 'ethnicity'; In South Africa, question asked about 'race.'

Q67e. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all an important reason why many people do not have jobs. e. some people have health problems that prevent them from working							
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	30	19	22	27	2	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	36	26	20	17	1	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	58	19	12	10	1	100

		Q68. In general, would you say the government is run for the benefit of all the people in (survey country) OR is it run for the benefit of only a few groups of people?							
		Benefit few Benefit all groups DK/Refused Total							
Kenya	Spring, 2016	41	58	2	100				
	Spring, 2015	46	53	1	100				
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	42	55	2	100				
	Spring, 2015	36	61	3	100				
South Africa	Spring, 2016	28	70	1	100				
	Spring, 2015	30	59	11	100				

			Spring, 2016			
		Kenya	Nigeria	South Africa		
Q69. In your opinion, which other country in	United States	36	25	27		
the world is the best example of an economically developed country?	China	15	28	22		
economically developed country?	Japan	4	2	3		
	South Africa	4	1	1		
	Tanzania	4	0	0		
	Germany	2	2	5		
	United Kingdom	1	2	4		
	France	0	1	1		
	Switzerland	0	0	1		
	Other European Union/Europe	2	1	4		
	Uganda	2	0	0		
	Canada	1	1	1		
	India	1	0	0		
	Israel	1	1	0		
	Kenya	1	0	0		
	Nigeria	1	2	2		
	Saudi Arabia	1	4	0		
	Other Gulf states, such as the UAE	1	1	0		
	Singapore	1	0	0		
	Australia	0	1	4		
	Botswana	0	0	4		
	Ghana	0	1	0		
	None (VOL)	4	3	2		
	Other (VOL)	2	1	3		
	DK/Refused	15	24	15		
	Total	100	100	100		

Data is displayed vertically.

			Spring, 2016			
		Kenya	Nigeria	South Africa		
Q70a. When thinking about what makes	Agriculture/farming/natural resources	3	3	2		
(COUNTRY NAMED IN Q69) the best example of an economically developed country, what	Manufacturing/production/goods	6	12	9		
first comes to mind?	Infrastructure/roads/electricity/industry	8	4	2		
	Advanced technology/innovation	2	12	6		
	Education system/standards	5	3	8		
	Political stability/low corruption/good government	15	7	4		
	Jobs/economic opportunities/growth/stability	18	18	28		
	World power/foreign aid/foreign investment	6	3	3		
	Strong individual values/hardworking/creative	8	11	7		
	Individual rights/unity/equality	6	3	5		
	High living standards/affordable goods	5	6	6		
	Health care system/facilities	0	1	1		
	Peaceful/security	7	3	4		
	Other	3	9	9		
	DK/Refused	7	4	6		
	Total	100	100	100		

Open end responses combined into general categories. Data is displayed vertically.

			Spring, 2016		
		Kenya	Nigeria	South Africa	
Q70b. And what comes to mind next?	Agriculture/farming/natural resources	2	3	1	
	Manufacturing/production/goods	3	6	5	
	Infrastructure/roads/electricity/industry	8	6	1	
	Advanced technology/innovation	2	6	3	
	Education system/standards	6	3	9	
	Political stability/low corruption/good government	10	6	6	
	Jobs/economic opportunities/growth/stability	13	11	17	
	World power/foreign aid/foreign investment	4	3	4	
	Strong individual values/hardworking/creative	4	10	8	
	Individual rights/unity/equality	8	2	4	
	High living standards/affordable goods	2	4	6	
	Health care system/facilities	1	0	1	
	Peaceful/security	4	4	4	
	Other	3	8	9	
	DK/Refused	30	29	20	
	Total	100	100	100	

Open end responses combined into general categories. Data is displayed vertically.

	Q91. Do you think the Nigerian government is making progress in its campaign against Boko Haram, losing ground or are things about the same as they have been the past?						
Making About the progress Losing ground same DK/Refused Tota						Total	
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	76	10	11	3	100	
	Spring, 2015	61	19	14	6	100	

		each type of acti	Q92a. Here are some different political and social actions that people can take. Please indicate, for each type of action whether you have done this in the past year, you have done this in the more distant past, you have not done this but might do it or you have not done this and would never, under any circumstances, do it. a. attended a political campaign event or speech								
		Have done in the past year	Have done in the more distant past	Have not done, but might do	Have not done and would never do	DK/Refused	Total				
Kenya	Spring, 2016	24	25	21	28	1	100				
	Spring, 2014	37	28	19	16	1	100				
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	29	15	15	38	3	100				
	Spring, 2014	26	10	20	42	3	100				
South Africa	Spring, 2016	22	15	19	40	3	100				
	Spring, 2014	13	15	19	51	3	100				

		each type of action	Q92b. Here are some different political and social actions that people can take. Please indicate, for ch type of action whether you have done this in the past year, you have done this in the more distant past, you have not done this but might do it or you have not done this and would never, under any circumstances, do it. b. participated in an organized protest of any kind							
		Have done in the past year	Have done in the more distant past	Have not done, but might do	Have not done and would never do	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	4	6	15	74	1	100			
	Spring, 2014	9	15	40	34	2	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	10	12	18	55	4	100			
	Spring, 2014	11	9	24	50	6	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	14	13	18	50	4	100			
	Spring, 2014	5	10	21	61	3	100			

Q92c. Here are some different political and social actions that people can take. Please indicate, for each type of action whether you have done this in the past year, you have done this in the more distant past, you have not done this but might do it or you have not done this and would never, under any circumstances, do it. c. voted in an election

			circumstances, do it. c. voted in an election							
		Have done in the past year	Have done in the more distant past	Have not done, but might do	Have not done and would never do	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	24	50	22	5	0	100			
	Spring, 2014	55	23	14	7	0	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	77	8	8	7	1	100			
	Spring, 2014	55	15	12	15	3	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	50	27	16	6	2	100			
	Spring, 2014	61	10	10	17	2	100			

Q92d. Here are some different political and social actions that people can take. Please indicate, for each type of action whether you have done this in the past year, you have done this in the more distant past, you have not done this but might do it or you have not done this and would never, under any circumstances, do it. d. signed a petition about a political or social issue ONLINE

		555	chical control of the							
		Have done in the past year	Have done in the more distant past	Have not done, but might do	Have not done and would never do	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	4	4	27	60	4	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	4	4	19	66	7	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	11	6	17	60	5	100			

Q92e. Here are some different political and social actions that people can take. Please indicate, for each type of action whether you have done this in the past year, you have done this in the more distant past, you have not done this but might do it or you have not done this and would never, under any circumstances, do it. e. posted your own thoughts or comments on political or social issues ONLINE

		circumstances	circumstances, do it. e. posted your own thoughts or comments on political or social issues ONLINE							
		Have done in the past year	Have done in the more distant past	Have not done, but might do	Have not done and would never do	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	8	5	27	56	4	100			
	Spring, 2014	5	7	31	52	6	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	14	8	21	52	5	100			
	Spring, 2014	9	5	22	57	7	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	13	6	18	57	5	100			
	Spring, 2014	3	5	17	70	7	100			

Q92f. Here are some different political and social actions that people can take. Please indicate, for each type of action whether you have done this in the past year, you have done this in the more distant past, you have not done this but might do it or you have not done this and would never, under any circumstances, do it. f. encouraged other people to take action on a political or social issue that is important to you ONLINE

				•			
		Have done in the past year	Have done in the more distant past	Have not done, but might do	Have not done and would never do	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	7	6	28	56	4	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	12	8	19	54	6	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	14	8	19	54	5	100

Q92g. Here are some different political and social actions that people can take. Please indicate, for each type of action whether you have done this in the past year, you have done this in the more distant past, you have not done this but might do it or you have not done this and would never, under any circumstances, do it, g. participated in a political, charitable or religious-based volunteer organization

circumstances, as it gi participated in a pontreal, circumstance of rengi						us buscu volunice	ci organizacion
		Have done in the past year	Have done in the more distant past	Have not done, but might do	Have not done and would never do	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	22	18	23	34	2	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	24	16	21	35	4	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	22	17	22	35	4	100

		Q93. Which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right?								
		Ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence (survey country)'s government if they are willing to make the effort	There's not much ordinary citizens can do to influence (survey country)'s government	Both (VOL)	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total			
Kenya	Spring, 2016	69	26	0	1	3	100			
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	68	28	2	1	1	100			
South Africa	Spring, 2016	62	32	1	1	3	100			

In Nigeria, question asked 'ordinary Nigerians.'

Q94a. How likely are you personally to take political action on, such as contact an elected office participate in a demonstration? a. poor quality schools							ected official or
		Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not too likely	Not at all likely	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	42	32	10	15	2	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	49	22	14	13	2	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	52	14	15	17	1	100

		Q94b. How likely			action on , suc n? b. government		ected official or
		Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not too likely	Not at all likely	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	39	24	8	26	3	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	44	22	13	19	2	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	47	13	16	22	3	100

		Q94c. How likely			action on , suc ation? c. poor heal		ected official or
		Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not too likely	Not at all likely	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	48	29	7	15	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	51	22	13	12	2	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	51	17	15	15	1	100

Q94d. How likely are you personally to take political action on, such as contact an elected official participate in a demonstration? d. poverty							
		Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not too likely	Not at all likely	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	41	27	11	19	2	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	51	21	12	14	1	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	52	15	16	15	2	100

Q94e. How likely are you personally to take political action on, such as contact an elected official participate in a demonstration? e. discrimination against ethnic/religious/racial/vulnerable or disadvantaged groups							
		Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not too likely	Not at all likely	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	41	22	9	26	2	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	34	22	18	23	3	100

In Kenya and Nigeria asked 'ethnic.' Results for South Africa not included due to administrative error.

		Q94f. How likely			action on , suc tion? f. police mis		ected official or
		Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not too likely	Not at all likely	DK/Refused	Total
Kenya	Spring, 2016	35	28	10	23	4	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2016	37	22	17	22	3	100
South Africa	Spring, 2016	42	18	19	19	3	100