

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

GIVING PEOPLE VOICE THROUGH OPINION POLLING:
LESSONS FROM NIGERIA

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. GRIFFIN: Good afternoon everyone. Welcome to Brookings. It doesn't quite look like Brookings, but it is. I am Charles Griffin and I am a Fellow of Brookings, and I am part of a group of people developing the Transparency and Accountability Program here. We have had every other week a lunch seminar. This is by far the one with the least amount of food and the most people, and I think we have Ngozi to thank for that. I am sorry, we just thought the food would be impossible so we are going on a diet today.

In recent years there has been an emphasis by donors and development specialists on democratic processes, governance, transparency in public institutions, and anticorruption policies. These efforts increase the supply of accountability mechanisms, but everybody has also begun to realize that the domestic demand for accountability is at least as important, and that demand comes from voters, from civil society organizations, from think tanks, from universities, from people who care about policies and the results of what government does. Both sides of the equation are essential to get the vibrant domestic give and take that is necessary to get accountability to happen.

The topic today is about the latter, the demand for accountability and raising the voices of people through opinion polling. I am proud to have the opportunity to introduce my famous colleague at Brookings. Brookings is now waving around "Vanity Fair" at every occasion because she was just recently in it, but I very happy to introduce Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. As you know, she was

Minister of Finance in Nigeria from 2003 to 2006. In that position in a very short period of time she took Nigeria from a country that was best known for corruption to one that other countries sent visiting missions to to try to learn how to reduce corruption very much due to her own efforts.

During her tenure maybe not exactly because of her, she does not like to take credit for it, but Nigeria did sign up for the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. She was part of the administration that helped that to happen. She had the oil sector audited and put the results on the Internet to reveal to everyone the volume of oil that Nigeria produces and what it earns for oil. She authored in her words the most boring bestseller in history by publishing payments from the federal government to the states from oil revenues in Nigeria. She also put the federal budget on the Internet.

Of course, the tangible result of her efforts was that she was able to negotiate \$18 billion of debt forgiveness out of Nigeria's \$30 billion external debt which makes a huge difference in the resources she as the Minister of Finance could devote to improving the welfare of the citizens of Nigeria. In short, we are all serious about improving governance, but Ngozi is someone who has actually done it and we take our hats off to her.

Now in the period since she left government, Ngozi has been pushing to develop capacity in Nigeria for scientifically-based opinion polling. I first heard of the idea in November, and by March she and her team had already

completed the first national poll with the help of the Gallup organization, an amazing record I might say. Today we will hear the main results of that poll.

But before I turn the podium over to Ngozi, I would like to recognize on behalf of Brookings in welcoming the former Minister of the Federal Capital Territory, Malam Nasir El-Rufai, and His Excellency George Obiozor, the Ambassador to the U.S.

(Applause)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: He is the Deputy Ambassador.

MR. GRIFFIN: I gave you a promotion. I apologize. I would also like to recognize members of Dr. Okonjo-Iweala's team who are all here today from Nigeria. Phillip Osofo Kuako in the back there, Dubisi Ananwu, there you are, Obi Onyay Ginwanay. And I see there are some other special guests here, but I will let Ngozi introduce to them, very close to her. The floor is yours, Ngozi. Welcome.

(Applause)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you, Charlie. The first thing I will say is that you have to correct my C.V. I would say that each time you make introductions because a lot of the things that I am given credit for were done by other people and by a team, and we were an economic team that helped to push the reforms together and some of them are my other colleagues who are well known such as Nohu Rebado who is here and worked very hard on the anticorruption.

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We have the singular honor today of a team from the Budget Office of the Federation of Nigeria and it is the most delightful thing that I got a call saying that there is a team from the Ministry of Finance who is here for a course on something totally different and they heard about this, and it is a pleasant surprise for me. I want them to stand up.

(Applause)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: These are very senior directors and deputy directors, from the Ministry of Finance and the Budget Office and their work, if they had not worked hard while we were there to do some of the things we talked about, we would never have accomplished what we accomplished. So I wanted to say a special thank you and welcome.

(Applause)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: I know Charlie said some people are close to me, I am not going to call their names, but my parents are in the audience, Professor and Professor Mrs. Okonjo, and my husband, so welcome to them. Now we would have the whole room standing up. I think there are some other non-related parties in the room, but we will not ask you to stand up.

I want to just take moment here to introduce a wonderful colleague, Dr. Bob Totura, who is going to discuss the poll with me. Bob is a very experienced scientist with Gallup and has been working on these issues for more than 12 years, has worked hard on the Gallup World Poll and the Africa

Regional Poll. I say it was a singular pleasure that when we approached Gallup they assigned one of their best people to help us lead this effort, and that is Dr. Bob Totura. We have developed a very strong and close working relationship with him and you will hear more from him on that.

With that, I think this is very informal. I must confess to you that when we were saying a lunchtime seminar, I thought we were going to have 20 people, some small number, and I thought we would have a very interactive session. I thought I would present things and then people in the audience could comment on it and ask questions. With this number of people, we might have to modify a little bit that format. But essentially what I want to say is based on what Charlie had so nicely set out before. We have a situation in our country, many of our countries in Africa, but particularly Nigeria which is the largest African country by population, you really do not have any tool scientifically to gauge what people think of what their government is doing, what they think of what is happening in the country. There is no way to give voice to people. I strongly believe that while opinion research or polling should not lead policy because many times we may have to do things that people do not like, it should certainly inform policy. And the fact that this was missing, I just thought there was something missing to strengthen democracy's voice and accountability in the country.

It was very much missed while I was minister. People would come to me and say people do not like this policy and they hate privatization and they

hate this and they do not like that. And I say, On what basis? How do you know? And we found that the voices of a few people sometimes became the voice of the country, and you had no way of knowing whether this really was the case or not.

The second thing is that there were different types of polling, but most of them were not scientific. So for the first time we decided that to help with the democratic institutions we would try to establish a form of polling, and it is alarming us that in a country of 140 million people we have no way to gauge the voice of the people. I think there are only three African countries, in fact two, that have indigenous polling capability, Kenya and South Africa, and if you look at the other countries, there really is not anything. What you do have is Gallup coming with its World Poll with 100 and some specific questions in 140 countries or 130 countries, or the regional poll, but that is not the same as looking at what is happening within the country and trying to gauge opinions of people in it. So that is the background of what led to this. I would have loved to get a lot more input and advice when I was in office about some of the things that we were doing, what do the people really think in a measurable way.

To do this we first of all approached Gallup and it so happened that this whole idea integrated very nicely in the group work I was doing at Brookings with David de Ferranti and Charlie on transparency and accountability. We approached Gallup and Gallup was excited at the idea all the way up to the CEO and decided to partner with us in doing this, and that is how you have the NOI/Gallup Polls.

I think what we did was to look at, this was the very first poll, just a series of questions, not political. This is not about policy. Anyone who is here expecting to see answers or questions on political issues, you can leave now. This is not about politics. We are not here to measure popularity contests of people and so on, but we did want to focus on socioeconomic issues that we thought would be of interest to Nigerians on some governance issues, and even some issues about national building and sense of self and state, because the people feel that Nigeria is a country that you often hear it is fractured to fall apart, is that really the case, what do Nigerians think. So we have sets of questions on nationhood and governance type issues, we have issues on standard of living, we have issues on service delivery within the country, we have some issues on the Niger Delta, we have issues on government policy and accomplishment. We will run through these and then we will try to be interactive on some of the issues, but if we spend too much time I will move us along as quickly as we can. With that, let me ask Bob to start off.

MR. TOTURA: Thank you very much. I would like to second that it is my pleasure. It has been a wonderful experience to work with NOI Polls and Dr. Okonjo-Iweala personally. I am looking forward to continuing this relationship and moving on.

What I would like to do today is go through the poll, but I want to start out with some background about the Gallup World Poll so you can understand what we are about and how what we did in Nigeria fits in with the

Gallup World Poll. So I want to talk about the methodology did we use and how much of the world did we cover, and that is about the Gallup World Poll. And then dive into the NOI/Gallup Poll in Nigeria. So we are going to look at form of government, number of countries, what people about should Nigeria be one country or more than one country, personal feelings about self and country, and we are going to look at how Nigerians feel and how other Sub-Saharan African people feel both about themselves and about their country. We are going to look at some issues about the delta and what people think about what government is doing and what the oil companies are doing for the delta. We want to spend a little bit of time both looking back at government – so, what was the previous government's accomplishments in the minds of Nigerians -- and then what might the next government be doing in terms of this brand new government in the next 12 months.

Then we want to look at some confidence both in government and specific agencies within government, and then a brief look at the business sector. So we are going go through government, a brief look at business, and then we are going to change gears and look at what knowledge do Nigerians have about HIV/AIDS, both prevention and treatment. And then we will close with what's next, so what is happening with the Gallup World Poll and what is happening with our next NOI/ Gallup Poll.

With the Gallup World Poll we did 130 countries around the world in 2006. We actually covered 95 percent of the population aged 15 and plus.

That is who we interview, people 15 and plus. In Sub-Saharan Africa last year, we did 26 countries and we covered 85 percent of the population age 15 and plus. This is a representative sample in almost every country around the world. It represents both the urban population and the rural population. It represents each country as a whole. We use a standardized methodology. We try to use that standardized methodology because it is very important if you want to compare two countries, are you really seeing a difference of opinions of opinions of the people of those two countries or is there some kind of methodological difference that has caused a change or a difference in the opinion. So we really want that standardized methodology.

Typically we do 1,000 interviews per country. We use local interviewers trained by Gallup. So we go to the training and work with our partners in making sure the interviewers understand the concepts not only of the questionnaire but how to go about and do the random household selection, and then within the random household selection, the random person age 15 and plus.

In the developing world it is all face-to-face interviewing. In the developed world in most of the countries we do telephone interviewing because in those countries we can cover about 80 percent of the population through telephone interviews. Then of course we have to interview in all the major languages and we spend a lot of time concerned about the translations into the major languages. So we hope we are getting not the translation word for word, but truly the meaning of the question in the translation.

The poll is divided into two parts. We have a core set of questions that we asked in all 130 countries last year. The same approach for 2007 but we used that core approach, and then we have regional questions. So we tailor the survey to questions that are of interest to the regions. We have a set of questions for Asia, a set of questions for Latin America. We survey the Muslim countries and we have a set of questions tailored to issues associated with the Muslim countries. FSU for those of you from the United States, it not Florida State University, it is the Former Soviet Union, and so we have a set of questions for them. Then finally, we have a set of questions for Sub-Saharan Africa.

The core, those questions that we ask in all 130 countries, here are some of the topics that we cover. We developed indices on these topics from the core, so you can look from country to country, region to region, and see how those countries compare or those regions compare on this variety of core questions. Then for the regional questions, like I mentioned, they are pertinent to the region. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the questions that were asked would be of interest to and are about the heavily indebted poor countries and the Millennium Development Goals. So those are the first two rounds. We are concentrating on those kinds of regional questions.

For example, for the first time we are getting a ranking by Sub-Saharan Africans of the Millennium Development Goals, What do you as an individual is the most important Millennium Development Goal? Then this is how this fit in so nicely our partnership with NOI Polls, is now we can come up

with country-specific in depth questions. So we went from the core across the board, regional Sub-Saharan Africa, and now delving even further and going into particular issues about Nigeria.

Here are the countries we did in 2006 in Sub-Saharan Africa. You see Angola is on the list. That is not a nationally representative sample. We did not want to send our interviewers into areas where there were a lot of mines in those active minefields, so we avoided those areas. In Uganda we stayed out of that northern region where the LRA was active. But in all other countries we are talking about nationally representative samples. And even in Uganda, that is a very light population in that area.

Let's now get down to Nigeria, what you are here for. This poll was conducted in February 2007. We did 1,000 interviews, the margin of error is plus or minus 5 percent, it is all face-to-face interviewing, and we had the capability of interviewing in four languages in Nigeria.

Here is a map. The way we do this polling, we stratify the country and we do it by population size. One stratum will be the very large cities, then we will take the middle-sized cities, smaller cities, all the way down to rural areas. These dots that you see are actually what we call the primary sampling units. We get a listing of all of the enumeration areas in Nigeria and we randomly select enumeration areas. Then we go in and do a random rep procedure to select a starting point in each selected enumeration area. Then we do random selection of eight households in each PSU. So if you count those red dots, there should be 125

of them, and 8 times 125 gives you the 1,000 interviews. Let's start looking at some of the data we collected.

The first question that we are going to look at it is, What form of government, a democracy, a military, or a religious government, is best for the people of Nigeria? We are going to look at it by several breaks. We will look at it by gender, age, and geography. When I say geography, I am talking about those regions listed below where we split the data out by those five regions.

Here are the results for democracy. A very strong result. If you look at the white bar on this graph, that is the total, then the blue and the chartreuse, I guess that is chartreuse, are what males and females thing. So 82 percent of Nigerians are in favor of a democracy, very small numbers of military and religious, and a small undecided group too. You can see that overall, only 4 percent of Nigerians are undecided about what form of government, so there is a very strong interest in a democracy. If you look at it by age, you have the young people 15 to 18, the second group is 19 to 29, 30 to 45, and then 46 plus, again you see the same kind of picture with broad support across age groups for democracy.

Now that we have established that Nigerians are very strongly in favor of democracy, what about the question, Should Nigeria be divided into two countries or remain as one entity, and again we are going to look at it by different breaks. Again there was not quite as strong support as for a democracy, but still 7 in 10, overall, almost 3 out of 4 Nigerians say one country. So if you look all the

way over on your right, the total bar, that is over all of Nigeria, with about 1 in 5 are saying more than one country. So 3 out of 4 are saying one country, and then again a small undecided group with about 6 percent. You can see if you look at males and females, again it is pretty much the same picture.

Looking at age group, very much the same picture, with maybe a little bit of falloff in the older group, the 46 plus a little less strong for one country, but still it is two-thirds of the people at 46 plus.

I mentioned that we were going to look at it also by geographic region. These two tables combine both of the questions. The top table is what form of government, and then you can see the columns are by those geographic regions. You would not expect anything different based on the strong support that we saw overall. The lowest support for a democracy is in Lagos, but still is pretty high, with 7 in 10 still wanting a democracy. I have to caution you that the Kano and the Lagos sample sizes are small, the margin error there is a lot bigger, so you just have to be a little bit careful there. If you go down to the second table you see the one country, and there maybe something a little surprising shows up that it is really not in the delta which I would have expected where you would have had a large group of people saying, yes, we need to split this up, but it really comes out of the north in Kano. I think that probably if you sit back and think about it, you might say, yes, I think I can understand why that is happening.

Now let's switch a little bit. Let's talk about what Nigerians are thinking in terms of themselves right now, where are they in terms of life, where

they were 5 years ago, where they expect to be in 5 years, and I want to look at the same thing for Nigeria when we asked Nigerians to think about the country of Nigeria. The question that we asked them is, Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time assuming that the higher the step the better you feel? We asked that about now for themselves, 5 years ago where they were, and when where they expect to be in 5 years. Then later in the questionnaire we come back and ask those same kinds of questions but now about the country itself, so we ask about Nigeria.

What I did for this is I broke up the ladder. Instead of trying to show you all 11 points, I cut the ladder into three pieces. I said at the bottom of the ladder are the people down there giving those low scores, 0, 1, 2. So if somebody said a 1 about their current life, that is not very good because you can go up to 10 where it is very, very good; 3 to 7 I am saying is in the middle of the ladder; and then 8 to 10, those people who have high expectations let's say for where they might be in 10 years. What I want to do is show you Nigeria, Nigerians of Nigeria, then Sub-Saharan Africans, and Sub-Saharan Africa for these questions.

I have to go slow on this, but if you look at the yellow line, that is the track for the people who we are saying that they were at the top of the ladder,

that they were giving a score of 8, 9, or 10, and that is for the Nigerians, the top graph. So 5 years ago, only 6 percent of Nigerians said they were at the top of the ladder, a very small percentage. Right now again 6 percent are at the top of the ladder. But look at the future, where they expect to be in the next 5 years, 63 percent, more than 6 in 10, say they will be at the top of the ladder. You can go down the bottom slide and you see the same picture of the top of the ladder. It is almost exactly the same graph, except Nigerians are even a little bit more optimistic about their country. So you from 63 percent of Nigerians when they are talking about themselves, and you go up to 69 percent when you are talking about Nigeria.

How does that compare with the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa? By the way, this is based on our poll in 2007. We also did this in 2006, with very similar data. When I get to the comparison for Sub-Saharan Africa since I am not finished surveying in all of Sub-Saharan Africa yet, I am going to look at 2006 data for those 26 countries that we did last year. Again focus on the yellow line. Actually, 5 years and now, Sub-Saharan Africans is pretty comparable with what Nigerians were saying, 5, to 6 percent, 5 percent 5 years ago, right now 6 percent are at the top of the ladder, but 41 percent of Sub-Saharan Africans expect for themselves personally that they will be at the top of the ladder, 8, 9, or 10. And if you look at what they say about their country and you combine it all over those 26 percent, now 40 percent if you look all the way over to the right are saying that they expect their country to be at the top of the ladder. So it is a very similar

picture with everybody expecting things to get better, though not quite as optimistic as in Nigeria if you look at Sub-Saharan Africa overall.

Let's move on then to the delta. We asked a couple of questions about what is government doing and what are the oil companies doing for the delta. Specifically, is the national government doing enough for the people of the Niger Delta, and are the oil companies doing enough for the people of the delta. Here is what they said, 92 percent of Nigerians, 9 in 10, are saying that the government is not doing enough for the people of the delta, and 46 percent say that the oil companies are not doing enough. It is a pretty big difference. That is twice the number in terms of people thinking about the oil companies and the national government. But I think the other point to look at here is that 30 percent of the people are undecided about the oil companies, so the oil companies have a lot of room to influence this in future polls. What they do and what people think they are doing can change this picture quite a bit with that 30 percent undecided, so that is looking at that very right- most column.

We followed-up the question about the government and the oil companies by saying, What should the government with the savings from oil revenue? I thought these were very interesting and exciting results, 90 percent of Nigerians said that any savings should be invested in the infrastructure of the country. So almost unanimous agreement that that is where those savings should go. Two out of three said they should be used in the delta, 6 in 10, 60 percent, to provide cash transfers to Nigerians, and then 55 percent said let's put it aside and

save it for a rainy day. Clearly though, the opinion of people in Nigeria say invest those revenues in the infrastructure of the country.

We followed that basic question about what should be done with the revenues by a follow-up question, What more do you think the national government should do for the people of the delta? You will notice that 33 percent of the people said create jobs for youth. That by and far is the most outstanding thing that people believed the government should do. And the same picture comes out for the oil companies where about 37 percent say again jobs for youth. I think there is a message there that actually we are going to follow-up on a little bit later on and strengthen that particular message.

We wanted to look back and wanted to look ahead, and this is a very unbiased result, I have to tell you that. This came out to our surprise and as you know, to the Gallup organization integrity is everything to us, and integrity is everything to NOI polls. Remember, this is in February when we did this survey so we were talking about the government at that time, Please tell me which are the top three accomplishments of the current government, and here is the list for those saying the most important accomplishment, so the most important, second most important, and third most important. This is the people who said most important accomplishment, nearly 3 in 10, 28 percent, said it was obtaining debt relief, and then 1 in 5, down to 20 percent, said fighting corruption, and 15 percent said reforming the banks. Then you can see the other categories we asked about, improving agriculture, improving roads, creating jobs, improving electricity,

fiscal transparency and better budget management, fighting inflation, stabilizing inflation, and then 7 percent of the people said they do not know what was the most important accomplishment, but a pretty interesting result there.

What about the next 12 months then with a new government coming into place there at the end of May, Which of the following is the most important issue the government should address in the next 12 months? This was an open-ended question where the interviewer checked what option they said, so they could offer electricity, water, the road system, the rail system, agriculture, education, health care, corruption, violence, creating new jobs, or something else, but these were the main categories. Here are the results overall and by gender. Remember what we say about what more the government should do and what the oil companies should do? Number one was creating jobs. When you ask about what the next government should do, 25 percent of the people come up again with create new jobs. For the oil companies and the national government, for youth here we are getting the same message, creating new jobs. The yellow line is overall people in Nigeria, the chartreuse is female, and the blue is male. So there is much agreement among the genders in terms of what the next government should be working on, and as you go down there, one thing that was never mentioned by anybody was the rail system, so that just never showed up.

Just a quick look by age group, you get almost the same picture. The only little bit of a difference is that people 30 to 45, the yellow line, really are looking for water. A much higher percentage of them are saying that they believe

is what is what the government should accomplish. Here is by education with pretty much the same picture. The green is again the highest ranking for those categories by education. So for people with a primary education, secondary, or postsecondary, clearly jobs are the most important thing, and if you look at people with no formal education, it is water. Then by region, again there is fairly strong agreement. In three of the regions, in the north without Kano, electricity is number one, and in Kano, water is number one, but jobs is second in Kano with 22 percent.

We wanted to find out about confidence in government and the big picture about government, confidence in the national government, confidence in the 26 state governments, and confidence in all of the local governments. Then we wanted to go deeper and say, Thinking about the agencies in the national government, what is your confidence in those agencies? The top three lines are in decreasing order of confidence. People have the most confidence with 49 percent in state government, 44 percent for local government, and 39 percent for the national government. Then if you look at agencies within the national government, and we have a list of those, here is the top and the bottom of the list. You have the Food and Drug Administration and the corruption agency, the EFCC, at the top of the list. That certainly makes sense with a lot of the data we saw earlier about some of those results. At the bottom you have the customs agency, the tax authority, and at the very bottom you had only 22 percent of Nigerians having confidence the power agency.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: We had a very long list of all the agencies. There were other agencies. So as not to list every single one, there were various other agencies.

MR. TOTURA: I want to point out, too, that all three, the EFCC, customs, and the tax authority, have a lot of room there because look at the size of the undecided list. You have 15 percent, 13 percent, and 25 percent who are still saying they are not sure whether they have confidence or not in those agencies, so there is the possibility of having some movement one way or another with that large a number of undecideds.

So now we have pretty much gone through the government part of the survey, and we wanted to get a little bit into the business sector. There is the list of sectors that we covered, pharmaceutical, food and beverage, oil and gas, construction, all the way down to solid minerals, and here is the ranking in decreasing order by confidence. The telecommunication agency, 82 percent of Nigerians say they have confidence in telecommunications. Actually the first four are almost identical even down to the first five or six, so you go from 82 percent to 72 percent where you are getting almost the same score, but telecommunications followed by banking, agriculture, food and beverage, and the pharmaceutical sector. Down at the bottom you see the insurance sector and real estate. Again there is some room here for movement because as you go down the list you start to see some fairly large numbers in terms of undecideds where you

see that 23 percent of Nigerians are undecided about the real estate sector, so that may change some way over the next few years.

We asked Nigerians, Which of the following sectors are the top three contributors to the national economy? Here you see the percent ranking in the top three. Oil and gas was number 1 where 25 percent of Nigerians say that oil and gas is in the top three contributing to the national economy, followed by agriculture, banking, telecommunications, and then it kind of falls off and gets down into the single-digit numbers, but by and large it is oil and gas ahead of everything. And we wanted to look at it by region, again, the sample sizes get small, but you are seeing the same picture except in Lagos where you see banking really comes out strong. I think that probably makes a lot of sense, with 99 percent putting banking in the top three.

Now we have done a little bit about government, a little bit about business, and now we want to look at a really important health issue, about the prevention, treatment, and cure of HIV/AIDS. The first thing that we looked at were two questions about treatment and cure, To the best of your knowledge, is there a treatment available that helps people with AIDS live longer or not? Then, To the best of your knowledge, is there a treatment available that completely cures AIDS or not? For the treatment, 53 percent of people say there is a treatment for AIDS, but 48 percent, the 24 saying no and the 24 percent who do not know, either are wrong because there is a treatment that does prolong life for AIDS, or they do not know if there is a treatment. Then if you look at a cure,

about 3 out of 4, 74 percent of Nigerians, say there is no cure, but there are 18 percent that are unsure. So there is some kind of knowledge or recall issue here with treatment and cure of AIDS, and I believe there was a pretty strong attempted education program around this.

What about prevention? We asked Nigerians whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements, or course one at a time, One way to avoid HIV/AIDS is to abstain, not have sex at all; a way to reduce someone's chances of getting HIV/AIDS is to only have sex with one uninfected partner that is also monogamous; drug users who use needles should never share drug equipment; and the fourth one is latex condoms should be used every time someone has any kind of sex. All of these should be an "I agree" if you are with what the HIV/AIDS health community is saying about preventing HIV/AIDS. Here are the results. For abstinence, 64 percent of Nigerians agree that abstinence is a way to prevent HIV/AIDS. For having sex with only one uninfected partner that is monogamous, 80 percent of Nigerians agree that that is a way to prevent HIV/AIDS. To not share drug equipment, a little bit more, 84 percent say that that a way to prevent HIV/AIDS. Then to always use latex condoms, only about 64 percent, about the same percent that are saying "I agree." So there are some education issues it appears that might be addressed here.

If you look at these questions and try to peel it back by demographics you see that as education increases you get disagreement with abstaining, as education increases, more Nigerians agree with having this

monogamous relationship, and the highest educated Nigerians, those with postsecondary education, agree that latex condoms should be used. So as education goes up you get more and more agreement.

That really concludes the main part. What I want to do now is just take 2 minutes to summarize what we have gone through today. First of all, we see pretty strong agreement for one democratic country with 82 percent saying a democracy and 3 in 4 say it should be one country. The outlook for Nigeria both for the individual Nigerians and for the country itself is very strong, stronger even for Nigeria than for Nigerians from what we saw in the poll, and stronger than what we are seeing in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa.

The government really needs to do more for the delta. Remember, 92 percent of the population said the government was not doing enough for the people of the delta. And the verdict is still out on the oil companies because 37 of the people said they were undecided or not sure about whether the oil companies were doing enough for the delta.

Looking at the past accomplishments of the administration were, one, debt relief, and, two, fighting corruption. A message that we kept seeing in the data was create new jobs. Whether we asked about what the government should be doing, what the oil companies should be doing, and what the next government should be doing, it was really create new jobs. And by the way, this is not much different than when we look at Sub-Saharan Africa, not the same

question, but when you ask questions you see that popping up again and again, that create jobs is really important to Sub-Saharan Africa.

In terms of agencies, the most confidence is in food and drugs, again followed by the corruption agency, and the least confidence is in the power agency. The highest confidence is in telecommunications. When we look at the business sector, lowest in real estate. And if we look at the knowledge of Nigerians about HIV/AIDS, there might be a call to continue the education program there.

Where do we go from here? In 2007 we are in the process right now of doing 27 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. We are going to add some topics in usage of media, where do people get their information, what media sources? This will be a very powerful tool to have when we understand better where Sub-Saharan Africans are getting their information. I mentioned HIV/AIDS. Those questions that I showed you for Nigeria, actually Nigeria was the second country that we asked those in this year. We are expanding that to the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa. We started with Nigeria with bird flu questions, knowledge about can bird flu be transmitted to humans, do people really understand how they can get bird flu.

Then we are having a group of questions on climate change and global warming. We actually have a fairly long set of questions there, probably the most of any of the regions of the world, we are going to concentrate on Sub-Saharan Africa, although we have those questions in all the rest of the regions.

Now what we are doing is getting prepared to do another NOI/Gallup this year in Nigeria, so I turn it over to Dr. Okonjo-Iweala.

(Applause)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you very much, Bob. I think we will just open it up to questions. It was a very extensive poll but we had to choose what parts of the information to present, otherwise we will be here for another 3 or 4 hours. But we have just presented you a snapshot and we will give our summary. We have summarized the results of the poll, so those who are taking notes, we will give you a 2- or 3-page handout when you are going so you can have that. Can we have some light? Let's open it up for questions and comments. And suggestions. A more I think far-reaching poll will be done even in the fall, so suggestions for areas, critiques, clarifications. David?

SPEAKER: (inaudible) what would you have done differently based on what you have learned to both of you?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Let's take three or four questions so that we will give people enough of a chance, and then we will try to answer them, and our team members too.

SPEAKER: I noticed that in your characterization of the health care system there is no mention of avoidable deaths. Quite a lot of the deaths in Nigeria are easily avoidable because they are vaccines and one would like to know what perception the population and your reference group have of the possibility of avoiding deaths in the country. For example, 2 million died of

yellow fever in the 1980s although they have the yellow fever vaccine. The same is happening in Bornu now, they are dying of cholera although there is cholera vaccine. And there is the possibility that every Nigerian can be vaccinated against 10 diseases of which their deaths are avoidable.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Do you have roving mikes?

MR. BERG: My name is Bob Berg, a recent senior adviser of the Economic Commission for Africa. I have a comment and a question. A few years ago we also polled in 27 countries actually 2,000 people in each country, and it is interesting that we were able to get a profile of people's perception of their own governance and an African average as it were. Nigeria came out far lower in its perception of attacking corruption. It was next to Chad at the bottom of the list. It was higher than the profile when it came to representative governance, and so it is interesting to see how these change over time. It may well be that the corruption side is higher rating now, but after the election perhaps there will be a change in that. So the comment is it would be very good to have comparison with other polling data and longitudinal information on a number of these issues.

The question is the relationship now that you would like to foster of polling data in governance in Nigeria and how do you think this can be translated so that parliamentarians and government and people providing public services become more comfortable with and commission polls and utilize them in governance? How do you see that playing out?

SPEAKER: Just to follow-up on Bob Berg's question, first of all, I would like to just start by commending this wonderful effort, and indeed what I think this opens the door to is the possibility of a larger culture of survey research and survey analysis in Nigeria. Indeed, since 2000 the AfroBarometer Network has been conducting national surveys in Nigeria based on samples of 1,800 to 3,600 people using national probability methodologies that are identical to your own. Our numbers jibe very closely with what you are finding, and AfroBarometer's website has more than a hundred analytical papers and research reports available on the Web. So the possibility of doing multiple surveys, learning from each other, developing applications for policymakers and for public debate is tremendous. I think it is very encouraging that there was a story yesterday in the "Times" about the Pew (inaudible)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: What year was this?

SPEAKER: This was 2005. And so I wonder if you could reflect perhaps on (inaudible)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: I think we will take one more and then try to respond. Yes, the gentleman who has been waving his hand.

SPEAKER: (inaudible)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: I think we will take this set of questions and then we will come back for another batch.

David, you asked the question knowing what we know now, what would we do differently? I think this was the first and it was a very big learning

experience. The Gallup Poll has been doing these polls, I think that the difference in some of the polls that are done that cover large numbers of countries is that sometimes when you look at them they do not get deeply into some of the issues in the country itself and so you need to find a way to complement that information.

And I am still trying to reflect. One of the things we found a little bit challenging at least from our side, and Bob can speak to this, is some of the concepts we have are not easy to translate and so you are here thinking this is a very good question and then you actually try to translate it into a concept. When you talk about fighting inflation and exchange rates, we had to modify or make very long explanations and we discovered this when we were doing the training. I participated with Bob in doing the training because I wanted to see the people who are going to go out to administer this, what is their own understanding? You have to be clear and sure that they know what they are talking about and they understand the concepts, and some of our concepts just would not translate into things you could explain to people in the rural areas or even in some parts of the urban areas and we struggled with that. So I learned a very lesson that you have to step back from some of the technical issues and concepts and find a way to either capture them or not try to ask about them because you might get results that do not make any sense and there is no point pretending that people know when you talk about those subjects.

And then we do not have words in some of our languages that capture those. So if anyone knows how to talk about exchange rates in Ibo, in Hausa, in Yoruba or in another language, it took almost three paragraphs to describe exchange rates and at that point in time I decided that, no, we are not going to talk about this. And even inflation which everybody knows, the housewife and everyone knows, but explaining that in a language in a way that would be credible was really tough, so not to make a -- of it I found a technical translation and then I began to understand because I thought some of Gallup's questions in other countries was too involved. This top of the ladder, bottom of the ladder and all that, let's just ask people how they feel. But when you try to translate that into something meaningful, it is very difficult. So the lesson that I have learned personally in doing this is keep the questions -- try not to be too technical, people do not know how to deal with this, and they try to capture things in the language that they can understand. Bob, I do not know if you have any observations before we move on.

MR. TOTURA: To second your comment about translations, we were doing the training in Senegal this year and you know the question about monogamous relationships, during the interviewer training we found out that that got translated to polygamous relationships. So translation is everything. You really have to be careful. You have to invest a lot in it to get it done correctly.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: I personally looked at all the Ibo translations myself and the quality was very high except on those issues that were

very technical which we then modified, and we had people check the other languages who knew what they were talking about, so I had confidence. And phrasing the questions is the biggest challenge and keeping it focused.

On the issue of perception, I agree, I think maybe when we are doing the next one we have a section on health and health care where we can pose some of these questions. We did not actually do that because it was getting a bit long and we did not want this first survey to be too convoluted. But I think the next survey on this we want to think about how we phrase questions about it, do people even know that some of the things their children are dying of or they are dying of that there are cures. There is a big campaign on malaria and malaria bed nets, do people know about this, what is their perception on malaria and on typhoid and cholera and some of the other avoidable diseases. I think it is a very important thing because if you do not have any idea you would not even be out there looking for those kinds of available solutions that could help. So I think we will take a look at how to question about that.

In terms of the governance issue, I think that this is why you have to be very honest and talk about when did you do the polling and what results, and we were always representing this in Nigeria, by the way, and it got some media coverage and got talked about, and we were very careful to say that this done at this point in time. That is why it is important to do these things having a program of doing them because views and perceptions could change. Opinion survey is an opinion survey; let's not try to impute to it much more than it can deliver. And I

think that maybe at the time that the governance thing was done, that was the perception.

I think that has happened in Nigeria is that there has been it has heightened. The issue of corruption has always been there, but during the Obasanjo administration, at least the second half of it, there was a lot more talk and discussion of the issue and it seems to me that there is a perception of much more freedom at least to talk about the issue, to put the issue on the table, now that some action seems to be done. People may not agree whether the action is good enough, most people think probably not, that more could be done, some people feel that the action is targeted at certain people and it is politically motivated, others feel not, but there is a heightened perception about the issue. Nigerians in the room, I would like to hear their opinion, certainly some feel that more is being done about it now than ever before even if it is imperfect. That could account for that result. And I agree with you, I have the feeling if you do the survey now after the election, you will probably get a result that people feel that fighting corruption is now at the bottom because of what happened, the generation perception that the elections did not go well and that there was a lot of fraud in it.

A question was asked, I think it was Professor Lewis that asked this question, How can people become more comfortable about using this data and how can it be translated into action? There is a lot of discomfort about this and I think that is why you only have AfroBarometer, Gallup Polls, all the people

coming from outside to come and poll us. Why haven't we been able to develop organizations that we poll ourselves about these issues? That is one of the things that I had, why is it always something happening driven from outside? You have to ask yourself what is it about all these African countries that they have to wait for AfroBarometer or Gallup or someone else to come?

And there is a certain level of discomfort with this and we have to be honest with ourselves. Even when we were doing this people were saying maybe they will say it is politically motivated or maybe you are doing this to set up something so you can poll people, and there is this fear of having this kind of information. I think we have to start breaking the ice with that, and the more we do this and share the information the more people are able to see it published out there, and now we put this information out and nobody has said or did anything, so I think that is a credit to the country. So I want people to begin to see that, yes, you can do this kind of work, you can use this kind of information, and knowing Nigerians, the more they begin to see that this is okay, the more they will latch onto what this information means and there will be a demand for more of this kind of work. That is my expectation with the country.

But there are some questions. Gallop Poll went around and asked in every country and asked your perception of the country's leadership. If you have that kind of question and you start publishing it, people will immediately have the worst interpretation. So we have to inch our way forward with those issues, but inevitably you have surveys when you are gauging the popularity of

the president every quarter, five or six polls are doing it and then it is published. What did they call it? The approval rating is this number and that number and that number. We have not done that, we are not there yet, but hopefully as we move forward you should be able to do that so that people can give their opinion is this president doing well or not doing well. You can get at it through some of the other indicators, but it will be interesting to do that.

You asked about the difference in results I think with the AfroBarometer with regard to unity. I will invite some of the Nigerians also to give their opinion about what they think of this data. We are all there. Nobody tried to manipulate the data. That was why I decided even though I may -- methodology, I am not going to it because the first thing will jump and say is what methodology did you use and start arguing and discount the information. Then let's go to a known organization with a standard methodology used in every country, and I think that has helped. So I think the data is out there.

Now why the difference? You said you did yours in 2005? This was done in 2007. I can adduce reasons why in Kano which is a hotbed of opposition to the government people might be feeling that. So do not underestimate what has been happening in Kano State and one or two other states in the north. I was not particularly surprised, but I was surprised at the extent of it. Now in the east you may hear a lot of noises of MASSOB and so on, but the issue is the underlying people in the southeast are they really busy thinking they want to have a separate country? They have been through it before. Maybe

sentiment is evolving more and more to that situation in the national government rather than thinking separatists. It is only a 2-year difference or even 1 year, so I cannot say. Are there any people from the southeast in the room? Can you say your opinion what do you think of this data, the lady at the back? Yes, you. What is your name? Do some work. This is for all of us. I am not some kind of lecturer standing here handing out information. I want everybody to participate. Stand up and tell us what you think.

MS. : You mean on his own data?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: No, what he is asking. In 2005 they did a similar thing from AfroBarometer which does it in many countries, but in Nigeria when they did this that the southeast had a larger percentage of people saying they want to be separate, and we found in the north and very little in the southeast. What do you think is the explanation that people in Kano are saying something very different, that they want to be separate, and in southeast there is nothing?

MS. : I think during the time that you did the polling in the southeast, that was when MASSOB, the separatist group, was in the news. So I would say around that period a few people had sentiments for these separatists, with MASSOB, but largely the common population were more interested in issues like jobs to come to the southeast, like the money to go to school, job creation, education, and being integrated in the national government, people getting in

position, ministerial position or other positions, like people in other parts of the country. So I would say that that is how it went.

MASSOB really was a group and there were sentiments at that point but it was because the leader was at some other point put in prison, put behind bars, so his group of course agitated against that. But on the whole, I would say people in the southeast want to move ahead and once you give people the basic amenities on what they need to move on in life, I think people still want one country. That is my own view.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you very much. Well said. Do you want to comment?

SPEAKER: My name is Eric. I am Nigerian. I wanted to help her out with the perception of how maybe the north as well could have accounted for the Kano difference. The difference was after Obasanjo came into government. The majority of the northerners felt kind of alienated from the press, and if you read opinion polls, if you read editorial opinions of most of the northern-based newspapers, they felt like since power moved to the south like Obasanjo deliberately as a policy of government orchestrated a kind of alienation of the northern Muslims from the north and felt that it was a southernization policy of Obasanjo that alienated the north. So the ordinary press and the ordinary northerner felt he was not getting any dividends from democracy and at this point it would be better if they split since they were not getting much. And it would have come to maybe a worse situation scenario if the government had insisted and

stayed in the southeast or in the south like some of us were in Kenvasa. So I think it is a political thing too.

I do believe and you can quote me on this, that if you do the Gallup Poll or the poll again this moment, the majority of all those in Kano who wanted to split would want to remain in Nigeria.

MR. TOTURA: I just want to remind you too though that those are pretty small samples, so there is some margin of error there. And to follow-up on what you said about what I have learned, what I learned from this poll is I would like to have bigger samples in Kano and Lagos to solidify some of those results. It was a random sample. I cannot say to you for sure I have a rural person in Kano, but I do have a representative sample of all of the rural areas combined of Nigeria. So one of the things that would be nice would be to increase the sample sizes so you can get in and understand what is going on in a particular locality.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Maybe one of the things is, on some of these interesting issues that we then target where we see an interesting result, you now hone in and trying to find out a bit more by polling on those particular issues. That could be one of the things we would do.

There was one last question on priorities that citizens see in comparison to what government is doing. You saw the priorities there and you quite rightly saw that agriculture is one of the top priorities in the country; at least there are some consistent results. People are saying that this is an important

sector. I am not in government so I am not going to stand here and be an apologist about what government is doing or not doing. But from what I know, you mentioned that there was a low budget for agriculture, and Nasur is smiling. Maybe you should answer this question. Why don't you answer it?

SPEAKER: The level of budgeting for agriculture has been a source of robust debate when we were on the economic team particularly those of us who are northerners, which a large percentage of the population depends on subsistence farming. The budget for agriculture as against the budget for electric power must be understood within the context of the sector. Electric power in Nigeria is government driven. Everything in the power sector is doing by the government, so to build power stations, transmission infrastructure and distribution network must be funded by the government. Agriculture on the other hand is the only totally private enterprise in Nigeria. Everything in agriculture is private. We have subsistence farmers who account for 90 percent of the production and a few large-scale farmers and the only government intervention in agriculture in Nigeria is subsidizing fertilizer, and how much money would you vote to subsidize fertilizer? Not a whole lot. We do not spend a billion dollars a day subsidizing agriculture like America and the E.U. does so the budget for agriculture is understandably small but it not a reflection of the priority placed on agriculture, it is simply reflection of the structure of the agricultural industry in Nigeria vis-à-vis other sectors that attract a lot of government funding.

And going forward as we privatize our electricity industry, for instance, I think that will change. I remember that in 1999-2000 when we first came into office, the communications sector attracted a huge budget, but now it is almost zero because we privatized and deregulated the sector so that everything is private sector driven, so we will see this shift. It took us time. Working with Ngozi at that time, I had to actually go around to the governors of the states and major traditional rulers to explain to them why the budget for agriculture cannot be any larger. Indeed, if you look at the budget of the federal Ministry of Agriculture, apart from the fertilizer subsidy, the rest of the budget has to do with buying vehicles and computers in the federal Ministry of Agriculture which does not in any way contribute to agricultural production. So we had to go around and explain this to the stakeholders before we had some peace and quiet. I think most Nigerians understand why agriculture has a small federal budget and can live with it. That is one aspect.

The other aspect is that each state in the country also budgets for agriculture so you have to look at total aggregate spending to be able to take a view on the whole matter. But as I said, the main issue is that agriculture is 100 percent private.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you for that. Water resources also gets a budget and so what was happening is that people were not looking at the total. So water resources is a very significant budget and if you add them together you will get a slightly different picture and in the north in particular, but

even in places in the south you have quite a large program on providing water for agriculture. It is not very efficient, and that is a totally different issue.

The other thing I want to urge on our budgets, one of the issues we had, and we have senior people from the Budget Office here, is the question that people never asked, for the money you were given, how efficiently are you using what you have? Before we increase and give you more budget, show us what you are doing, it was one of the things we introduced. People on the economic team were not like at the time for asking those kinds of questions about results rather than inputs, but we have to begin to ask that because every minister was asking, give me more budget, give me more budget, it is not enough, and there was a great deal of stress. Did you want to come back on that? Then I will take one last round.

SPEAKER: I think in terms of your budget allocation where you obviously worked for the Ministry of Finance, you had a total budget. How did you allocate the budget? Obviously, political reality is a political-economic issue, but as a researcher, what I wanted to do is look at the marginal returns to your budget spending allocation. For example, if I do allocate more money to the Ministry of Agriculture, if I do allocate money for education, what could be the returns in terms of economic growth? What could be the returns in terms of poverty reduction? I think you need some sort of framework to provide information for general citizens or even for your Congress to debate how can you allocate your budget.

But your point about giving more money to some sector other than agriculture or they are not performing, but the same for health and education. So what base you have for knowledge and information, analyses are very key to feed into your political debate and process, including the citizens.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: I do believe that work has been done. Looking at the impact of the marginal dollar on agriculture versus education and so on, in the literature there is a lot of work on that, and even in Nigeria, and I think we can go into that whole set of debates. The point is well taken, but it is a longer story.

Let me take one last round of questions. There is a large number. Let's start here and then move here.

MR. UPPER: I do not have a question. I am Jack Upper with the International Law Institute. We are just about to go home and sharpen our questions. On foreign exchange on those questions that you said were fuzzy, the rest of our seminar is on this. And on Monday, we are going to have a session on managing for results with the city of Alexandria.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you.

MR. UPPER: Thank you very much.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Not at all. Could we have Eric here?

SPEAKER: My name is Eric -- from Kingdom Group International. I am also a Nigerian lawyer. I was going to ask quickly if we can get a digital copy of either the poll or this seminar because part of the efforts at

publicizing it and making it part of the Nigerian content would be a majority of the decision makers are Internet based and most of them would like to communicate. So if we can get a digital copy it would be very nice. Everybody can download and copy it in their own homes.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: We have a Nigerian thing going on because in the midst of all this we have the budget contingent leaving so we have to say our good-byes to them. But I will see you before you go. I think we will find a way. See you later. Sorry. Continue.

SPEAKER: My second question is I do not know on what basis you had included some of the topics you were polling, but something really that is a carryover from the past government, the delivery in the law sector. I notice I did not see it there, and I was late, I am sorry, if you had handled it. But I felt that would be one of the things actually that affects government and I would have thought that that might be a priority topic for you to poll regarding how we perceive it and whether we can take any actions regarding that.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: The law?

SPEAKER: Yes, the law, and delivery in the legal sector.

Thirdly, I was wondering, and this is on a casual note, whether we can poll regarding dollar salaries for Diaspora Nigerians. Thank you.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: You should have asked that when the budget people were here. May I just respond to him real quick, because the answer is quick? Yes, the issue on leaving out the legal sector was brought up

when we did dissemination in Nigeria. People really want to ask questions about how that whole sector is performing and the rule of law and the judiciary and what Nigerians think of the judiciary and so on. So we will do that next time.

On the dollar salary, you are welcome to set up your own poll. I will be very interested to see what Nigerians say. Obviously I cannot poll them, but I am sure you know my opinion. The gentleman in white here, then behind, and then at the back. We will get to everybody. We have about five more questions, I think, or six.

SPEAKER: Thank you. The name is -- I was going to ask a question regarding since this is the first time you organized a poll like this in Nigeria, what are your expectations and what effect do you think it is going to have on the public, the government, and the private sector?

MR. AMALI: My name is Shala Amali. I think my question flows directly from this last question. This is a trailblazing work and I think the value of it, even though you said earlier on that opinion polls should not necessarily drive policy, but I think it ought to be a component in the overall thinking or policy. My question is, is there a communications strategy? You said repeatedly about presenting this in Nigeria, but I think there ought to be a holistic communications strategy so that this is taken to different levels of government because it is important information that people should factor in to their planning processes. Yes, at the back, then come forward, then the lady, and the last one is the gentleman in the corner.

MR. LEE: I do not think Bob knew I was going to show up, but I am Bronson Lee with Gallup with the World Poll Team Worldwide. The question that came up about Latin America and the efficacy of tax and drilling down into what tax money goes for and why should you have a receipt when you pay for things, the Inter-American Development Bank is sponsoring that question in Latin America. That and many other questions are possible. The challenge is funding it. So the African Development Bank, I wish the budget folks were still here, those kinds of things are all possible, and one of the reasons we are able to do this so well is because we are an independent and private company. So for those of you who are interested in drilling down and getting more sample sizes in parts of the country and getting more information that makes this samples richer, I would love to talk to you. I am here in the back, I my card and we would love to start that dialogue. That is how this is made possible.

MR. BASI: My name is -- Basi. I work with the International Crisis Group. I am a Nigerian and live in Nigeria. I would like to lend my voice to those who have spoken before in praise of this bold initiative. I think it is a very remarkable effort. However, we have raised several issues which I think it would be necessary to reflect in subsequent editions of the polls.

I am particularly concerned about the concept of confidence and how you translated it into measurable parameters. You did mention earlier the difficulty of translating certain concepts into comprehensible equivalents in our local languages, and I am just looking at the concept of confidence which is a

major part of this work, confidence in federal and state governments and government institutions and so on and so forth.

Then secondly, just to add what was said about the rule of law, law and order issues, I find that the aspect of security in Nigeria which is a major concern of ours and the performance of security agencies, even the confidence you have in the police, it did not seem to have been reflected in the findings as you presented them. I do not know whether you have them in the greater details of the work.

Thirdly, again on confidence, you mentioned the details about confidence in the federal, state, and local governments. We have misgivings about those figures knowing the local government particularly the way we know it. But then my further concern is did you disaggregate also in terms of the various arms of government, the executive, legislature, and judiciary? Thank you.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you.

SPEAKER: My name is Ben and I am very sure that I would like to congratulate Professor Okonjo and the work he has done in Africa.

With respect to methodology, my name is Ben -- and I worked with Professor Okonjo years ago, when you do opinion polling, the sample size, the population is the household, have you also thought of the so-called floating population and the people who are living in group quarters? I think there is something that is normally not captured. When I worked at a bank for some time we also did some work in Nigeria and one of the things that the people at the

grassroots wanted was that when you do all these things, you do not come back and inform us as to what you found. So this issue about communication is so important that you may do this and you may distribute it at the national level, the governmental level, but the people at the grassroots -- developing a methodology where the information is communicated at the people at community meetings where they can even debate and find out what is the outcome and what the community actually also thought about what was being discussed.

And the issue about the infectious diseases, I think it will be useful for you to later move on to find out what are the issues which are most important to the community because this issue about, if I remember when we were working on the Ghana census and translating issues, the very concept of households is that people who work together, people who come together, or people who eat from the same cooking pot, so these issues we need to tell them. Thank you very much.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you. I'll let you in. I have to cut off at some point because it is past the time. You are all very patient and we have to run. Yes?

SPEAKER: If you could say a few words about NOI Polls as an organization, how you plan to make this a sustainable activity, is it a business, is it a nonprofit, a few things like that.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Go ahead quickly.

MS. : I am -- I just graduated from college. In regards to the main issue with the youth and creating jobs, I was wondering maybe for the next

poll is it possible to ask questions on what they think could be done to create jobs? Is it the capital they need, is it the education and skills, is it bringing in FDI, is it dealing with population growth, or is it infrastructure for these jobs?

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: A very good question.

SPEAKER: (inaudible) is my name, Nigeria's Charge d'Affaires in the United States of America. I hesitated to request for the floor all this time, but judging from what has been coming up I decided to do it now. It is one opportunity through to my calling as a diplomat that I can ill afford to miss because certain things have been said about Nigeria in what you are saying.

I would like to start first of all by congratulating you and thanking you as well, Madame and Professor Griffin, for the good job you have done. For us in government, these kinds of activities always act like a wake-up call because as much as possible they try to tell the government you guys are not doing very well here, so why don't you measure up in the areas that you were -- and of course, the timing of this meeting could not have come at a better time than today for two reasons. One, as we are doing this today, the federal government had just been announced today so you realize that the people to do the job, the people to implement most of these things, are being told today what to do and they are being given their various mission statements as to what to do. And then, two, it is important we are doing this at a time that the President of the Republic himself has identified certain key areas which he considers to be high-point priority emergency areas, and of course, Gallup has addressed many of them.

But then I still want to avail myself of the opportunity to lay emphasis on points made and to tell you that in my personal opinion, of course it is not government opinion because what I am doing is a reaction to what has been going on here now. I am not too sure a lot of justice has been done to the area of security like somebody was saying before because security in the country of life and property has been hindering the activities of foreign direct investment into the country, so the people who we deal with abroad would want to know as much as possible what is happening in that area of security.

Then two, I still feel when next you are going for another poll it would be important to also stress on the general economic reforms, Madame, to which you deserve a lot of commendation, the general reform program of the government in the second part of the Obasanjo administration, because a lot of good things have been done especially in terms of service delivery and the rest of them. It would be nice to hear people's opinion about those areas. And of course, judging from the contemporary developments in Nigeria, people are having so many problems and they think there is need for a very serious electoral reform in the country, so let's also touch on that.

On the whole, I hear when you are being introduced continuously and it pains me, Madame, because always the emphasis is laid on you as Federal Minister of Finance, but people forget the fact that you also served as Minister of Foreign Affairs. So you are one of us, you did a good job in the Ministry of

Finance, but you also did your best during the short while that you were in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you.

SPEAKER: So my general concern generally on the foreign field is that with all these things that have taken place, with all the reforms that you introduced and implemented, is Nigeria now properly positioned to lead the entire continent, because there is a geopolitical reality. Given the enormity of resources at the disposal of Nigeria, Nigeria is supposed to definitely lead the continent. Is it in a position to do that or not? I think that one should also be addressed. Thank you very much indeed.

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: Thank you so much for those. You kind of wrapped it up really. Maybe I should not answer any more questions because you gave me a wonderful wrap-up speech. Thank you.

But let me try to quickly aggregate. There was very good commentary and advice on the security issue and justice, how to include that. And to the audience represented in Nigeria, they raised the same things, they want a whole series of questions around performance of the security agency and that whole field and how do people see it. We did have some sections where we talked about violence and they wanted us to reframe that into more specific security issues. So we will try to do that. That will be one of the things that will be reformed when we get to the next stage. And also include the judiciary and issues of law and order and delivery of justice.

The question on expectations of the public, the government, and on communication strategy, I thought what you are saying is really an excellent piece of advice and commentary. We did try to disseminate this, but I must also confess that this was being done around the time of elections that were coming up and so on and so forth, and maybe I was overly conscious of this not being seen as somehow trying to influence election outcomes in any way. In fact, we changed the timing of the poll to make sure that that was not seen as being the case, because you do not want to start this up and have people making political commentary, and the very that I am involved in it might even give some people some other thoughts to not think this is some exercise, which it is not. So we just then did not want to blast this as much as we should have. We had a communications strategy that targeted the media but we did not really consistently do that.

And we had a very interesting session with the media, with the business community, with ordinary people. We did it all in Lagos. It was very interesting. They were very engaged. There is appetite for this. That is something I could see, a tremendous appetite. It is like people were saying wow, and nobody is going to dispute that this was done methodologically. So I think this next time around we will develop a better communications strategy, but it has to be preceded to trying to explain or find ways for them to understand this is just there, it is not threatening, we are not trying to use it in any way, it is not a

platform for anything, it is just for Nigerians to have voice. So that homework has to be done before we do that, but I totally agree with you.

So that ties into the issue of the public, the government, and the private sector, what are their expectations. What I saw is that if we can make this embedded in the consciousness of all concerned that this is just to strengthen the voice of the people and nothing else, that it could become a very powerful tool. The public sector should be able as the ambassador said to be able to use this, to say we are doing this, how are we doing? They should see it as a positive tool and be able to learn when the public says you are not doing very well. Any ideas, Mister Ambassador, maybe the report that will be written on this, how do we educate our policymakers so they do not take this in the wrong way? That is the key thing. That is why nobody has been brave enough to try and do this kind of thing. So if they can use it properly, the private sector is already onto it and they want to use it, and I think the public at large.

In terms of confidence that, that was not an easy concept. We had to spend time talking about it and the way that you translate it. We can spend time here and I will tell you in Ibo how was the translation of that and what was the concept of confidence, and I think you have to be very clear so you do not get mixed up and get the kinds of answers that you are not looking for. But I think at the end of the day people understood in the business sectors who is really delivering for you, who do you trust, which sector do you trust to be delivering the goods and services they said they will deliver. I think that is the way they

understood it. And telecoms just shut up, because I think because there are two things in the minds of Nigerians. I think Nigerians and telecoms are grateful because they have a tool and it has spread no widely that they never had before. They may complain about the quality, but many still remember when they did not even have it. The fact that some people in the villages can call their children all the way in the U.S. or U.K. was a big thing. So who has provided them more services? They are seeing more services and have more confidence in this sector and trust than say oil and gas where it is a bit abstract for them, these revenues going to government and they never quite see what comes out of it. So in the end, which sector is delivering for you and how are they doing it. But it is a good point which we debated on how to handle it to make sure we do not get silly answers.

On disaggregation, we did have some disaggregated results which we did not present here because it would take too long, but people did tell us that we needed a whole section on the executive and the legislature. We did not do that, and that came up very clearly. Nigerians are very curious to know what did other Nigerians think of the performance of the legislature versus the executive, and we did not have that.

The issue of the local and the governments, we were just as surprised when that result came out. And you can imagine having worked for the federal government and knowing what we know about some of our states and local governments to see people having more confidence in them than the federal

was very surprising and disagreeable to me. I thought it would be the opposite, but that is the data. Now why is that? Bob, I almost attacked him when he presented the first results. I said, no, how can we go out and tell Nigerians that this is the result? We know what is happening at the state level, at the local government level, how can we say that? He explained to me that in many countries they get that kind of result. He said the federal government is always far from the people even if the government close to them is not performing well, this is the one they know, these are the people they see on a daily basis. So when you ask them remember the person next to them, the local government person even if they are not doing a good job, better than they remember Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala who came from the federal government, and that is what I asked him. I attacked him and I said this is nonsense. This cannot be. I know what was happening at the local government, you come here to tell me this is the result? So we had a real knock-down, drag-out fight over it, because I said we cannot present this to Nigerians. He told me this is the data. He said in country after country we have this and people in the federal government are always upset, and it is the effect of distance. So I do not know how you deal with that, but I am glad you asked the question because when he was presenting it I wanted to jump up and explain to Nigerians before they go away, I will say this is a nonsensical poll. So that is why.

(Laughter)

MS. OKONJO-IWEALA: The question on what is needed to create jobs, we did ask one part of it and the answer that came out, people wanted access to capital finance to create their own jobs and there is a whole another section. But we are going to develop this. It is a very, very important area. I think I will stop there. I'm sorry, the very important NOI poll. Polling does not make money. My brother joked and said I trust you to go and do something that doesn't make any money. Setting up the NOI poll, it is set up as a company. There is a website www.noi-polls.org and you can go there and some of this information is loaded on there which you can access. We first thought of setting it up as an NGO and we said every time we will have to applying for resources, maybe we should try and see how we can get people in the other communities, business, foundations, anybody who wants to support it. This information is mostly a public good. A public good is something that generally private people are not that interested in supporting this kind of work. So we had go out and look for some funding to try and help us get it started, and believe me, it was not easy. A foundation gave some support to get us started. Then we went out and we were trying to get people in the business community, and we are still in the process, and I spent I can say it openly to get it started much of my own resources to do it because it was very difficult. But now we are trying to get businesses to support, foundations to support it, and it is not a money-making proposition. I still think it needs to be done. And Gallup was great. Gallup contributed its expertise, its work, its husbanding of this; they did it because they believe that Nigeria deserves

to have this kind of organization. Going forward they are not going to do it in a charitable fashion anymore.

The next poll is a tremendous challenge, it is going to be quite costly, and we are busy trying to raise the resources to try and do this. So that is where we are very openly. Thank you very much. Thank you for coming and thanks for your patience. Again the website is www.noi-polls.org.

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