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Dignity and respect in African public service delivery: A hidden driver of the global promise to leave no one behind

Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 923 | Joseph Asunka, Alfred Torsu, and Josephine Appiah-Nyamekye Sanny

Summary

The African Charter on Values and Principles of Public Service and Administration recognises dignity and respect as fundamental elements of public service and administration. Article 4 of the charter stipulates that "public service and administration and its agents shall respect the human rights, dignity and integrity of all users" (African Union, 2011). Article 7 calls on public service administrators and frontline agents to set and respect timeframes for public service delivery, adapt service delivery to user needs, and promote trust among frontline agents and service users. The charter thus sets a framework for an African public administration that not only serves the needs of citizens but also upholds their dignity and rights, ensuring that respect remains a central tenet of public service delivery.

Across the continent, national constitutions as well as human rights-related policy documents and frameworks include provisions to promote respect and dignified treatment of people seeking and using public services. For instance, South Africa's National Framework Towards the Professionalisation of the Public Sector states that "respect, dignity, integrity, courteous behaviour, treating people equally, and observing non-racialism are all elements of professional conduct" (Republic of South Africa, 2022, p. 28).

Global development and human rights frameworks, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), recognise respect for human dignity as a universal value that must be upheld at all times. Integrating this and other universal values into the implementation of the SDGs is seen as a necessary condition if member states are to achieve the 2030 targets and fulfil the promise to "leave no one behind."

To what extent do African governments uphold this universal value? Specifically, how easy or difficult is it for citizens to access public services? Do Africans feel they are treated with dignity and respect when they seek public services? How do people's experiences with public services impact their attitudes toward elected leaders, public officials, and governance institutions? We draw on data from Afrobarometer Round 9 surveys, conducted between late 2021 and mid-2023, to address these questions.

Across 39 surveyed countries, Africans in substantial numbers report having contact with public health facilities, public schools, government agencies that provide identity documents, and the police during the 12 months preceding the survey. But for many of them, accessing these services was not easy, and sizable minorities say they were treated

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with a lack of respect. Disrespect was an especially common experience for youth and for poor citizens.

In addition to the likely impact of disrespect on people's dignity and propensity to use important public services, analysis of the data shows that experiencing a lack of respect by public service providers is correlated with more negative views of all levels of the government and of democracy itself.

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. Nine survey rounds in up to 42 countries have been completed since 1999. Round 9 surveys (2021/2023) cover 39 countries. (See Appendix Table A.1 for a list of countries and fieldwork dates.)

Afrobarometer's national partners conduct face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice that yield country-level results with margins of error of +/-2 to +/-3 percentage points at a 95% confidence level.

This 39-country analysis is based on 53,444 interviews. The data are weighted to ensure nationally representative samples. When reporting multi-country averages, all countries are weighted equally (rather than in proportion to population size).

Key findings

On contact with public service providers:

- On average across 39 countries, close to six in 10 Africans (58%) say they had contact with a public health care facility during the previous year.
- Almost half (45%) report having requested police assistance, encountered the police in other situations, or both.
- One-third of respondents say they contacted a public school (34%) and a government agency providing identity documents such as birth certificates and driver's licences (33%).

On ease of obtaining public services:

- Among those who sought an identity document, about half (49%) say they found it "difficult" or "very difficult" to get what they needed.
- More than four in 10 of those who sought health care (45%) and police assistance (46%) report it was difficult to get the services they needed.
- Access to public school services was easier, with a quarter (26%) saying they encountered difficulties.

On experience accessing public services:

- About four in 10 citizens (39%) who sought a government identity document say they were treated with little or no respect by service providers.

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- About one-third of those who sought medical care (36%) say they did not feel respected, as did 26% of those who contacted a public school.
- One-third (34%) of all respondents say their country's police rarely or never "operate in a professional manner and respect the rights of all citizens."
- Youth and poor citizens are particularly likely to report difficulty in obtaining services as well as disrespectful treatment by service providers.

Implications of lack of respect:

- Respondents who felt disrespected by public service providers are more likely to distrust and disapprove of their elected leaders, more likely to be dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country, and less likely to support a democratic form of government.

A struggling social contract

Public services are a key component of the social contract between citizens and their governments. Citizens pay taxes, and governments are expected to use the tax revenues to deliver goods and services for public benefit. In addition to fulfilling their obligation to provide public services, governments are required under various global, regional, and national human rights and development policy frameworks to honour and preserve the inherent dignity of citizens in their interactions with them. Some analysts have argued that the principal objective of *sustainability* in the Sustainable Development Goals is to advance human dignity and that human dignity is the thread that binds the 17 SDGs together (May & Daly, 2020). To what extent do governments and public officials honour these critical provisions? Afrobarometer survey data allow us to provide a reality check on African governments' performance.

The survey asked respondents whether they had contact with four key service providers – a public health clinic or hospital, a public school, a government agency providing identification documents, and the police – during the past 12 months. Across 39 countries surveyed between late 2021 and mid-2023, health care facilities were most frequently contacted: Nearly six in 10 Africans (58%) report that they contacted a hospital or health clinic during the previous year (Figure 1). This is followed by the police: 45% of citizens say they requested police assistance and/or encountered the police in other situations, such as at checkpoints, during identity checks or traffic stops, or during an investigation. About one-third say they made contact with public schools (34%) and with a government agency providing identity documents (33%).

As illustrated in Table 1, contact with health care facilities was common across the continent, including by majorities – ranging up to 77% in Seychelles – in 26 of the 39 surveyed countries. Congo-Brazzaville (29%) and Nigeria (32%) are the only countries where fewer than one-third of citizens report contact with a public health facility.

Interaction with the police varied widely, from just 13% in Madagascar and 17% in Senegal to 68% in Cameroon.

Contact with public schools and government agencies providing identity documents was lower across the board. Only Sierra Leone (with 55% reporting contact with schools) and the Gambia (70% seeking identity documents) record majorities in these two categories.

Access to high-quality public services is at the core of the SDGs and the African Union's Agenda 2063. Indeed, education and health are recognised by the United Nations as basic

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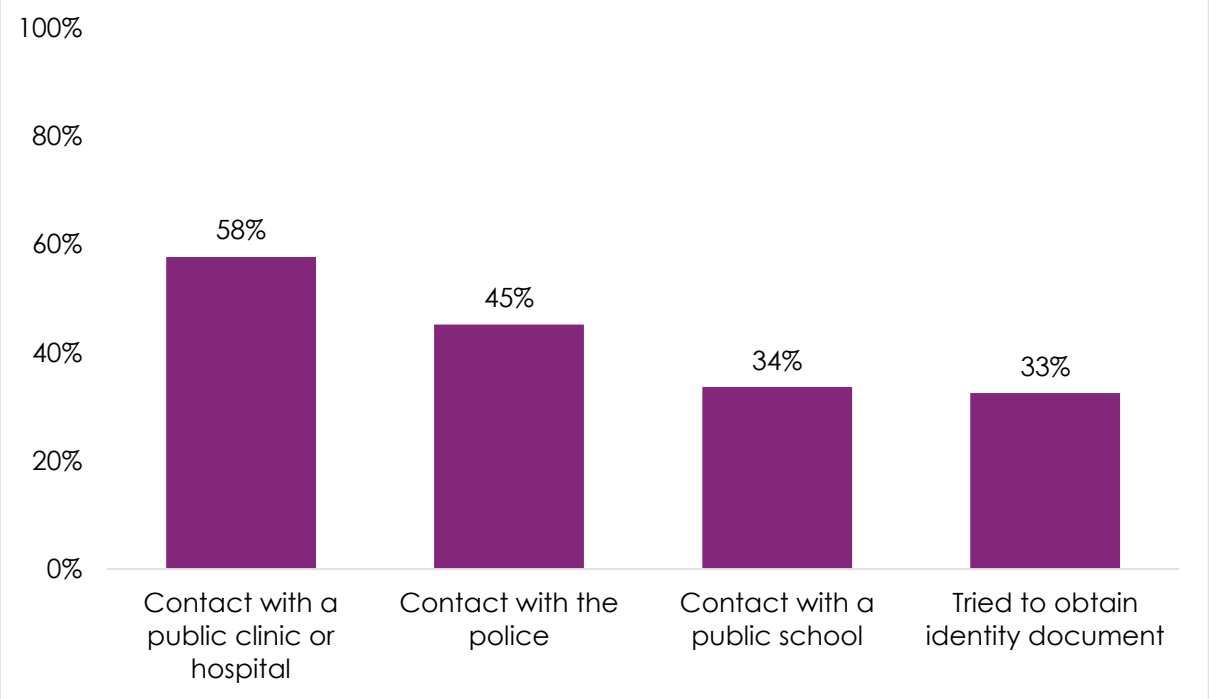
human rights. The preamble to the World Health Organization (1946) Constitution states that "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being." To what extent are these international legal instruments operationalised on the continent? Specifically, how easy is it to access basic public services in Africa?

On average across 39 countries, majorities of those who sought four key services during the previous year say they found it "easy" or "very easy" to obtain what they needed (Figure 2). Public education services presented the least difficulty: About three-fourths (74%) of those who contacted a public school say it was easy to obtain services, including 26% who describe it as "very easy."

Slimmer majorities report having enjoyed easy access to medical care (55%), assistance from the police (54%), and an identity document (51%). This means that close to half of citizens who sought services encountered difficulties while trying to obtain an identity document (49%),[1] police assistance (46%), and medical care (45%).

Figure 1: Contact with public service providers | 39 countries | 2021/2023



Respondents were asked: *In the past 12 months:*
Have you had contact with a public school?
Have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital?
Have you tried to get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver's licence, passport or voter's card, or permit from the government?
Have you requested assistance from the police? How often have you encountered the police in other situations, like at checkpoints, during identity checks or traffic stops, or during an investigation? ("Contact with the police": % who say they requested police assistance and/or encountered the police in other situations "once or twice," "a few times," or "often")

[1] Due to rounding, percentages for combined categories reported in the text may differ slightly from the sum of sub-categories shown in figures (e.g. for "Obtain identity document," 23% "very difficult" and 25% "difficult" sum to 49%).

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Table 1: Contact with public institutions | 39 countries | 2021/2023

	Contact with public clinic or hospital	Contact with police	Contact with public school	Tried to obtain identity document
Angola	57%	55%	46%	41%
Benin	49%	21%	36%	22%
Botswana	66%	51%	21%	23%
Burkina Faso	69%	53%	49%	38%
Cabo Verde	76%	61%	35%	38%
Cameroon	44%	68%	31%	32%
Congo-Brazzaville	29%	32%	23%	34%
Côte d'Ivoire	39%	29%	23%	45%
Eswatini	60%	64%	28%	19%
Ethiopia	61%	46%	39%	44%
Gabon	47%	58%	38%	34%
Gambia	76%	59%	47%	70%
Ghana	42%	52%	28%	39%
Guinea	73%	33%	43%	30%
Kenya	70%	51%	50%	42%
Lesotho	58%	62%	19%	24%
Liberia	56%	64%	37%	38%
Madagascar	54%	13%	41%	50%
Malawi	72%	37%	34%	21%
Mali	66%	25%	31%	32%
Mauritania	55%	38%	33%	34%
Mauritius	71%	61%	26%	24%
Morocco	40%	36%	35%	43%
Mozambique	46%	51%	26%	22%
Namibia	57%	55%	36%	25%
Niger	74%	34%	41%	30%
Nigeria	32%	63%	24%	31%
São Tomé and Príncipe	55%	59%	36%	48%
Senegal	67%	17%	35%	47%
Seychelles	77%	49%	31%	25%
Sierra Leone	64%	62%	55%	18%
South Africa	49%	54%	29%	23%
Sudan	50%	27%	37%	29%
Tanzania	64%	29%	27%	17%
Togo	51%	30%	32%	30%
Tunisia	43%	39%	17%	38%
Uganda	75%	48%	27%	25%
Zambia	74%	31%	36%	22%
Zimbabwe	44%	48%	32%	22%
39-country average	58%	45%	34%	33%
Key	>50%	30%-50%	<30%	

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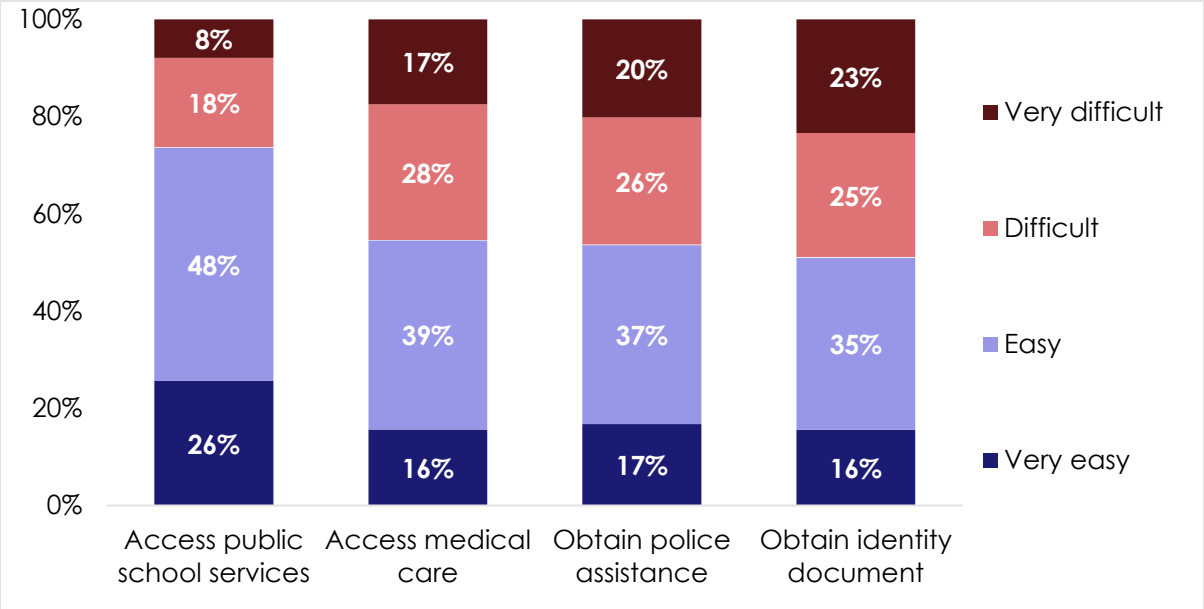
Figure 2: Ease of accessing public services | 39 countries | 2021/2023



Respondents who said they sought these services during the previous year were asked:

How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed from teachers or school officials?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the medical care or services you needed?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the [police] assistance you needed?

(Respondents who had not sought these services are excluded.)

Difficulty in obtaining these services varies by demographic group (Figure 3). For all four types of services, economically disadvantaged respondents and young people are more likely to report difficulties than better-off and older citizens.

For example, among respondents experiencing high levels of lived poverty,[2] more than half report having problems accessing medical care (58%), obtaining a national identification document (57%), and securing police assistance (53%), compared to about one-third or fewer of those who are well off.

Similarly, about half of 18- to 35-year-olds found it difficult to access these three services, compared to about four in 10 of those aged 56 and older.

Even for public school services, where most respondents report little or no difficulty, the very poor are about twice as likely as the wealthy to report experiencing problems (35% vs. 17%).

These findings are concerning given that the poor and young people are among the most vulnerable in society, and the poor are most likely to rely almost exclusively on public services. Achieving the SDG and Agenda 2063 targets will be next to impossible unless governments pay special attention to vulnerable and marginalised groups, especially the poor, in the delivery of public services.

[2] Afrobarometer's Lived Poverty Index (LPI) measures respondents' levels of material deprivation by asking how often they or their families went without basic necessities (enough food, enough water, medical care, enough cooking fuel, and a cash income) during the preceding year. For more on lived poverty, see Mattes and Patel (2022).

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Figure 3: Difficulty accessing public services | by demographic group | 39 countries | 2021/2023

Respondents who said they sought these services during the previous year were asked:

How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed from teachers or school officials?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the medical care or services you needed?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed?

(% who say "difficult" or "very difficult")
(Respondents who had not sought these services are excluded.)

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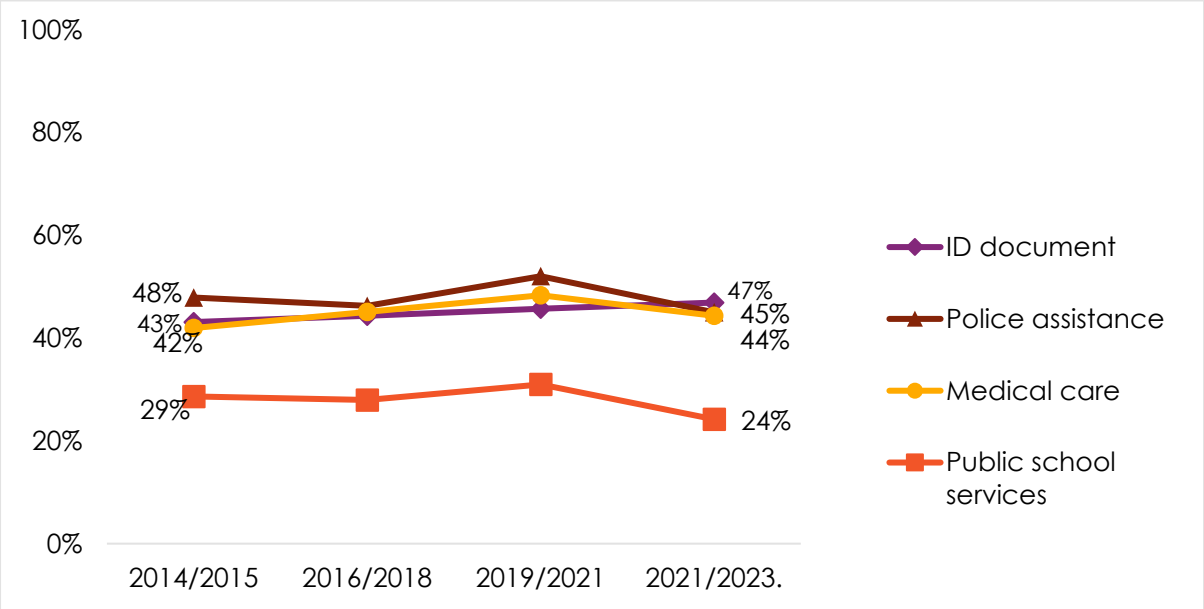
Across 31 countries for which Afrobarometer has data going back to 2014, difficulty with access to the public services under review has persisted. More than four in 10 Africans have consistently had difficulty accessing medical care, identification documents, and police assistance (Figure 4). In fact, difficulty accessing identification documents and medical care has worsened somewhat – by 4 and 3 percentage points, respectively – during this period.

Figure 4: Difficulty accessing public services | 31 countries | 2014-2023



Respondents who said they sought these services during the previous year were asked:

How easy or difficult was it to obtain the services you needed from teachers or school officials?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the medical care or services you needed?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the document you needed?
How easy or difficult was it to obtain the assistance you needed?

(% who say "difficult" or "very difficult")
(Respondents who had not sought these services are excluded.)

While access to public services may be a first-order priority, the experiences of people when they interact with service providers is also critically important. Research shows that when citizens feel disrespected or otherwise treated poorly by service providers, they are more likely to disengage from seeking services and to distrust public institutions (Entwistle, Cribb, & Mitchell, 2024; Blanchard & Lurie, 2004). When such negative experiences occur in the health care sector, they can negatively affect patients' health outcomes through increased depression (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999), lower life satisfaction (Shultz et al., 2000), and increased blood pressure (De Vogli, Ferrie, Chandola, Kivimaki, & Marmot, 2007).

What are Africans' experiences when accessing public services? Across the 39 surveyed countries, significant minorities among those who sought key public services during the previous year report that they did not feel respected by service providers (Figure 5). About four in 10 respondents (39%) who sought a government identity document felt just "a little bit" or "not at all" respected. More than a third (36%) of those who sought medical care say the same thing, as do a quarter (26%) of those interacting with public schools.

Regarding the police, a slightly different question asked how often respondents think the police in their country "operate in a professional manner and respect the rights of all citizens." One-third (34%) say this is "rarely" or "never" the case, while 32% say it occurs "sometimes," 20% "often," and 12% "always."

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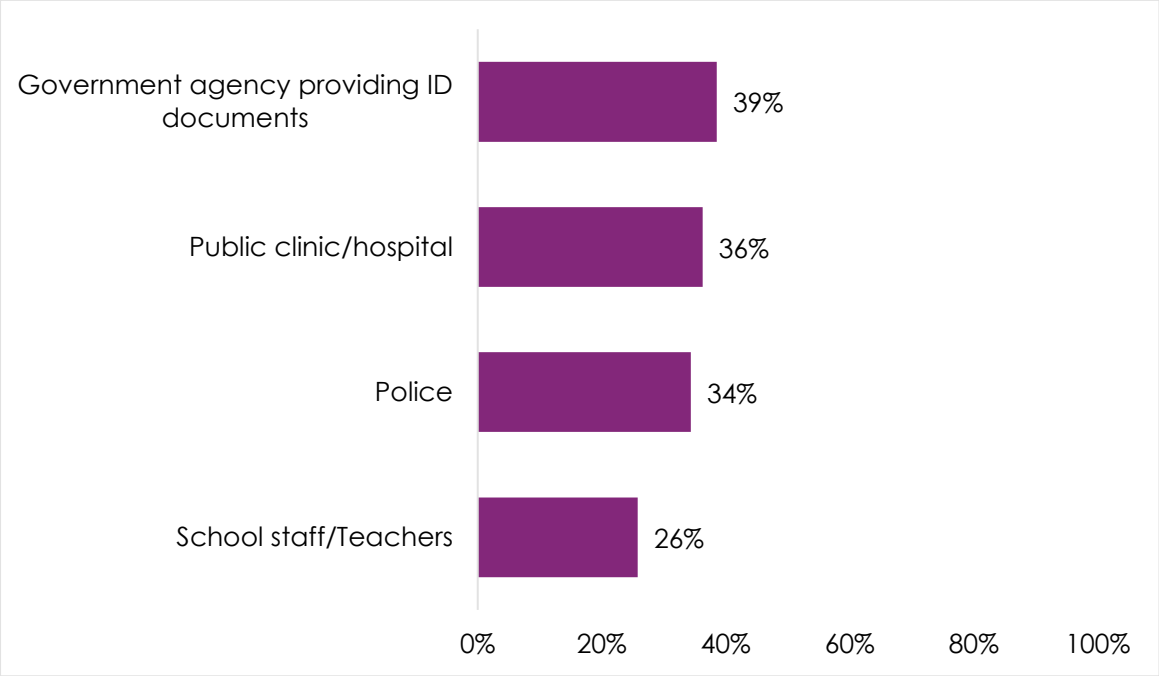
Figure 5: Experienced lack of respect by public service providers | 39 countries | 2021/2023



Respondents who sought key public services during the previous year were asked:

In general, when dealing with health workers and clinic or hospital staff, how much do you feel that they treat you with respect?

In general, when dealing with government officials to obtain documents, how much do you feel that they treat you with respect?

In general, when dealing with teachers and school officials, how much do you feel that they treat you with respect?

(% who say "not at all" or "a little bit")

(Respondents who had not sought these services are excluded.)

All respondents were asked: *In your opinion, how often do the police in [country] operate in a professional manner and respect the rights of all citizens? (% who say "rarely" or "never")*

Behind the continental averages, experiences of disrespect vary considerably by country. As shown in Table 2, Gabon and Malawi record relatively frequent experiences of disrespect (by more than 40% of respondents) across all four types of services, reaching 61% for government identity documents in Gabon and 60% for medical care in Malawi.

Reports of disrespectful treatment exceed 40% for three types of services in seven other countries: Angola, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, and Sudan.

In contrast, reports of a lack of respect fall below 25% for all service types in Seychelles, and for three out of four service types in Cabo Verde, Madagascar, Niger, and Tanzania.

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Table 2: Experienced lack of respect by public service providers | 39 countries | 2021/2023

	ID authorities	Medical staff	Police	School staff
Angola	46%	48%	44%	34%
Benin	38%	36%	19%	25%
Botswana	45%	35%	34%	22%
Burkina Faso	36%	33%	19%	22%
Cabo Verde	9%	17%	26%	9%
Cameroon	58%	44%	37%	42%
Congo-Brazzaville	51%	45%	54%	35%
Côte d'Ivoire	41%	41%	36%	33%
Eswatini	55%	35%	49%	29%
Ethiopia	39%	40%	35%	22%
Gabon	61%	56%	50%	46%
Gambia	35%	42%	27%	16%
Ghana	40%	30%	30%	22%
Guinea	25%	21%	50%	14%
Kenya	36%	30%	60%	20%
Lesotho	40%	32%	48%	20%
Liberia	42%	34%	18%	27%
Madagascar	13%	14%	26%	9%
Malawi	57%	60%	45%	41%
Mali	31%	28%	26%	22%
Mauritania	44%	42%	29%	45%
Mauritius	26%	29%	17%	17%
Morocco	32%	48%	17%	34%
Mozambique	45%	46%	37%	41%
Namibia	53%	49%	25%	43%
Niger	27%	22%	18%	20%
Nigeria	43%	36%	49%	25%
São Tomé and Príncipe	35%	30%	48%	19%
Senegal	39%	38%	24%	30%
Seychelles	20%	17%	24%	12%
Sierra Leone	39%	32%	39%	23%
South Africa	46%	49%	31%	30%
Sudan	44%	51%	45%	30%
Tanzania	24%	33%	24%	19%
Togo	43%	40%	30%	27%
Tunisia	46%	50%	35%	24%
Uganda	34%	44%	42%	28%
Zambia	40%	36%	31%	23%
Zimbabwe	61%	40%	41%	18%
39-country average	39%	36%	34%	26%
Key	>40%	25%-40%	<25%	

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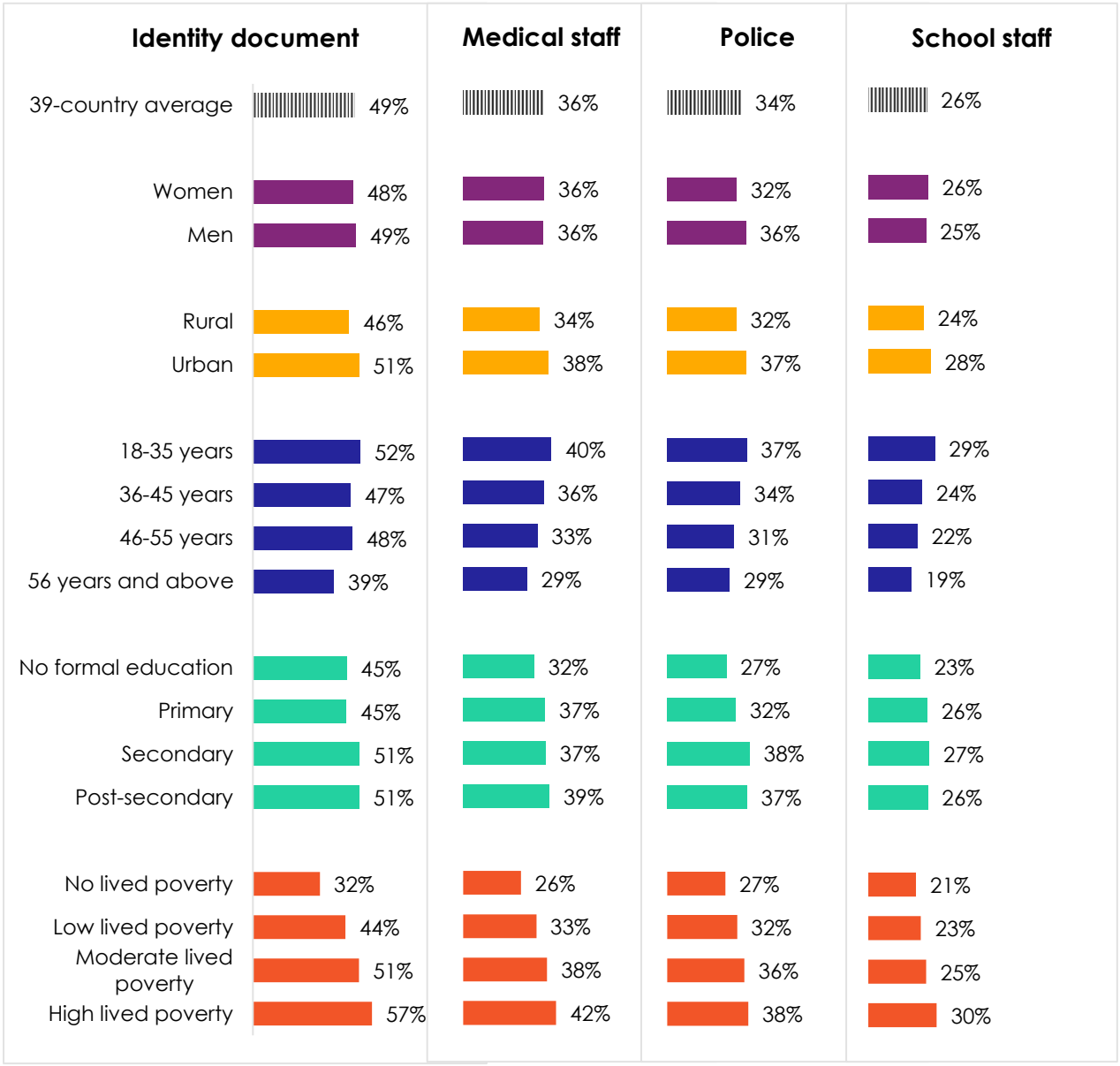
The frequency of encountering a lack of respect from public service providers also varies across demographic groups (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Experienced lack of respect by public service providers | by demographic group | 39 countries | 2021/2023



Respondents who sought key public services during the previous year were asked:

In general, when dealing with health workers and clinic or hospital staff, how much do you feel that they treat you with respect?

In general, when dealing with government officials to obtain documents, how much do you feel that they treat you with respect?

In general, when dealing with teachers and school officials, how much do you feel that they treat you with respect?

(% who say "not at all" or "a little bit") (Respondents who had not sought these services are excluded.)

All respondents were asked: *In your opinion, how often do the police in [country] operate in a professional manner and respect the rights of all citizens? (% who say "rarely" or "never")*

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Young people (aged 18-35) are significantly more likely than their elders to experience disrespect related to all of these four services. For example, 41% of young respondents who sought an identity document say they were treated with just "a little bit" or no respect at all, compared to 30% of those over age 55. We see similar gaps with regard to schools, medical care, and the police.

The poor are also significantly more likely to report not feeling respected. For instance, 42% of respondents experiencing high levels of lived poverty felt disrespected at a public health clinic or hospital, compared to 26% of their well-off counterparts. These findings are consistent with research showing that minority groups, especially those who are economically disadvantaged, are more likely to be treated with disrespect when accessing public services (Afulani, Sayi, & Montagu, 2018).

However, it's the most educated respondents who are more likely to feel disrespected by public service providers than those with less schooling.

Urban residents are 4-5 percentage points more likely to report disrespectful treatment by these four service providers, while men are slightly more likely than women to feel disrespected when going for an identity document and to see the police as usually lacking professional conduct and respect for people's rights.

Implications of disrespect

Although African governments have subscribed to international human rights and development policy frameworks and standards that mandate dignified and respectful treatment of citizens by public officials and service providers, we have seen that significant minorities, especially among young people and the economically disadvantaged, encounter disrespect when seeking public services.

Research has shown that such experiences of disrespect can discourage citizens from seeking services, which can result in negative consequences for their quality of life (Afulani et al., 2018). If people are driven to avoid seeking health care, police assistance, or education-related services because of fear of the indignity they might experience, this does not augur well for the SDG commitment to "leave no one behind."

In addition to potentially deterring people from seeking public services, disrespect may impact other attitudes as well. To test this, we focus just on those individuals who reported direct contact with government in pursuit of all three core services: schools, health clinics, and identity documents (weighted n=5,601 respondents). We record whether each of these individuals experienced disrespect in their encounters with all three offices, with two of them, with one of them, or with none. We can then examine whether outcomes such as trust and performance ratings for elected officials vary with the number of times respondents experienced disrespect.

We find that respondents who report that they frequently felt disrespected by service providers are less trustful of elected leaders at all levels (president, members of Parliament (MPs), and local councillors) and are more likely to rate their job performance poorly (Figure 7). Most noticeably, there is a 23-percentage-point gap in trust in local councillors between those who never felt disrespected (53% express trust) and those who felt disrespected in all three encounters (30% trust).

While the gaps are much smaller, those who experience more disrespect are also less likely to be satisfied with the way democracy works in their country and less likely to support democracy as the best system of government (7-point gaps for both).

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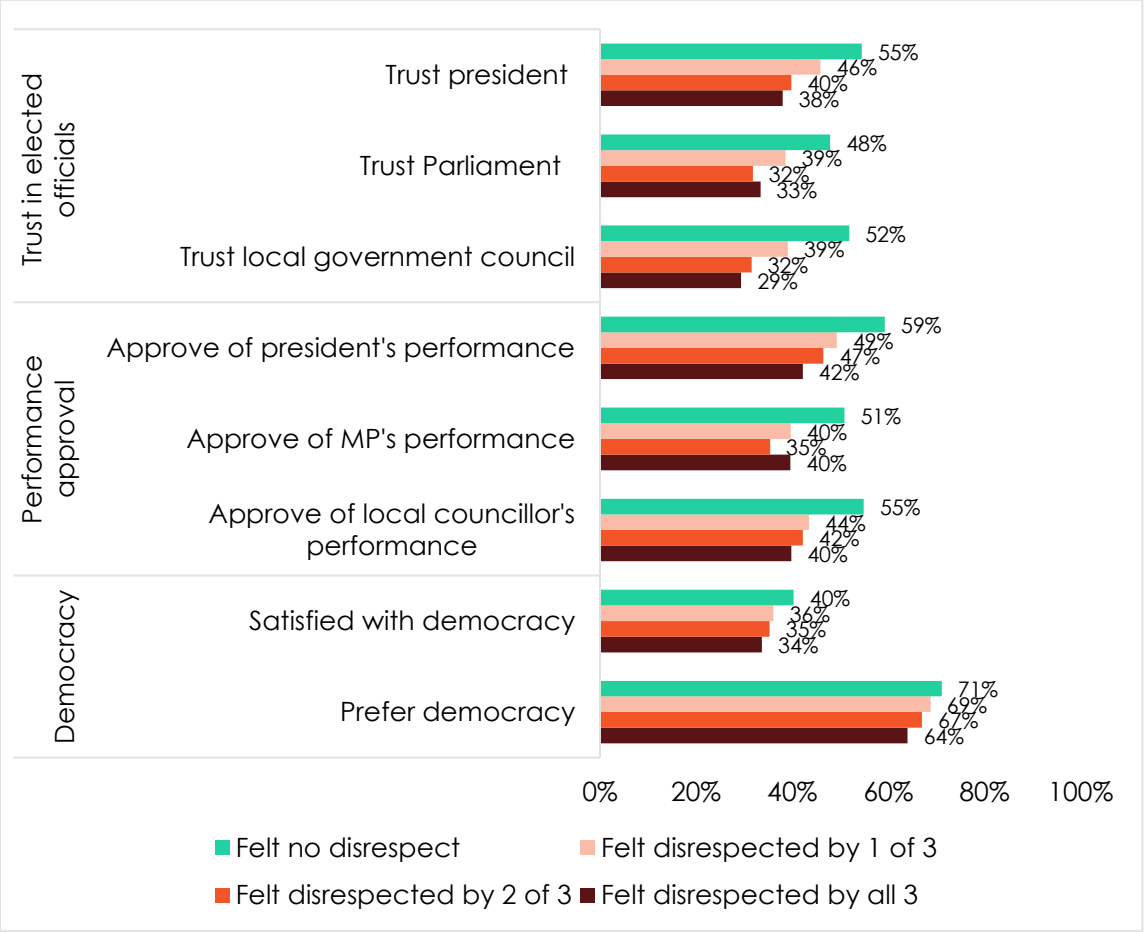
Figure 7: Experiences of disrespect and evaluations of elected leaders and democracy | 39 countries* | 2021/2023



** Not all questions were asked in all countries (as noted below).*

Respondents were asked:

Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past 12 months, or haven't you heard enough about them to say:
President/Prime Minister [Name]? (not asked in Burkina Faso)
Your member of Parliament/National Assembly? (not asked in Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Sudan)
Your elected [local government councillor]? (not asked in Angola, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Seychelles, and Sudan)
(% who "approve" or "strongly approve")

How much do you trust each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say:
The president/prime minister?
Parliament/National Assembly? (not asked in Burkina Faso, Guinea, Tunisia, and Sudan)
Your [local government council]? (not asked in Angola and Seychelles)
(% who say "somewhat" or "a lot")

Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]? (% who say "fairly satisfied" or "very satisfied")

Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?
Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.
Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.
(% who agree with Statement 1)

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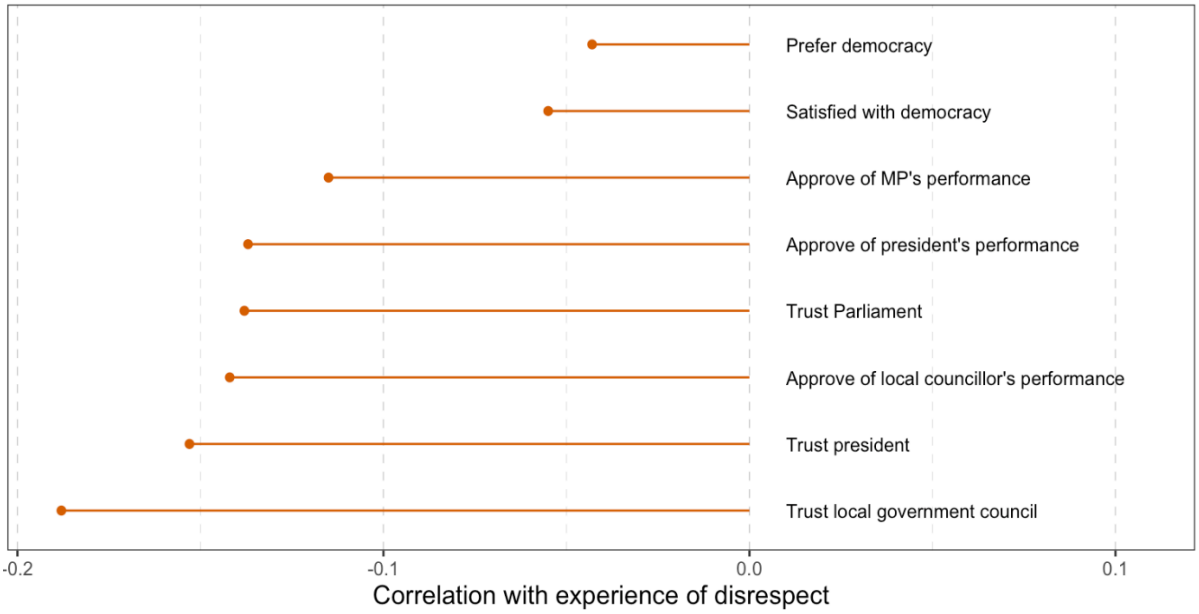
Figure 8 illustrates the strength of the relationships between increasing experiences of disrespect and more negative views of governance institutions and of democracy itself. In all cases, the sign of the correlation coefficients is negative – meaning that as experiences of disrespect increase, individuals' reported levels of trust and their assessments of their leaders' performance decline, as does their support for and satisfaction with democracy. All of the relationships are also statistically significant, meaning that based on statistical tests, the relationship meets the conditions necessary to be considered meaningful. While the association between experiences of disrespect and support for and satisfaction with democracy is relatively modest, as indicated by the smaller size of the coefficients, the relationship between experiences of disrespect and trust in local councillors is much stronger.

While correlations do not demonstrate causal relationships, it seems plausible that people's firsthand experiences of respect or disrespect when seeking public services shape their perceptions of government officials and their attitudes toward democratic governance.

Figure 8: Correlations between experiences of disrespect and evaluations of elected leaders and democracy | 39 countries | 2021/2023



Correlations are significant at the 0.01 level.

Conclusion

Deficits in public service quality and availability remain widespread on the continent, which may contribute to citizens' negative views and evaluations of elected leaders and public institutions. Afrobarometer data show that citizens' experience with disrespectful treatment by public service providers may be reinforcing these negative attitudes.

In significant numbers, Africans encounter difficulties accessing basic public services, and when they do, many do not feel they are treated with respect. Some of the most vulnerable groups in society – those living in extreme poverty and young people – are particularly likely to experience disrespect at the hands of service providers.

Such a lack of respect may not only drive citizens to avoid seeking services altogether, but it is also correlated with how they view their elected leaders and governance institutions. Respondents who experience disrespect tend to express less trust in government officials at

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local and national levels and are more likely to rate their job performance poorly. They also evince lower levels of support for, and satisfaction with, democracy.

If the "leave no one behind" promise of the SDGs is to be fulfilled, these results suggest that providing more public services may not be sufficient. Governments and other development stakeholders may need to do more to uphold international standards that call for dignified and respectful treatment of citizens by public service providers.

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.

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Appendix

Table A.1: Afrobarometer Round 9 fieldwork dates and previous survey rounds

Country	Round 9 fieldwork	Previous survey rounds
Angola	Feb.-March 2022	2019
Benin	Jan. 2022	2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2017, 2020
Botswana	June-July 2022	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2019
Burkina Faso	Sept.-Oct. 2022	2008, 2012, 2015, 2017, 2019
Cabo Verde	July-Aug. 2022	2002, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2017, 2019
Cameroon	March 2022	2013, 2015, 2018, 2021
Congo-Brazzaville	June-July 2023	NA
Côte d'Ivoire	Nov.-Dec. 2021	2013, 2014, 2017, 2019
Eswatini	Oct.-Nov. 2022	2013, 2015, 2018, 2021
Ethiopia	May-June 2023	2013, 2020
Gabon	Nov.-Dec. 2021	2015, 2017, 2020
Gambia	Aug.-Sept. 2022	2018, 2021
Ghana	April 2022	1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2019
Guinea	Aug. 2022	2013, 2015, 2017, 2019
Kenya	Nov.-Dec. 2021	2003, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2016, 2019
Lesotho	Feb.-March 2022	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2020
Liberia	Aug.-Sept. 2022	2008, 2012, 2015, 2018, 2020
Madagascar	April-May 2022	2005, 2008, 2013, 2015, 2018
Malawi	Feb. 2022	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2019
Mali	July 2022	2001, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2020
Mauritania	Nov. 2022	NA
Mauritius	March 2022	2012, 2014, 2017, 2020
Morocco	Aug.-Sept. 2022	2013, 2015, 2018, 2021
Mozambique	Oct.-Nov. 2022	2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2015, 2018, 2021
Namibia	Oct.-Nov. 2021	1999, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2019
Niger	June 2022	2013, 2015, 2018, 2020
Nigeria	March 2022	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2020
São Tomé and Príncipe	Dec. 2022	2015, 2018
Senegal	May-June 2022	2002, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2021
Seychelles	Dec. 2022	NA
Sierra Leone	June-July 2022	2012, 2015, 2018, 2020
South Africa	Nov.-Dec. 2022	2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015, 2018, 2021
Sudan	Nov.-Dec. 2022	2013, 2015, 2018, 2021
Tanzania	Sept.-Oct. 2022	2001, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2021
Togo	March 2022	2012, 2014, 2017, 2021
Tunisia	Feb.-March 2022	2013, 2015, 2018, 2020
Uganda	Jan. 2022	2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2015, 2017, 2019
Zambia	Aug.-Sept. 2022	1999, 2003, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2020
Zimbabwe	March-April 2022	1999, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2021

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Afrobarometer, a nonprofit corporation with headquarters in Ghana, is a pan-African, non-partisan 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, the University of Cape Town, and the University of Malawi provide technical support to the network.

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