

## Good neighbours? Africans express high levels of tolerance for many, but not for all

Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 74 | Boniface Dulani, Giff Sambo, and Kim Yi Dionne

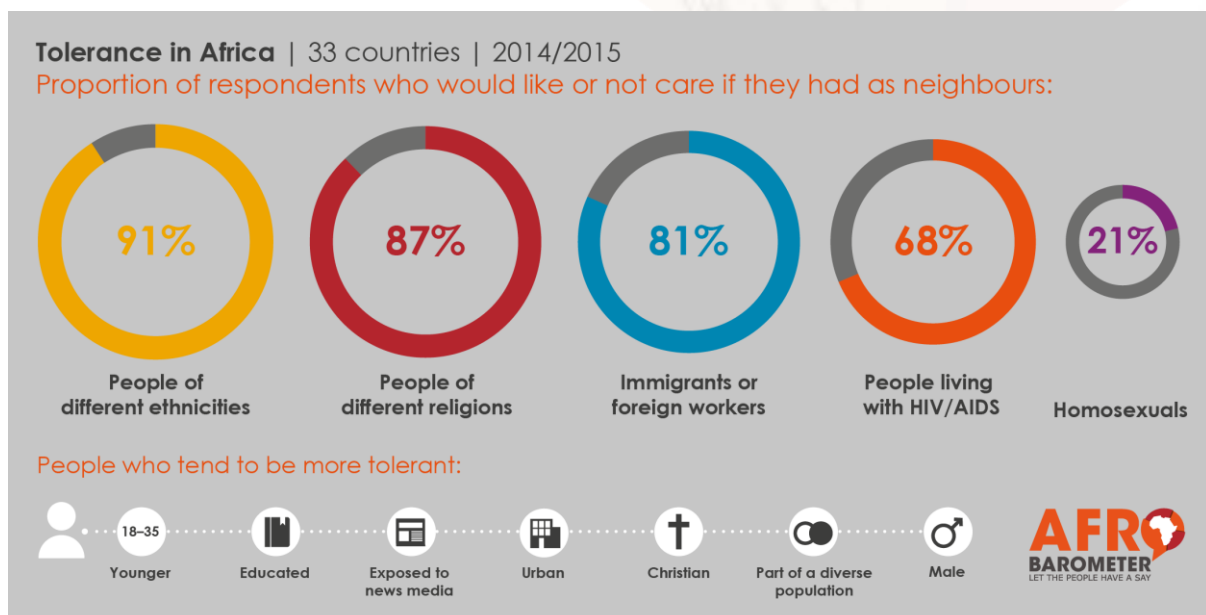
### Summary

Scholars have argued that tolerance is “the endorphin of the democratic body politic,” essential to free political and cultural exchange (Gibson & Gouws, 2005, p. 6). Seligson and Morino-Morales (2010, p. 37) echo this view when they contend that a democracy without tolerance for members of other groups is “fatally flawed.”

In this dispatch, we present new findings on tolerance in Africa from Afrobarometer Round 6 surveys in 33 countries in 2014/2015. While Africa is often portrayed as a continent of ethnic and religious division and intolerance, findings show high degrees of acceptance of people from different ethnic groups, people of different religions, immigrants, and people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). Proximity and frequent contact with different types of people seem to nurture tolerance, as suggested by higher levels of tolerance in more diverse countries and a strong correlation between acceptance of PLWHA and national HIV/AIDS prevalence rates.

A major exception to Africa's high tolerance is its strongly negative attitude toward homosexuals. Even so, while the discourse on homosexuality has often painted Africa as a caricature of homophobia, the data reveal that homophobia is not a universal phenomenon in Africa: At least half of all citizens in four African countries say they would not mind or would welcome having homosexual neighbours.

Analysis using a tolerance index based on five measures of tolerance points to education, proximity, and media exposure as major drivers of increasing tolerance on the African continent. This is consistent with socialization literature that suggests attitudes and values are not immutable; instead, they can be learned and unlearned.



## Afrobarometer survey

Afrobarometer is a pan-African, non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues across Africa. Five rounds of surveys were conducted between 1999 and 2013, and results from Round 6 surveys (2014/2015) are currently being released. Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice with nationally representative samples, which yield country-level results with a margin of sampling error of +/-2% (for a sample of 2,400) or +/-3% (for a sample of 1,200) at a 95% confidence level. Round 6 interviews with about 54,000 citizens in 36 countries represent the views of more than three-fourths of the continent's population.

This dispatch draws mainly on Round 6 data from more than 50,000 interviews in 33 countries (see Appendix Table A.1 for a list of countries and survey dates). The questions on tolerance were not asked in Algeria, Egypt, and Sudan because research partners deemed the question about tolerance for homosexuals too sensitive. Results presented in this dispatch thus exclude these three North African countries.

## Key findings

- Across 33 countries, large majorities of African citizens exhibit high tolerance for people from different ethnic groups (91%), people of different religions (87%), immigrants (81%), and people living with HIV/AIDS (68%).
- Tolerance levels are particularly high in regions and countries that are ethnically and religiously diverse, suggesting that experience is an important factor in inculcating an attitude of tolerance among African citizens.
- Similarly, tolerance for people living with HIV/AIDS is highest in countries with high HIV/AIDS prevalence, providing further evidence that intolerance and stigmatization can be unlearned through personal encounters.
- A large majority of Africans, however, are intolerant of homosexual citizens. Across the 33 countries, an average of 78% of respondents say they would “somewhat dislike” or “strongly dislike” having a homosexual neighbour.
- But not all of Africa is homophobic. Majorities in four countries (Cape Verde, South Africa, Mozambique, and Namibia), and more than four in 10 citizens in three other countries, would like or not mind having homosexual neighbours.
- Christians, urban residents, and younger citizens tend to be more tolerant than, respectively, Muslims, rural residents, and older people.

## Measuring tolerance in Africa

Tolerance is commonly measured in one of three ways. One is the “fixed-group” approach, in which survey respondents are asked to indicate whether groups at the fringes of politics, identified by the researchers, should be allowed to take part in political activities (Stouffer, 1955). Second is the “least-liked” approach proposed by Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus (1982). This technique asks respondents to pick, from a list provided to them, the groups they dislike most. The respondents are then asked whether they would tolerate a range of political activities by their disliked groups. In a study by Peffley and Rohrschneider (2003), for example, respondents were asked whether their disliked groups should be allowed to hold office or to conduct demonstrations. A third technique has moved away from limiting questions to categories the respondent dislikes. Instead, respondents answer questions about whether they approve of policies that would limit civil liberties of all citizens (Gibson & Bingham, 1985).

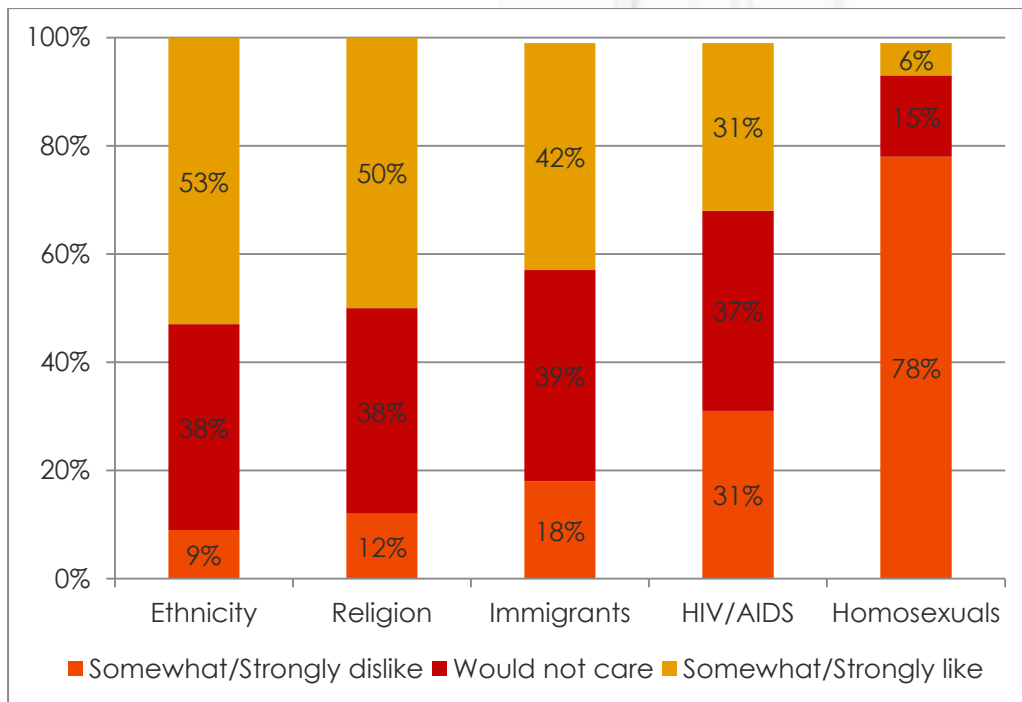
In the African context, high-quality data measuring tolerance on a continental scale and on a regular basis have been scarce. This is the case despite wide-ranging debates on issues nested within the context of tolerance, such as ethnic conflict, acceptance of migrants, and, more recently, rights for sexual minorities. Writing specifically about the paucity of data gauging public attitudes toward lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) populations, Dionne, Dulani, and Chunga (2014) note that data from the African context are sporadic and cover only a handful of the continent's 54 countries.

As a contribution to the many debates on aspects of tolerance, the Afrobarometer module asks respondents whether they would like, dislike, or be indifferent to having as neighbours 1) people of a different religion, 2) people from a different ethnic group, 3) homosexuals, 4) people living with HIV/AIDS, and 5) immigrants or foreign workers. Response options are "strongly dislike," "somewhat dislike," "would not care," "somewhat like," "strongly like," and "don't know." This approach to studying tolerance most closely matches the "least-liked" approach.

### The state of tolerance in Africa

A common narrative of Africa is that most citizens are intolerant of people who are different – whether that difference be based on ethnicity, religion, nationality, political affiliation, or sexual orientation. Responses to the Afrobarometer questions on tolerance suggest that this generalization is incorrect. Instead, majorities in the 33 countries say they would like or would not mind living next to people from four of five categories: someone from a different ethnicity (91%), someone with a different religion (87%), an immigrant or foreign worker (81%), and a person living with HIV/AIDS (68%). It is only on the question of homosexuality that a majority (78%) of Africans exhibit deeply intolerant attitudes (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: Tolerance in Africa | 33 countries | 2014/2015**



**Respondents were asked:** For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People of a different religion? People from other ethnic groups? Homosexuals? People who have HIV/AIDS? Immigrants or foreign workers?  
 (Note: Due to rounding, categories may not always add up to 100%.)

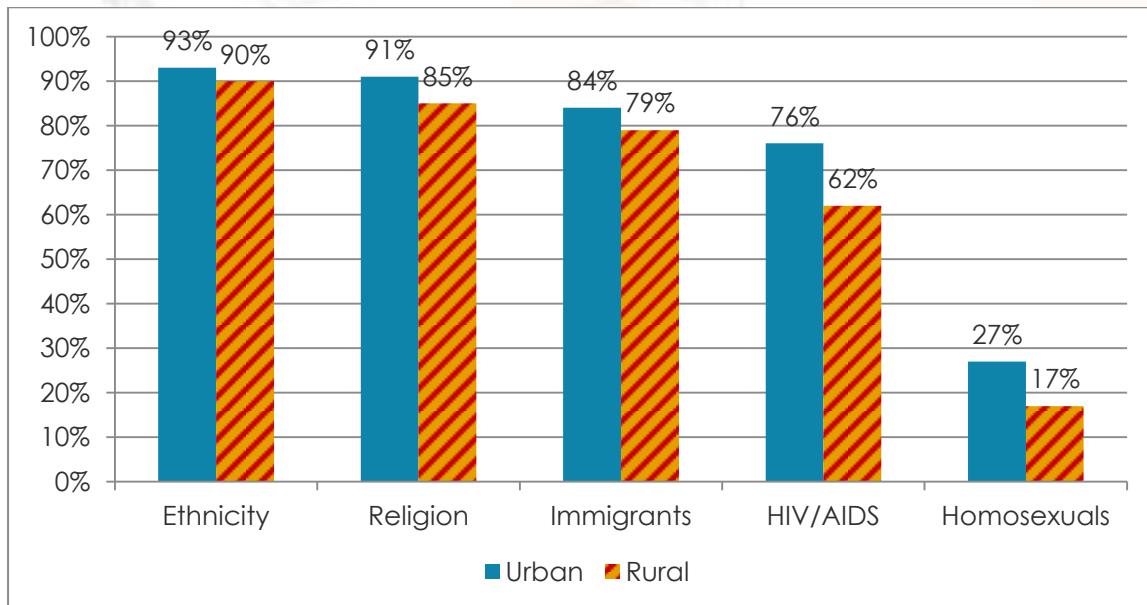
On a continent that has become synonymous with ethnic conflict, it is telling that the least-disliked group – liked or tolerated as neighbours by nine of 10 respondents – are people of a different ethnicity. While this does not imply the end of ethnic conflicts, it suggests that decades of close interaction and inter-marriage could gradually be helping to dilute the power of ethnicity as a source of division and conflicts.

Only slightly more respondents object to living next to people of a different religion or next to immigrants; both are accepted by more than eight in 10 Africans. Considerably fewer citizens – though still a two-thirds majority – would like or accept having neighbours who are living with HIV/AIDS, which suggests that there is still a significant level of stigma attached to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in some parts of the continent.

At the negative extreme, the average citizen in the 33 countries is opposed to having homosexual neighbours. This is perhaps not surprising, given that a majority of the continent's countries criminalize homosexual activities. Only about one in five respondents (21%) say they would not be opposed to having homosexuals as neighbours. (For detailed response frequencies, see Appendix Tables A.2-A.6.)

The data show marked differences in tolerance between urban and rural Africans, with the former exhibiting higher degrees of tolerance on all five measures (Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Urban-rural differences in tolerance levels | 33 countries | 2014/2015**



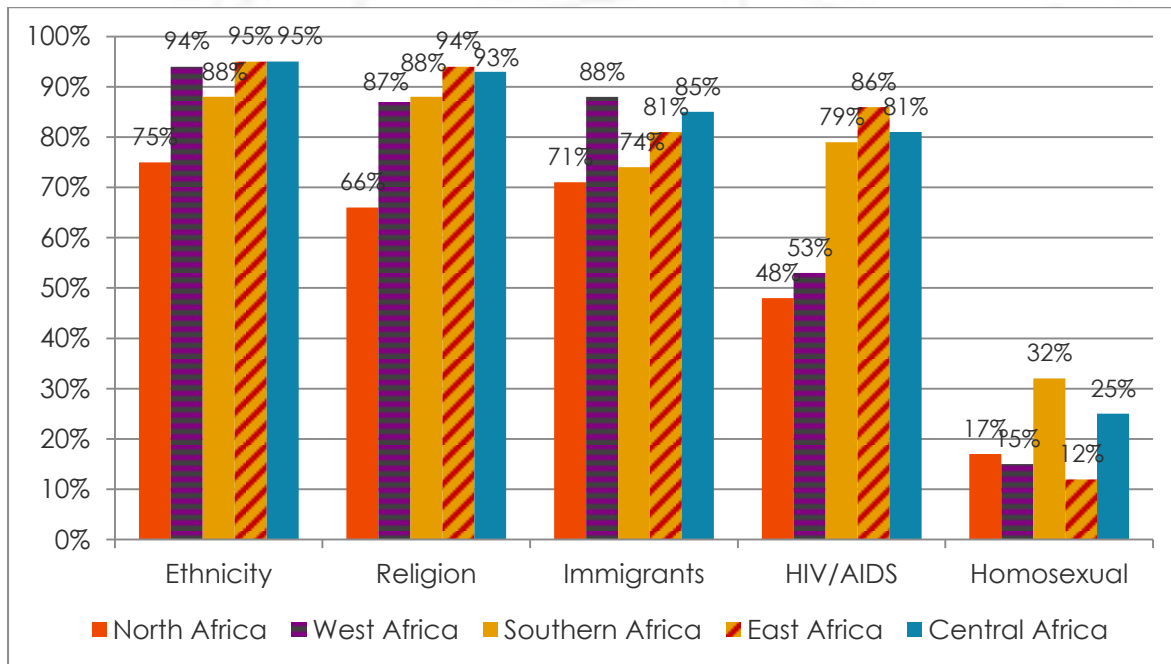
(% of respondents who say they would “strongly like,” “somewhat like” or “not care” if they lived next to people of a different ethnic group or religion, immigrants, PLWHA, or homosexuals)

A similar picture obtains for comparisons of responses by gender, education level, and religion. On all five questions, men are more likely than women, the better educated more likely than the less educated, and Christians more likely than Muslims to express tolerant views. This suggests that societal values are contributing to the nurturing of tolerance values among African citizens.

### National and regional differences in tolerance

Levels of tolerance on the five items show notable differences by country and region. In general, North African countries show the lowest tolerance on all indicators except HIV/AIDS, where the region ranks above East and West Africa (Figure 3).

**Figure 3: Tolerance levels by region<sup>1</sup> | 33 countries | 2014/2015**



(% of respondents who say they would “strongly like,” “somewhat like” or “not care” if they lived next to people of a different ethnic group or religion, immigrants, PLWHA, or homosexuals)

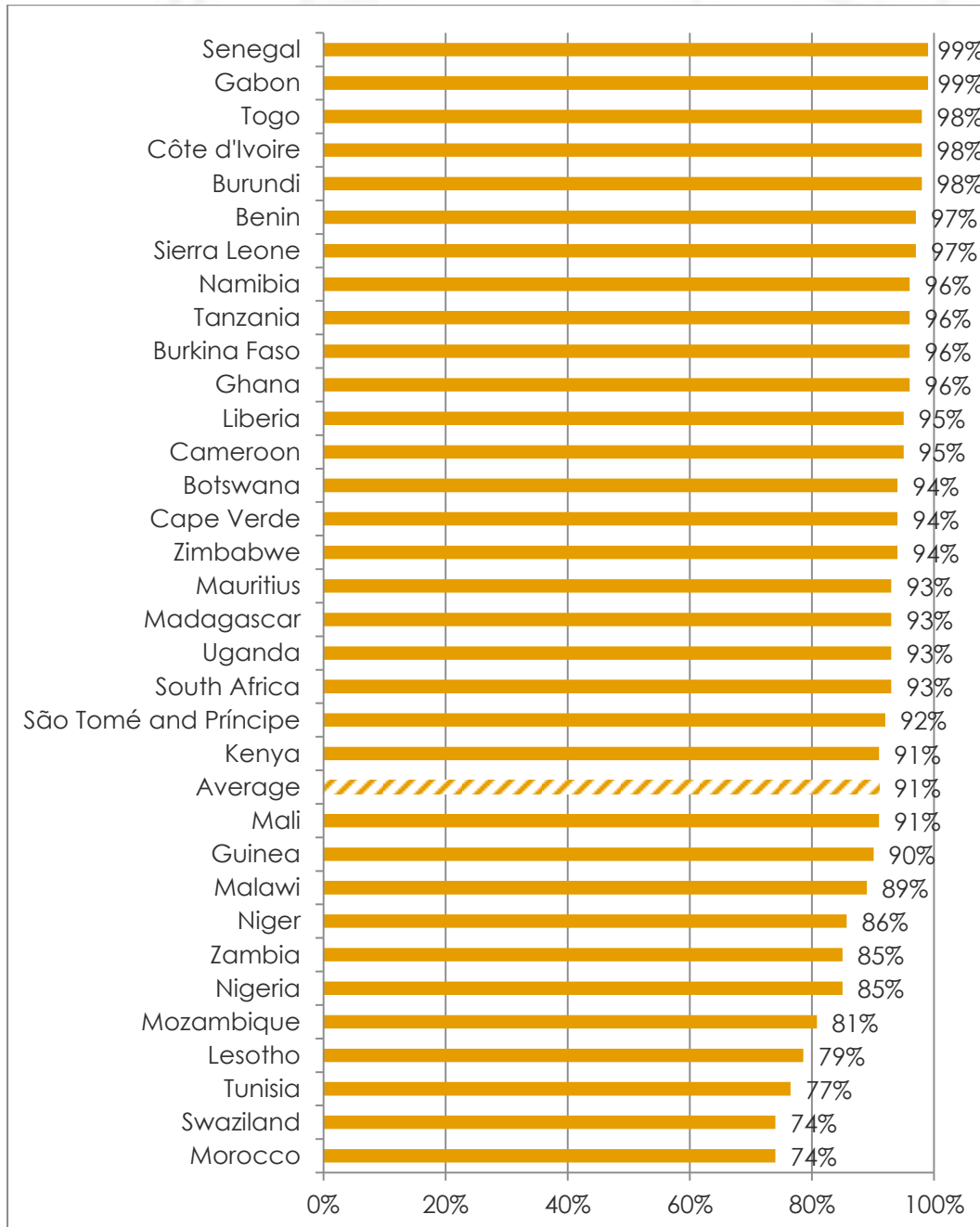
Country-level differences suggest that proximity and frequent contact between different groups may contribute to tolerance. This points to an important aspect that is often overlooked in the literature: Tolerance, and its flipside, intolerance, are not fixed but are subject to change. This is broadly consistent with Allport’s (1954) “contact theory,” which posits that under certain conditions, interpersonal contact can lead to a reduction of prejudice between groups.

### *Tolerance for people of a different ethnicity*

The discourse on African politics often highlights how ethnic fractionalization contributes to political polarization and inter-ethnic conflicts. These inter-ethnic rivalries threaten democratic consolidation, undermine nation-building efforts, and impair economic performance (Posner, 2004; Branch & Cheeseman, 2009; Bertocchi & Guerzoni, 2012; Jackson, 2002; Berman, 1998; Easterly & Levine, 1997; Goren, 2005; Bratton, 2011). While this perspective suggests high levels of intolerance for people from different ethnic groups, Afrobarometer findings show that this is not the case. Instead, 91% of respondents across 33 countries say they would not mind or would actually like having people from a different ethnic group as their neighbours. The lowest proportion of respondents who express tolerance for people of different ethnic groups is 74% in Morocco and Swaziland, while nearly every Senegalese and Gabonese citizen (99%) would welcome or accept non-coethnic neighbours (Figure 4).

<sup>1</sup> Regional groupings are: North Africa (Morocco, Tunisia), Central Africa (Cameroon, Gabon, São Tomé and Príncipe), East Africa (Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda), West Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo), Southern Africa (Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe),.

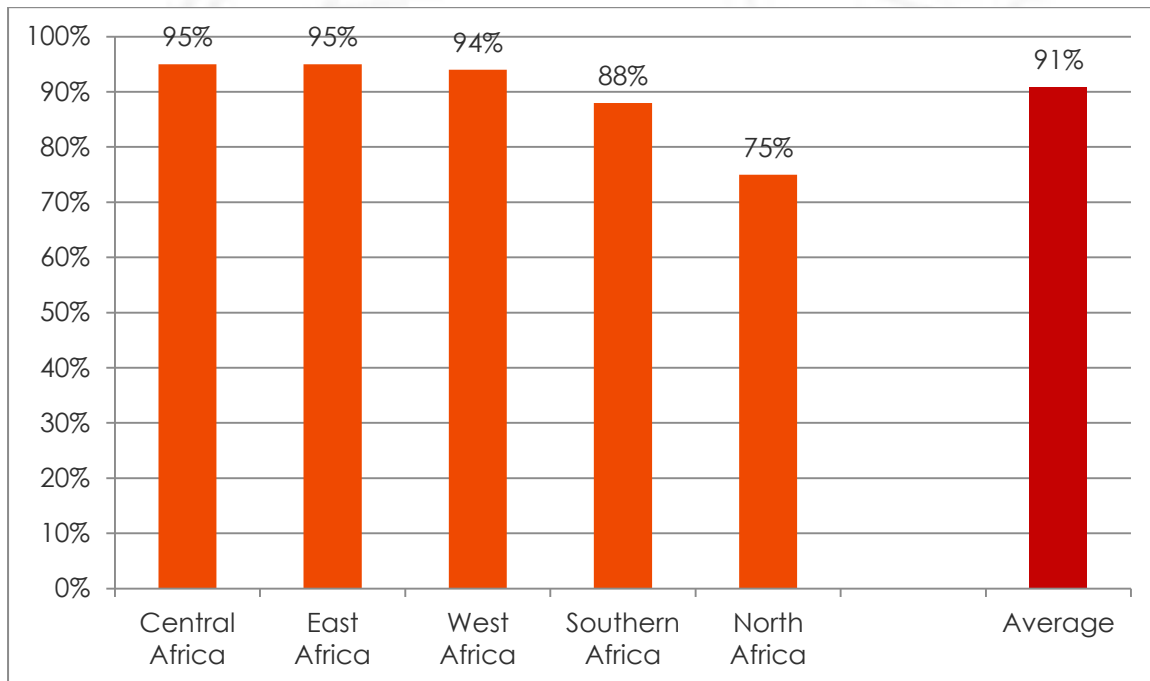
**Figure 4: Tolerance for people of other ethnicities** | by country | 33 countries  
 | 2014/2015



(% of respondents who say they would "strongly like," "somewhat like" or "not care" if they lived next to people of a different ethnic group)

Levels of tolerance for different ethnic groups are lower in North Africa than in other regions of the continent (Figure 5). North Africa also happens to be the most ethnically homogeneous African region. The lower tolerance levels for ethnic pluralism in this region might thus be explained by the limited interaction between people of different ethnic origins. Contact with different ethnic groups, in other words, might be driving tolerance for ethnic pluralism in Africa, helping to undermine age-old barriers that previously fuelled ethnic intolerance.

**Figure 5: Tolerance for people of other ethnicities** | by region | 33 countries  
 | 2014/2015



(% of respondents who say they would “strongly like,” “somewhat like” or “not care” if they lived next to people of a different ethnic group or religion, immigrants, PLWHA, or homosexuals)

Consistent with trends seen above, better-educated people, the younger generation, and urban dwellers show more tolerant attitudes than the less educated, the older generation, and rural residents.

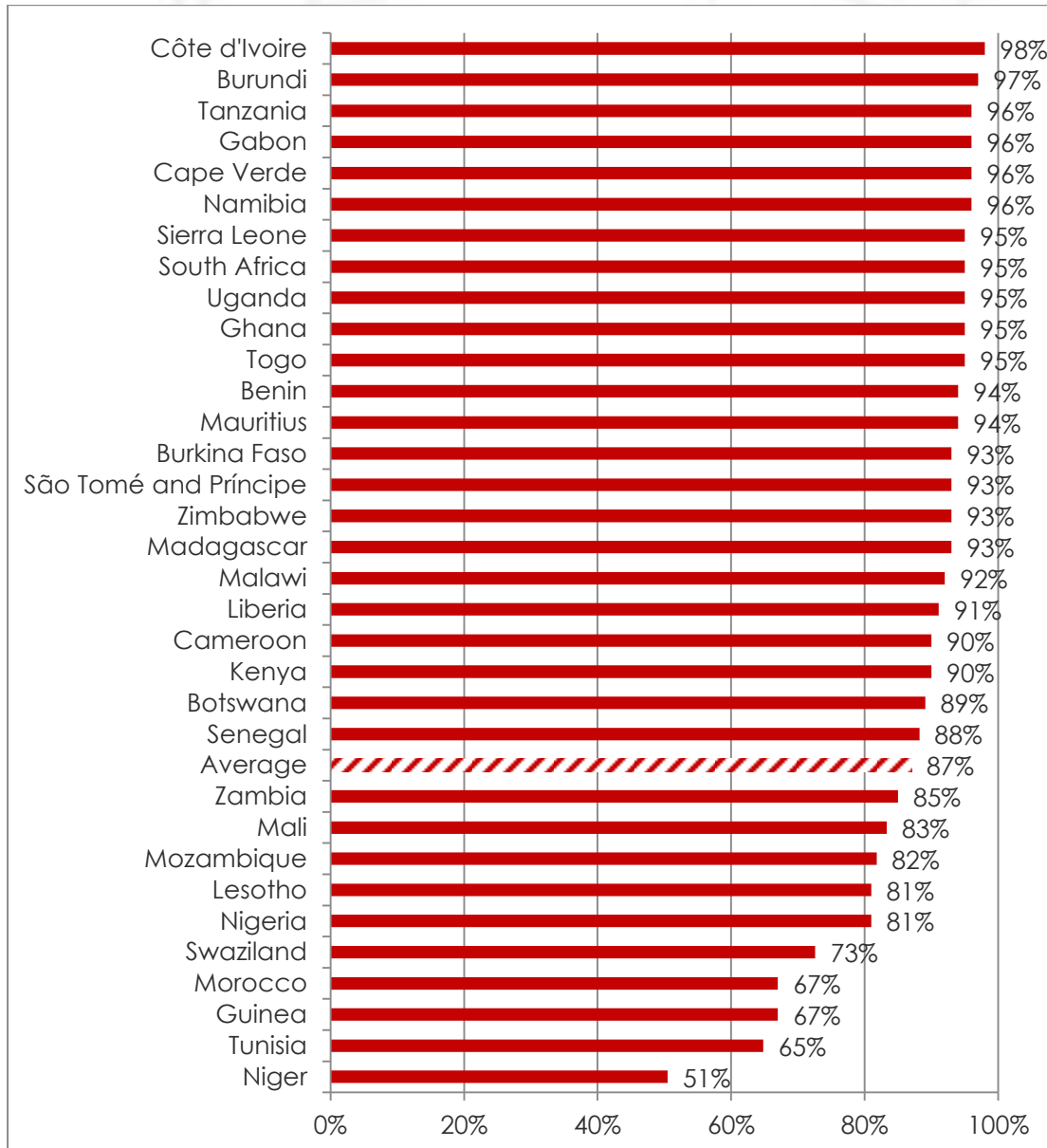
### *Tolerance for people of a different religion*

Among Afrobarometer Round 6 respondents, 55% identify as Christians while 32% identify as Muslims. Of all 36 countries surveyed in Round 6, 25 have a majority Christian population, 10 have a majority Muslim population, and one (Mauritius) has a Hindu majority. Although most African countries have a dominant religion, most also have a sizeable number of citizens who belong to minority religions.<sup>2</sup> In half of the 36 surveyed countries, at least 10% of the population belong to a minority religious grouping. Within this context of religious pluralism, tolerance for people belonging to different religions is crucial for social harmony and peaceful coexistence.

While almost nine in 10 Africans (87%) express tolerance for people belonging to different religions, citizens in majority Muslim countries, especially countries with low religious diversity, are relatively less tolerant of having neighbours of different religions. This is particularly true for Niger, Tunisia, and Morocco (all with 100% Muslim populations), as well as Guinea (88% Muslim) (Figure 6).

<sup>2</sup> A recent study found that five of the world’s 12 most religiously diverse countries are in sub-Saharan Africa (Pew Research Center, 2014).

**Figure 6: Tolerance for people of a different religion | by country | 33 countries | 2014/2015**



(% of respondents who say they would "strongly like," "somewhat like" or "not care" if they lived next to people of a different religion)

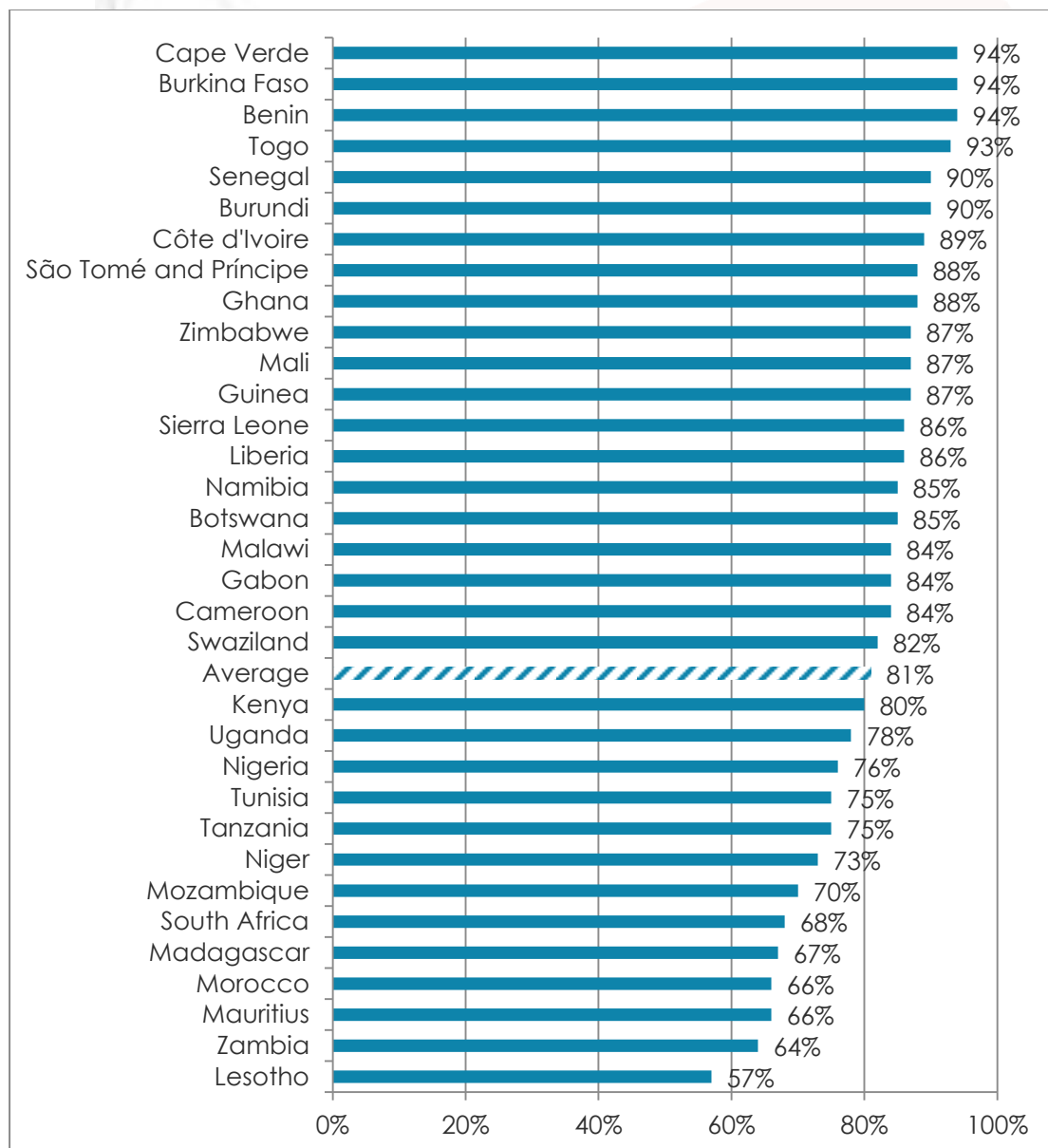
In contrast to the two North African countries where this question was asked, which rank near the bottom in religious tolerance, East Africa is the most tolerant region, with 94% of citizens, on average, accepting people of different religions. Again, more educated individuals and urbanites tend to be more tolerant of religious difference than people with less education and rural residents.

### Tolerance for immigrants

Although very few African countries are net recipients of immigrants, the findings suggest that there is a high level of acceptance of immigrants among citizens on the continent. Overall, 81% of Africans say they would like or not mind having neighbours who are

immigrants or foreign workers (Figure 7). This places Africans among the most migrant-tolerant people in the world. For example, in the most recent wave of the World Values Surveys (2010-2014), more than one-third of Middle Easterners (36%) and Asians (34%) expressed opposition to having migrant neighbours, compared to less than one-fifth of Africans. Only in a handful of African countries do sizeable minorities express rejection of immigrants: Lesotho (42%), Zambia (35%), Mauritius (34%), Madagascar (33%), Morocco (33%), and South Africa (32%). The case of Lesotho is particularly interesting, as a large proportion of the country's male workforce is employed as migrant labour in neighbouring South Africa, and yet more than four in 10 citizens don't want to live next to immigrants. South Africa, which in recent years has experienced widespread xenophobic attacks against foreigners, illustrates the violent implications of anti-immigrant attitudes (Chingwete, 2016).

**Figure 7: Tolerance for immigrants/foreign workers | by country | 33 countries | 2014/2015**



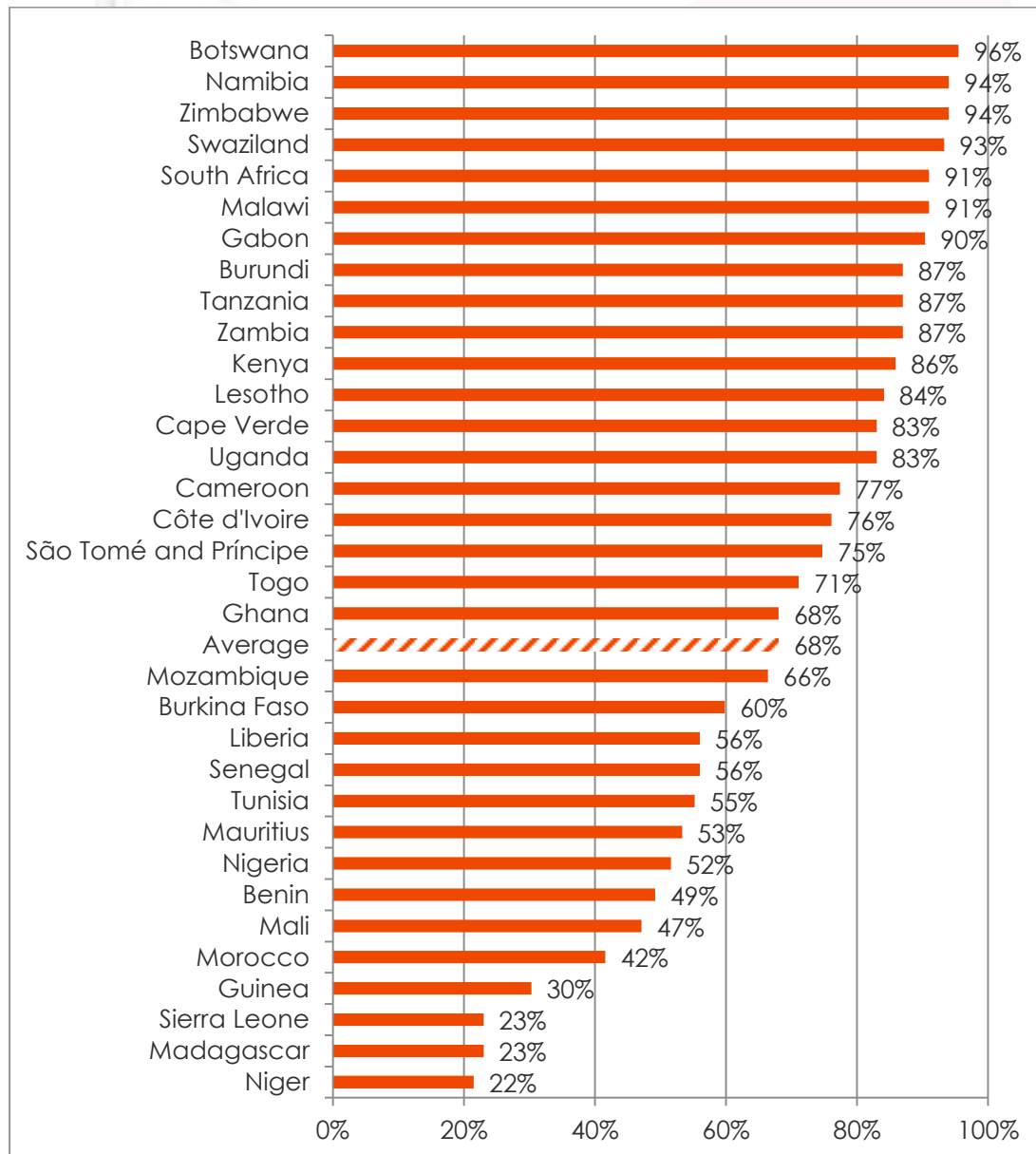
(% of respondents who say they would "strongly like," "somewhat like" or "not care" if they lived next to immigrants or foreign workers)

*Tolerance for people living with HIV/AIDS*

The notion that proximity and regular interaction between different groups can help to break down intolerant attitudes is also reflected in tolerance levels for HIV-positive people. In 26 of the 33 countries surveyed, a majority of citizens say they would like or would not mind having PLWHA as their neighbours (Figure 8).

This still leaves substantial proportions of the population (31% on average) who would object to having HIV-positive neighbours, an indication of the continued power of HIV-related stigma. Moreover, almost eight in 10 respondents in Niger (79%) and Madagascar (77%) express intolerance for PLWHA, which is also the majority view in Sierra Leone (73%), Guinea (69%), Morocco (57%), and Mali (53%).

**Figure 8: Tolerance for people living with HIV/AIDS | by country | 33 countries | 2014/2015**



(% of respondents who say they would "strongly like," "somewhat like" or "not care" if they lived next to PLWHA)

Tolerance for PLWHA is strongly correlated with HIV/AIDS prevalence at the country level.<sup>3</sup> Put simply, citizens in countries that have high HIV/AIDS prevalence tend to exhibit high tolerance levels for PLWHA. This is perhaps not very surprising, as among countries where HIV/AIDS prevalence is very high, especially in the Southern Africa region, intolerance for PLWHA might be tantamount to rejecting one's close family members or friends. Although the strong correlation between tolerance and prevalence does not imply causality, we speculate that proximity and frequent interaction might be important in influencing tolerant attitudes toward PLWHA.

### *Tolerance for homosexuals*

Africa's negative attitudes toward homosexuals are documented in the news media and, to a lesser extent, the academic literature (Reddy, 2001, 2002; Potgieter, 2006). Afrobarometer survey data suggest this narrative to be true, as only 21% of all citizens across the 33 countries say they would like or would not mind having homosexual neighbours (Figure 9).

However, there are important country-level differences that may be overlooked in the aggregate numbers. In four African countries, a majority of citizens express acceptance of neighbours who are homosexual: Cape Verde (74% who would strongly/somewhat like or would not care), South Africa (67%), Mozambique (56%), and Namibia (55%). In three other countries, more than 40% of citizens say they are not opposed to having homosexual neighbours: Mauritius (49%), São Tomé and Príncipe (46%), and Botswana (43%). The portrayal of Africa as universally homophobic is thus not supported by these findings.

Still, intolerance toward homosexuals remains widespread, reaching near-unanimity in Senegal (97%) as well as Guinea, Uganda, Burkina Faso, and Niger (all 95%).

The case of Mozambique offers an interesting demonstration of how policy change may interact with popular attitudes. In 2014, Mozambique adopted a new penal code that decriminalizes homosexuality (BBC News, 2015). Since there are no available data on Mozambicans' attitudes toward homosexuals prior to decriminalization, we may debate as to whether relatively high acceptance precipitated decriminalization or the legal reform has had the added benefit of influencing attitudinal change among the wider citizenry. The two countries expressing the highest tolerance for homosexual citizens, Cape Verde and South Africa, also do not criminalize homosexuality. However, in some cases, ordinary citizens are ahead of law reform by embracing LGBTQ rights at a time

---

**Do your own analysis of Afrobarometer data – on any question, for any country and survey round. It's easy and free at [www.afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis](http://www.afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis).**

---

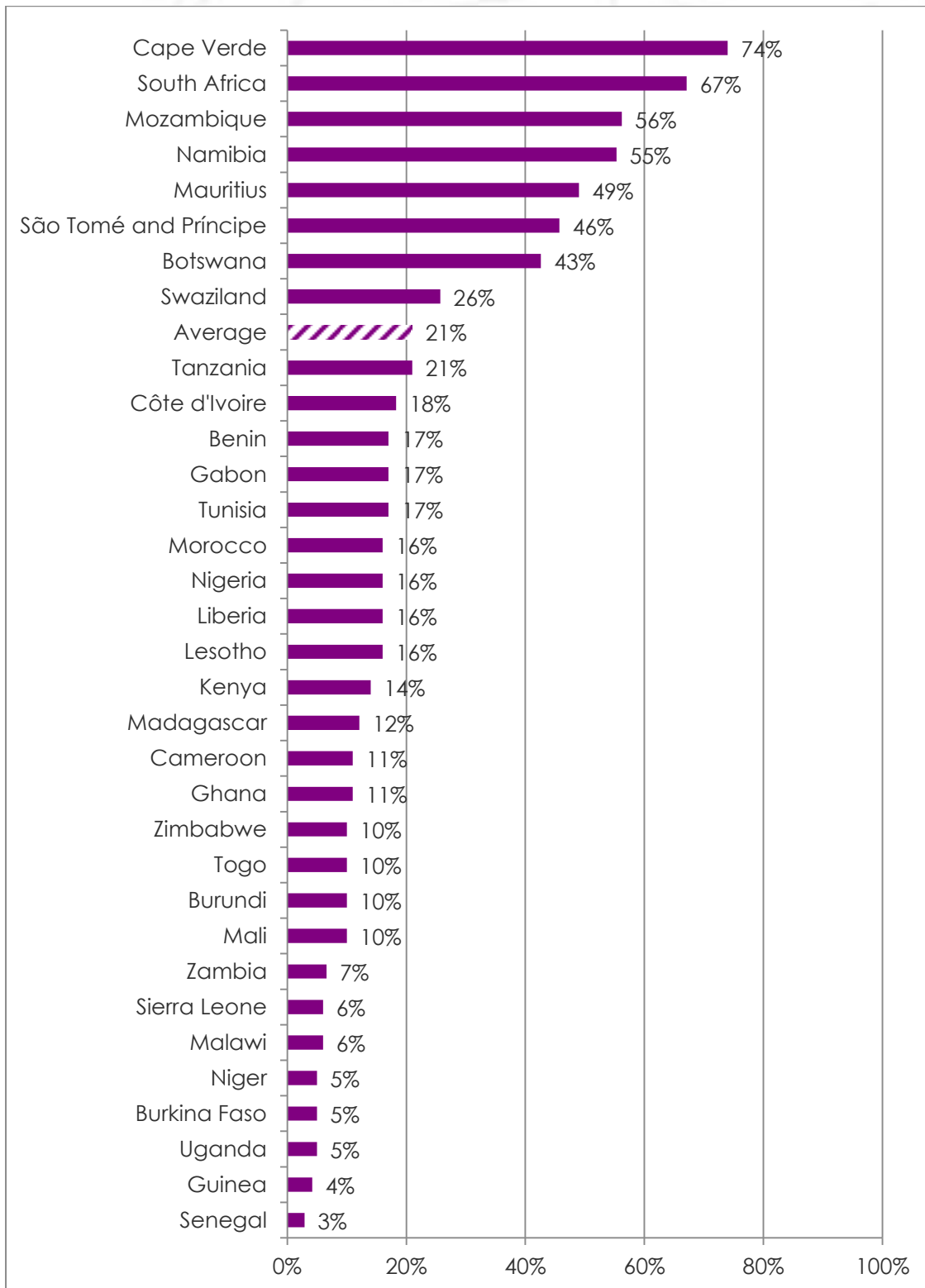
when some practices are illegal in their countries. This is true in Namibia and Mauritius, two countries with comparatively high acceptance of homosexuals despite legislation that make homosexuality a crime.

The data further suggest an important link between tolerance for homosexuals and respondents' age and education levels. Younger and more educated Africans tend to be more tolerant of homosexuals than older Africans and less educated citizens (Figure 10). This finding suggests that while current attitudes are largely negative, it is possible that Africa will become progressively less homophobic over time.

---

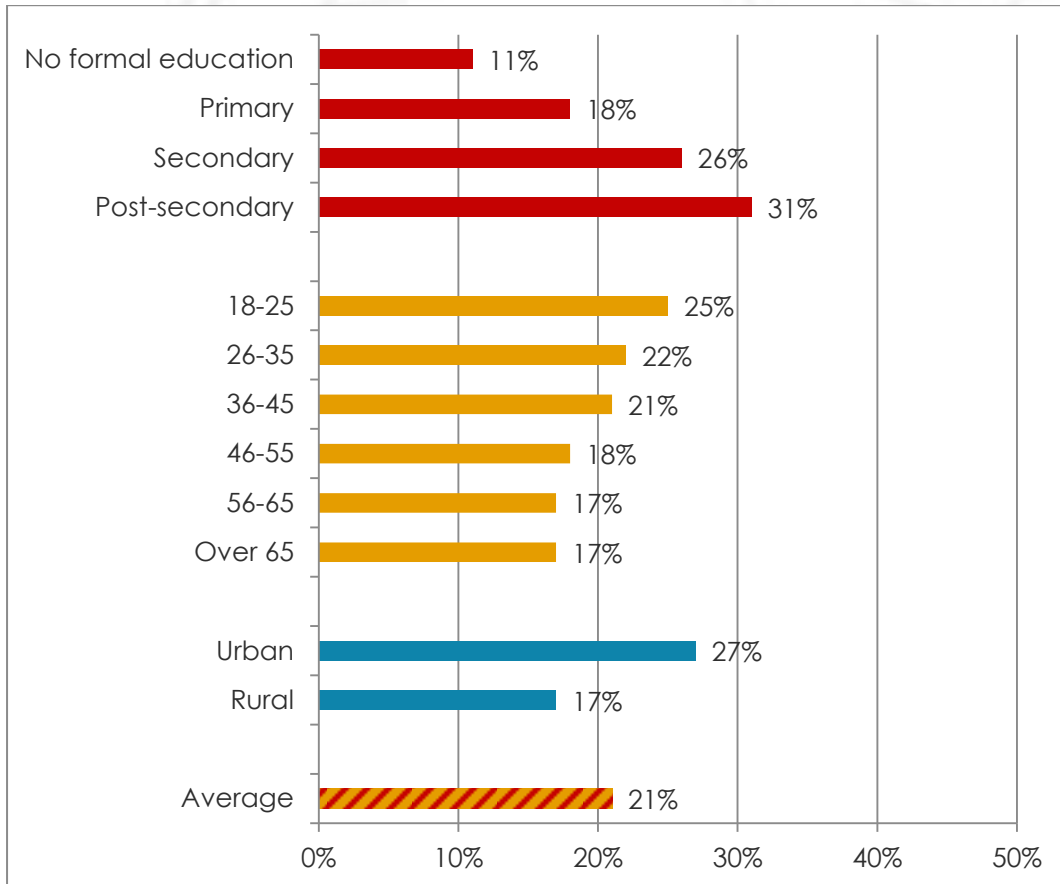
<sup>3</sup> Pearson's  $r=0.629$ ,  $p<.001$

**Figure 9: Tolerance for homosexuals** | by country | 33 countries | 2014/2015



(% of respondents who say they would "strongly like," "somewhat like" or "not care" if they lived next to homosexuals)

**Figure 10: Tolerance for homosexuals** | by age, education level, and urban-rural residence | 33 countries | 2014/2015



(% of respondents who say they would “strongly like,” “somewhat like” or “not care” if they lived next to homosexuals)

### The tolerance index

Responses to the battery of tolerance questions in the Afrobarometer survey can be combined to calculate average scores for each respondent and each country to generate an index of tolerance that captures overall levels of tolerance across the five items (different ethnicity, different religion, immigrants, PLWHA, and homosexuals). Scores on the tolerance index range along a five-point scale from 1 (for an individual who is completely intolerant) to 5 (reflecting a constant tolerant attitude across all five items).

The mean tolerance index score across all 33 countries surveyed in 2014/2015 is 3.08, which suggests that the average African respondent leans more toward tolerant than intolerant. However, consistent with the cross-national variations in tolerance for the different categories of people, there are important national variations around the mean (Figure 11). The most tolerant countries on the index are Namibia (3.71), Malawi (3.69), and Burundi (3.68), while the least tolerant countries are Niger (2.30), Tunisia (2.35), and Morocco (2.36).

In general, North African and Central African countries have some of the lowest tolerance scores, while other regions are represented all along the spectrum.

**Figure 11: Index of tolerance in Africa** | 33 countries | 2014/2015

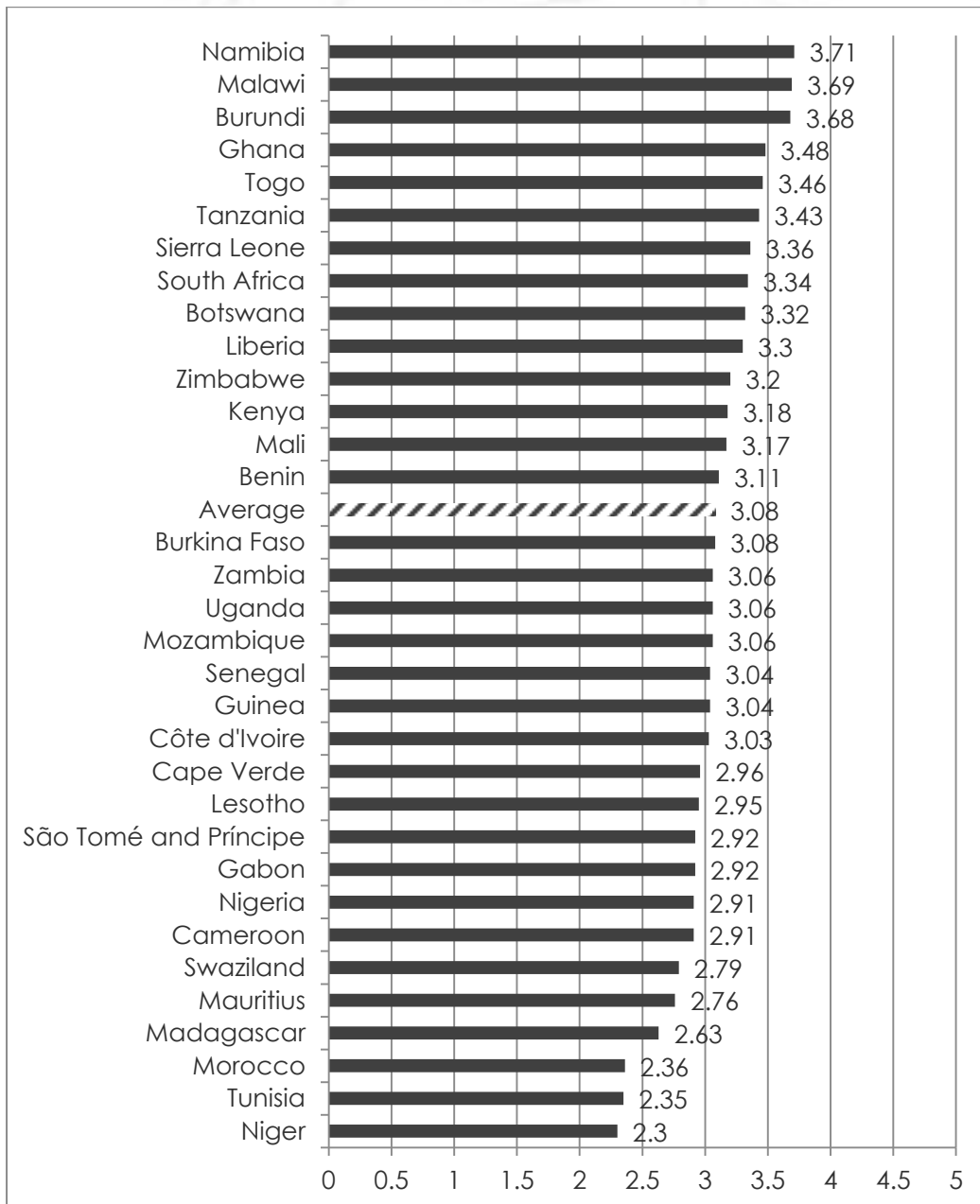


Figure shows average country scores along a five-point scale for responses across all five tolerance questions (different ethnic groups, different religions, immigrants, PLWHA, and homosexuals)

### Drivers of tolerance

In addition to the likely positive effects of proximity and contact mentioned above, tolerance appears to be driven, at least in part, by several socio-demographic characteristics (Figure 12). Education, in particular, shows an important effect in inculcating a culture of tolerance. Overall, people who have at least a secondary school education tend to exhibit higher tolerance than the less educated. The younger generation exhibits higher tolerance than its

elders.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, men and urban residents express higher tolerance levels than women and rural residents.

Another variable that shows a positive, albeit weak, relationship with tolerance is media exposure.<sup>5</sup> On average, African citizens who are regularly exposed to news through radio, television, newspapers, the Internet, and social media are more likely to demonstrate tolerant attitudes than those who have no or low media exposure.

These findings suggest important policy lessons in the quest to promote tolerant attitudes on the continent. First, investment in education matters in nurturing a tolerant population. Second, news media with broad coverage can play an important role in promoting tolerance among African citizens.

With regard to religion, the findings suggest substantial differences in tolerant attitudes between Africans who identify as Christians and those who identify as Muslims. The mean tolerance scores for Christians (3.19) and Muslims (2.87) reflect a 10% difference between the continent's two main religious groups.

**Figure 12: Drivers of tolerance in Africa | 33 countries | 2014/2015**

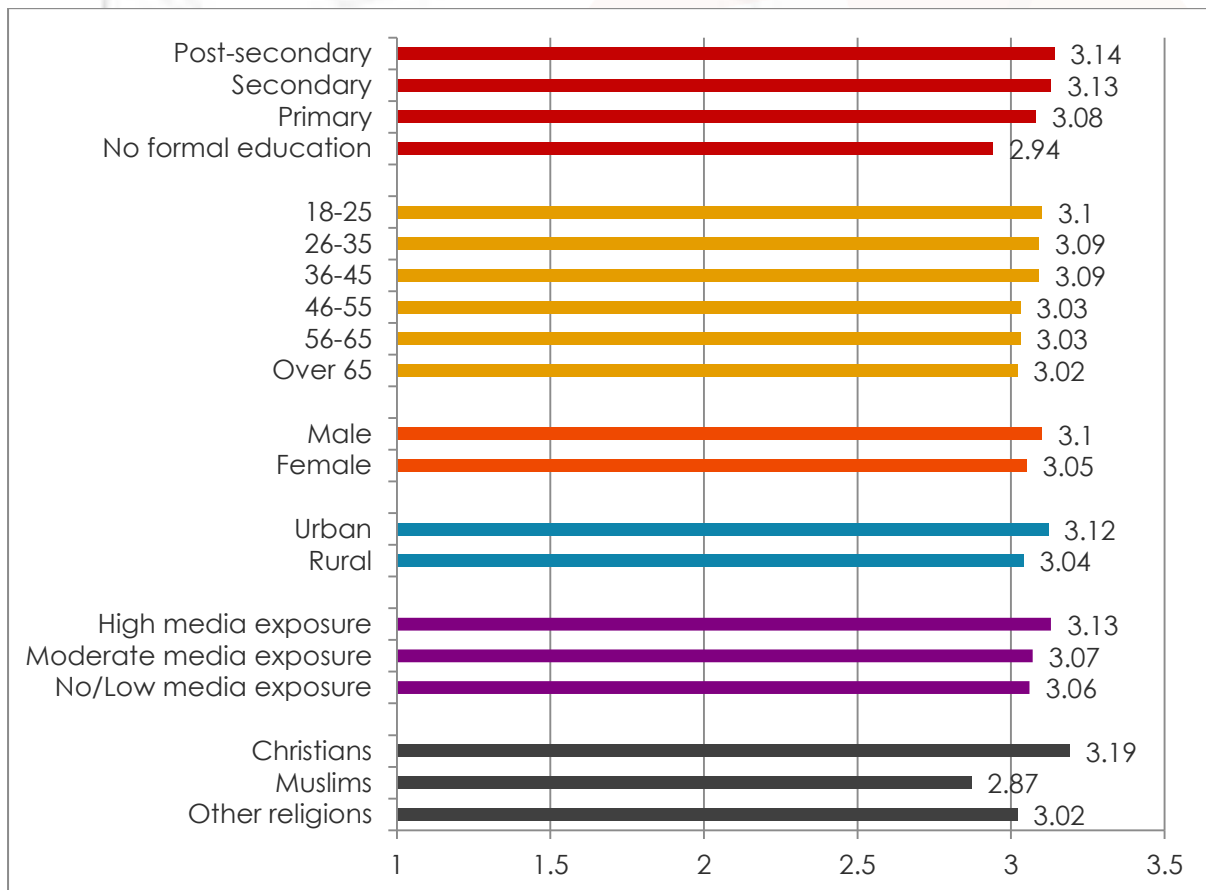


Figure shows average scores by socio-demographic group along a five-point scale for responses across all five tolerance questions (different ethnic groups, different religions, immigrants, PLWHA, and homosexuals)

<sup>4</sup> For education: Pearson's  $r=0.83$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; for age: Pearson's  $r=-0.34$ ,  $p<0.001$ .

<sup>5</sup> Pearson's  $r=-0.037$ ,  $p<0.001$ . (Media exposure is an additive index based on how often respondents receive news from radio, television, newspapers, the Internet, and social media.)

## Conclusion

Africans express high levels of tolerance for people of different ethnicities, religions, and nationalities. A large majority also express tolerance for people living with HIV/AIDS, though HIV-related stigma remains a reality in most countries. Africans are far less tolerant of homosexuals, though even on this issue, country-level variations prevent the continent from being painted as uniformly intolerant.

While our data do not yet permit analysis of trends over time, the findings of this study tell us that tolerance in Africa is not a constant. Rather, it can be nurtured and learned. In addition to the likely effects of contact with people of different backgrounds, education and news media exposure are drivers of a tolerant society, as more educated individuals and those who have greater exposure to the media tend to embrace more tolerant attitudes. The fact that younger citizens are more tolerant than their elders also bodes well for an increasingly tolerant future in Africa.

## References

- BBC News. (2015). Mozambique decriminalises gay and lesbian relationships. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-33342963>. Accessed 8 February 2016.
- Berman, B. (1998). Ethnicity, patronage and the African state: The politics of uncivil nationalism. *African Affairs*, 97(388), 305-341.
- Bertocchi, G., & Guerzoni, A. (2012). Growth, history, or institutions: What explains state fragility in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(6), 769-783.
- Branch, D., & Cheeseman, N. (2009). Democratisation sequencing and state failure in Africa: Lessons from Kenya. *African Affairs*, 108(340), 1-26.
- Bratton, M. (1989). Beyond the state: Civil society and associational life in Africa. *World Politics*, 41(3), 407-430.
- Chingwete, A. (2016). Immigration remains a challenge for South Africa's government and citizens. Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 72. Available at <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad72-immigration-remains-challenge-for-south-africas-government-and-citizens>.
- Dionne, K., Dulani, B., & Chunga, J. (2014). Attitudes toward homosexuality in sub-Saharan Africa, 1982-2012. Unpublished research note.
- Easterly, W., & Levine, R. (1997). Africa's growth tragedy: Policies and ethnic divisions. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112(4), 1203-1250.
- Gibson, J., & Gouws, A. (2005). *Overcoming intolerance in South Africa: Experiments in democratic persuasion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibson, J., & Bingham, R. (1985). *Civil liberties and nazis: The Stokie free speech controversy*. New York: Praeger.
- Goren, P. (2005). Party identification and core political values. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(4), 849-863.
- Jackson, R. (2002). Violent internal conflict and the African state: Towards a framework for analysis. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 20(1), 29-52.
- Peffley, M., & Rohrschneider, R. (2003). Democratization and political tolerance in seventeen countries: A multi-level model of democratic learning. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(3), 243-257.
- Pew Research Center. (2014). Global religious diversity. Available at <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/04/04/global-religious-diversity/>.
- Posner, D. (2004). Measuring ethnic fractionalization in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4), 849-863.
- Potgieter, C. (2006). The imagined future for gays and lesbians in South Africa: Is this it? *Africa Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 20(67), 4-8.
- Reddy, V. (2001). Homophobia, human rights and gay and lesbian equality in Africa. *Africa Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 16(50), 83-87.
- Reddy, V. (2002). Perverts and sodomites: Homophobia as hate speech in Africa. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 20, 163-175.
- Seligson, M., & Moreno-Morales, D. (2010). Gay in the Americas. *Americas Quarterly*, Winter 2010, 37-41.
- Stouffer, S. (1955). *Communism, conformity and civil liberties*. New York: Doubleday.

Sullivan, J., Piereson, J., & Marcus, G. (1982). *Political tolerance and American democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

World Values Survey. (2010-2014). Available at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp>.

## Appendix

**Table A.1: Afrobarometer Round 6 fieldwork dates and previous survey rounds**

Country	Months when Round 6 fieldwork was conducted	Previous survey rounds
Algeria	May-June 2015	2013
Benin	May-June 2014	2005, 2008, 2011
Botswana	June-July 2014	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012
Burkina Faso	April-May 2015	2008, 2012
Burundi	September-October 2014	2012
Cameroon	January-February 2015	2013
Cape Verde	November-December 2014	2002, 2005, 2008, 2011
Côte d'Ivoire	August-September 2014	2013
Egypt	June-July 2015	2013
Gabon	September 2015	N/A
Ghana	May-June 2014	1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012
Guinea	March-April 2015	2013
Kenya	November-December 2014	2003, 2005, 2008, 2011
Lesotho	May 2014	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012
Liberia	May 2015	2008, 2012
Madagascar	December 2015-January 2015	2005, 2008, 2013
Malawi	March-April 2014	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012
Mali	December 2014	2001, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2013
Mauritius	June-July 2014	2012
Morocco	November 2015	2013
Mozambique	June-August 2015	2002, 2005, 2008, 2012
Namibia	August-September 2014	1999, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2012
Niger	April 2015	2013
Nigeria	December 2014-January 2015	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013
São Tomé and Príncipe	July-August 2015	N/A
Senegal	November-December 2014	2002, 2005, 2008, 2013
Sierra Leone	May-June 2015	2012
South Africa	August-September 2015	2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011
Sudan	June 2015	2013

Country	Months when Round 6 fieldwork was conducted	Previous survey rounds
Swaziland	April 2015	2013
Tanzania	August-November 2014	2001, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012
Togo	October 2014	2012
Tunisia	April-May 2015	2013
Uganda	May 2015	2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012
Zambia	October 2014	1999, 2003, 2005, 2009, 2013
Zimbabwe	November 2014	1999, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2012

**Table A.2: Tolerance for people of a different ethnicity | 33 countries | 2014/2015**

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Algeria	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Benin	1%	3%	38%	14%	45%	0%
Botswana	3%	3%	46%	19%	29%	0%
Burkina Faso	2%	2%	39%	11%	46%	0%
Burundi	1%	1%	14%	12%	72%	0%
Cameroon	2%	3%	52%	18%	25%	0%
Cape Verde	3%	3%	81%	7%	6%	1%
Côte d'Ivoire	1%	1%	53%	16%	29%	0%
Egypt	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Gabon	0%	1%	63%	19%	17%	0%
Ghana	3%	2%	15%	15%	66%	0%
Guinea	7%	3%	9%	11%	70%	0%
Kenya	3%	5%	33%	20%	38%	0%
Lesotho	14%	7%	35%	11%	32%	1%
Liberia	2%	3%	15%	38%	42%	1%
Madagascar	1%	6%	54%	24%	16%	0%
Malawi	5%	6%	6%	17%	66%	0%
Mali	4%	6%	19%	13%	59%	0%
Mauritius	1%	6%	68%	18%	7%	0%
Morocco	12%	14%	63%	7%	3%	1%

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Mozambique	5%	11%	44%	16%	22%	4%
Namibia	1%	2%	30%	19%	47%	0%
Niger	9%	5%	43%	16%	27%	0%
Nigeria	6%	8%	28%	31%	26%	1%
São Tomé and Príncipe	4%	3%	66%	12%	15%	1%
Senegal	0%	1%	37%	6%	56%	0%
Sierra Leone	2%	1%	3%	11%	82%	1%
South Africa	3%	4%	44%	20%	29%	0%
Sudan	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Swaziland	9%	17%	49%	20%	5%	0%
Tanzania	2%	2%	23%	21%	52%	0%
Togo	1%	1%	22%	15%	61%	0%
Tunisia	21%	3%	63%	8%	6%	0%
Uganda	4%	4%	40%	17%	35%	0%
Zambia	8%	7%	28%	16%	41%	0%
Zimbabwe	3%	4%	41%	19%	35%	0%
<b>AVERAGE</b>	4%	4%	38%	16%	37%	0%

**Respondents were asked:** For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People from other ethnic groups?

**Table A.3: Tolerance for people of a different religion | 33 countries | 2014/2015**

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Algeria	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Benin	2%	4%	38%	13%	43%	0%
Botswana	5%	6%	45%	18%	26%	0%
Burkina Faso	4%	3%	40%	10%	44%	0%
Burundi	1%	2%	15%	11%	71%	0%
Cameroon	4%	5%	51%	17%	22%	1%
Cape Verde	2%	2%	82%	7%	7%	1%
Côte d'Ivoire	1%	1%	54%	14%	29%	0%
Egypt	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Gabon	1%	3%	67%	17%	12%	0%

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Ghana	3%	2%	14%	14%	67%	0%
Guinea	27%	6%	8%	9%	50%	0%
Kenya	5%	6%	35%	17%	38%	0%
Lesotho	13%	5%	32%	10%	39%	1%
Liberia	3%	6%	13%	40%	38%	1%
Madagascar	2%	5%	52%	26%	16%	0%
Malawi	3%	5%	7%	16%	70%	0%
Mali	10%	7%	22%	10%	52%	0%
Mauritius	1%	5%	68%	18%	7%	0%
Morocco	15%	18%	57%	7%	3%	1%
Mozambique	7%	9%	43%	14%	24%	3%
Namibia	1%	3%	30%	18%	48%	0%
Niger	37%	12%	35%	7%	9%	0%
Nigeria	7%	10%	28%	27%	26%	2%
São Tomé and Príncipe	4%	2%	67%	11%	16%	1%
Senegal	8%	4%	40%	6%	42%	0%
Sierra Leone	3%	1%	3%	7%	86%	1%
South Africa	2%	3%	45%	19%	31%	0%
Sudan	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Swaziland	11%	16%	50%	18%	5%	1%
Tanzania	2%	2%	22%	20%	54%	0%
Togo	2%	3%	22%	15%	57%	0%
Tunisia	31%	4%	51%	7%	7%	0%
Uganda	3%	3%	42%	13%	40%	0%
Zambia	10%	5%	30%	14%	41%	0%
Zimbabwe	2%	5%	40%	15%	38%	0%
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>0%</b>

**Respondents were asked:** For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People of a different religion?

**Table A.4: Tolerance for immigrants/foreign workers | 33 countries | 2014/2015**

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Algeria	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Benin	2%	4%	47%	17%	30%	0%
Botswana	8%	7%	45%	17%	23%	0%
Burkina Faso	2%	4%	47%	15%	32%	
Burundi	6%	4%	20%	20%	50%	0%
Cameroon	6%	8%	52%	19%	13%	2%
Cape Verde	3%	3%	82%	6%	6%	1%
Côte d'Ivoire	7%	4%	56%	16%	16%	0%
Egypt	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Gabon	6%	10%	63%	16%	5%	
Ghana	7%	5%	23%	19%	46%	1%
Guinea	9%	4%	9%	18%	60%	0%
Kenya	8%	11%	40%	20%	21%	1%
Lesotho	32%	11%	27%	9%	21%	1%
Liberia	5%	8%	17%	44%	26%	1%
Madagascar	13%	20%	40%	17%	10%	0%
Malawi	9%	6%	8%	24%	53%	1%
Mali	6%	7%	23%	19%	45%	
Mauritius	10%	24%	59%	6%	1%	1%
Morocco	14%	19%	56%	7%	3%	1%
Mozambique	13%	13%	35%	16%	19%	5%
Namibia	6%	8%	30%	21%	35%	0%
Niger	19%	8%	47%	13%	13%	0%
Nigeria	11%	11%	32%	27%	17%	2%
São Tomé and Príncipe	8%	3%	66%	13%	9%	1%
Senegal	6%	4%	42%	15%	33%	0%
Sierra Leone	9%	3%	8%	16%	63%	2%
South Africa	16%	16%	40%	13%	14%	0%
Sudan	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Swaziland	5%	13%	58%	20%	5%	0%

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Tanzania	12%	12%	25%	21%	29%	1%
Togo	3%	4%	22%	23%	48%	1%
Tunisia	21%	4%	60%	10%	5%	0%
Uganda	10%	11%	41%	19%	19%	1%
Zambia	21%	14%	29%	15%	20%	2%
Zimbabwe	6%	7%	47%	17%	23%	0%
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>1%</b>

**Respondents were asked:** For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: Immigrants or foreign workers?

**Table A.5: Tolerance for people living with HIV/AIDS | 33 countries | 2014/2015**

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Algeria	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Benin	34%	16%	27%	11%	12%	1%
Botswana	2%	2%	48%	17%	31%	0%
Burkina Faso	26%	14%	38%	8%	14%	0%
Burundi	8%	5%	17%	16%	55%	0%
Cameroon	12%	9%	53%	14%	11%	1%
Cape Verde	10%	6%	79%	3%	2%	1%
Côte d'Ivoire	13%	10%	56%	12%	8%	0%
Egypt	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Gabon	5%	4%	61%	15%	15%	0%
Ghana	23%	8%	20%	18%	31%	1%
Guinea	62%	7%	8%	7%	16%	0%
Kenya	7%	6%	47%	16%	24%	1%
Lesotho	10%	5%	39%	12%	33%	1%
Liberia	25%	17%	15%	30%	11%	2%
Madagascar	49%	28%	18%	4%	0%	0%
Malawi	5%	4%	8%	18%	66%	0%
Mali	41%	12%	17%	9%	21%	0%
Mauritius	22%	24%	50%	3%	1%	1%
Morocco	35%	22%	37%	3%	2%	2%

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Mozambique	20%	10%	46%	10%	10%	4%
Namibia	2%	4%	32%	16%	46%	0%
Niger	69%	9%	17%	3%	1%	0%
Nigeria	29%	18%	26%	17%	9%	2%
São Tomé and Príncipe	17%	8%	64%	7%	4%	1%
Senegal	32%	12%	34%	9%	13%	1%
Sierra Leone	62%	11%	8%	5%	9%	4%
South Africa	3%	6%	53%	15%	24%	0%
Sudan	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Swaziland	3%	4%	64%	21%	8%	0%
Tanzania	8%	5%	34%	18%	34%	1%
Togo	19%	10%	22%	20%	30%	0%
Tunisia	39%	5%	47%	5%	4%	0%
Uganda	9%	8%	51%	14%	18%	0%
Zambia	8%	4%	41%	13%	33%	1%
Zimbabwe	2%	4%	50%	15%	29%	0%
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>1%</b>

**Respondents were asked:** For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: People who have HIV/AIDS?

**Table A.6: Tolerance for homosexuals | 33 countries | 2014/2015**

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Algeria	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Benin	70%	10%	12%	2%	3%	3%
Botswana	46%	10%	25%	8%	9%	1%
Burkina Faso	92%	3%	4%	0%	1%	0%
Burundi	82%	4%	5%	1%	4%	4%
Cameroon	80%	5%	10%	1%	1%	3%
Cape Verde	19%	6%	70%	2%	2%	1%
Côte d'Ivoire	74%	7%	15%	2%	1%	0%
Egypt	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Gabon	78%	5%	16%	1%	0%	0%

Country	Strongly dislike	Somewhat dislike	Would not care	Somewhat like	Strongly like	Don't know
Ghana	81%	8%	5%	3%	4%	1%
Guinea	94%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Kenya	72%	12%	11%	2%	1%	2%
Lesotho	77%	5%	8%	2%	6%	2%
Liberia	70%	13%	5%	7%	4%	1%
Madagascar	64%	24%	10%	2%	1%	0%
Malawi	89%	4%	1%	2%	3%	1%
Mali	87%	3%	4%	2%	4%	0%
Mauritius	24%	27%	45%	3%	1%	1%
Morocco	57%	25%	14%	1%	1%	2%
Mozambique	24%	12%	39%	11%	6%	8%
Namibia	29%	15%	29%	9%	17%	0%
Niger	91%	4%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Nigeria	72%	11%	9%	5%	2%	1%
São Tomé and Príncipe	42%	10%	39%	5%	2%	3%
Senegal	96%	1%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Sierra Leone	87%	3%	2%	1%	4%	4%
South Africa	19%	13%	44%	11%	13%	1%
Sudan	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Swaziland	57%	16%	21%	4%	1%	1%
Tanzania	70%	7%	11%	5%	4%	2%
Togo	86%	3%	5%	2%	3%	1%
Tunisia	76%	7%	15%	1%	2%	0%
Uganda	90%	5%	3%	1%	1%	0%
Zambia	86%	6%	5%	1%	1%	1%
Zimbabwe	83%	6%	9%	1%	1%	0%
<b>AVERAGE</b>	69%	9%	15%	3%	3%	1%

**Respondents were asked:** For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbours, dislike it, or not care: Homosexuals?

## Other Round 6 global releases

- **Where to start? Aligning sustainable development goals with citizen priorities.**  
Bentley, T., Olapade, M., Wambua, P., & Charron, N. (2015). Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 67. Available at [http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab\\_r6\\_dispatchno67\\_african\\_priorities\\_en.pdf](http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r6_dispatchno67_african_priorities_en.pdf).
- **Building on progress: Infrastructure development still a major challenge in Africa.**  
Mitullah, W. V., Samson, R., Wambua, P. M., & Balongo, S. (2016). Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 69. Available at [www.afrobarometer.org/publications/ad69-building-progress-infrastructure-development-still-major-challenge-africa](http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications/ad69-building-progress-infrastructure-development-still-major-challenge-africa).
- **Africa's growth dividend? Lived poverty drops across much of the continent.**  
Mattes, R., Dulani, B., & Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2016). Afrobarometer Policy Paper No. 29. Available at <http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications/pp29-africas-growth-dividend-lived-poverty-drops-across-the-continent>.

**Boniface Dulani** is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Malawi and Afrobarometer's operations manager for fieldwork (southern and francophone Africa). Email: [bdulani@afrobarometer.org](mailto:bdulani@afrobarometer.org).

**Giff Sambo** is a research associate at the Institute of Public Opinion and Research in Zomba, Malawi. Email: [sambogift@gmail.com](mailto:sambogift@gmail.com).

**Kim Yi Dionne** is Five College Assistant Professor of Government at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, United States. Email: [kdionne@smith.edu](mailto:kdionne@smith.edu).

Afrobarometer is produced collaboratively by social scientists from more than 30 African countries. Coordination is provided by the Center for Democratic Development (CDD) in Ghana, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) in South Africa, the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Nairobi in Kenya, and the Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP) in Benin. Michigan State University (MSU) and the University of Cape Town (UCT) provide technical support to the network.

Core support for Afrobarometer Rounds 5 and 6 has been provided by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the World Bank.

For more information, please visit [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org).

Follow our Round 6 global releases on social media at #VoicesAfrica.

**Infographic** designed by Soapbox, [www.soapbox.co.uk](http://www.soapbox.co.uk)

**Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 74 | 1 March 2016**