

# Western Africa: Perceptions of Violence, Conflicts, and Insecurity

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The theme for the 2024 International Day of Education (celebrated each year on January 24) is “learning for lasting peace”. In this context, this series of data briefs was prepared to inform UNESCO IICBA projects, some of which (especially projects funded by the Government of Japan) focus on education for peace and how to mitigate the negative effects of conflicts and violence on learners and teachers. The briefs provide estimates from the Afrobarometer on how the adult population perceives the issues of violence, conflicts, and insecurity. The analysis is carried for countries, regions, and Africa overall based on the last two completed waves from the survey with comparisons by gender and age group (youth vs. older individuals), noting that Africa has the youngest population in the world with over 420 million people between the ages of 15 to 35 years – the definition of youth used by the African Union.

## Data Sources

The analysis is based on the last two completed waves from the Afrobarometer, a pan-African, non-partisan survey research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, the economy, and society. The sampling universe normally includes all citizens ages 18 and older. Samples usually include either 1,200 or 2,400 respondents. The sample design is a clustered, stratified, multi-stage, area probability sample according to the main subnational unit of government (state, province, region, etc.) and by urban or rural location. Wave 8 typically refers to 2022 or slightly earlier while wave 7 refers to 2019 or slightly earlier depending on the country. Some datasets for wave 9 are starting to become available but are not used here because data collection for that wave has not been finalized for all countries. Because this is a data brief, to keep it as short

Series of briefs prepared to inform projects funded by the Government of Japan



From  
the People of Japan

**Background:** The theme for the International Day of Education in 2024 is “learning for lasting peace.” In the context of a surge in conflicts, education for peace is more important than ever. This series of data briefs provides estimates from the Afrobarometer on how the adult population perceives the issues of violence, conflicts, and insecurity. The analysis is carried for countries, regions, and Africa overall based on the last two completed waves from the survey with comparisons by gender and age group (youth vs. older individuals). It was prepared to inform UNESCO IICBA projects, some of which (especially projects funded by the Government of Japan) focus on education for peace and how to mitigate the negative effects of conflicts and violence on learners and teachers.

**Data:** Using data from the last two waves of the Afrobarometer, this brief assesses perceptions of violence, conflicts, and insecurity, with a focus on the following dimensions:

- Perceptions of safety (feeling unsafe walking in one’s neighborhood; fear of crime in one’s home; fear of political intimidation or violence; fear that political competition may lead to violence; fear of violence in one’s neighborhood; and fear of violence during protests).
- Perceptions of the main problems in the country, with crime and security, political violence, political instability/division, war (international), and civil war being some of the options respondents can choose among close to 40 potential problems.
- Perceptions of the performance of the government in dealing with issues of conflict, violence, and insecurity as well as other issues are provided in a separate series of briefs published on IICBA’s website in November 2023 for Africa Youth Day.
- Perception regarding the acceptability for the government to restrict freedom of movement or monitor communications in case of violence are also available in the Afrobarometer datasets and will be provided in a separate briefs series.

as possible and within 4 pages, no analysis is provided. The focus is simply on providing estimates that should be self-explanatory. Analysis is however provided in a paper available separately (Tsimpo and Wodon, 2024).

## Perceptions Related to Safety

Tables 1 and 2 provide estimates of respondents' perceptions related to safety for waves 7 and 8. Questions are asked on whether respondents feel unsafe walking in their neighborhood; fear crime in their own home; fear political intimidation or violence; fear that political competition may lead to violence; fear violence in their neighborhood; and fear of violence during protests. Trends can be observed by comparing results with both waves.

**Table 1: Respondents' Perceptions Related to Safety, Wave 7 (% of Respondents)**

	Youth (15-35)			Older (over 35)			All		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
<b>Felt unsafe walking in neighborhood</b>									
Never	62.1	61.9	62.0	64.0	61.6	63.1	62.6	61.8	62.2
Just once or twice	11.3	11.8	11.6	9.2	9.6	9.3	10.8	11.5	11.2
Several times	14.3	14.3	14.3	13.2	16.0	14.2	14.1	14.5	14.3
Many times	6.5	6.0	6.2	6.6	7.4	6.9	6.5	6.2	6.4
Always	5.5	5.7	5.6	6.9	5.3	6.3	5.9	5.7	5.8
Refused/Don't know	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Feared crime in own home</b>									
Never	71.3	68.6	69.9	72.3	68.9	71.1	71.5	68.6	70.1
Just once or twice	9.3	10.3	9.8	8.1	9.2	8.5	9.0	10.1	9.6
Several times	9.4	10.6	10.1	9.1	11.3	10.0	9.4	10.7	10.1
Many times	4.9	5.5	5.2	4.5	5.9	5.0	4.8	5.6	5.2
Always	4.9	4.9	4.9	6.0	4.3	5.3	5.2	4.8	5.0
Refused/Don't know	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Fear of political intimidation or violence</b>									
A lot	17.9	19.6	18.8	17.1	18.8	17.7	17.7	19.5	18.6
Somewhat	10.0	10.5	10.3	9.6	9.0	9.4	9.9	10.3	10.1
A little bit	18.1	18.1	18.1	14.0	13.8	13.9	17.2	17.5	17.4
Not at all	53.3	51.0	52.1	58.6	57.5	58.2	54.6	51.9	53.2
Refused/Don't know	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Political competition leading to violence</b>									
Never	13.6	13.5	13.6	13.6	13.5	13.6	13.6	13.5	13.6
Rarely	22.5	23.7	23.1	25.0	20.8	23.4	23.0	23.3	23.2
Often	38.4	37.8	38.0	38.0	38.7	38.3	38.3	37.9	38.1
Always	24.2	22.3	23.2	21.7	22.2	21.9	23.6	22.3	22.9
Refused/Don't know	1.4	2.7	2.1	1.7	4.8	2.9	1.5	3.0	2.2
Not asked in this country	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Feared violence in neighborhood</b>									
No, Never	67.3	68.6	68.0	73.9	72.6	73.4	68.9	69.1	69.0
Yes, feared but didn't experience	19.9	20.9	20.5	18.7	18.5	18.6	19.6	20.6	20.1
Yes, feared and experienced	12.3	9.8	11.0	7.0	8.3	7.5	11.1	9.6	10.3
Refused/Don't know	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Feared violence during protest</b>									
No, Never	68.2	70.2	69.2	74.0	76.0	74.7	69.5	71.0	70.3
Yes, feared but didn't experience	19.9	20.4	20.2	19.0	15.7	17.7	19.7	19.8	19.7
Yes, feared and experienced	10.1	7.1	8.5	5.9	5.9	5.9	9.1	6.9	8.0
Refused/Don't know	1.8	2.3	2.1	1.2	2.5	1.7	1.6	2.3	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' estimation using Afrobarometer data.

**Table 2: Respondents' Perceptions Related to Safety, Wave 8 (% of Respondents)**

	Youth (15-35)			Older (over 35)			All		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
<b>Felt unsafe walking in neighborhood</b>									
Never	52.9	50.8	51.8	55.6	55.5	55.6	53.7	51.9	52.8
Just once or twice	14.4	14.2	14.3	13.3	13.0	13.2	14.1	13.9	14.0
Several times	16.5	18.1	17.3	14.1	15.5	14.7	15.8	17.5	16.6
Many times	9.9	10.1	10.0	9.8	10.6	10.1	9.8	10.2	10.0
Always	6.2	6.6	6.4	7.0	5.1	6.2	6.4	6.2	6.3
Refused/Don't know	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Feared crime in own home</b>									
Never	62.5	59.4	60.9	62.9	61.6	62.4	62.6	59.9	61.3
Just once or twice	12.4	13.0	12.7	12.1	12.2	12.1	12.3	12.8	12.6
Several times	12.0	13.2	12.7	11.2	12.2	11.6	11.8	13.0	12.4
Many times	7.7	8.4	8.1	7.2	8.2	7.6	7.5	8.4	8.0
Always	5.2	5.7	5.4	6.4	5.0	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.5
Refused/Don't know	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Fear of political intimidation or violence</b>									
A lot	10.0	11.7	10.9	8.5	8.6	8.5	9.6	11.0	10.3
Somewhat	8.8	9.2	9.0	6.9	6.2	6.6	8.2	8.5	8.4
A little bit	15.7	16.3	16.0	11.4	12.6	11.9	14.5	15.4	15.0
Not at all	63.9	60.7	62.2	72.2	71.1	71.7	66.3	63.0	64.7
Refused/Don't know	1.6	2.1	1.9	1.0	1.5	1.2	1.4	2.0	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Political competition leading to violence</b>									
Never	14.0	14.9	14.4	16.6	16.2	16.4	14.7	15.2	14.9
Rarely	25.4	23.9	24.6	27.0	23.8	25.6	25.9	23.9	24.9
Often	32.4	32.3	32.3	29.9	30.7	30.2	31.7	31.9	31.8
Always	23.7	23.1	23.4	22.4	22.0	22.2	23.3	22.9	23.1
Refused/Don't know	1.7	3.0	2.4	1.4	3.4	2.3	1.6	3.1	2.3
Not asked in this country	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.7	3.8	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Feared violence in neighborhood</b>									
No, Never	65.2	65.9	65.5	70.8	71.2	70.9	66.8	67.1	66.9
Yes, feared but didn't experience	21.8	22.9	22.4	19.9	20.5	20.2	21.3	22.4	21.8
Yes, feared and experienced	12.5	10.4	11.4	8.9	7.5	8.3	11.4	9.7	10.6
Refused/Don't know	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Feared violence during protest</b>									
No, Never	66.8	69.6	68.3	74.1	76.1	75.0	68.9	71.1	70.0
Yes, feared but didn't experience	21.0	20.9	21.0	18.0	16.0	17.2	20.1	19.8	20.0
Yes, feared and experienced	10.9	7.8	9.3	6.6	5.3	6.0	9.7	7.3	8.5
Refused/Don't know	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.2	2.6	1.8	1.3	1.8	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' estimation using Afrobarometer data.

## Main Problems in the Country

Tables 3 and 4 provide estimates of which issues are considered priorities to be dealt with by respondents. Respondents are asked about three potential priorities, but only the first is reported in the Tables. Crime and security, political violence, political instability or division, war internationally, and civil war can be selected by respondents among close to 40 potential problems. Trends can again be observed by comparing results with both waves.

**Table 3: Respondents' Perceptions Related to Priority Issues in the Country, Wave 7 (% of Respondents)**

	Youth (15-35)			Older (over 35)			All		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Nothing/ no problems	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.3
Management of the economy	9.1	9.8	9.5	6.8	6.1	6.5	8.6	9.3	8.9
Wages, incomes and salaries	2.1	2.4	2.3	1.8	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.4	2.2
Unemployment	19.4	15.8	17.5	12.8	20.6	15.7	17.8	16.5	17.2
Poverty/destitution	5.5	9.4	7.6	5.3	11.1	7.5	5.5	9.6	7.5
Rates and Taxes	2.8	3.3	3.1	1.5	1.1	1.4	2.5	3.0	2.8
Loans / credit	0.3	1.1	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4	1.1	0.7
Farming/agriculture	4.1	3.4	3.7	6.3	4.0	5.4	4.6	3.5	4.0
Food shortage/famine	8.9	11.5	10.3	10.7	11.2	10.9	9.3	11.5	10.4
Drought	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.6
Land	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Transportation	1.0	0.6	0.8	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.6	0.8
Communications	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Infrastructure / roads	6.7	4.8	5.7	9.0	5.6	7.7	7.2	4.9	6.1
Education	5.9	5.6	5.7	5.1	5.8	5.3	5.7	5.6	5.6
Housing	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5
Electricity	3.7	3.6	3.7	4.1	3.3	3.8	3.8	3.6	3.7
Water supply	8.1	10.4	9.3	9.7	9.8	9.7	8.5	10.3	9.4
Orphans/street children/homeless childr	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Services (other)	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Health	5.7	5.7	5.7	7.5	6.1	7.0	6.1	5.8	5.9
AIDS	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sickness / Disease	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2
Crime and Security	4.3	3.0	3.6	4.7	3.6	4.3	4.4	3.1	3.8
Corruption	3.8	1.7	2.7	2.5	1.0	1.9	3.5	1.6	2.5
Political violence	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3
Political instability / ethnic tensions	1.9	1.3	1.6	2.4	1.4	2.0	2.0	1.3	1.7
Discrimination/ inequality	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.9	0.1	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.3
Gender issues / women's rights	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Democracy/political rights	0.9	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.6
War (international)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Civil war	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3
Agricultural marketing	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2
Drugs/ Alcoholism	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Immigration/ Foreigners	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Drugs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Anglophone crisis	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Elderly grants	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other/Refused/Don't know	1.4	1.3	1.4	2.2	0.6	1.6	1.6	1.2	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' estimation using Afrobarometer data.

**Table 4: Respondents' Perceptions Related to Priority Issues in the Country, Wave 8 (% of Respondents)**

	Youth (15-35)			Older (over 35)			All		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Nothing/ no problems	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4
Management of the economy	6.9	7.0	6.9	5.9	4.6	5.4	6.6	6.5	6.5
Wages, incomes and salaries	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.3
Unemployment	16.8	15.4	16.1	13.4	15.6	14.3	15.9	15.4	15.6
Poverty/destitution	4.9	6.0	5.5	6.2	9.2	7.5	5.3	6.7	6.0
Rates and Taxes	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1
Loans / credit	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6
Farming/agriculture	2.3	1.7	2.0	4.1	1.9	3.1	2.8	1.7	2.3
Food shortage/famine	4.8	6.3	5.6	6.2	7.2	6.6	5.2	6.5	5.9

Drought	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.7
Land	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
Transportation	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6
Communications	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Infrastructure / roads	9.9	8.9	9.4	10.0	8.3	9.3	9.9	8.7	9.3
Education	7.7	8.0	7.8	5.8	5.9	5.8	7.1	7.5	7.3
Housing	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.5	1.2	0.9	1.1	1.0
Electricity	3.5	3.6	3.5	2.5	2.8	2.6	3.2	3.4	3.3
Water supply	7.8	9.4	8.6	8.9	9.6	9.2	8.1	9.5	8.8
Orphans/street children/homeless childr	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2
Services (other)	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8
Health	7.9	8.9	8.4	9.1	8.9	9.0	8.3	8.9	8.6
AIDS	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Sickness / Disease	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3
Crime and Security	7.9	6.6	7.2	8.0	7.7	7.9	7.9	6.8	7.4
Corruption	5.6	3.5	4.5	4.1	2.7	3.5	5.2	3.3	4.2
Political violence	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Political instability/political division	0.7	0.6	0.7	1.1	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.7
Discrimination/ inequality	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
Gender issues / women's rights	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2
Democracy/political rights	0.9	0.5	0.7	1.1	0.5	0.9	1.0	0.5	0.7
War (international)	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Civil war	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.5
Agricultural marketing	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.6
Climate change	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Youth unemployment	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.6
COVID-19	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Immigration	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cash crisis	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Marginalization	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grant for elderly	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other/Refused/Don't know	2.5	3.0	2.8	2.4	3.3	2.8	2.5	3.0	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' estimation using Afrobarometer data.

## Performance of the Government and Restrictions to Freedom

Although estimates are not provided in this brief, data are also available on perceptions of the performance of the government in dealing with various issues, including those related to conflict, violence, and insecurity. For those estimates, please refer to a separate series of data briefs published on UNESCO IICBA's website in November 2023 for Africa Youth Day. In most countries, perceptions of the performance of government on most issues is low. Perception regarding the acceptability for the government to restrict freedom of movement or monitor communications in case of violence are also available in the Afrobarometer datasets and will be provided in a separate briefs series.

## Conclusion

Using data from waves 7 and 8 of the Afrobarometer, this brief provided estimates of perceptions of violence, conflicts, and insecurity in a random sample of the adult population. To keep the brief as short as possible, no analysis was provided, but basic analysis of the estimates across countries is available separately in Tsimpo and Wodon (2024).

## References

Tsimpo, C., and Q. Wodon (2024, forthcoming). Perceptions of Crime, Conflict, and Security in Africa: Estimates from the Afrobarometer and Implications for Education for Peace. IICBA Discussion Paper. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: UNESCO IICBA.

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