

Promise and peril: In changing media landscape, Africans are concerned about social media but opposed to restricting access

Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 410 | Jeffrey Conroy-Krutz and Joseph Koné

Summary

Africa's media landscape is changing rapidly. Regular reliance on digital sources for news has nearly doubled in just five years, with more than one-third of respondents across 18 countries surveyed reporting that they turn to the Internet or social media at least a few times a week for news. While radio remains the most popular mass medium on the continent due to its accessibility and reach, digital media are reshaping information landscapes, and consequently politics, in remarkable ways.

At the same time, governments' interactions with media are changing, often in ways that are troubling for advocates of democratic development. Attacks on journalists and media houses are becoming more frequent, and governments are passing new restrictions on who can produce and share content (Alfandika & Akpojivi, 2020; Conroy-Krutz, 2020; RSF, 2020). "Social media taxes" and full or partial Internet shutdowns are increasingly in governments' toolkits as well (Guardian, 2019; CIPESA, 2019). Leaders often cite real problems, including the spread of false information and hate speech, as justifications for these new regulations, but many people fear that governments are using these threats to stifle press and speech freedoms more broadly.

What do Africans think of these changes? In nationally representative surveys across 18 countries, Afrobarometer finds that people are generally supportive of press freedoms, media's role as watchdogs over governments, and broad access to digital media for citizenries. They generally see promise in the ability of new technologies to inform and empower. As digital media access continues to rise across demographic groups and in most countries, the possibilities of creating better-educated, more-active populations are exciting.

However, there is also a distinct wariness about these new media. Majorities see them as facilitating the spread of false information and hate speech. And government moves to limit the dissemination of messages deemed undesirable are generally popular. In this way, many Africans seem genuinely ambivalent about these new media landscapes: Most say they want unrestricted digital media while also supporting limits on messages they see as potentially dangerous.

Afrobarometer surveys

Afrobarometer is a pan-African, non-partisan survey research network that provides reliable data on African experiences and evaluations of democracy, governance, and quality of life. Seven rounds of surveys were completed in up to 38 countries between 1999 and 2018. Round 8 surveys, completed in 18 countries before being interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, will continue in at least 17 more countries in late 2020 and 2021. Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice with nationally representative samples that yield country-level results with margins of error of +/-2 to +/-3 percentage points at a 95% confidence level.

This dispatch draws on data from 26,777 interviews completed in the first 18 Round 8 countries between July 2019 and April 2020 (see Appendix Table A.1 for a list of countries and fieldwork dates). The data are weighted to ensure nationally representative samples. When reporting multi-country findings such as regional or Africa-wide averages, all countries are weighted equally (rather than in proportion to population size).

Key findings

- Radio remains overwhelmingly the most common source for news in Africa. On average across 18 surveyed countries, two-thirds (67%) of respondents tune in at least a few times a week.
- Digital media use for news is growing quickly. Between 2014/2015 and 2019/2020, the share of Africans who get news from social media or the Internet at least a few times a week almost doubled, from 22% to 38% across 16 countries included in both survey rounds.
- Urban residents, better-educated citizens, men, and youth are most likely to use digital media in Africa. While use has increased among other groups as well, demographic gaps in digital media use have remained roughly the same since 2014/2015, and even increased with regard to education.
- Africans express broad support for the media's role in fostering government accountability, and majorities support media freedoms in every country except Tunisia. But most Africans support their government's right to place limits on the dissemination of hate speech, false information, and messages that are insulting to their president.
- A majority (54%) of Africans see digital media as having mostly positive effects on society, while just one-fourth (25%) see its impact as mostly negative. However, while Africans value social media's ability to inform and empower citizens, they also see distinct threats in its ability to spread false information and hate speech.
- Despite these reservations, only about one-third (36%) of Africans endorse government restrictions on access to digital media. Support for unrestricted digital media is highest in Nigeria, Gabon, Cabo Verde, and Côte d'Ivoire, while populations are most skeptical about digital media in Ethiopia, Mali, and Tunisia.

Changes in how Africans get their news

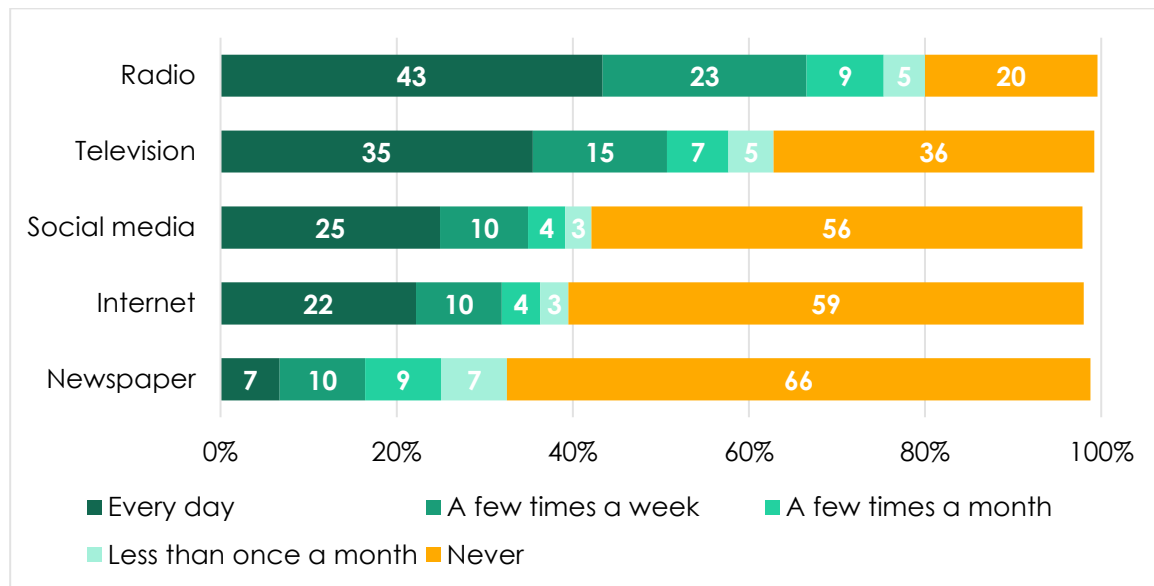
Radio has long been the most commonly accessed mass medium in Africa, and that remains the case, with minimal change over time. However, the use of digital media is increasing rapidly, suggesting new opportunities and new challenges.

Radio remains king

Across the 18 countries surveyed, radio remains, by a substantial margin, the mass medium most commonly used by people looking for news (Figure 1). Two-thirds (67%) of respondents say they use it at least a few times a week, including 43% who tune in every day. Television comes second, with half (51%) of adults watching the news at least a few times a week, followed by social media (35%) and the Internet (32%). Only about one in six (16%) report regularly reading a newspaper.¹

¹ Due to rounding, percentages for combined categories may differ by 1 percentage point from the sum of sub-categories (e.g. for radio, 43% "every day" and 23% "a few times a week" combine to 67% "at least a few times a week.")

Figure 1: News media consumption | 18 countries | 2019/2020

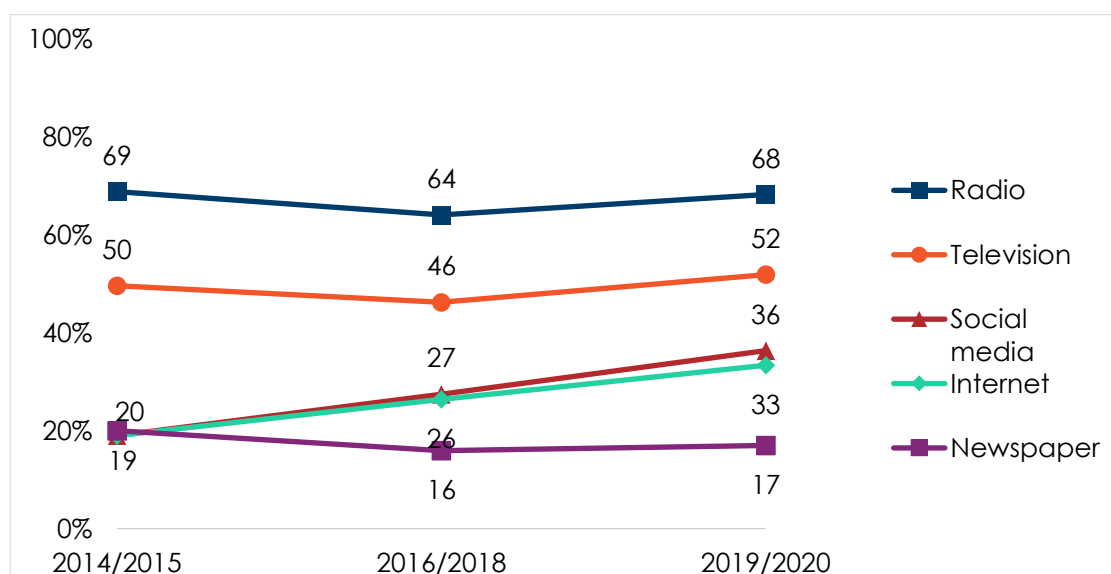


Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources?

Social media on the rise

While the use of radio, TV, and newspapers has been remarkably steady over the past five years, the rise of digital media has wrought significant changes in Africa's media landscape (Figure 2). Between 2014/2015 and 2019/2020, the proportion of respondents who get news from digital media at least a few times a week nearly doubled, from 22% to 38% across the 16 countries included in both survey rounds (many of whom regularly use both the Internet (33%) and social media (36%) as news sources). In fact, regular digital media users outnumber regular newspaper readers by more than 2 to 1, although some individuals who use digital media might be reading stories published by newspapers online.

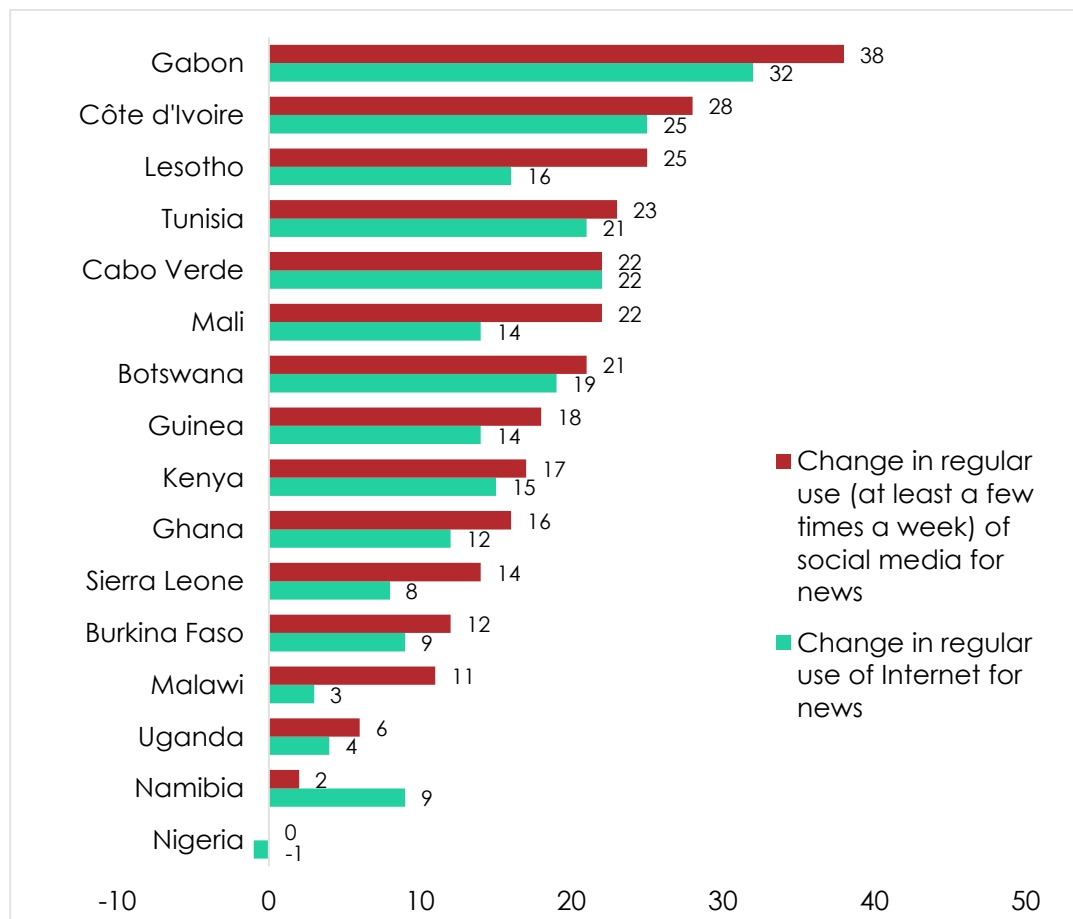
Figure 2: Regular news media consumption | 16 countries | 2014-2020



Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (% who say "every day" or "a few times a week")

These changes vary widely across countries, however (Figure 3). Seven countries saw increases in regular consumption of news from social media of at least 20 percentage points between 2014/2015 and 2019/2020: Gabon (+38), Côte d'Ivoire (+28), Lesotho (+25), Tunisia (+23), Cabo Verde (+22), Mali (+22), and Botswana (+21). And four saw similar increases in Internet news consumption: Gabon (+32 percentage points), Côte d'Ivoire (+25), Cabo Verde (+22), and Tunisia (+21). But increases were much smaller elsewhere. In three countries, growth in social media news consumption was modest or non-existent: Uganda (+6), Namibia (+2, which is within the survey margin of error), and Nigeria (no change). And five saw increases of less than 10 percentage points in Internet news consumption: Burkina Faso (+9), Namibia (+9), Sierra Leone (+8), Uganda (+4), and Malawi (+3). The proportion of Nigerians using the Internet at least a few times a week for news showed no change (-1 percentage point), although daily use did increase in that country, from 17% in 2014/2015 to 22% in 2019/2020.

Figure 3: Increase in regular digital news media consumption (percentage points)
 | 16 countries | 2014-2020



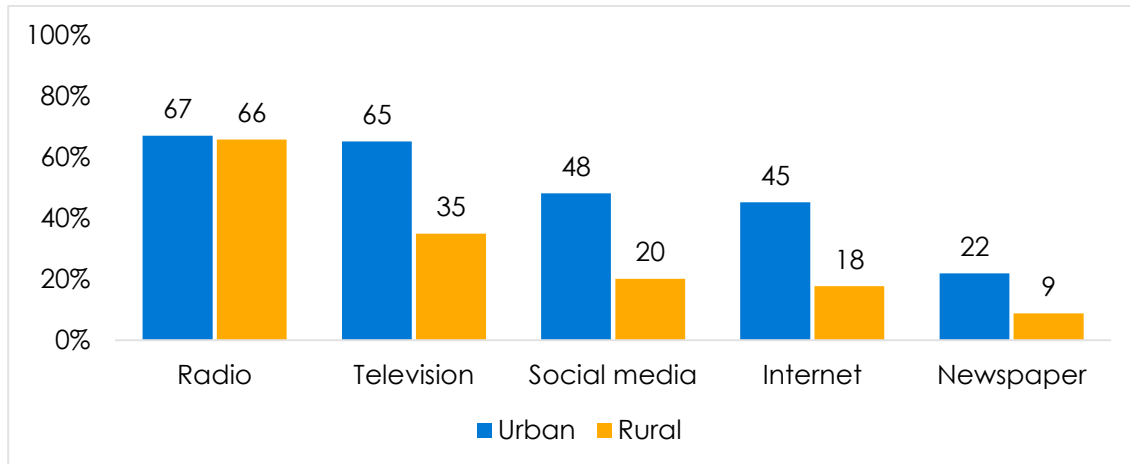
Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (Figure shows the increase, in percentage points, between 2014/2015 and 2019/2020 in the proportion of respondents saying “every day” or “a few times a week”)

Demographic divides

Not all Africans access these media for news at equal rates. Radio remains the most “democratic” of the media, in that gaps in access on the basis of residence, gender, education, and age are relatively small. Larger gaps exist for other media sources, for which access might require higher amounts of formal education, more disposable income, and residence in more populated areas.

Africa's cities usually offer greater access to media, with more broadcast outlets, easier access to print publications, and more reliable electricity and Internet. This is reflected in the data. While access to radio is statistically identical in rural and urban areas (Figure 4), there are significant urban-rural gaps in access to television (30 points), social media (28 points), the Internet (27 points), and newspapers (13 points).

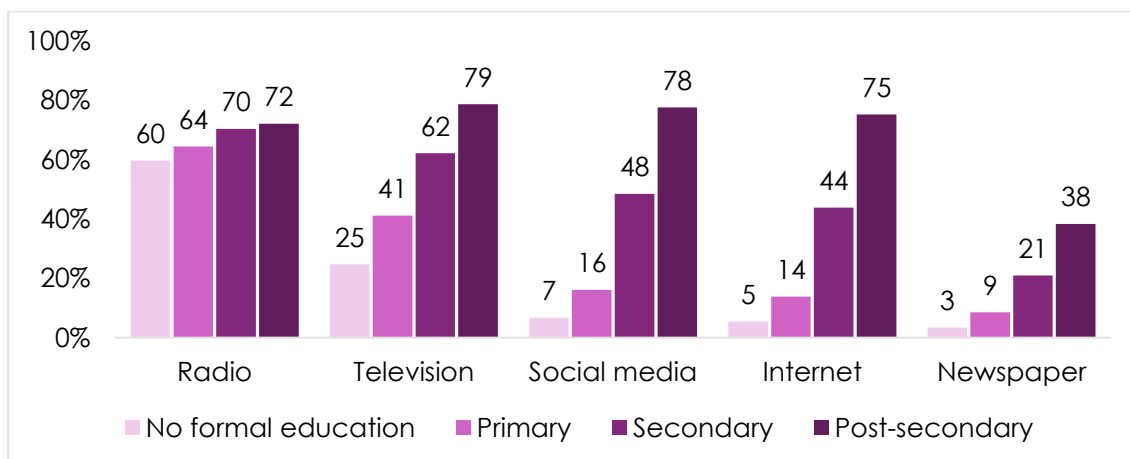
Figure 4: Regular news media consumption | by rural-urban residence | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (% who say "every day" or "a few times a week")

The frequency of news media consumption increases substantially with education for every type of source, but the differences are starkest for digital media (Figure 5). Respondents with a secondary education are 41 percentage points more likely to use social media at least several times a week and 39 points more likely to use the Internet compared to those without formal education. The gap is almost as large for television (37 points), while newspapers show an 18-point difference between these groups. Differences are relatively small for radio, likely reflecting the fact that one does not need a certain level of literacy to be able to listen to radio news.

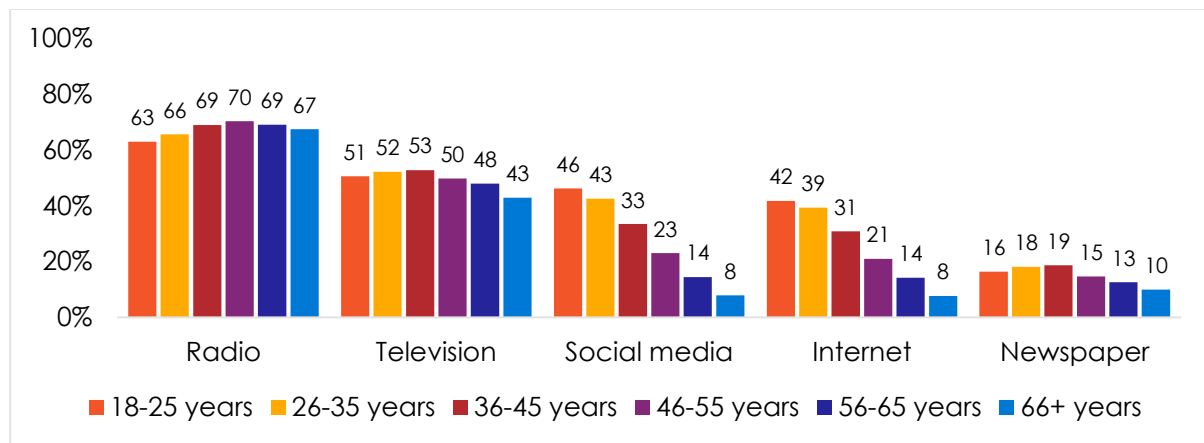
Figure 5: Regular news media consumption | by education level | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (% who say "every day" or "a few times a week")

Similar patterns exist across age groups (Figure 6). While younger respondents differ only modestly from their elders when it comes to obtaining radio and TV news, age-based differences across digital media are quite stark. Almost half (46%) of respondents aged 18-25 use social media at least a few times a week, compared to just 23% of those 46-55, 14% of those 56-65, and 8% of those over 65. Internet use shows similar differences. These numbers probably highlight generational rather than life-cycle effects, as it seems likely that, in the coming decades, those who used digital media in their youth will continue to use it, rather than declining in their use as they age.

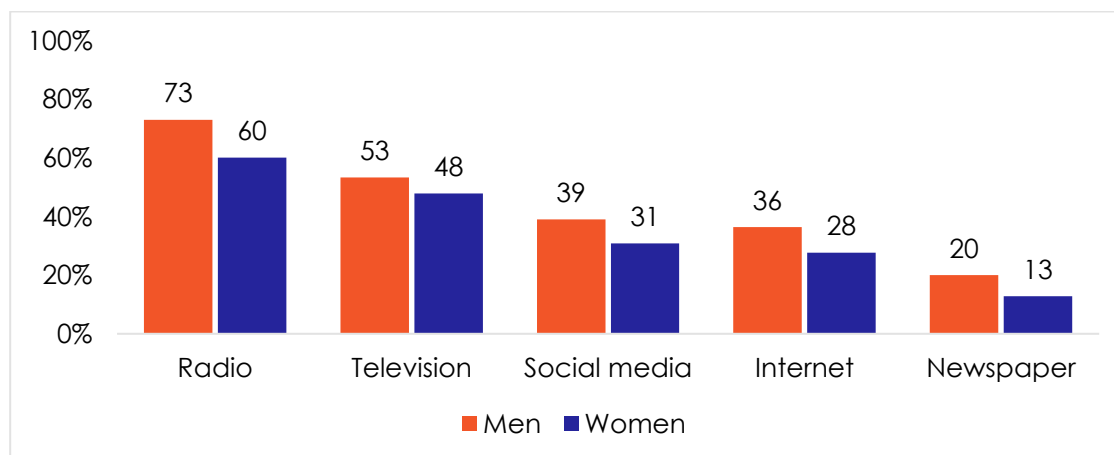
Figure 6: Regular news media consumption | by age | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (% who say “every day” or “a few times a week”)

Finally, men are consistently more likely than women to use media to access news (Figure 7). Interestingly, the gap here is largest for radio, where men are 13 percentage points more likely than women to tune in regularly (73% vs 60%). Statistically significant gaps exist for other sources, but they are smaller. The size of the gap for radio might be a function of its relative popularity in rural settings and among populations with less formal education, where norms proscribing women’s political involvement might be more prevalent. Among urban, better-educated populations that are more likely to access digital media, gender-inclusive norms might be more accepted.

Figure 7: Regular news media consumption | by gender | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (% who say “every day” or “a few times a week”)

The persistent digital divide

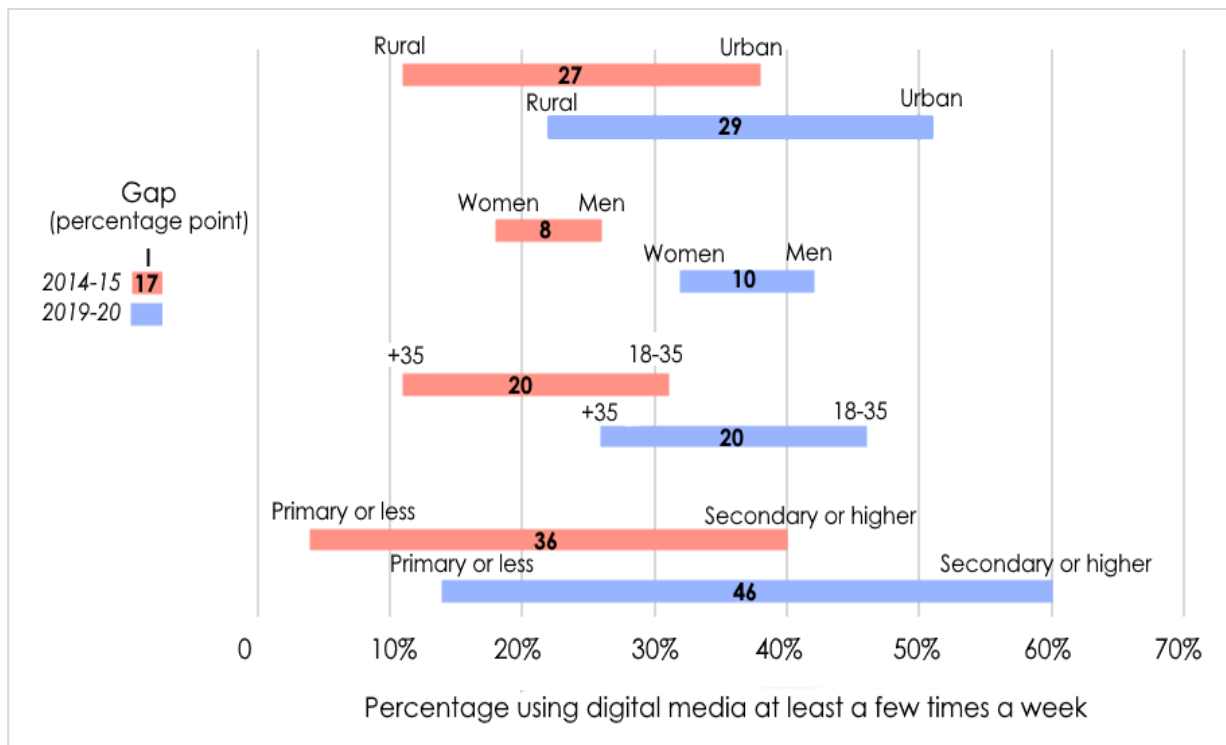
In recent years, gaps between groups in access to digital media have received special attention due to concerns that opportunities for economic, political, and social empowerment that such technologies can bring may be concentrated among already-privileged groups. The Afrobarometer data indeed highlight these digital divides.

Encouragingly, the data do show that typically underrepresented groups have enjoyed increases in the use of digital media. The proportion of rural residents using digital media at least a few times a week doubled between 2014/2015 and 2019/2020, from 11% to 22% across 16 countries surveyed in both rounds. Women's digital media use also increased over that period, from 18% to 32%, as did use by people over 35 years old (11% to 26%) and those with primary education or less (4% to 14%).

However, groups that already had higher levels of access to digital media saw similar – and sometimes larger – increases over the same period (Figure 8). For example, regular use by urban residents jumped from 38% to 51%; that 13-point increase exceeded rural dwellers' 11-point gain. While women's use rose by 14 points, men's use increased by 16 points, from 26% to 42%. Regular digital media use by younger citizens (under age 36) moved 15 points (31% to 46%), matching older respondents' gains. And gains by better-educated respondents (with secondary or higher education) dwarfed those by less-educated respondents, 20 points (40% to 60%) vs. 10 points.

As a result, even if all groups' digital media use increased – and often quite significantly – over this short period, gains accrued equally or even more quickly to those in groups that were already privileged, in the technological sense. The digital divide is therefore not shrinking, and in some ways, it might even be growing.

Figure 8: Gaps in regular digital news media use | by urban-rural residence, gender, age, and education | 16 countries | 2014/2015 vs. 2019/2020

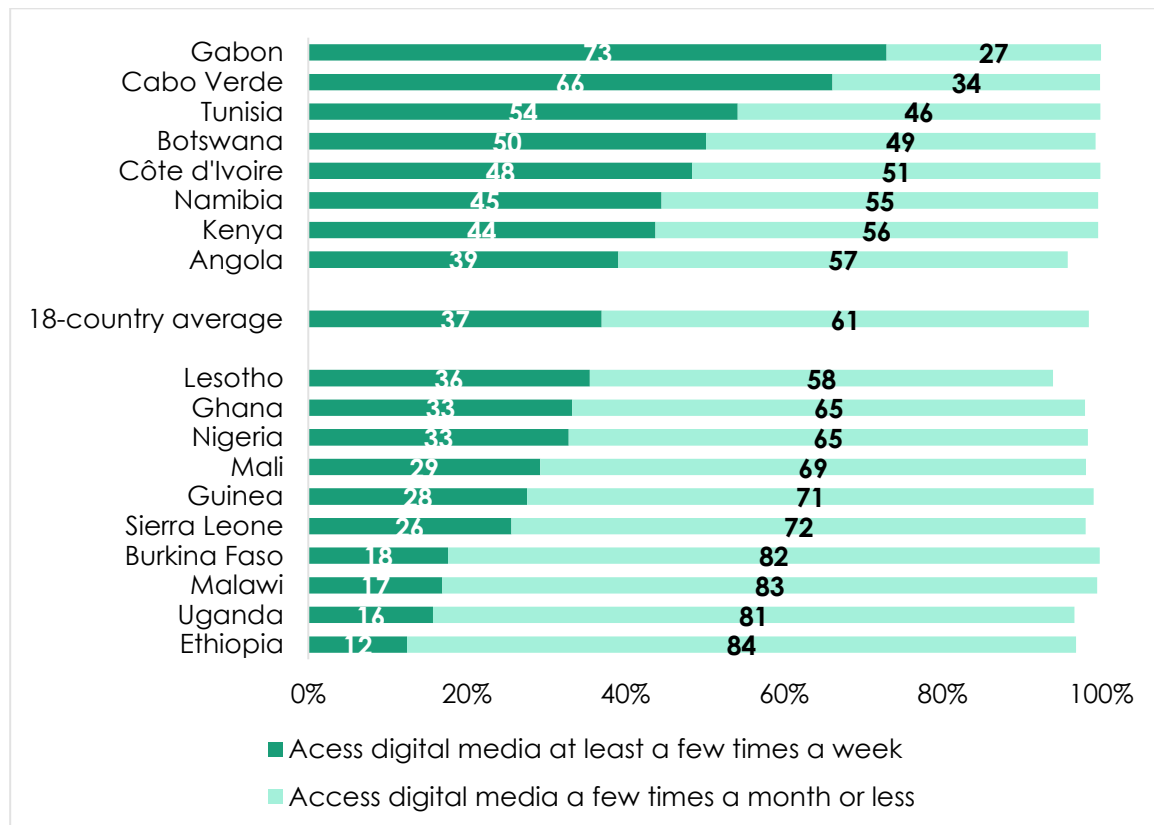


Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (% who say "every day" or "a few times a week")

Differences across countries

Access to digital media also varies substantially by country (Figure 9). Across the 18 surveyed countries, an average of 37% of respondents use some form of digital media for news at least a few times a week. In half of these countries, fewer than one-third of respondents say they regularly use digital media sources, with the lowest usage reported in Burkina Faso (18%), Malawi (17%), Uganda (16%), and Ethiopia (12%). In only four countries do half or more of all citizens report regularly using digital media sources: Botswana (50%), Tunisia (54%), Cabo Verde (66%), and Gabon (73%).

Figure 9: Digital news media use | by country | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources? (% who say “every day” or “a few times a week”)

Attitudes about media and democracy

Free, independent media are a cornerstone of democracy. Individuals must be able to access sufficient, non-biased information about government and political candidates to be able to hold elected leaders accountable and make informed decisions at the ballot box. And media practitioners must have the resources and freedom to conduct investigative journalism to provide citizens and watchdog groups with adequate information to fight corruption and foster accountable governance.

What should the role of media be?

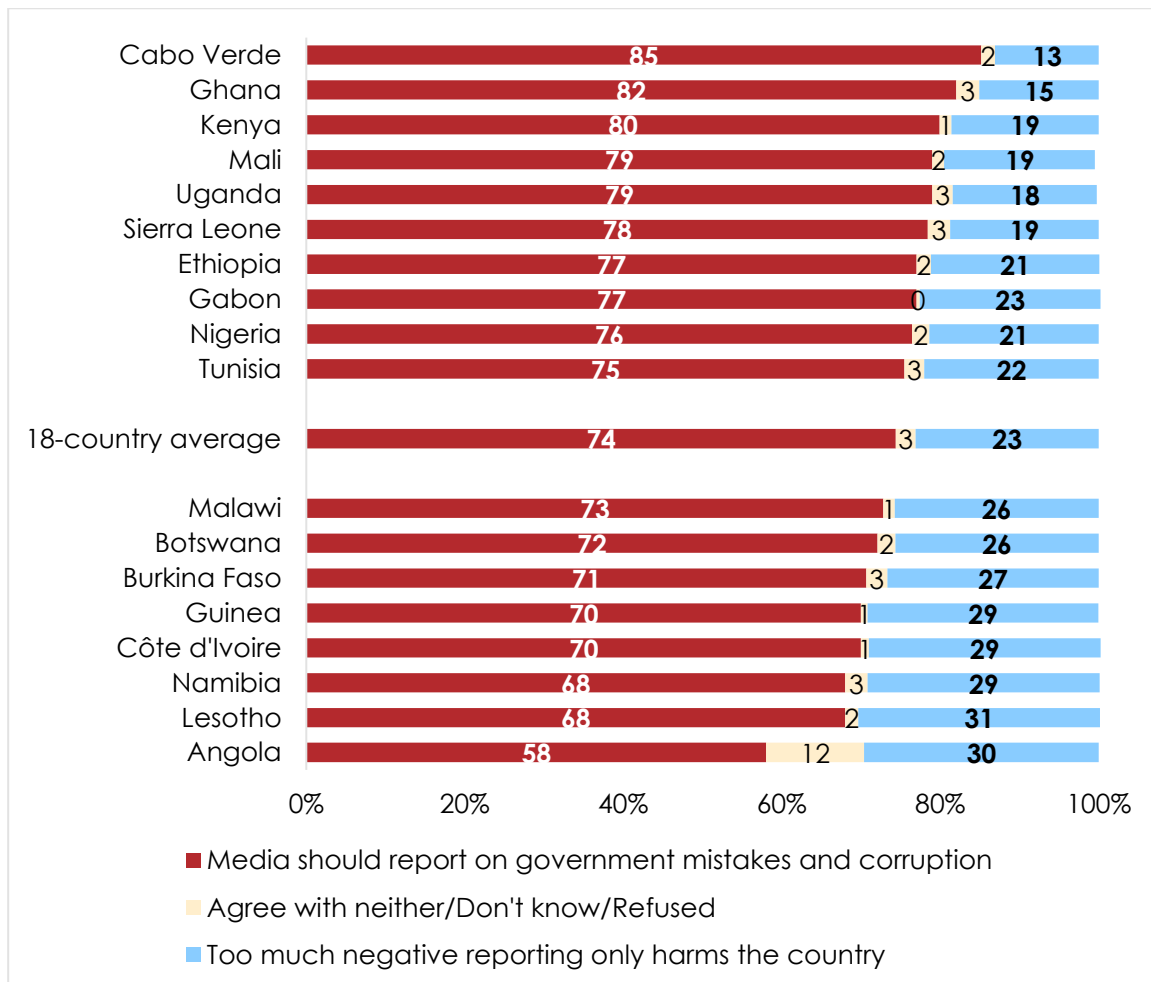
The existence of free and independent media is a relatively new development in Africa. About 30 years ago, most countries' media landscapes were still dominated by *de jure* government monopolies over broadcast and print media. Many leaders argued that the main purpose of media was to encourage “development” and to foster national unity.

Conveniently, this allowed authoritarian leaders to limit any investigative role for the media, since any reporting that might embarrass those in power could be deemed “divisive.”

Three decades after the emergence of independent media in most countries, to what extent have Africans embraced media’s role in fostering government accountability? In all 18 countries surveyed in 2019/2020, a majority agree that the media “should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption,” rejecting the view that “too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country” (Figure 10). On average, three-fourths (74%) of respondents support the media’s watchdog role, including more than eight in 10 citizens in Ghana (82%) and Cabo Verde (85%). The only country where fewer than two-thirds agree is Angola (58%), where recent news reports have uncovered evidence of massive corruption by the family of former President José Eduardo dos Santos.

Support for the media’s investigative role has grown stronger over the past five years, rising from 71% in 2014/2015 to 75% across 16 countries included in both rounds.

Figure 10: Media should check government vs. avoid negative reporting
 | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption.

Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.

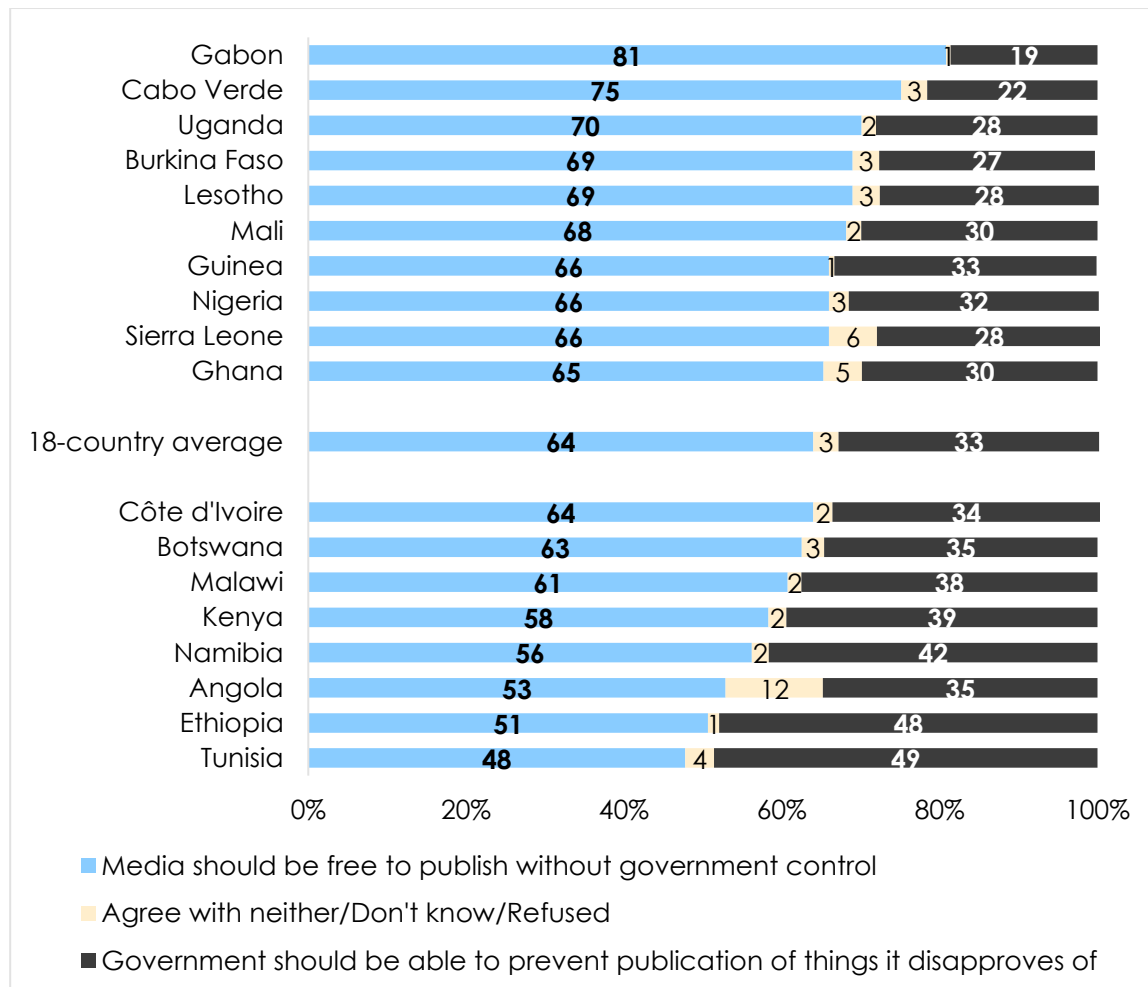
(% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” with each statement)

Media freedom and government restrictions

In general, Africans are supportive of media freedoms, but the extent of their support varies by country (Figure 11). Majorities in every country surveyed except one – Tunisia, where respondents are evenly split – support the media’s “right to publish any views and ideas without government control,” rejecting a government right to prevent the media from publishing “things that it disapproves of.”

On average, almost two-thirds (64%) of respondents support media freedom, including large majorities in Gabon (81%), Cabo Verde (75%), and Uganda (70%). Like Tunisians, Ethiopians are almost evenly divided on this issue.

Figure 11: Support for media freedom | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: Which of the following statements is closest to your view?
 Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.
 Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it disapproves of.
 (% who “agree” or “agree very strongly” with each statement)

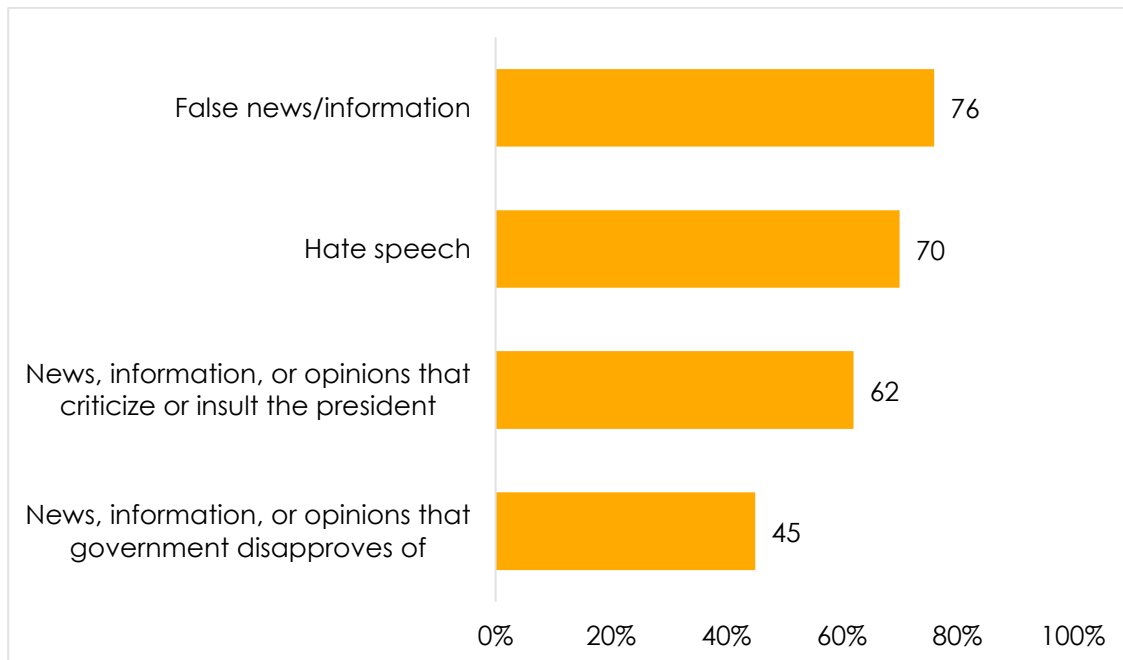
Despite their widespread support for media freedom in principle, many Africans are willing to accept government restrictions on specific types of public communication (Figure 12). Three-fourths (76%) of respondents endorse their government’s right to limit or prohibit the sharing of

false news or information, while almost as many (70%) say “hate speech” should be limited by government restrictions.

A solid majority (62%) also favour governments' ability to block messages that “criticize or insult the president” – a power that could be used to limit the ability of opposition groups to hold leaders accountable. And respondents are evenly split on whether leaders should be able to block any “news, information, or opinions that the government disapproves of.”

While these findings may be troubling to media-freedom advocates, they also suggest that many Africans who support speech limitations in particularly sensitive areas, such as hate speech and false information, are not willing to give governments *carte blanche* to regulate other types of messages. Overall, while a vast majority (86%) of those interviewed are willing to limit sharing of at least one of these types of information, only about one-third (32%) support a government right to limit them all.

Figure 12: Should government be able to limit sharing of certain kinds of information?
 | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree that the government should be able to limit or prohibit sharing of:

News or information that is false?

News, information, or opinions that the government disapproves of?

News, information, or opinions that criticize or insult the president?

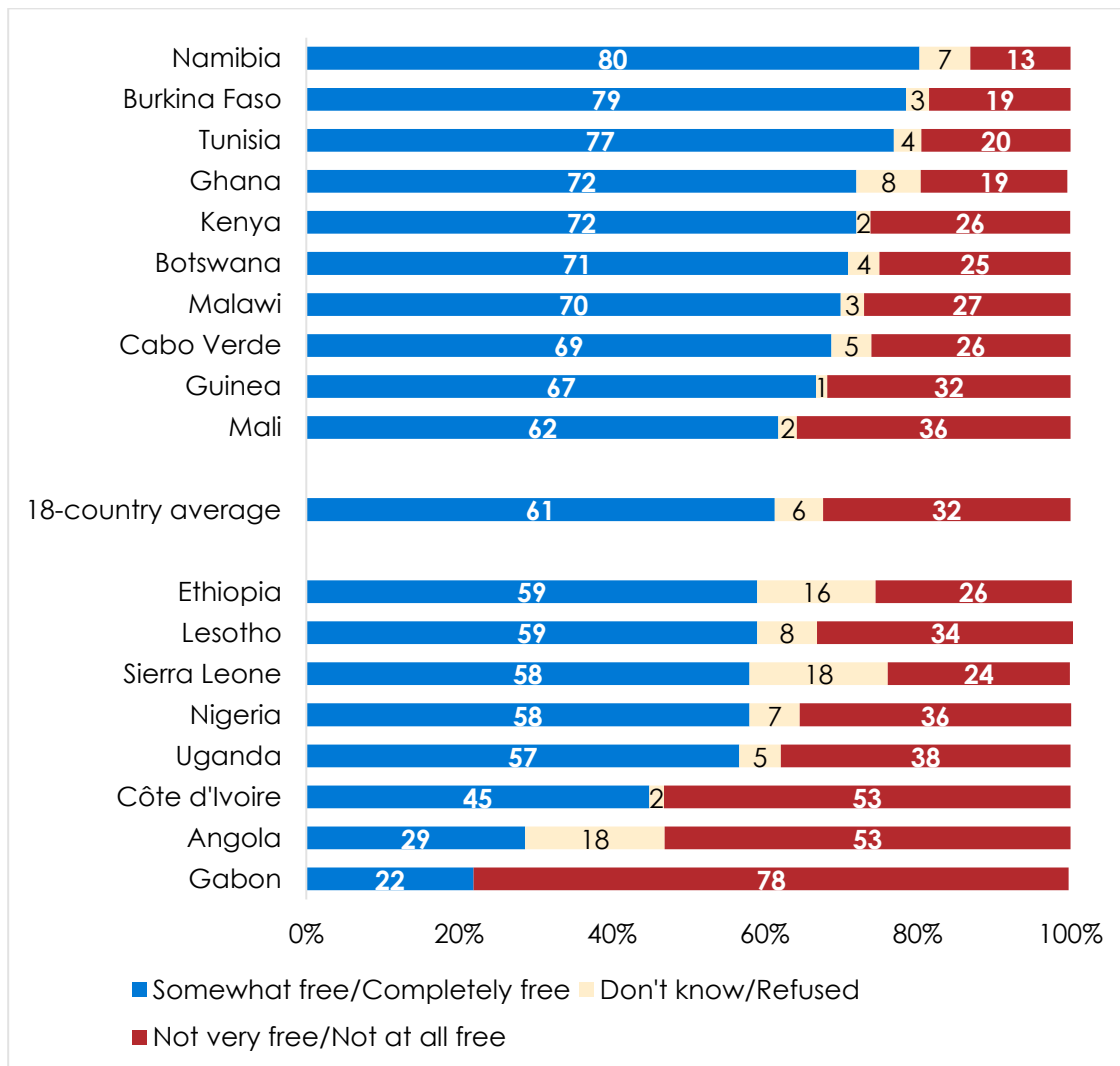
Hate speech, that is, news, information, or opinions designed to attack or vilify certain groups in society?

(% who “agree” or “strongly agree”)

Is the media free and fair?

If a majority of Africans wants media with the freedom to monitor governments, to what extent do they believe their media actually have essential freedoms? Across the 18 countries surveyed, a clear majority (61%) assess media as either “completely” or “somewhat” free (Figure 13). Assessments of freedom are highest in Namibia (80%), Burkina Faso (79%), and Tunisia (77%). Gabon stands out, with 78% of its citizens seeing their media as “not very free” or “not at all free,” and majorities hold the same view in Angola and Côte d’Ivoire (53% each).

Figure 13: How free is the media? | 18 countries | 2019/2020



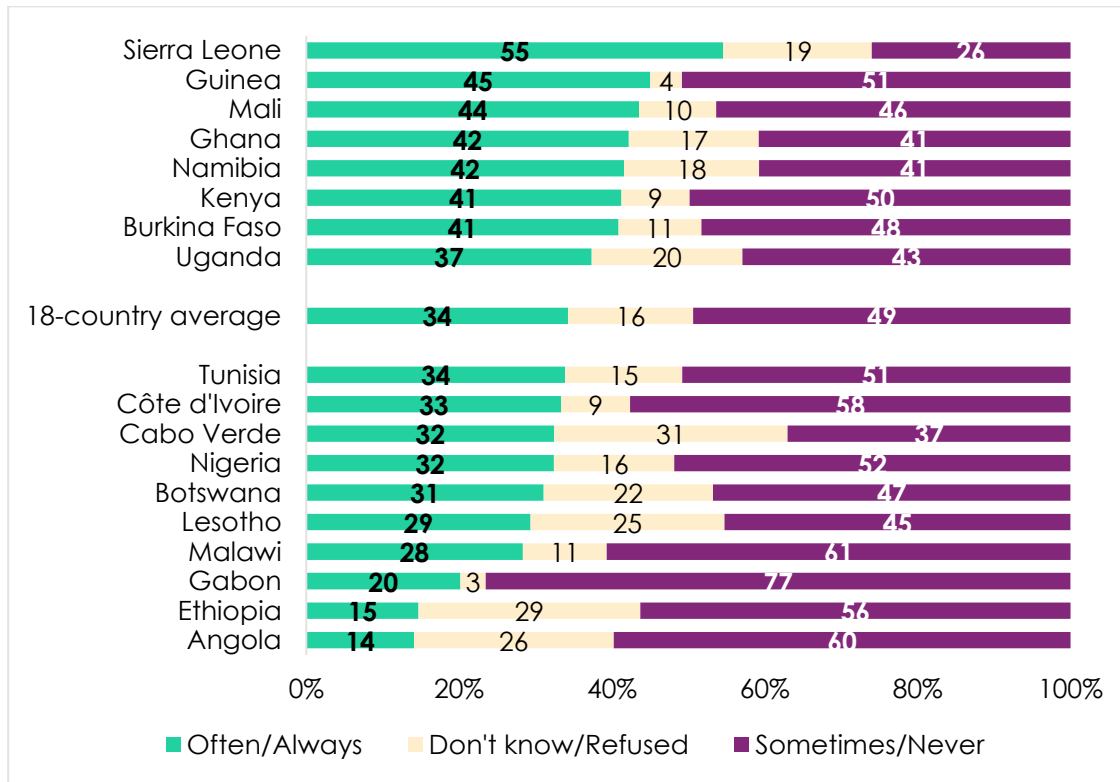
Respondents were asked: *In your opinion, how free is the news media in this country to report and comment on the news without censorship or interference by the government?*

Respondents were also asked about the media's impartiality, another important condition for democratic political competition (Figure 14). Only about one-third (34%) of respondents say the media "often" or "always" provided fair coverage of all candidates in their most recent national election, while half (49%) say it "never" or only "sometimes" met this standard. Although the data do not indicate whether respondents think the media were biased primarily against opposition or ruling-party candidates, the results suggest an overall perception of partiality. In only one country – Sierra Leone (55%) – does a majority perceive the media as largely unbiased, while majorities in nine countries hold the opposite view. Assessments of the media on this metric are especially negative in Gabon, Malawi, and Angola, where respectively 77%, 61%, and 60% of citizens say the media "never" or only "sometimes" provided fair coverage.

Do your own analysis of Afrobarometer data – on any question, for any country and survey round. It is easy and free at www.afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis.

Figure 14: Did the media provide fair coverage in the last national election?

| 18 countries | 2019/2020

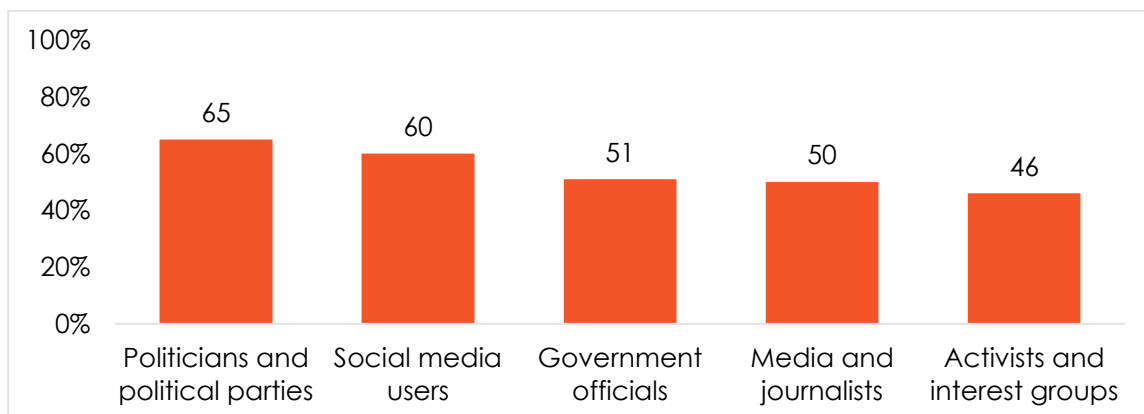


Respondents were asked: During the last national election campaign in [20XX], how often did the media provide fair coverage of all candidates?

The particular problem of false information

False news, including mis- and disinformation, has emerged as a serious challenge to democratic practices, particularly given the ease and speed at which such information is disseminated across all media platforms in the digital era. Africans blame a wide range of actors for spreading false information (Figure 15). The perpetrators cited most often are politicians and political parties (65%), followed closely by social media users (60%). About half blame government officials (51%), the media (50%), and activists and interest groups (46%).

Figure 15: Who spreads false news? | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: Please tell me how often, in this country, you think people from each of the following groups spread information that they know is false.

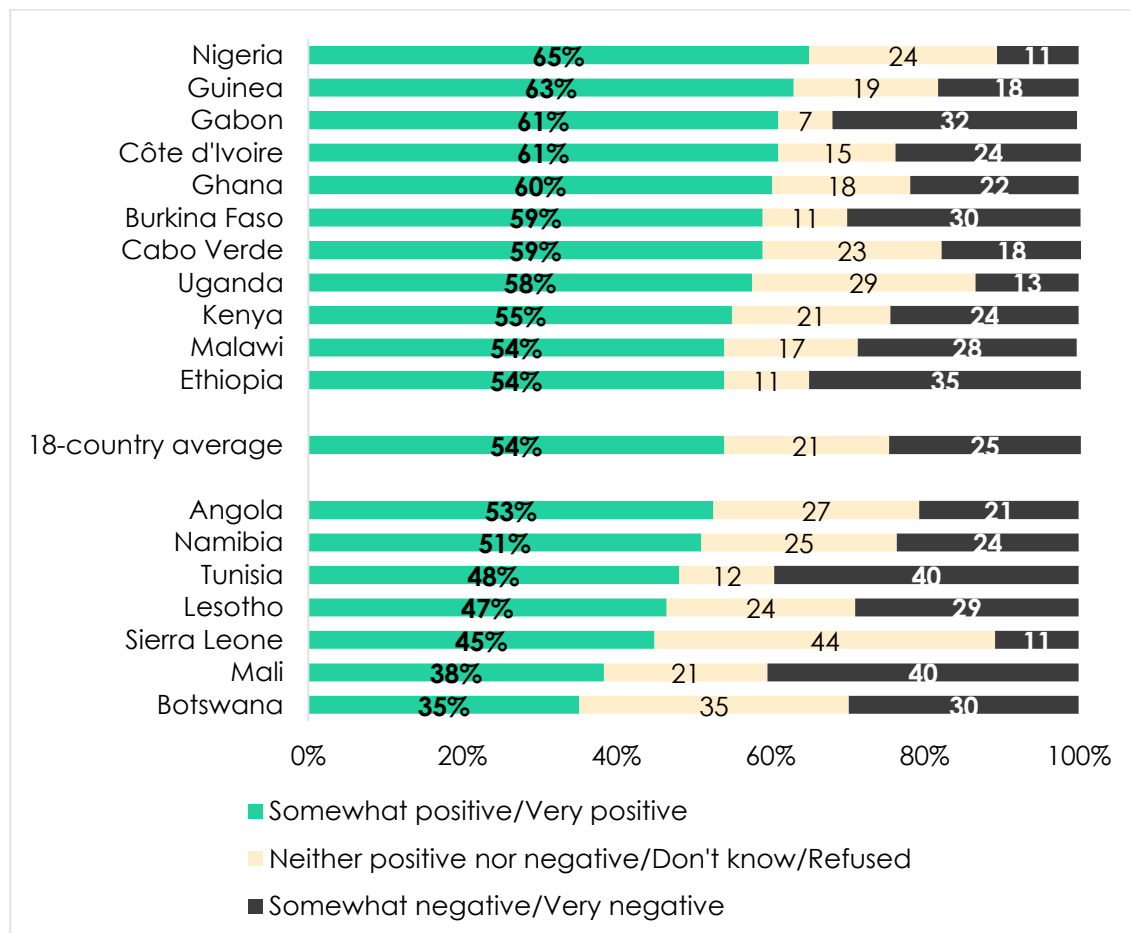
What do Africans think about digital media?

Concerns about false news and government restrictions on media freedoms are particularly pertinent in the digital space, where problematic information can spread at the speed of light and is hard to track and address with corrections.

The rise in digital media in Africa is having significant effects, not only on Africans' economic and social lives but also on their politics. On the one hand, digital media facilitate information-sharing and learning about public affairs, which could increase opportunities to mobilize and hold leaders accountable. On the other, digital media have been cited as vectors of false information and hate speech, which could increase polarization, misinform publics, and even lead to violence.

Generally, Africans have a positive view of social media (Figure 16). Among the 66% of respondents who say they have heard about social media, a majority (54%) say its effects on society are "somewhat positive" or "very positive," vs. only 25% who see its overall impact as negative. Nigerians are most likely to offer a positive assessment of social media's effects (65%), followed by Guineans (63%), Gabonese (61%), and Ivoirians (61%). Although no country records a majority of negative views on social media, large subsets in Mali (40%), Tunisia (40%), Ethiopia (35%), and Gabon (32%) share such sentiments. Mali is the only country where negative assessments outnumber positive ones.

Figure 16: Overall effects of social media: Positive or negative? | 18 countries
 | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: Overall, do you think that the effects of social media on society are mostly positive, mostly negative, or haven't you heard enough to say? (Note: Responses exclude those who have not heard about social media.)

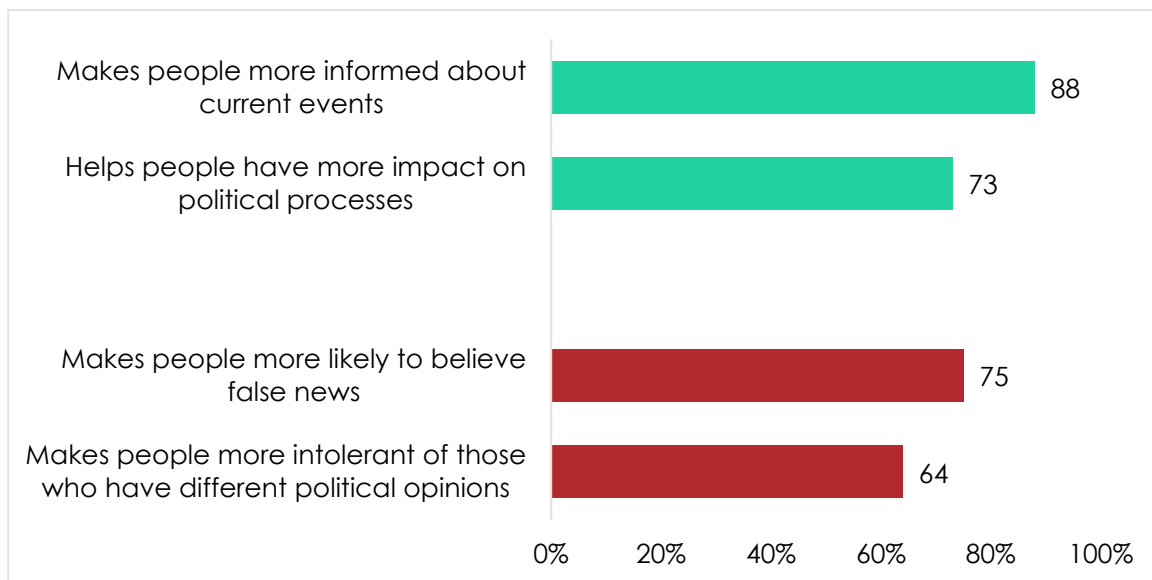
Demographic groups differ only modestly in their assessments of the overall impact of social media. In general, groups that are more likely to use social media regularly, such as people with more formal education, men, and younger citizens, are also slightly more likely to see its effects as positive. As a group, respondents who use digital media at least a few times a week are more likely to assess the effects of social media as positive (57% vs. 50%).

The pluses and minuses of social media

Despite their generally favourable views of social media's impact, Africans clearly recognize both positive and negative aspects of these digital platforms (Figure 17). Respondents overwhelmingly say that social media inform users about politics (88%) and help empower people politically (73%). On the other hand, they see social media as making people more likely to believe false information (75%) and making users less tolerant of people whose political opinions differ from their own (64%).

Nearly all respondents (93%) who say they have heard about social media have at least one positive thing to say about it, and 86% have at least one negative thing to say. In other words, most Africans see social media as Janus-faced: providing potential benefits and presenting potential risks.

Figure 17: Effects of social media usage | 18 countries | 2019/2020



Questions: Regardless of whether you personally use social media yourself, please tell me whether you agree or disagree that social media:

Makes people more informed about current events?

Makes people more likely to believe false news?

Helps people have more impact on political processes?

Makes people more intolerant of those who have different political opinions?

(% who "agree" or "strongly agree") (Note: Responses exclude those who have not heard about social media.)

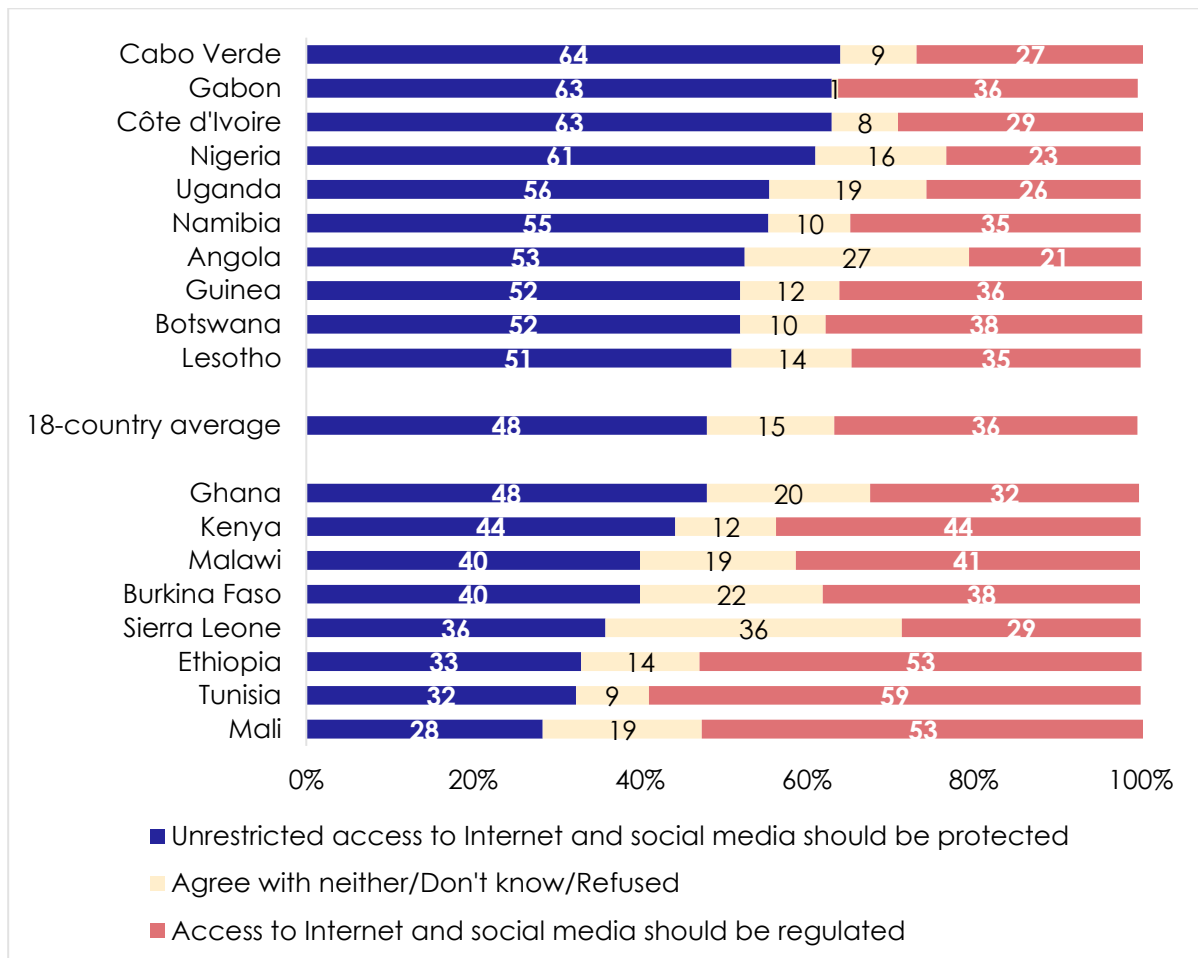
But what is to be done?

Even if most Africans recognize the potential threats of digital media, no easy – or widely accepted – solutions are evident. Governments in Africa and elsewhere have clamped down on digital media through laws and regulations, ostensibly to limit the spread of false information, but critics argue that these efforts open the door to broader limits on speech and press freedoms (CIPESA, 2019; Global Voices, 2019).

Among ordinary Africans, unregulated access to digital media is more popular than government control. Across 18 countries, a plurality (48%) agree that unrestricted access to digital media should be protected, while 36% say that digital media should be regulated by government because of its capacity for divisiveness (Figure 18). Majorities in 10 countries support unrestricted access, including more than six in 10 respondents in Nigeria (61%), Côte d'Ivoire (63%), Gabon (63%), and Cabo Verde (64%). Regulation wins majority support in three countries – Mali (53%), Ethiopia (53%), and Tunisia (59%).

Figure 18: Should access to the Internet and social media be regulated?

| 18 countries | 2019/2020



Respondents were asked: Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

Statement 1: Unrestricted access to the Internet and social media helps people to be more informed and active citizens, and should be protected.

Statement 2: Information shared on the Internet and social media is dividing [our country], so access should be regulated by government.

(% who "agree" or "agree very strongly" with each statement)

Conclusion

The past decade has seen significant shifts in how Africans access news, and the next decade is likely to continue to bring profound changes. Radio remains king, likely because it is still the cheapest mass medium to access, does not require literacy, and is produced in a wide range of languages. However, more and more Africans are getting their news from digital sources, which has increased pluralism and, in some ways, democratized information production and sharing by increasing the number of ways ordinary citizens can make their voices heard.

However, there are a number of reasons for concern moving forward. First, the digital divide persists. Certain demographic groups – urban residents, men, the better-educated, and youth – are more likely to access digital media regularly than are those who live in rural areas, women, the less-educated, and older Africans. While access has increased significantly across the board, gaps have persisted, and in some cases grown, with potential negative consequences for democratic participation and representation.

Second, the same promise and peril that digital media hold for political systems around the world are relevant in Africa as well. On the positive side of the ledger, Africans see the Internet and social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter as putting a wealth of information in their hands. In societies where, just over a generation ago, a small handful of state-owned entities tried to monopolize what populations heard and learned, this is a profound shift. Recent social movements such as #EndSARS in Nigeria (Ebiede, 2020) and #RhodesMustFall in South Africa (Bosch, 2017) highlight this potential.

But other incidents highlight ostensible dangers. After the 2020 murder of popular Ethiopian singer Hachalu Hundessa, social media was awash with speculation blaming various actors, including some in the government, for his death (Madebo, 2020). Hundreds died in rioting that followed (SBS News, 2020). Similarly, false information and hate speech spread rapidly on WhatsApp and other platforms, especially around elections. And the influence of such messages is not limited to those on digital media, as they are often picked up by traditional media or spread on “pavement radio” (i.e. through face-to-face exchanges). Most Africans seem to recognize that these media developments will have to be watched closely to limit the potential harms and leverage the potential gains.

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Appendix

Table A.1: Afrobarometer Round 8 fieldwork dates and previous survey rounds

Country	Months when Round 8 fieldwork was conducted	Previous survey rounds
Angola	Nov-Dec 2019	N/A
Botswana	July-Aug 2019	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Burkina Faso	Dec 2019	2008, 2012, 2015, 2-17
Cabo Verde	Dec 2019	2002, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2017
Côte d'Ivoire	Nov 2019	2013, 2014, 2017
Ethiopia	Dec 2019-Jan 2020	2013
Gabon	Feb 2020	2015, 2017
Ghana	Sept-Oct 2019	1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Guinea	Nov-Dec 2019	2013, 2015, 2017
Kenya	Aug-Sept 2019	2003, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2016
Lesotho	Feb-March 2020	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Malawi	Nov-Dec 2019	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Mali	March-April 2020	2001, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2014, 2017
Namibia	Aug 2019	1999, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Nigeria	Jan-Feb 2020	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2015, 2017
Sierra Leone	March 2020	2012, 2015, 2018
Tunisia	Feb-March 2020	2013, 2015, 2018
Uganda	Sept-Oct 2019	2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2015, 2017

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Afrobarometer, a non-profit corporation with headquarters in Ghana, is a pan-African, non-partisan survey research network. Regional coordination of national partners in about 35 countries is provided by the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) in South Africa, and the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Nairobi in Kenya. Michigan State University (MSU) and the University of Cape Town (UCT) provide technical support to the network.

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