



Policy Brief No. #3

## The Partnership of Free Speech & Good Governance in Africa

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### Introduction

Freedom of speech is not just valuable as a democratic end in itself. It is strongly linked to popular perceptions of both media effectiveness and good governance, according to new data from Afrobarometer, collected during face-to-face interviews with 51,605 people in 34 countries during 2011-13<sup>1</sup>. People who indicate they are free to say what they think also report higher levels of trust in their leaders, lower levels of corruption, and better government performance – especially greater success in fighting corruption. Greater freedom of expression is also linked to mass media that are more effective in keeping a watchful eye on government. These findings can be interpreted in several ways. It is possible that capable, effective and trustworthy governments also grant greater freedoms to their people and their media. Or alternatively, when society and the media are free to express demands and hold government accountable, government becomes more effective. Or *both*. The survey also finds that new communications technologies - particularly mobile phones - are making inroads in Africa; but the continent has some way to go in achieving full protection of the fundamental right to free speech, and in realizing the benefits associated societies that can communicate freely.

### Key Findings

- Just half of Africans (49%) across 34 countries say that they are ‘completely free’ to say what they think, while another quarter (26%) say they are at least ‘somewhat free’.
- Open countries like Malawi, Tanzania and Liberia – where at least three-quarters of citizens feel completely free to express themselves – contrast sharply with countries like

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<sup>1</sup>Afrobarometer surveys are based on nationally representative samples. These 34-country results therefore represent the views of approximately three-quarters (76%) of the continent’s population. Countries included in Round 5 are: Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Results from a 35<sup>th</sup> country, Ethiopia, will be available shortly. The total number of respondents in the 34 countries was 51,605. Interviews are conducted face-to-face in the language of the respondent’s choice. Previous rounds of the Afrobarometer were conducted in 1999-2001 (Round 1, 12 countries), 2002-2003 (Round 2, 16 countries), 2005-2006 (Round 3, 18 countries), and 2008-2009 (Round 4, 20 countries). For further information visit [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org)

Burkina Faso, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo and Sudan, where only about one in four perceive unrestricted opportunities for free speech.

- Popular demand for media freedom is solid, with 57% endorsing an unfettered right to publish; the proportions range from 52% in West Africa to 72% among East Africans.
- Citizens give high marks to their national media for effectiveness in revealing government mistakes and corruption; an average of 71% say the media in their country is either 'somewhat' or 'very effective'. But this average masks wide differences, from 40% in Madagascar and 43% in Zimbabwe, to 80% or more among Malawians and Egyptians. East Africans are much more likely (81%) to rate their media as effective watchdogs compared to all other regions.
- Individual freedom of speech and media effectiveness go hand in hand; the two are strongly and positively correlated.
- Freedom of speech is also strongly linked to citizens' ratings of their leaders: greater freedom is associated with higher levels of trust in leaders and lower reported levels of corruption.
- Freedom of speech is also associated with higher ratings of government performance across all sectors, especially with respect to fighting corruption.
- Television is an increasingly important source of news for Africans, while newspapers and radio are both down slightly. North Africans use television far more than do people of other regions.
- Findings confirm that cellular telephone penetration in Africa is both growing and widespread. An average of 84% of respondents now use cell phones at least occasionally, and in 20 countries tracked since 2008, access has increased substantially compared to just a few years ago. The only exception is Madagascar, where access to cell phones remains low, and almost unchanged, at 45%.
- Internet usage, by contrast, has increased only marginally, and from a much lower base; an average of 18% of respondents access internet on at least a monthly basis, but this ranges from nearly twice as many (34%) in North Africa, to less than one in ten (9%) in West Africa.

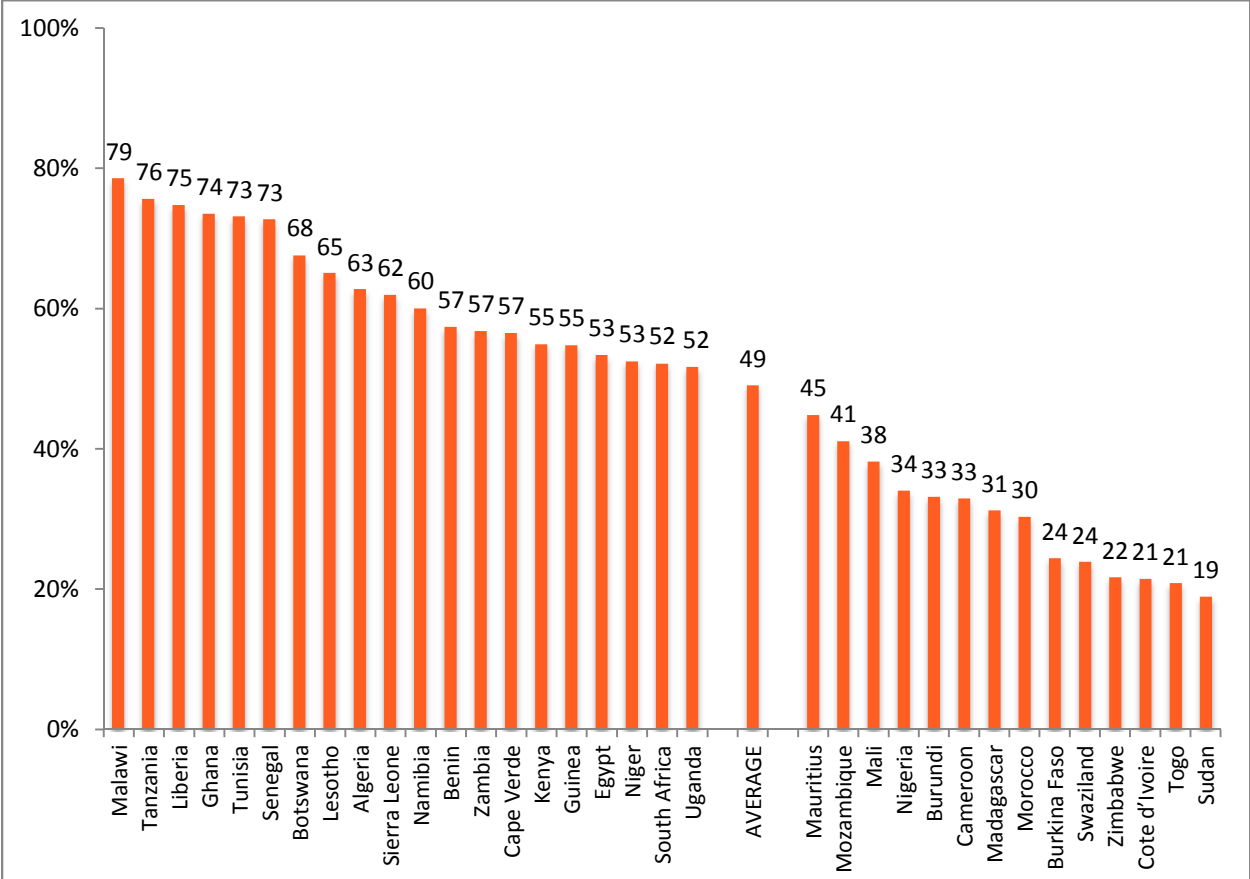
### **Freedom of Speech in Africa, 2011-2013**

During the 1990s, an increasing number of African states emerged from under the shadow of autocratic regimes that often put citizens behind bars for speaking their minds. Pressure for multiparty democracy and calls for governance reforms ushered in a new era of competition for political leadership that helped open more governments to scrutiny both from the media, and from their own citizens; public criticism was increasingly tolerated alongside public praise. International protocols that proclaim the right to free expression, backed by monitors such as the Special Rapporteur of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, are increasingly reflected in regional and national protocols as well. However, not all countries have moved at the same pace in increasing protections for individual and societal freedoms. And even those countries that have created such protocols occasionally experience intermittent government efforts to curtail public criticism or debate.

To explore the extent to which freedom of speech is becoming the norm on the continent, Afrobarometer asked respondents: *In this country, how free are you to say what you think?* Across 34 countries, barely half (49%) say they are ‘completely free’ to speak their minds, while another quarter (26%) report that they feel ‘somewhat free’. Open countries like Malawi, Tanzania and Liberia – where 75% or more feel completely free to express themselves – contrast sharply with others such as Burkina Faso, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Cote d’Ivoire, Togo and Sudan, where less than 25% feel the same (Figure 1).

The differences across regions are quite modest, ranging from 48% in West and North Africa to 54% in East Africa. Every region has both low and high performers. Just 19% of Sudanese feel completely free to speak their minds, compared to 73% of Tunisians, for example. Similar differences are evident in all regions. West Africa ranges from a low in Togo of 21% to a high in Liberia of 75%, and East Africa ranges from Burundi (33%) to Tanzania (76%). Zimbabwe (22%) occupies the bottom spot in Southern Africa, while Malawi has the top rating (79%).

**Figure 1: Freedom of speech, 34 countries, 2011-2013**



Participants were asked: ‘In this country, how free are you to say what you think?’ (% who say completely free)

## **Demand for Media Freedom**

Mass media, especially broadcast news such as television and radio, are critical channels for informing the public. Citizens also increasingly obtain news through the internet, which allows access to unfiltered information in real time, and provides opportunities for citizens to connect with and exchange information with their peers both at home and internationally. In principle, a vibrant media links free-speaking people to their governments, fostering public debate, helping to identify public priorities, and exposing government strengths and weaknesses. Public debates carried in a free media can be difficult for leaders to ignore. Effective media research also helps inform public debate, giving citizens still greater authority. As governments across Africa have become less restrictive, they have allowed the licensing and proliferation of television and radio stations, including many in private hands. Some countries, however, still experience intermittent government efforts to control media houses; for example, despite high ratings for press freedom, the Tanzanian government recently suspended publication of two Swahili newspapers on sedition charges<sup>2</sup>.

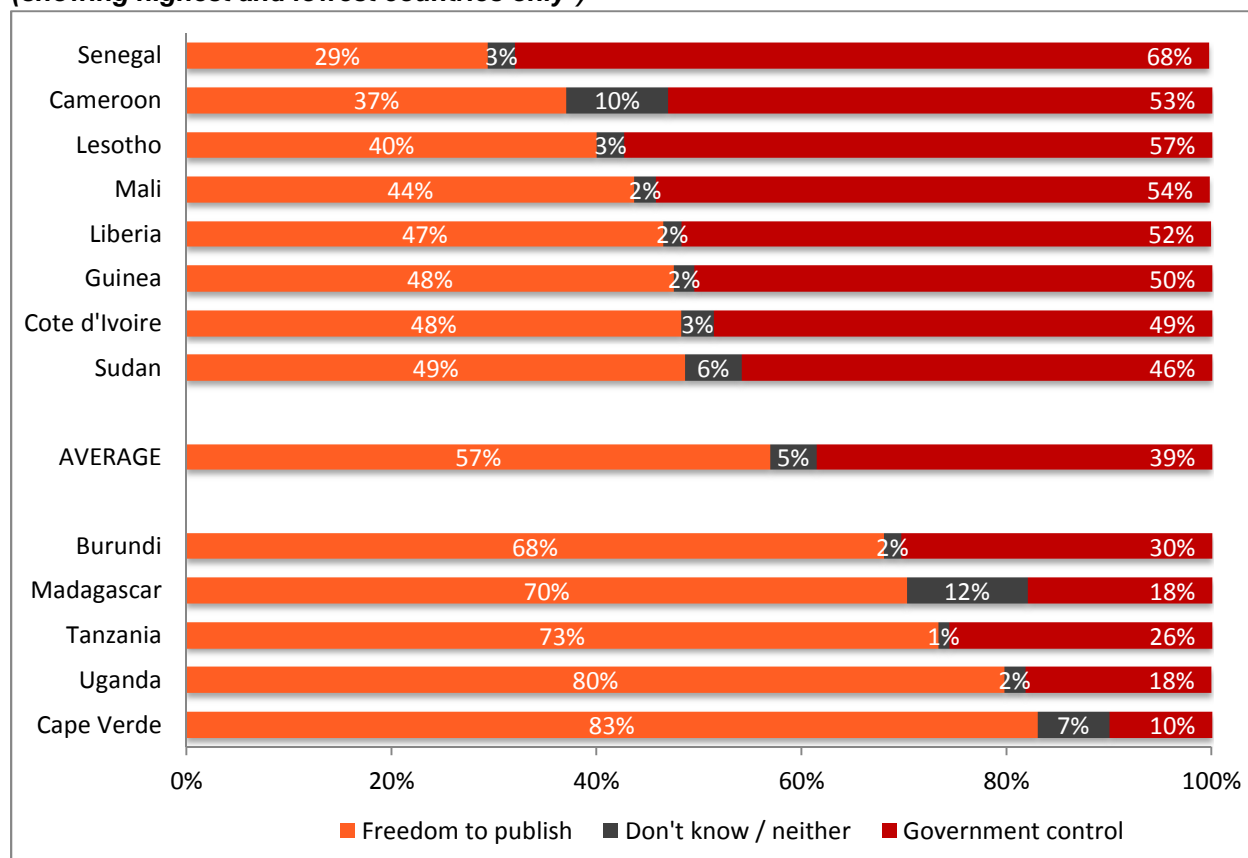
To what extent do Africans expect or demand freedom of expression for the media? Respondents were asked whether 'the media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control', or whether instead 'the government should have the right to prevent media from publishing things that it considers harmful to society'. On average across 34 countries, a solid majority (57%) embraces media freedom (Figure 2), although a substantial 39% is willing to tolerate a degree of government control. Respondents from Cape Verde are the strongest advocates of media freedom (83%), followed by Ugandans (80%) and Tanzanians (73%). In contrast, a substantial majority of Senegalese opt for government control rather than media freedom: 68% prefer government limits, compared with 29% who support full media freedom. The Senegalese are joined in the bottom ranks by Cameroonians (37% support media freedom) and Basotho (40%).

Popular support for media freedom is highest in East Africa (72%), which is significantly ahead of North Africa and Southern Africa (62% and 61%, respectively). West Africa falls behind at 55%.

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<sup>2</sup> Committee to Protect Journalists , 'Tanzania suspends two leading newspapers', Sept. 30, 2013; (<http://www.cpj.org/2013/09/tanzania-suspends-two-leading-newspapers.php>).

**Figure 2: Demand for media freedom, 34 countries, 2011-2013**  
*(showing highest and lowest countries only\*)*



Participants were asked: 'Which of these statements is closest to your view? Choose statement 1 or statement 2: Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish any views and ideas without government control.

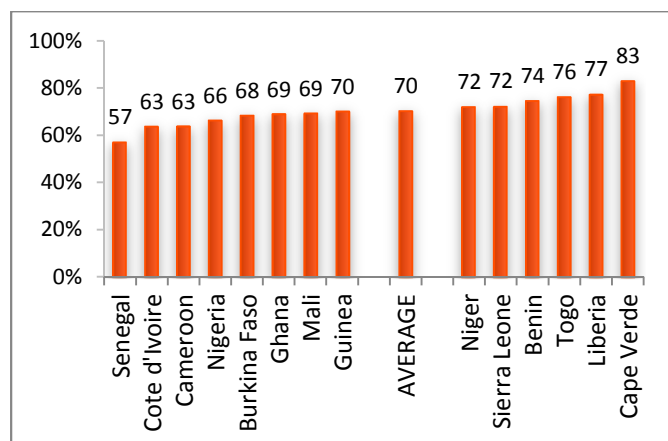
Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that it considers harmful to society.'

\*Full results for all countries are available in Annex 3 to this report. Average shown includes all 34 countries.

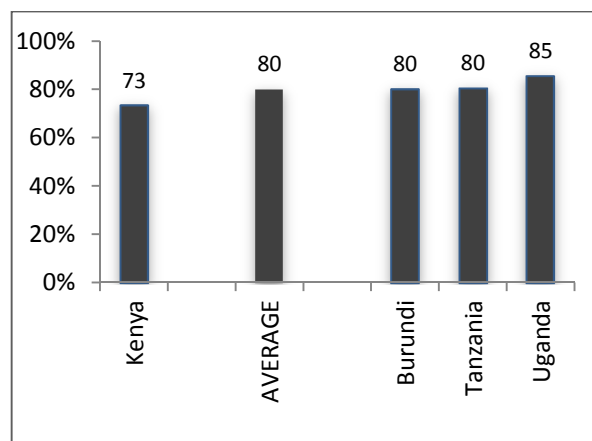
Respondents were also asked about the proper role of media in society, specifically, whether 'the news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption', or whether 'too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country'. A solid majority (69%) support the role of media in oversight of government (Figure 3), led by Uganda (85%), Cape Verde (83%) and Mauritius (81%). Only in Algeria and Swaziland (50%) does this position fail to win support from a majority.

**Figure 3: Support for media role in monitoring government, 34 countries, 2011-2013**

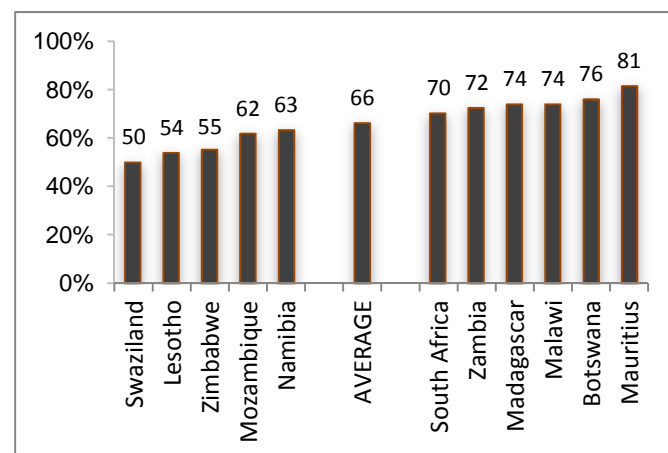
**West Africa**



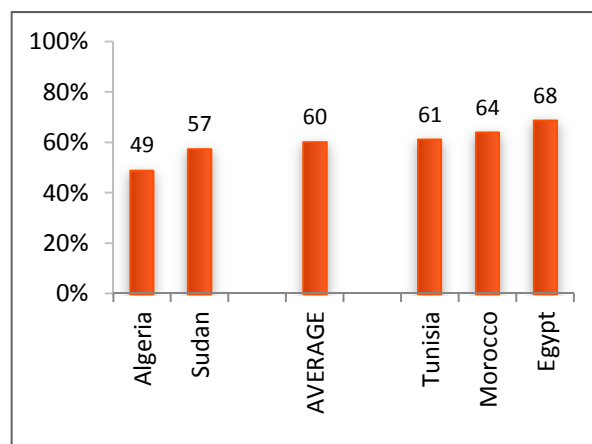
**East Africa**



**Southern Africa**



**North Africa**



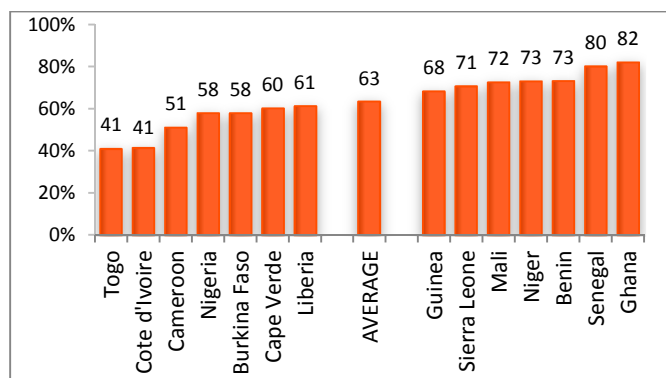
Participants were asked: 'Which of these statements is closest to your view? Choose statement 1 or statement 2: Statement 1: The news media should constantly investigate and report on government mistakes and corruption. Statement 2: Too much reporting on negative events, like government mistakes and corruption, only harms the country.' (% who 'agree' or 'agree very strongly' with Statement 1)

**Media Effectiveness**

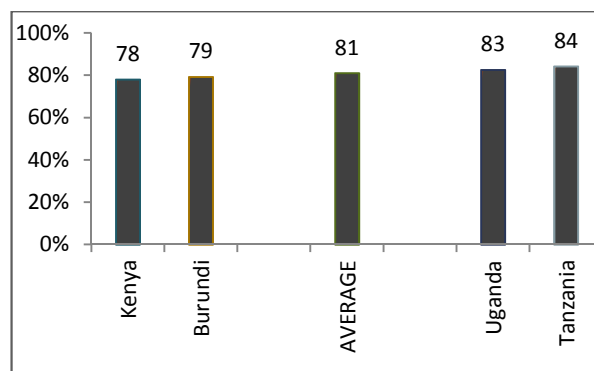
When asked to rate the effectiveness of news media in serving in a watchdog role over government, many Africans reported that their local and national media are playing this role quite effectively. Across 34 countries, a solid majority of 71% report that the news media is effective in revealing government mistakes and corruption (Figure 4). The highest ratings are in Mauritius (88% say 'somewhat' or 'very effective'), Tanzania (84%), Uganda (83%), Ghana (82%) and South Africa (81%). By contrast, only 29% of Malagasy and 38% of Zimbabweans report that their media are doing a good job.

**Figure 4: Effectiveness of news media in monitoring government, 34 countries, 2011-2013**

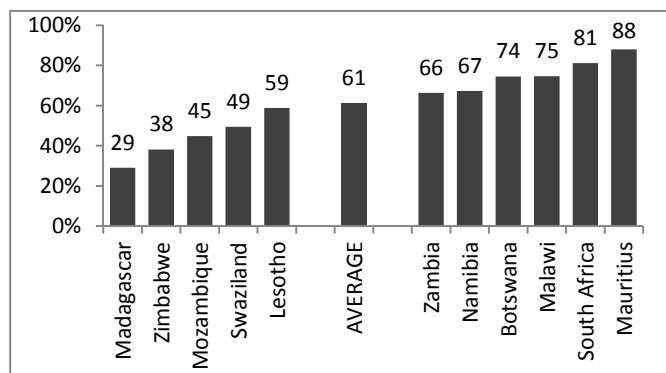
**West Africa**



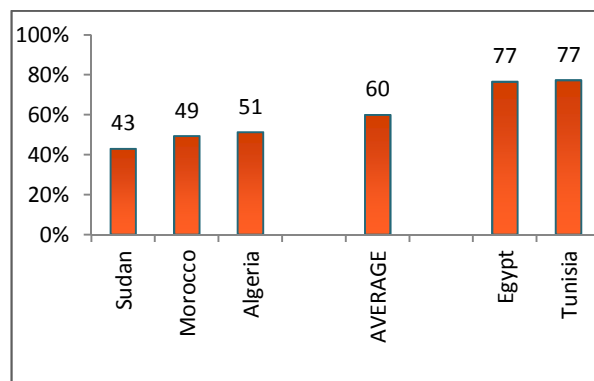
**East Africa**



**Southern Africa**



**North Africa**



Participants were asked: *In this country, how effective is the news media in revealing government mistakes and corruption? (% who say 'somewhat effective' or 'very effective')*

**The Partnership of Free Speech & Good Governance**

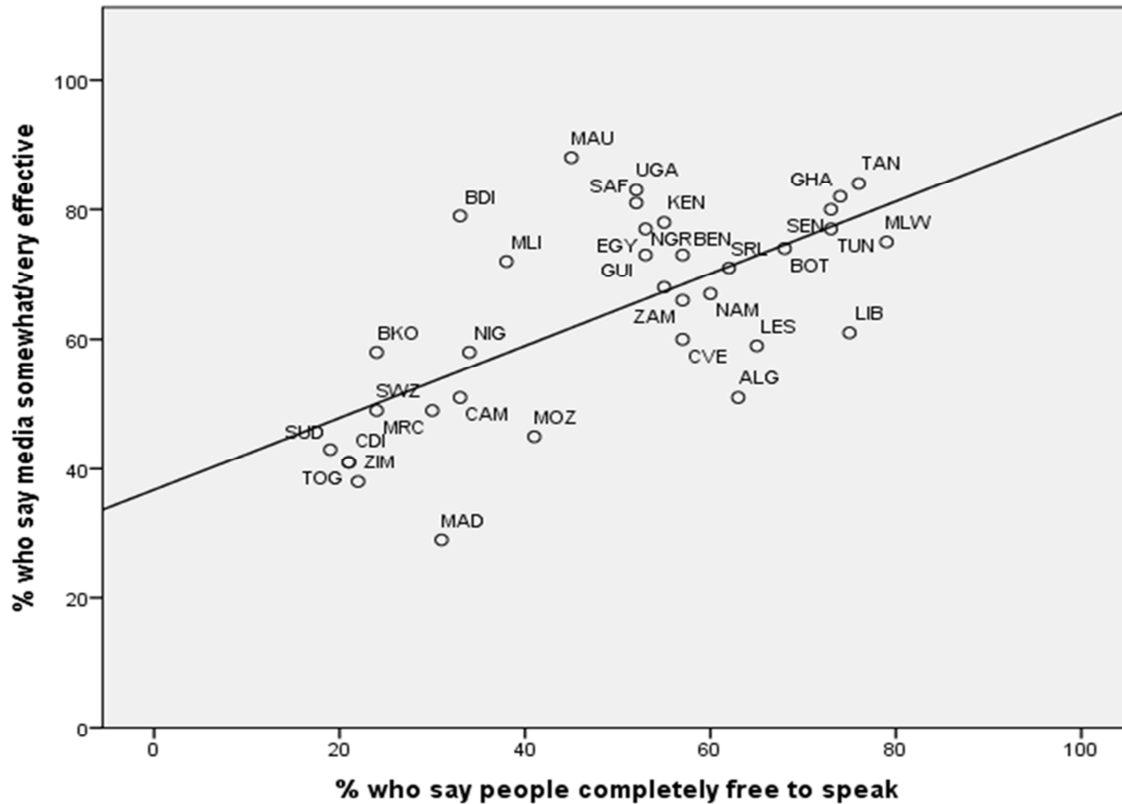
Freedom of speech is clearly a goal in and of itself. Africans highly value the right to express themselves; they cite civil liberties, including freedom of speech, most often when asked 'what, if anything, does democracy mean to you'.<sup>3</sup> Freedom of speech also shapes the media's ability to gather information and to report on it openly. There is a significant and positive correlation between freedom of speech and media effectiveness both among individuals and across countries<sup>4</sup> (Figure 5). In other words, as the reported freedom of expression increases in a country, people are more likely to rate the media as effective (as shown by the upward sloping fit

<sup>3</sup> This question was asked in 18 countries in Afrobarometer Round 3 (2005-2006). See for example, Michael Bratton and Wonbin Cho, 2006, 'Where is Africa Going? Views from Below,' Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 60, available at [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org).

<sup>4</sup> At the individual level, Pearson's  $r=.185$ ,  $p=.000$ ; at country level, Pearson's  $r=.662$ ,  $p=.000$ . Note that media effectiveness also correlates highly at the country level with Freedom House Civil Liberties scores for 2012, available at [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org); Pearson's  $r=-.548$ ,  $p=.000$ .

line in Figure 5). This result suggests that freedom of expression may enable the media to play a strong role in monitoring governments.

**Figure 5: Freedom of speech and media effectiveness, 34 countries, 2011-2013**



Governments have often resisted efforts to expand individual and media freedoms, arguing, for example, that the urgent need for rapid development trumps the necessity to protect basic freedoms. But Afrobarometer data also show strong correlations between freedom of expression and effective governance.

For example, people who feel free to speak openly are significantly more likely to give their leaders positive ratings. Specifically, higher reported levels of freedom of speech are associated with higher levels of trust in both the president (or prime minister) and members of parliament. An environment of open discourse is also linked to lower reported levels of corruption in the office of the president, as well as among MPs and government officials.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, higher levels of perceived freedom are also linked to better popular ratings of government performance, especially with respect to fighting corruption. This relationship holds across both individuals (Figure 6) and countries (Figure 7). While people generally give

<sup>5</sup> Correlations are at the individual level only. Trust in the president: Pearson's  $r=.179$ ,  $p=.000$ ; trust in parliament/national assembly: Pearson's  $r=.144$ ,  $p=.000$ ; corruption in office of the president: Pearson's  $r=-.119$ ,  $p=.000$ ; corruption among members of parliament: Pearson's  $r=-.100$ ,  $p=.000$ .

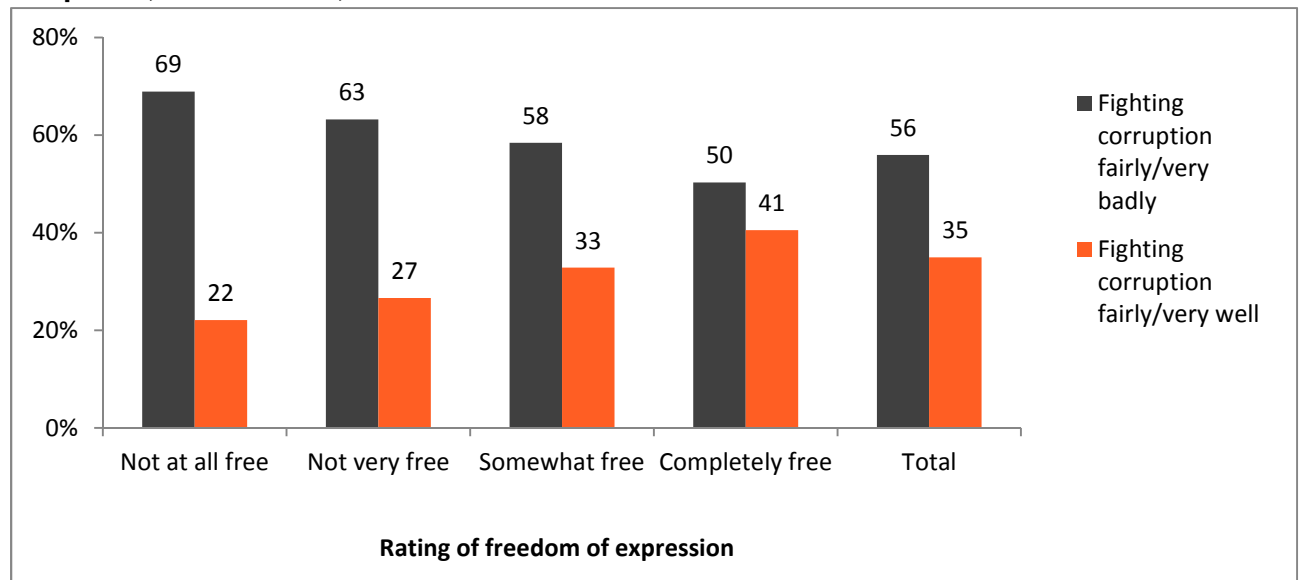


governments negative ratings for fighting corruption – 56% say their government is doing ‘fairly’ or ‘very badly’ -- they give better ratings where protections for free speech are stronger.

Freedom of speech is also significantly linked to better government performance in other sectors as well, including reducing crime, controlling conflict between communities, maintaining roads and bridges, and providing a reliable supply of electricity.<sup>6</sup>

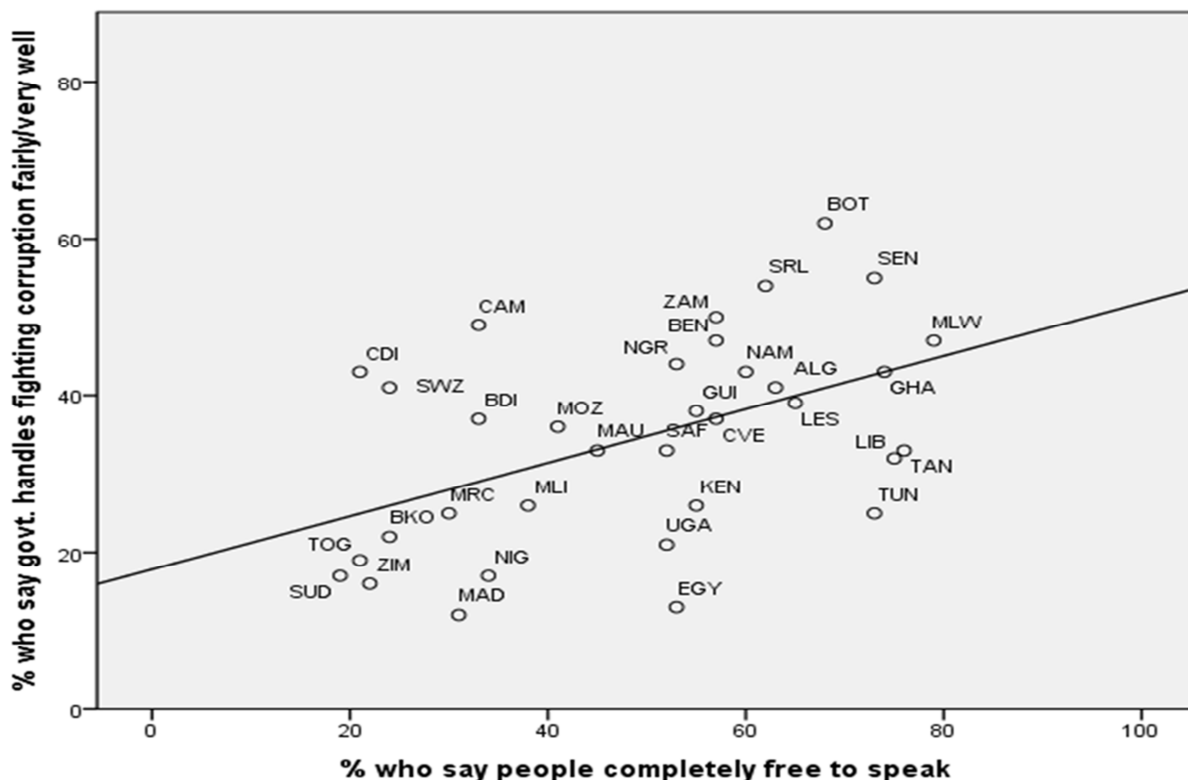
Although correlation does not demonstrate causation, these findings suggest two possibilities. It is possible that clean and effective governments also tend to be more open and tolerant of the views – and criticisms – of their citizens; they therefore protect the right of free speech. Alternatively, if the public first secures the right to free speech, people may use it as a tool to hold their governments accountable, forcing them to become more effective. In fact, the most likely explanation is that to some degree the relationship works in both directions, and is mutually reinforcing.

**Figure 6: Government handling of fight against corruption, compared to ratings of freedom of speech, 34 countries, 2011-2013**



<sup>6</sup> Correlations are highest at the individual level: handling fight against corruption: Pearson’s  $r=.144$ ,  $p=.000$ ; handling reducing crime: Pearson’s  $r=.131$ ,  $p=.000$ ; handling resolving violent conflict between communities: Pearson’s  $r=-.126$ ,  $p=.000$ ; handling maintaining roads and bridges: Pearson’s  $r=-.115$ ,  $p=.000$ . At the country level, the correlation with handling the fight against corruption is significant with Pearson’s  $r=.489$ ,  $p=.003$ .

**Figure 7: Freedom of speech and fighting corruption, country level comparisons  
34 countries, 2011-2013**



### Sources of News and Information

Citizen access to mass media helps determine how informed people are about public issues, and how they engage in and contribute to development in their communities and countries. The Afrobarometer collects data on individuals' primary sources of news about public affairs and their primary modes of interpersonal communication. The data confirm that cell phone use is rapidly expanding, but that internet access remains low compared with other world regions.

The Afrobarometer asked citizens how often they get news from radio, television, newspaper and the internet. Radio has the highest penetration: 77% report listening to radio news at least a few times a month or more (Figure 8). Radio access is more than 60% in all countries across the continent, with the reported exception of Egypt (31%).

More than half (56%) now get news from television on a regular basis, but the range in access is very wide. Nearly everyone in Algeria (99%), Egypt (96%), Tunisia (94%), Morocco (93%), and Mauritius (98%) gets news from television; less than one quarter do in Liberia (21%), Sierra Leone (20%), Malawi (18%) and Burundi (11%).

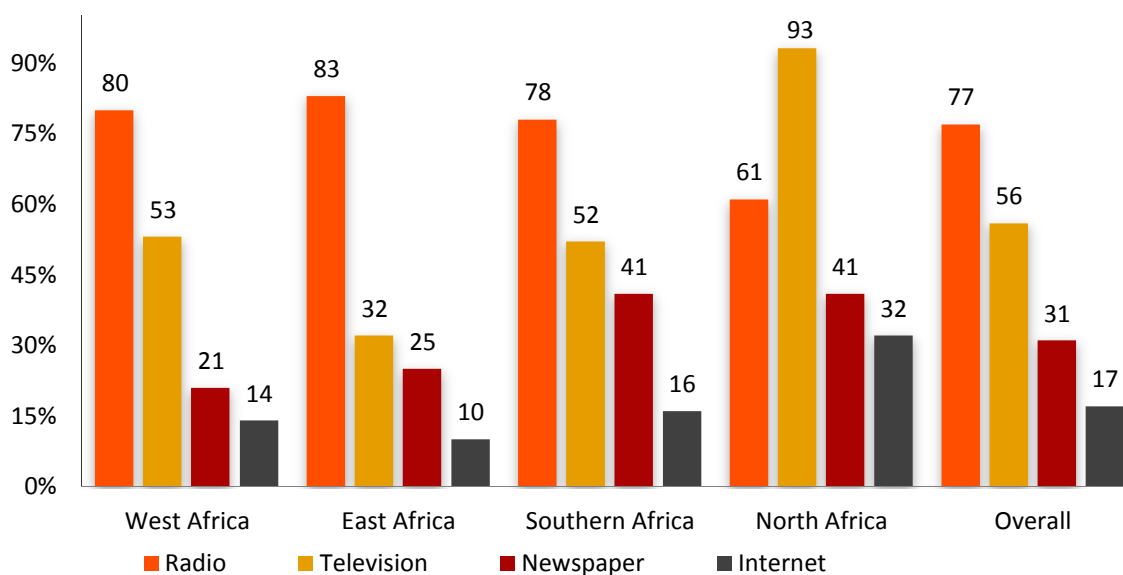
Just one in three (31%) has regular access to newspapers, which suggests a limited culture of reading in much of Africa. Mauritius is a notable exception, where 88% read newspapers

regularly, followed by South Africa (63%), Botswana (61%) and Sudan (55%). In contrast, less than 10% regularly access newspapers in Benin (9%), Niger (6%) and Burundi (5%).

The internet is at least an occasional source of news for an average of 17% of survey respondents. Morocco shows the highest levels of internet use at 38%, followed by Mauritius, Sudan and Tunisia (all 34%), and Cape Verde (33%). But only 5% ever access news via the internet in Burundi, Malawi and Niger, and usage in several other countries falls below 10%.

Regional differences are pronounced (Figure 8). In North Africa television is the predominant source of news, while on the rest of the continent radio continues to dominate. North Africans also access both newspapers and internet more than people of other regions, and report the highest overall levels of access to news sources, while East Africans report the lowest.

**Figure 8: Access to news from selected sources, by region, 34 countries, 2011-2013**



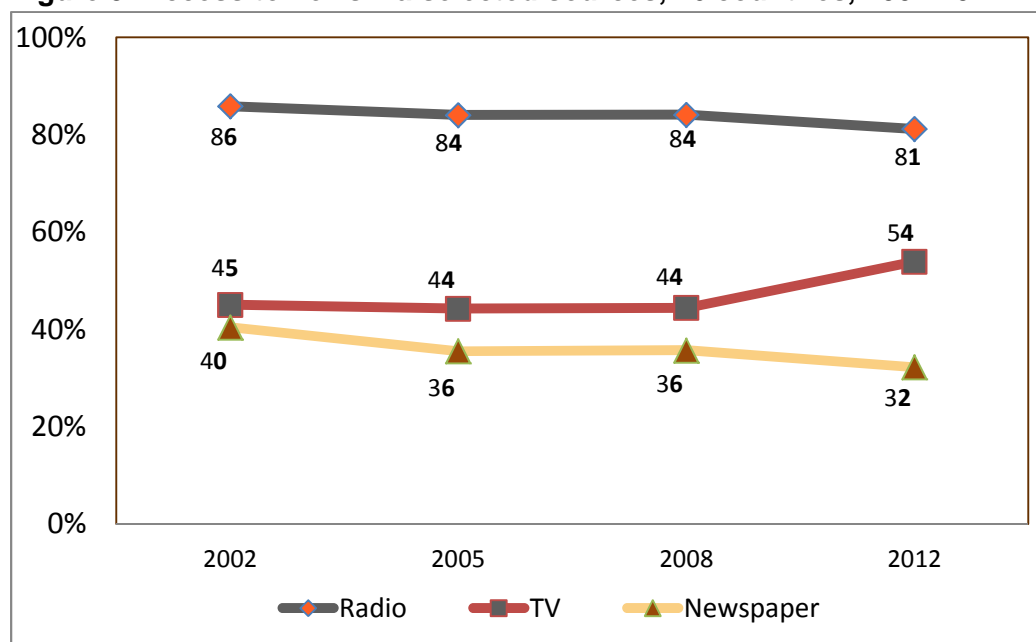
*Participants were asked: 'How often do you get news from each of the following sources?' (% responding 'a few times a month', 'a few times a week' or 'every day')*

Radio may, however, be losing ground even in sub-Saharan Africa. Across the 16 countries where data is available since around 2002 (Round 2)<sup>7</sup>, the use of radio as a source of news is down 5 percentage points, from 86% in 2002 to 81% circa 2012 (Figure 9). Newspaper readership has dropped more substantially, down 8 points, or 20%, since 2002. By contrast, television has gained ground, increasing 9 points over the same period, while the internet has come onto the scene as a source of news, registering 15% across these 16 countries in Afrobarometer Round 5 (2012).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> These are Botswana, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

<sup>8</sup> Afrobarometer surveys did not ask about the internet as a source of news in previous rounds.

**Figure 9: Access to news via selected sources, 16 countries, 2002-2012**



Participants were asked: 'How often do you get news from each of the following sources?' (% responding 'a few times a month', 'a few times a week' or 'every day')

These trends in media consumption could have political implications, as both of the news sources that are increasing in importance – television and internet – are associated with heightened criticism of leaders and of government performance.<sup>9</sup> The effects are quite small, but consistent. Individuals who access television and internet news more frequently also tend to rate their leaders somewhat worse in terms of their trustworthiness and the extent to which they engage in corruption, and to give slightly lower ratings for government performance across most sectors.<sup>10</sup> The effects are slightly stronger (more negative) for internet access compared to television. This could suggest that exposure to a more diverse array of news sources, including those from beyond respondents' own borders, leads citizens to develop higher expectations of their governments, and to become more critical citizens.

### The Spread of Communications Technologies

Over the past decade, the worldwide expansion in information and communications technologies (ICTs) has been nothing short of phenomenal. The total number of mobile phone subscriptions increased from 962 million in 2001 to six billion in 2011, or 867 phones per 1,000 people.<sup>11</sup> Developing countries account for more than 75% of global subscriptions. The UN reports that in

<sup>9</sup> The effects of getting news from newspapers are very similar to those for television and internet. The effects of radio listening, in contrast, are more mixed, but tend to be more positive for government leaders and government performance, rather than negative.

<sup>10</sup> For example, at the individual level, the correlations between accessing news via the internet and other indicators are as follows: trust in parliament: Pearson's  $r = -.111$ ,  $p = .000$ ; corruption among MPs: Pearson's  $r = -.059$ ,  $p = .000$ ; rating of government handling of fighting corruption: Pearson's  $r = -.050$ ,  $p = .000$ .

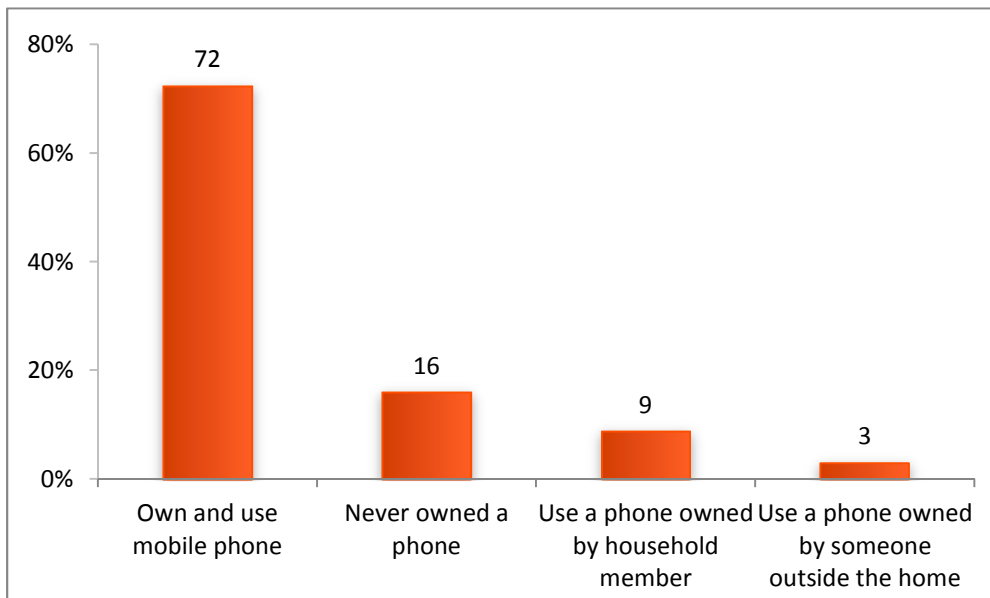
<sup>11</sup> United Nations Habitat. (2013). *State of the World's Cities 2011/2012: Prosperity of Cities*.

Africa, where mobile phones were able to leapfrog over often failing landline systems, the total number of mobile telephone connections grew at an average rate of 30% per annum since 2001, and that by 2011 over 60% of the population was connected. As a result, at least 90% of households in Abuja, Accra, Dakar, Lagos, Luanda and Nairobi own mobile telephones.<sup>12</sup>

Tools of communication like mobile phones and the internet tend to spread more freely and rapidly in open societies. Kenya offers a prime example. Before the 2002 election and the political openings that accompanied it, government restrictions on access to communications technology limited use of cell phones; the country lagged well behind others in the region and on the continent. But greater openness in the last decade has allowed Kenya to leap ahead, becoming a continental – and global – leader both in use of and innovation with cell phone technologies.

Gains are evident across most of the continent, though not always to the extent seen in Kenya. In fact, Afrobarometer findings from across 34 countries reveal even higher levels of access than reported by the UN. Only about 16% of the population reports never using a mobile phone; 72% report owning their own phone, and another 9% report access to a mobile phone in their household (Figure 10). Access is essentially universal in Algeria and Senegal (98% each), followed by South Africa, Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya (93% each) (Figure 11). Fourteen countries report access rates above 90%. In sharp contrast, Madagascar (44%) and Burundi (49%) both fall below 50%.

**Figure 10: Cell phone ownership, 34 countries, 2011-2013**

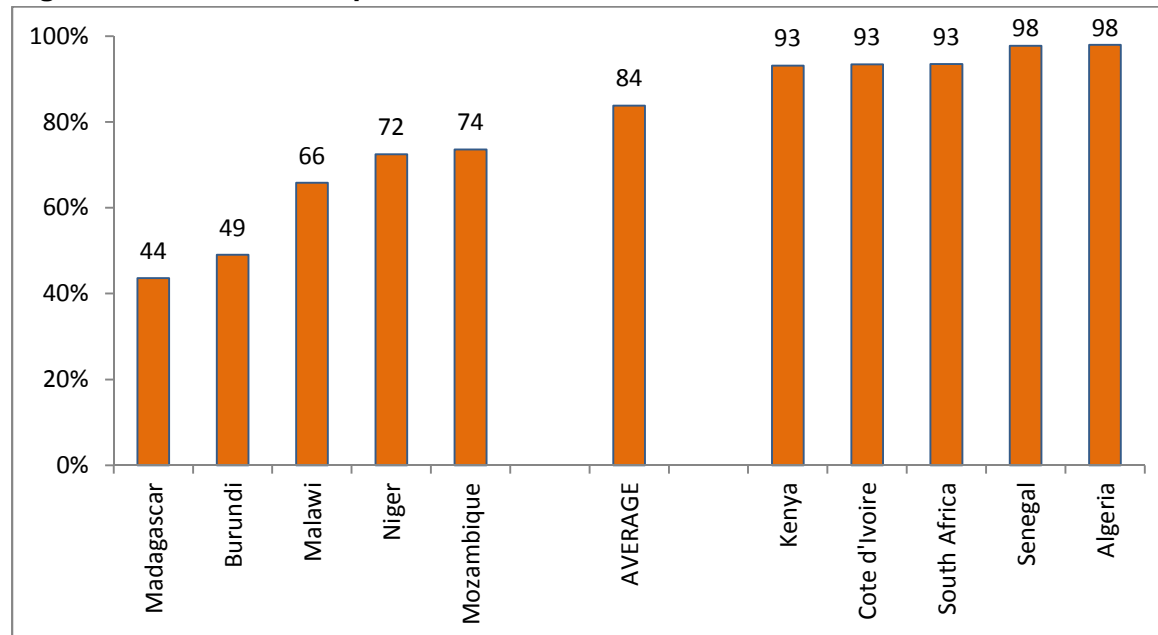


*Participants were asked: 'Do you ever use a mobile phone? If so, who owns the mobile phone that you use most often.'*

North Africa leads in mobile usage (91%), followed by West Africa (85%) and Southern Africa (81%). East Africa trails somewhat at 76%.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

**Figure11: Use of mobile phones, 34 countries, 2011-2013**



Participants were asked: 'Do you ever use a mobile phone?' (% yes)

\* Full results for all countries are available in Annex 3 to this report. Average is for all 34 countries.

Rapid growth in cell phone access is evident just in the last few years. Across the 20 countries for which data is available since Afrobarometer Round 4 (2008-2009<sup>13</sup>), average rates of usage climbed by one third, from 63% of the population with access in 2008, to 83% today (Figure 12). Frequency of use has also increased: 44% reported daily use in 2008, compared to 65% in Round 5. Countries experiencing the largest gains in access in this period were Burkina Faso, which saw an increase from 46% in 2008 to 90% in 2013, and Zimbabwe, where access increased 40 points, from 51% to 91%, in the same period. Only Malagasy report no change; access there remained essentially stagnant at 44%, leaving the country in a distant last place among the 34 countries studied.

Of course, people use mobile phones for more than just calls: 59% report using them to send or receive text messages, and 16% use them to send or receive money or pay bills. Kenya's status as a global leader in innovative uses of mobile phones to transfer funds and make payments is confirmed: 71% report using their phones to move money, far surpassing the next closest countries: Tanzania (40%), Liberia (39%), and Sudan (38%).

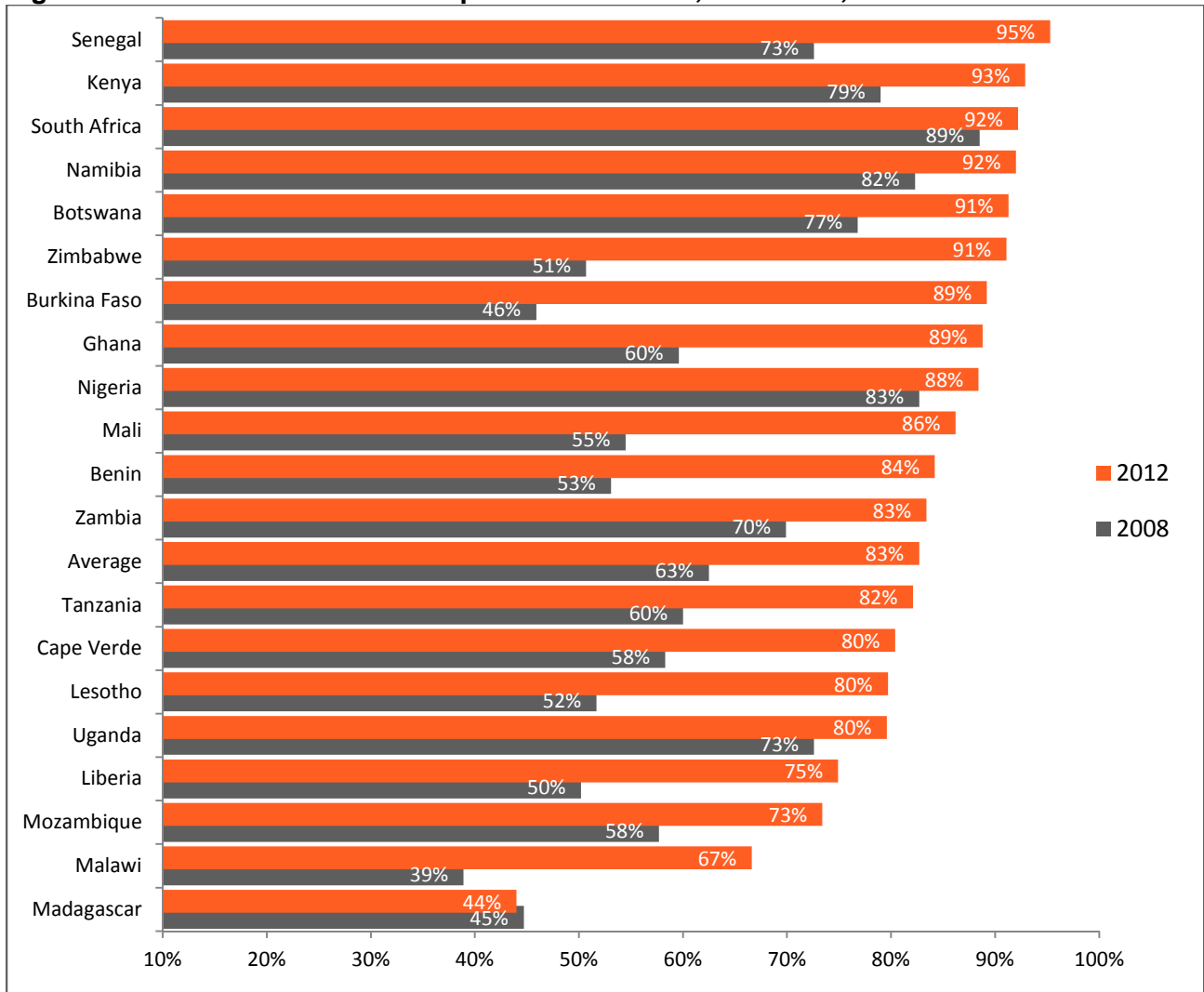
Access to the internet is growing much more slowly. Across 34 countries in Round 5, 18% use the internet at least monthly. But in the 20 countries where this question has been asked since 2008, access at least monthly has increased only 4 points, from 11% to 15%<sup>14</sup>. North Africans far

<sup>13</sup> These include Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

<sup>14</sup> If those who say they have accessed the internet less than once per month are included, the figures increase to 14% in 2008, and 18% in 2011-2013.

surpass residents of other regions. Roughly one in three (34%) use the internet at least occasionally, compared with less than one in ten (9%) in West Africa (Figure 13).

**Figure 12: Increases in cellular telephone access/use, 2008-2012, 20 countries**

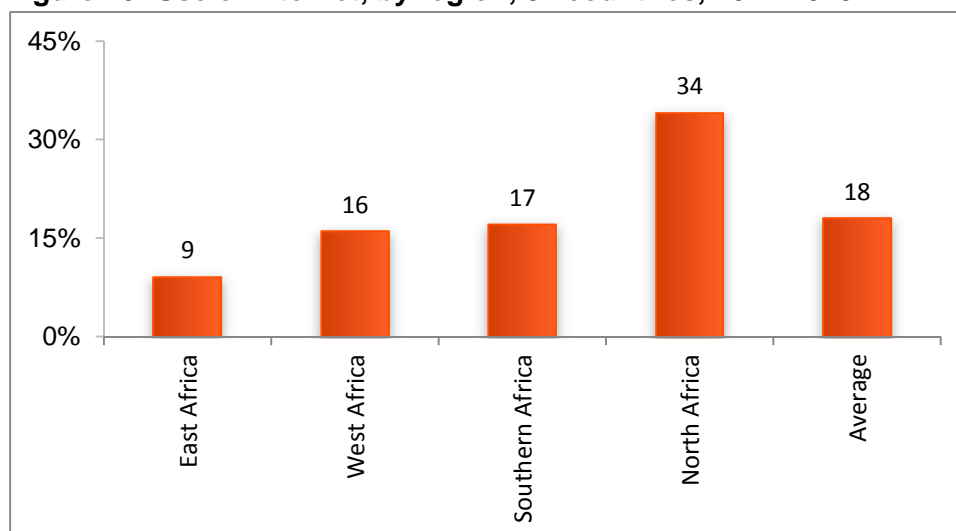


*Participants were asked: 'How often do you normally use a mobile phone to make or receive a call?' (% responding that they ever used a mobile phone.)*

Like increasing exposure to television and internet, access to mobile phones appears to be linked with Africans becoming more critical citizens. Again, the effects are quite small but consistent. Individuals who use mobile phones more frequently also tend to be slightly more critical of their leaders, and of government performance.<sup>15</sup> It is possible the extension of individuals' networks of contacts and communications made possible by ready access to mobile phones, and wider exposure to information and ideas that results, may lead them to become more critical citizens.

<sup>15</sup> For example, at the individual level, the correlations between use of a mobile phone and other indicators are as follows: trust in the parliament: Pearson's  $r=-.113$ ,  $p=.000$ ; corruption among MPs: Pearson's  $r=-.077$ ,  $p=.000$ ; rating of government handling of fighting corruption: Pearson's  $r=-.025$ ,  $p=.000$ .

**Figure 13: Use of internet, by region, 34 countries, 2011-2013**



*Participants were asked: 'How often do you use the internet?' (% using 'a few times a month' or more)*

## Conclusion

Much of Africa has undergone a radical transformation in terms of the freedom to communicate in the last two decades, first as the continent emerged from under the shadow of autocratic regimes during the early 1990s. That decade saw an often dramatic expansion of individual freedoms, and, in many countries, a proliferation of media outlets accompanied these changes. Since 2000, the continent has joined a second, global communications revolution with the rapid spread of new technologies, especially mobile phones, and to a lesser degree, access to the internet. But despite the opening and expansion of media and technology, freedom of expression is still enjoyed unequally across Africa. Just less than half of Africans surveyed say they are completely free to speak their minds.

Yet Afrobarometer findings reveal that freedom of expression is important not just as an end in itself. Freedom is also strongly linked to a more effective media, and to better governance. These interactions may be especially important when it comes to the fight against corruption. Better protections for free speech are associated with more positive ratings of government efforts to fight corruption, and better ratings (i.e., lower reported corruption) for government officials.

Afrobarometer findings also reveal that traditional media, in particular radio, remain dominant channels for accessing news and expanding space for freedom of expression. This is largely due to the widespread availability and low cost of radio infrastructure compared to other communication channels. Far fewer read newspapers but they are still more accessible than the internet, which is used more in Northern Africa than in the rest of the continent. Cell phone use is surging -- making the technology one of the most important conduits of public information.

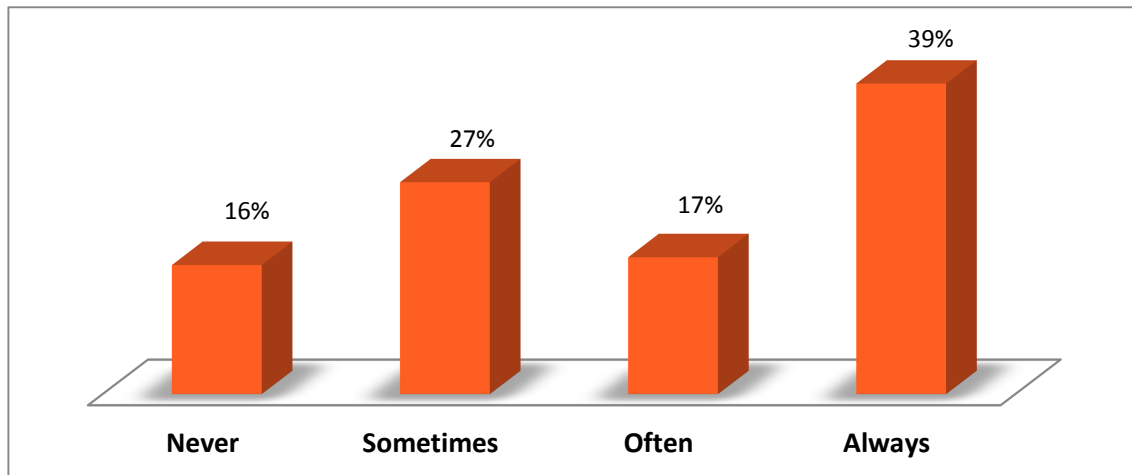


## Annex 1: Kenyans and Call-in Radio

Individuals increasingly expect to interact with their media. One popular form this interaction has taken in Kenya is call-in radio. The Kenya Afrobarometer Round 5 survey included several country-specific questions designed to get a glimpse of the dynamics of this relationship. Respondents were asked how often they listen to social discussions on FM radio channels, how often they call or join these discussions, and whether FM radio stations should discuss any topic without government regulation, or whether government should limit discussion topics.

Interest in these programs is indeed widespread. A substantial 56% are regular listeners ('often' or 'always') to social discussions on FM radio channels, and another 27% listen occasionally (Figure A1).

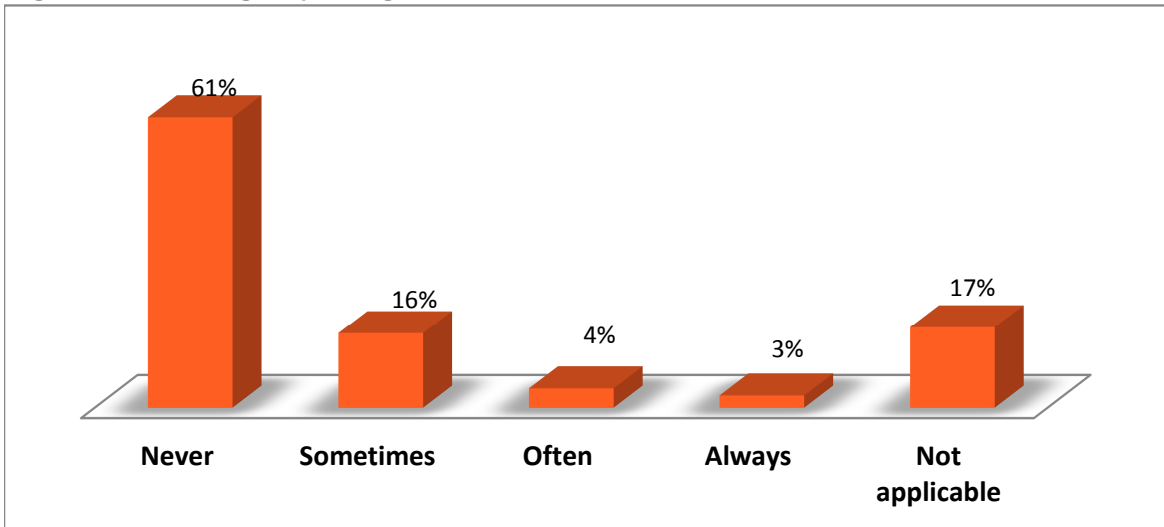
**Figure A1: Listening to social discussions on FM radio channels in Kenya**



*Participants were asked: 'How often do you listen to social discussions on FM radio channels?'*

The numbers who call or join the social discussions are much lower: just 7% do it 'often' or 'always', but another 16% are at least occasional callers (Figure 14). Thus, nearly one in four Kenyans report actually participating in the programs, confirm the high levels of interest in them.

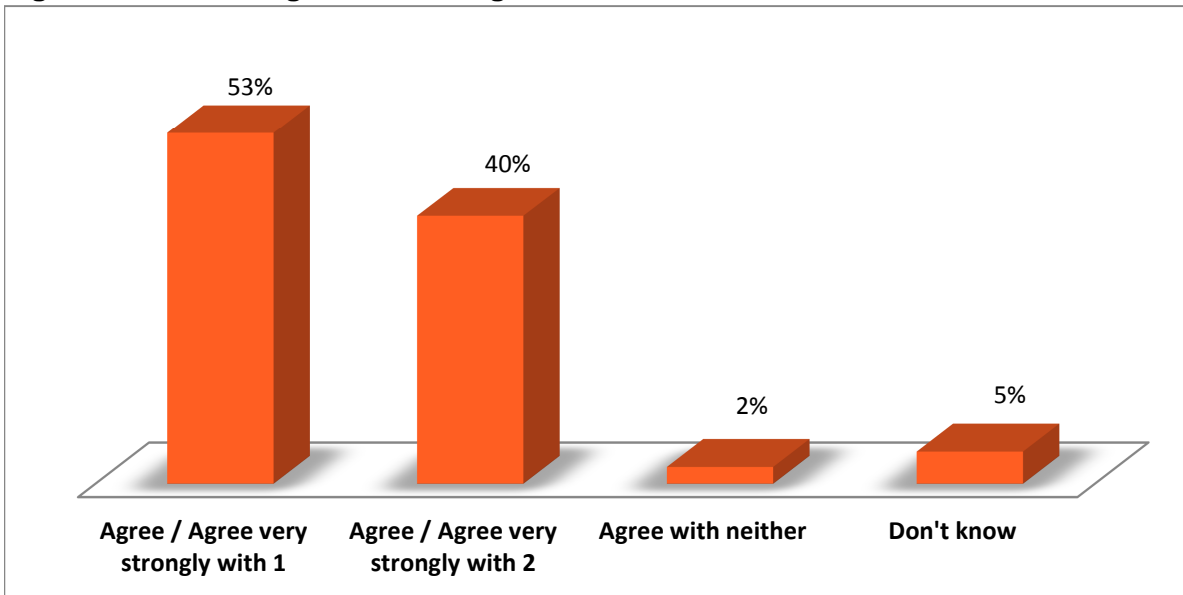
**Figure A2: Calling or joining social discussions on FM radio channels**



Participants were asked: 'How often do you call or join the social discussions on FM radio channels?'

The survey further sought the public view on whether topics of discussion should be regulated by the government or not, and the scores were close. The majority (53%) indicated that FM stations should have the right to discuss topics without government regulation, but another 40% indicated that government should have the right to regulate FM radio stations to prevent them from discussing things that it considers harmful to family values (Figure 15).

**Figure A3: Need for government regulation of FM radio content**



Participants were asked: 'Which of these statements is closest to your view? Choose statement 1 or statement 2:

Statement 1: The FM radio stations should have the right to discuss any topic without government regulation.

Statement 2: The government should have the right to regulate FM radio stations to prevent them from discussing things that it considers harmful to family values.'

## Annex 2: Regional Distribution of Afrobarometer Countries

<b>West Africa</b>	<b>East Africa</b>	<b>North Africa</b>	<b>Southern Africa</b>
Benin	Burundi	Algeria	Botswana
Burkina Faso	Ethiopia	Egypt	Lesotho
Cape Verde	Kenya	Morocco	Madagascar
Cameroon	Tanzania	Sudan	Malawi
Cote d'Ivoire	Uganda	Tunisia	Mauritius
Ghana			Mozambique
Guinea			Namibia
Liberia			South Africa
Mali			Swaziland
Nigeria			Zambia
Senegal			Zimbabwe
Sierra Leone			
Niger			
Togo			

### Annex 3: Full Results by country

Freedom of Speech: *In this country, how free are you to say what you think?*

Country	Not at all/Not Very Free	Somewhat Free	Completely Free	Don't Know
Algeria	10%	22%	63%	6%
Benin	12%	30%	57%	0%
Botswana	12%	19%	68%	2%
Burkina Faso	34%	39%	24%	3%
Burundi	32%	34%	33%	1%
Cameroon	30%	33%	33%	4%
Cape Verde	15%	27%	57%	1%
Cote d'Ivoire	41%	36%	21%	1%
Egypt	19%	24%	53%	3%
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>			
Ghana	7%	19%	74%	1%
Guinea	22%	23%	55%	1%
Kenya	18%	25%	55%	2%
Lesotho	18%	14%	65%	4%
Liberia	12%	13%	75%	1%
Madagascar	21%	40%	31%	8%
Malawi	13%	7%	79%	1%
Mali	29%	33%	38%	0%
Mauritius	21%	34%	45%	0%
Morocco	24%	41%	30%	4%
Mozambique	33%	17%	41%	9%
Namibia	14%	26%	60%	0%
Niger	16%	29%	53%	2%
Nigeria	30%	35%	34%	0%
Senegal	9%	17%	73%	1%
Sierra Leone	12%	25%	62%	1%
South Africa	16%	31%	52%	1%
Sudan	42%	36%	19%	4%
Swaziland	57%	17%	24%	2%
Tanzania	7%	18%	76%	0%
Togo	48%	29%	21%	3%
Tunisia	6%	20%	73%	1%
Uganda	16%	32%	52%	1%
Zambia	19%	24%	57%	1%
Zimbabwe	53%	25%	22%	1%
<b>Average</b>	23%	26%	49%	2%

**Demand for media freedom:** *Which of these statements is closest to your view? Choose statement 1 or statement 2:*

*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 considers harmful to society.*

**Media's role in monitoring government:** *Which of these statements is closest to your view?*

*Choose statement 1 or statement 2:*

*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.*

Demand for Media Freedom				Media Role in Monitoring Government		
Country	Media Should Have the Freedom to Publish	Don't Know / Neither	Government Should Control Media	Media Should Monitor Government	Don't Know / Neither	Negative Reporting Harms the Country
Algeria	55%	4%	42%	74%	1%	25%
Benin	50%	1%	48%	76%	4%	21%
Botswana	60%	5%	35%	68%	8%	24%
Burkina Faso	58%	9%	33%	83%	6%	11%
Burundi	68%	2%	30%	69%	2%	30%
Cameroon	37%	10%	53%	73%	4%	23%
Cape Verde	83%	7%	10%	54%	5%	41%
Cote d'Ivoire	48%	3%	49%	77%	1%	21%
Egypt	65%	7%	28%	74%	14%	12%
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>			<i>forthcoming</i>		
Ghana	55%	2%	43%	74%	2%	24%
Guinea	48%	2%	50%	69%	2%	29%
Kenya	59%	5%	36%	62%	19%	19%
Lesotho	40%	3%	57%	63%	1%	36%
Liberia	47%	2%	52%	66%	1%	34%
Madagascar	70%	12%	18%	57%	3%	40%
Malawi	67%	2%	31%	70%	7%	23%
Mali	44%	2%	54%	80%	2%	18%
Mauritius	61%	3%	36%	85%	2%	13%
Morocco	60%	10%	30%	72%	3%	24%
Mozambique	59%	18%	23%	55%	5%	40%
Namibia	53%	2%	45%	81%	1%	17%
Niger	64%	4%	33%	72%	3%	25%
Nigeria	57%	1%	41%	72%	3%	25%
Senegal	29%	3%	68%	76%	4%	20%
Sierra Leone	60%	3%	38%	80%	1%	19%
South Africa	61%	6%	33%	63%	10%	26%
Sudan	49%	6%	46%	63%	3%	33%
Swaziland	51%	3%	47%	70%	2%	28%
Tanzania	73%	1%	26%	50%	2%	48%
Togo	55%	5%	39%	49%	5%	47%
Tunisia	62%	5%	33%	68%	7%	25%
Uganda	80%	2%	18%	64%	10%	26%
Zambia	51%	3%	46%	57%	9%	34%
Zimbabwe	58%	4%	38%	61%	5%	34%
<b>Average</b>	57%	5%	39%	68%	5%	27%

**Media effectiveness:** *In this country, how effective is the news media in revealing government mistakes and corruption?*

Country	Not at all/ not very effective	Don't know	Somewhat/ very effective
Algeria	39%	9%	51%
Benin	25%	2%	73%
Botswana	15%	10%	74%
Burkina Faso	23%	20%	58%
Burundi	16%	5%	79%
Cameroon	30%	18%	51%
Cape Verde	29%	11%	60%
Cote d'Ivoire	48%	11%	41%
Egypt	18%	6%	77%
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>		
Ghana	13%	5%	82%
Guinea	25%	6%	68%
Kenya	17%	5%	78%
Lesotho	22%	19%	59%
Liberia	29%	9%	61%
Madagascar	44%	27%	29%
Malawi	19%	7%	75%
Mali	24%	4%	72%
Mauritius	10%	2%	88%
Morocco	38%	13%	49%
Mozambique	28%	27%	45%
Namibia	27%	5%	67%
Niger	14%	13%	73%
Nigeria	40%	2%	58%
Senegal	14%	6%	80%
Sierra Leone	25%	4%	71%
South Africa	16%	3%	81%
Sudan	46%	11%	43%
Swaziland	39%	11%	49%
Tanzania	14%	2%	84%
Togo	35%	24%	41%
Tunisia	20%	3%	77%
Uganda	11%	6%	83%
Zambia	24%	9%	66%
Zimbabwe	51%	11%	38%
<b>Average</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>64%</b>

**Access to news:** How often do you get news from each of the following sources? (% responding 'a few times a month', 'a few times a week' or 'every day')

Country	Radio	TV	Newspaper	Internet
Algeria	80%	99%	57%	31%
Benin	83%	47%	9%	7%
Botswana	76%	66%	61%	21%
Burkina Faso	78%	35%	12%	8%
Burundi	74%	11%	5%	5%
Cameroon	74%	82%	31%	24%
Cape Verde	79%	91%	34%	33%
Cote d'Ivoire	65%	67%	33%	16%
Egypt	31%	96%	30%	21%
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>			
Ghana	88%	68%	20%	14%
Guinea	80%	41%	12%	6%
Kenya	88%	54%	39%	17%
Lesotho	71%	33%	19%	8%
Liberia	78%	21%	26%	11%
Madagascar	68%	26%	16%	3%
Malawi	77%	18%	14%	5%
Mali	81%	49%	10%	7%
Mauritius	97%	98%	85%	35%
Morocco	62%	93%	32%	38%
Mozambique	71%	44%	19%	11%
Namibia	88%	46%	54%	20%
Niger	69%	27%	6%	5%
Nigeria	90%	71%	28%	21%
Senegal	89%	71%	31%	20%
Sierra Leone	84%	20%	17%	10%
South Africa	83%	86%	63%	17%
Sudan	72%	85%	55%	34%
Swaziland	82%	54%	52%	20%
Tanzania	81%	37%	28%	8%
Togo	80%	46%	18%	11%
Tunisia	61%	94%	31%	34%
Uganda	91%	28%	29%	9%
Zambia	77%	53%	31%	12%
Zimbabwe	68%	47%	38%	20%
<b>Average</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>17%</b>



**Access to mobile phone:** Do you ever use a mobile phone? If so, who owns the mobile phone that you use most often?

**Mobile phone usage:** How often do you normally use a mobile phone to make or receive a call?

Country	Access to Mobile Phone				Mobile Phone Usage		
	Yes, a phone I own	Yes, a household phone	Yes, another phone	No	More than once a day	Less than once a day	Never
Algeria	93%	5%	0%	2%	87%	11%	2%
Benin	67%	10%	6%	18%	69%	15%	16%
Botswana	85%	5%	2%	9%	74%	17%	8%
Burkina Faso	70%	18%	2%	10%	64%	26%	10%
Burundi	33%	10%	6%	51%	33%	17%	50%
Cameroon	87%	4%	2%	7%	80%	10%	7%
Cape Verde	80%	4%	0%	16%	60%	21%	17%
Cote d'Ivoire	86%	6%	1%	7%	82%	11%	6%
Egypt	76%	7%	1%	17%	71%	10%	17%
Ethiopia	<i>forthcoming</i>				<i>forthcoming</i>		
Ghana	76%	10%	2%	12%	80%	8%	11%
Guinea	69%	13%	5%	12%	68%	19%	13%
Kenya	81%	9%	3%	6%	81%	12%	6%
Lesotho	71%	7%	3%	19%	56%	24%	17%
Liberia	65%	8%	3%	23%	59%	16%	23%
Madagascar	32%	8%	4%	56%	31%	13%	55%
Malawi	43%	12%	11%	34%	47%	20%	33%
Mali	59%	25%	2%	13%	52%	34%	13%
Mauritius	84%	2%	0%	14%	79%	8%	13%
Morocco	83%	8%	1%	9%	70%	21%	8%
Mozambique	64%	7%	2%	26%	67%	6%	25%
Namibia	84%	7%	1%	7%	79%	13%	8%
Niger	58%	10%	4%	27%	53%	20%	27%
Nigeria	74%	9%	3%	12%	77%	12%	11%
Senegal	84%	13%	1%	2%	75%	20%	3%
Sierra Leone	74%	6%	1%	18%	70%	12%	16%
South Africa	87%	6%	1%	6%	76%	16%	6%
Sudan	83%	7%	1%	8%	80%	9%	9%
Swaziland	86%	5%	1%	8%	81%	11%	8%
Tanzania	65%	10%	6%	20%	64%	18%	18%
Togo	67%	8%	1%	24%	65%	11%	23%
Tunisia	84%	7%	0%	8%	70%	20%	9%
Uganda	62%	13%	8%	17%	53%	27%	19%
Zambia	69%	8%	6%	16%	65%	18%	16%
Zimbabwe	76%	10%	5%	9%	66%	26%	9%
<b>Average</b>	72%	9%	3%	16%	67%	16%	16%

**Internet usage: How often do you use the internet?**

<b>Country</b>	<b>A Few Times a Month or More</b>	<b>Less Than Once a Month or Never</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
<b>Algeria</b>	38%	62%	0%
<b>Benin</b>	5%	95%	0%
<b>Botswana</b>	26%	74%	0%
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	9%	91%	1%
<b>Burundi</b>	4%	94%	3%
<b>Cameroon</b>	33%	67%	1%
<b>Cape Verde</b>	39%	61%	0%
<b>Cote d'Ivoire</b>	19%	81%	0%
<b>Egypt</b>	23%	77%	1%
<b>Ethiopia</b>	<i>forthcoming</i>		
<b>Ghana</b>	16%	84%	0%
<b>Guinea</b>	7%	90%	3%
<b>Kenya</b>	18%	82%	0%
<b>Lesotho</b>	8%	86%	5%
<b>Liberia</b>	13%	86%	0%
<b>Madagascar</b>	3%	83%	14%
<b>Malawi</b>	4%	83%	13%
<b>Mali</b>	7%	89%	3%
<b>Mauritius</b>	36%	64%	0%
<b>Morocco</b>	41%	59%	1%
<b>Mozambique</b>	13%	84%	3%
<b>Namibia</b>	23%	77%	0%
<b>Niger</b>	6%	94%	0%
<b>Nigeria</b>	22%	78%	1%
<b>Senegal</b>	21%	78%	0%
<b>Sierra Leone</b>	10%	89%	1%
<b>South Africa</b>	21%	79%	0%
<b>Sudan</b>	34%	63%	3%
<b>Swaziland</b>	23%	75%	1%
<b>Tanzania</b>	5%	91%	4%
<b>Togo</b>	12%	85%	2%
<b>Tunisia</b>	33%	67%	0%
<b>Uganda</b>	10%	87%	3%
<b>Zambia</b>	14%	86%	0%
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	21%	79%	0%
<b>Average</b>	18%	80%	2%

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