

ONE AFRICA?

Unpacking youth narratives about pan-Africanism and continental integration

A summary of a nine-country survey





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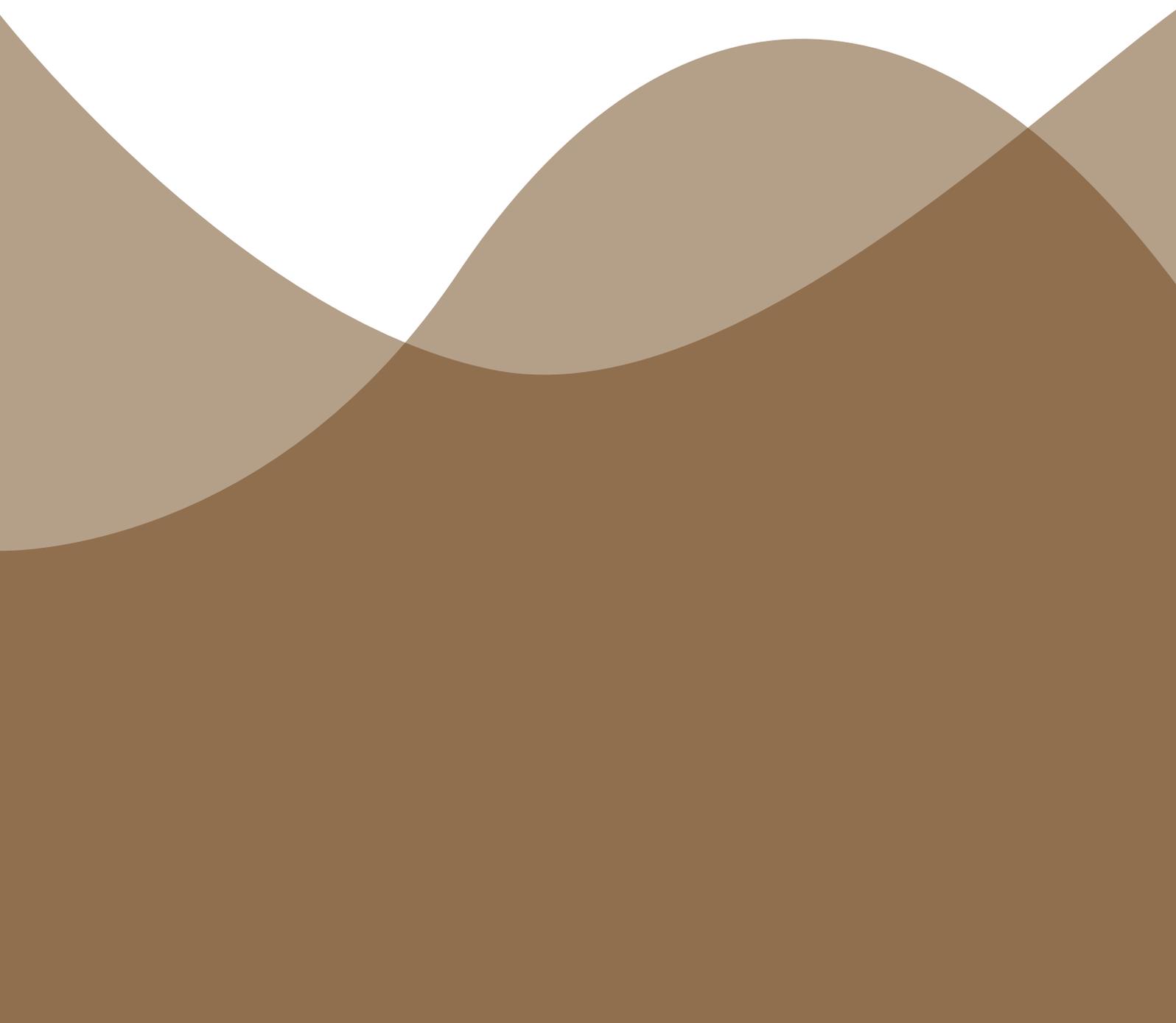
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About this report

Africa is a diverse and complex continent, consisting of 54 countries, 5 regions and about 2 000 languages. This report explores youth attitudes to the 'One Africa' narrative, pan-Africanism and continental integration. It is based on a survey of 4 500 people, aged 18-35, in nine African countries: Egypt, Morocco, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa and Zimbabwe. These nine countries act as proxy for the continent and provide evidence of a wide range of attitudes to the issues raised.

The research was funded by Africa No Filter and Facebook in partnership with the African Union and AUDA-NEPAD.

About Africa No Filter

Africa No Filter is a donor collaborative that is working to shift stereotypical and harmful narratives within and about Africa. Through research, grant-making, community building and advocacy, our objective is to build the field of narrative change-makers by supporting storytellers, investing in media platforms and driving disruption campaigns. The donor collaborative is funded by Ford Foundation, Bloomberg, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Luminate, Open Society Foundations, Comic Relief, the Hilton Foundation, the British Council and Hewlett Foundation.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Africa No Filter's mission is to shift harmful and stereotypical narratives about Africa, and – perhaps more importantly – within Africa. Our report *How African media covers Africa* showed that African news outlets seldom offered content about other African countries. The few times they did, the stories were typically classified as 'hard news', which by its nature tends to be negative. Africans have limited exposure to stories from other African countries, and how the world sees Africa is largely how Africa sees itself.

To better understand how young Africans perceive pan-Africanism (the concept that Africans have common interests and should be unified) and continental integration, we conducted a survey in which we asked about the extent they felt 'African', their relationships with other Africans, what they knew and felt about the rest of the continent, and the impact of their views on their actions.

In our study, we polled 4 500 African youth from nine countries representing four regions: North Africa (Egypt and Morocco), West Africa (Ghana, Ivory Coast and Nigeria), East Africa (Kenya and Uganda), and Southern Africa (South Africa and Zimbabwe).

We are pleased to report that the data revealed that most respondents in these countries always consider themselves African and have a positive attitude about this identity.

Over 85% of respondents from West Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa, perceived themselves as African and more than 68% were highly interested in travelling to or living in other African countries. They also had positive attitudes about friendships, marriage and working relationships with Africans from other parts of the continent.

Strikingly, although many respondents from West and Southern Africa reported hearing mainly negative stories about the rest of Africa, they held generally positive views about the continent. Respondents from East Africa were most likely to have heard positive stories and unsurprisingly they expressed the most positive views about their African identity, travelling and living elsewhere on the continent, and having relationships with Africans from other African countries.

Respondents from North African were less likely to perceive themselves as African, less interested in travelling to or living in other African countries, and largely negative about having relationships with Africans from other parts of the continent.

Respondents across the survey reported corruption as the commonest negative narrative about other African countries. The most frequent positive narrative they heard was that other African countries are open and friendly. Social media was the main source of information about Africa among our respondents, while only a small percentage relied on political leaders for information.

KEY FINDINGS FROM THE REPORT

01 'One Africa' is a sub-Saharan concept

There were regional differences between North Africa and the rest of the continent. Respondents from West, East, and Southern Africa had a much higher affinity with the concept of being African, especially those from Ivory Coast (**94%**) and Uganda (**93%**).

02 North Africans don't align with Africa

While most young African respondents had positive attitudes about friendship, marriage and working relationships with other Africans, those from North Africa held more negative views. This was true especially of respondents from Egypt: **69%** had no friends from other African countries, **66%** would not want to employ or work with someone from another African country, **60%** would not want to move to another African country for work, and a staggering **96%** would not consider marrying someone of a different ethnicity.

03 Desire to travel within the continent is high in sub-Saharan Africa

Although **63%** of Africans had not travelled to any other African country, **56%** of Southern Africans had travelled to at least one other African country. Also, **61%** of sub-Saharan Africans wanted to travel to other African countries, but only **20%** of North Africans wanted to do so. The main hindrance to travel was that **57%** thought it was too expensive.

04 Young Africans are welcoming and accommodating

Across the survey, **71%** of respondents said they were accommodating to other ethnicities, which lines up with their perceptions that they are united in being African. However, **12%** thought their ethnic group superior and **11%** thought their ethnic group was marginalised.

05 Positive stories dominate East Africa

Respondents from East Africa (**57%**) mostly heard positive stories about other African countries, especially that they are open and welcoming to visitors, and that they offer many economic opportunities.

06 West and Southern Africa mainly hear negative stories

Respondents from West and Southern Africa (**40%**) reported negative stories about other African countries – especially stories about corruption; **25%** reported hearing very little about the continent, and only **35%** said they heard positive stories.

07 Knowledge of other countries is high

82% of young Africans felt they knew the continent somewhat well or very well.

08 Xenophobia is reported as being quite low

Despite other studies highlighting xenophobia in many African countries, our study found that about **70%** of respondents had a positive attitude towards people from elsewhere in Africa living in their country (although only **51%** of those from Ghana felt positive). Surprisingly, since xenophobia is generally considered a problem in South Africa, **62%** of South African respondents from South Africa had positive views about Africans from other countries, and only **21%** had negative views.

09 Social media is the main source of information about Africa

Across the survey, **52%** of the respondents relied on social media for information about Africa, and only **13%** relied on politicians to provide them with accurate information. However, in Egypt, **39%** of respondents mainly heard about Africa from television or books, while **67%** from Morocco learnt about Africa from their friends and communities.

Overall, this report suggests that young people in Africa are in favour of a united, integrated continent. This bodes well for African Union, AUDA, NEPAD, and Regional Economic Communities' attempts to make that a reality through various policies and agreements, like AfCFTA. As in other studies, our poll found that social media is a major driver of connectedness between young people.



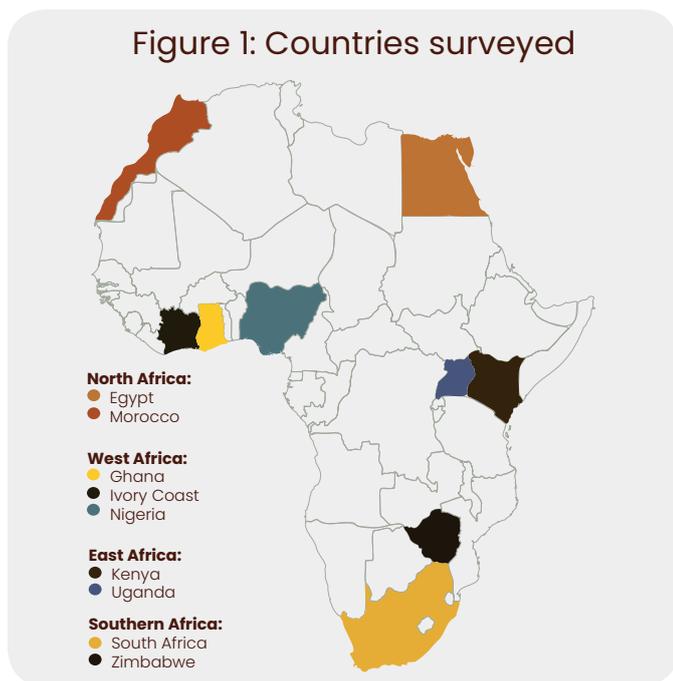
INTRODUCTION

Africa No Filter (ANF) researched narratives about Africa to understand the prevailing stories and resulting narratives and analyse the impact of these narratives on the continent. We commissioned GeoPoll to poll youth in nine African countries to unpack the prevailing narratives about continental integration and the impact of those narratives, and the polls were conducted during April 2021. Our intention is to extend this study into other countries at a later stage. This research forms part of ANF's mission to research, analyse and understand the impact of harmful and stereotypical narratives within and about Africa.

The research explored the diversity and complexity of the 4 regions on the continent and examined how integrated young Africans feel, and how they feel about other Africans. The research especially focused on young Africans' identity, their knowledge about Africa, the kind of narratives they hear, and where they hear stories and narratives about Africa.

METHODOLOGY

Random sampling was used to interview 4 500 young people in nine countries to represent four geographical regions in Africa, i.e. East, West, Southern and North Africa. We reached 500 respondents, aged 18–35, in each country depicted in Figure 1.



Questions, designed by GeoPoll and ANF, were conducted in English, French and Arabic. Call centre operators in each country were trained to contact respondents using an automatic dialling system and conduct interviews via mobile phone. Those contacted could opt in or out of the interviews; those who opted in received airtime credits. Call centre operators continued to conduct interviews until the desired number of respondents was achieved.

Due to trends in mobile ownership, most of the respondents were urban (varying between countries, from 99% in Ivory Coast to 74% in Egypt) and/or had higher educational achievement, but rural and/or less educated youth were not screened out. The number of respondents who had achieved secondary education or higher was above 95% in most countries, except for Egypt (79%) and Morocco (68%).

There were about equal numbers of men and women respondents across all countries, except for Ivory Coast, where respondents were about two-thirds men and one-third women. Employment of respondents varied by country, with Egypt (39%) and Ivory Coast (35%) having a high number of youth working in the creative sector. South Africa had the most unemployed respondents (38%), while in the other countries, more than 37% were in steady employment. In Kenya many respondents (37%) had their own business/trade, and many in Morocco (21%) were artisans or labourers.

We acknowledge the limitations of this study as it mostly focused on Anglophone African countries, except for Ivory Coast and Morocco. As the respondents were all cell phone owners, the demographic is also skewed to more urban and educated youth. Moreover, because the study is limited to nine African countries, we cannot claim that the report is comprehensive.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

In exploring continental integration, we focused on young Africans' experience of being integrated into (part of) the continent. We assessed the level of integration based on how young African people feel (African identity), what knowledge they have about Africa, their interactions with other Africans, the main (positive and negative) stories and narratives they hear about Africa, and where they find the stories and narratives they hear.

1. UNDERSTANDING AFRICAN IDENTITY

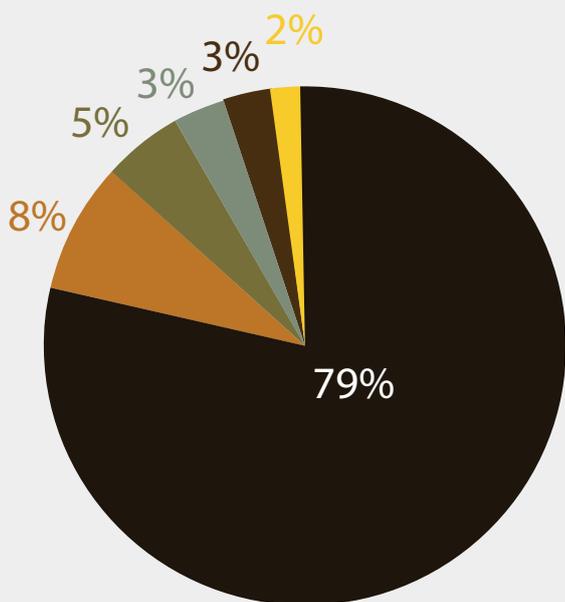
In this section, we look at how young Africans perceive their African identity, based on whether respondents perceived themselves as African and whether they viewed being African in a positive light. Most respondents (79%) always considered themselves 'African', especially in Southern Africa (92%). The percentage was lowest in North Africa, where 59% of respondents always thought of themselves as African.

This percentage was influenced by Egyptian respondents, only 28% of whom always considered themselves African. More 18–25-year-olds (83%) considered themselves African than did 26–35-year-olds (78%).

Most respondents (77%) also felt positive about being seen as African; fewer than 3% said that this was negative (i.e. that they were ashamed of being considered African). In sub-Saharan Africa, 80% of respondents felt positive about being seen as African, with respondents in Ivory Coast (94%) and Uganda (93%) being the most positive. However, many from Egypt (41%) were indifferent towards being seen as African.

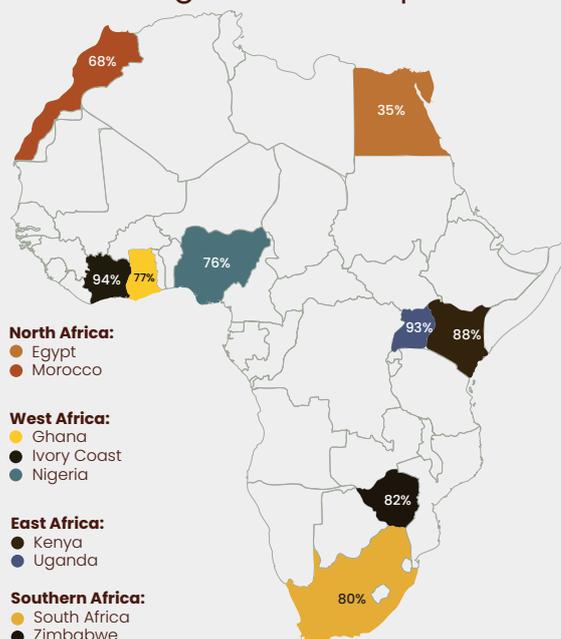
In terms of continental integration then, most respondents saw themselves as belonging to the continent, and this gave them a positive feeling.

Figure 2: Do you consider yourself to be an African?



- Sometimes - when you travel outside of the continent
- Sometimes - when you speak to non-Africans
- Never
- Other
- Always
- Don't know

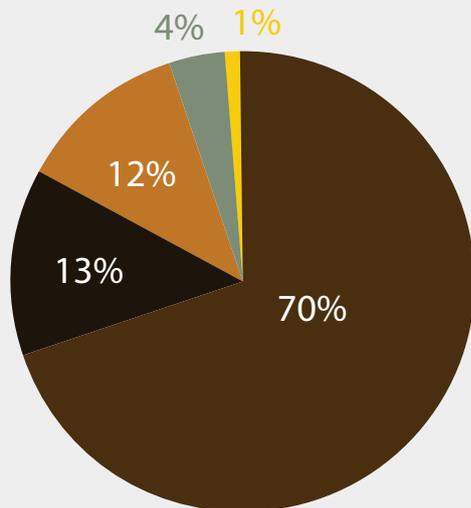
Figure 3: How many participants said being African was positive?



2. HOW WELL YOUNG AFRICANS KNOW AFRICA

Respondents then answered broader questions about the extent of their knowledge about Africa, how much they had travelled in Africa, and what they thought about travelling to other countries on the continent.

Figure 4: How well do you know your continent?



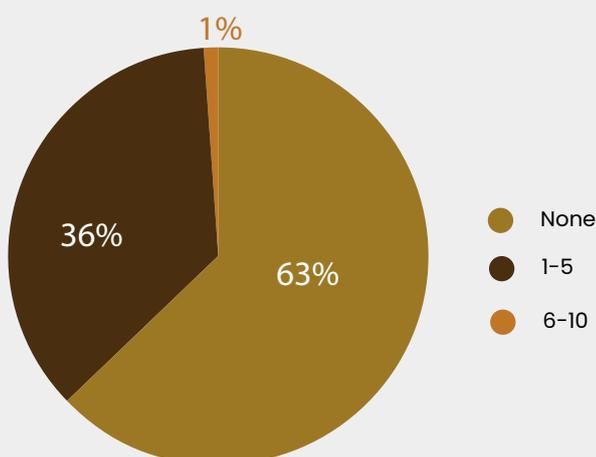
- You know it moderately well - you could know more
- You know it well - you have travelled extensively
- You don't know it at all
- You are not interested in knowing the continent
- Don't know

Of respondents across all the countries, 69% said that they know the continent moderately well and 13% said they know it well. While approximately 53% of respondents from North Africa considered themselves to have a moderate knowledge of the continent, 24% from Morocco and 22% from Ivory Coast said they know nothing about the rest of the continent. This result for Ivory Coast was surprising because 94% of these respondents were positive about being seen as African.

While 37% of respondents across all sub-Saharan countries had travelled to another African country, 78% of those from North Africa had never travelled to another African country. This figure implies that youth in North Africa are more isolated and disconnected from the rest of the continent than youth in sub-Saharan Africa.

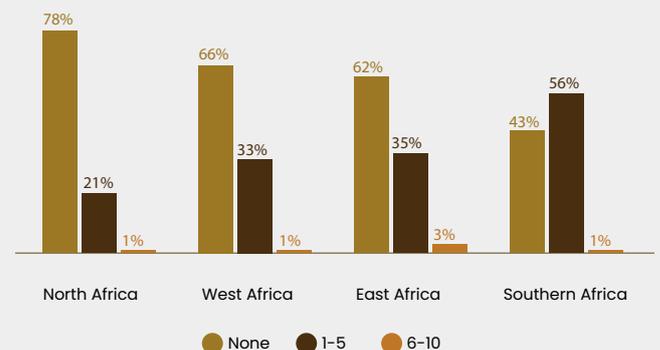
This lack of travel on the continent might partly explain why fewer respondents from North Africa saw themselves as African, even though they did not have negative views about being seen as African. More respondents from Southern Africa (57% travelled to 1 to 10 countries%) reported having travelled to one or more other African countries, which might explain why more (92%) considered themselves African than those living in other regions.

Figure 5: How many countries in Africa have you travelled to?



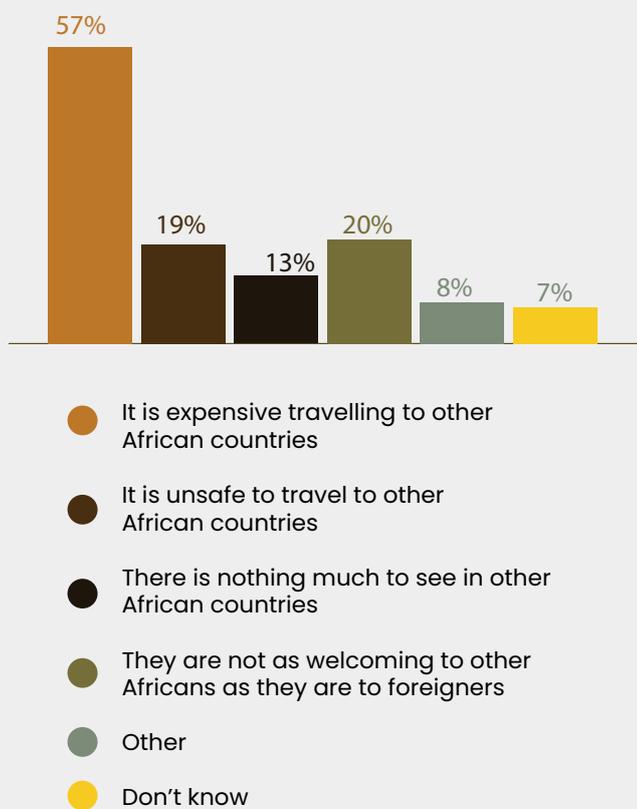
- None
- 1-5
- 6-10

Figure 6: How many countries in Africa have you travelled to?



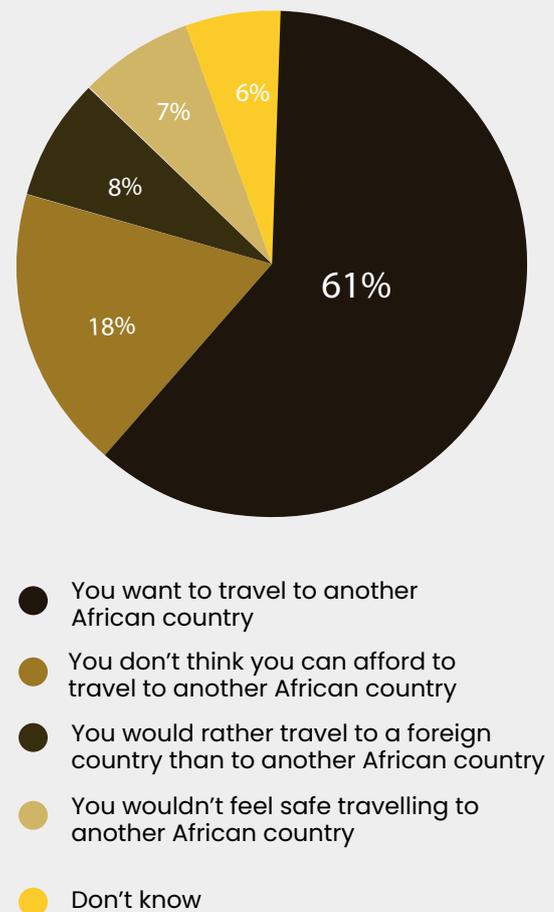
Regarding the main barriers to travelling elsewhere in Africa, 57% of respondents across the survey were concerned that it was too expensive, 19% had safety concerns, 20% thought other countries would be unwelcoming and 13% thought there was nothing to see elsewhere in Africa. (Respondents could select more than one option.)

Figure 7: What perception do you have about travelling to other African countries?



Most respondents from sub-Saharan Africa (61%) said they would like to travel to other countries on the continent, but 28% of respondents from North Africa preferred to travel elsewhere. From these responses, we can conclude that youth in Africa are interested in knowing more about other African countries, through travel, and the main barrier is their perception that travel is expensive. Safety and being unwelcome are of less concern.

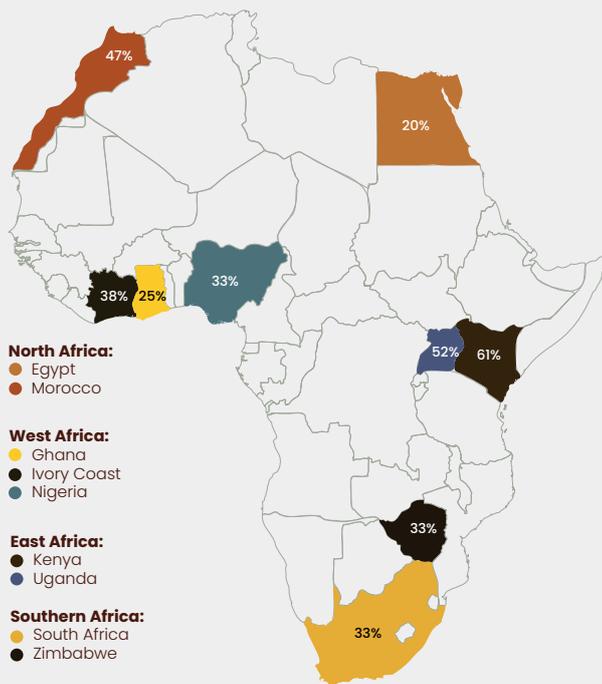
Figure 8: Would you travel to other African countries?



3. HOW YOUNG AFRICANS SEE 'THE AFRICAN STORY'

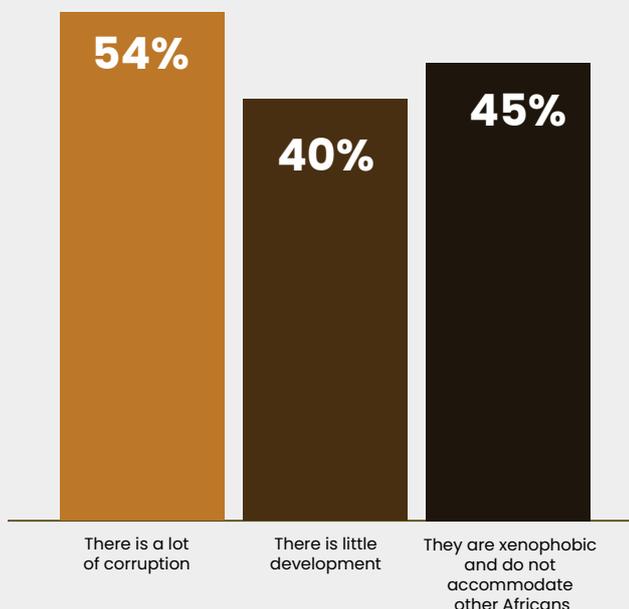
Stories and narratives shape our perceptions. ANF has found no previous studies on young Africans' responses to the narratives and stories they hear about the continent. Therefore, in this section we looked at what kind of stories young Africans were hearing (positive or negative), what the prevailing negative and positive stories were, and where they were getting the stories from.

Figure 9: How many young Africans hear positive stories about the continent?



Worryingly, only 39% of respondents across the survey reported hearing mainly positive stories, with respondents from East Africa (57%) hearing the most positive stories. Many respondents (31%) mainly heard negative stories, and almost a quarter (24%) reported hearing very little about other African countries. While respondents from West and Southern Africa (40%) mainly heard negative stories, they still mainly viewed being seen as African as a positive thing (West Africa 82% and Southern Africa 91%). Further research could explore this apparent contradiction.

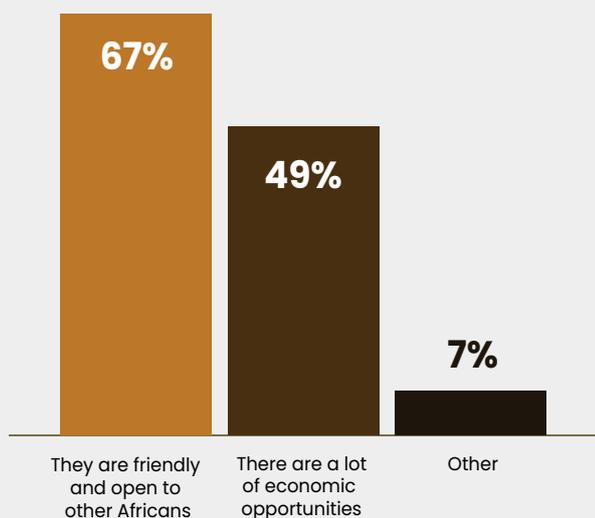
Figure 10: What are the negative stories you hear most about neighbouring African countries



Respondents were asked what negative stories they heard most often about other African countries. Most respondents reported stories about corruption (54%), xenophobia (45%) and underdevelopment (40%). On a regional level, 66% of respondents from North Africa reporting hearing about corruption, and 62% respondents from Southern Africa reporting hearing about xenophobia. (Respondents could select more than one answer.)

Respondents were also asked what positive stories they heard most often about neighbouring African countries. Across the survey, most (67%) had heard that neighbouring countries are friendly and open to other Africans. This was especially true for respondents from Kenya (83%), Ghana (79%) and Ivory Coast (72%). Many respondents from Kenya (78%) and more than 49% of respondents across the survey had also heard positive stories about economic opportunities available in neighbouring African countries. (Respondents could select more than one answer.)

Figure 11: What are the positive stories you hear most about neighbouring African countries?



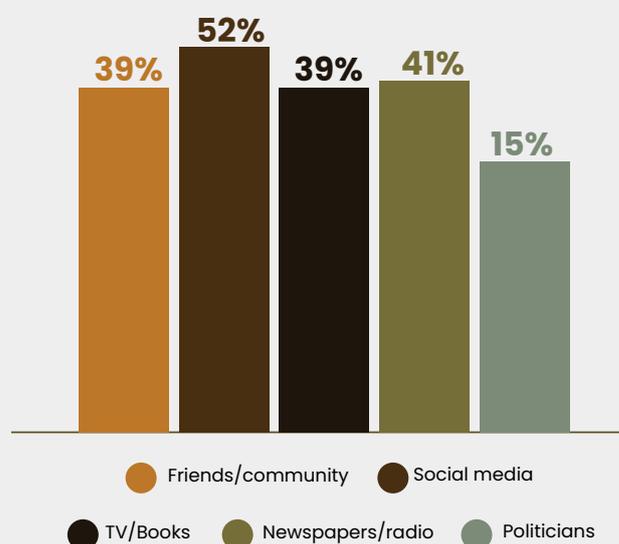
These findings suggest that, even though respondents in West and Southern Africa reported hearing mostly negative stories about Africa, they had also heard positive narratives about people on the continent being friendly and open for business. Interestingly, although 75% of respondents from Zimbabwe and 62% from Ivory Coast had heard negative stories about the high prevalence of xenophobia in neighbouring African countries, 59% from Zimbabwe and 72% from Ivory Coast had also heard positive stories about being welcomed there. It would, therefore, be important to explore these apparently contradictory understandings in more depth.

Since many respondents from East Africa reported stories of friendliness and openness to business in neighbouring African countries, it would also be interesting to explore whether countries from this region are more likely to do business across the continent.

Having looked at the form of narratives heard by young Africans, the survey looked at common sources of these narratives: friends and community; people followed on social media; films, TV and books; newspapers and radio; and politicians. Most respondents across the survey (52%) gained knowledge about Africa from people they followed on social media, and only 15% heard about Africa from politicians. However, only 29% of respondents from Egypt and 21% from Morocco relied on social media; 67% of respondents from Morocco relied on friends and community for news about the rest of Africa and 39% from Egypt relied on films, television and books.

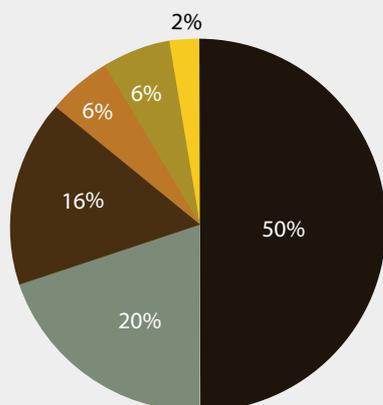
According to these results, social media, television, newspapers and radio provide most narratives about the rest of Africa and would be the best way to reach audiences and to counteract negative stereotypes. However, it would be important to find out which social media platforms African youth commonly use, and whether use is different in different age groups (e.g. 18-25 and 26-35).

Figure 12: Where do you most hear stories about Africans from other countries?



4. HOW YOUNG AFRICANS SEE EACH OTHER

Figure 13: What perception do you have about Africans from other countries living in your country?



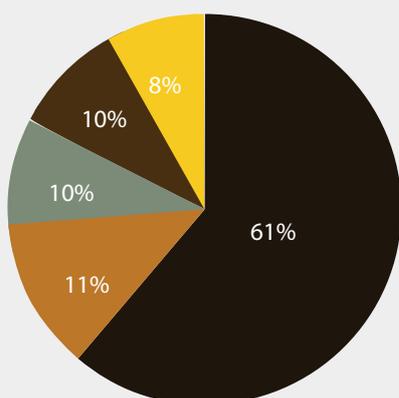
- You view them positively (you are accepting and accommodating towards South Africans)
- You view them positively (they bring jobs and opportunity with them)
- You are indifferent
- You view them negatively (you consider them to be dangerous and criminals)
- You view them negatively (you are suspicious of them and see them as taking opportunities away from you)
- Don't know

The research also explored young Africans' perceptions of other Africans, especially those from other countries who live in their country, and other tribes/ethnicities within their country. These questions also covered their beliefs about Francophone versus Anglophone countries.

Across the survey, most respondents (70%) had a positive view of Africans from other countries living in their country. This was especially true of respondents from East Africa (84%). Whereas 69% of respondents from West Africa as a region felt positive about other Africans living in their country, only 51% from Ghana said they felt positive and 20% were negative (the highest number in the survey).

Respondents from North Africa as a region were least positive (58%); however, those from both Egypt (62%) and Morocco (55%) felt more positive than those from Ghana. While South Africa is typically regarded as xenophobic, 62% of South African respondents felt positive about other Africans living in their country, and only 21% felt negative.

Figure 14: What perception do you have of other tribes and ethnicities in your country?



- Your tribe is more superior than others
- Other tribes have negative traditions
- You are accommodating and accepting of other tribes
- You feel marginalised by other dominant tribes in your country
- Don't know

Most respondents (71%) said they were accommodating and accepting of other tribes and ethnicities, but 12% felt superior and 11% felt marginalised, suggesting that 23% of respondents still held competitive perceptions of other ethnicities and tribes.

Respondents from Ivory Coast (93%) and Kenya (88%) indicated the most positive perception of other tribes and ethnicities.

The fact that many respondents were not prejudiced towards other tribes, despite the tendency of politicians to attempt to stir up tensions, may be linked to the fact that a small percentage of young Africans (15% of respondents across the survey) seem to get information from politicians (see Figure 12 on page 6).

Many respondents (53%) did not have strong opinions about Anglophone Africans versus Francophone Africans. Regionally, 57% of respondents from Southern Africa, 55% from North Africa, 52% from East Africa and 50% from West Africa said that they had no specific beliefs. However, 53% from Morocco thought Francophones were not as educated as Anglophones. Given that Morocco is a Francophone country, it is surprising to find this negative view about their own education.

The results of the survey show that most respondents had a positive attitude towards Africans from other countries living in their country, were accommodating of other tribes, and generally did not perceive educational differences between Anglophones and Francophones. This suggests that, not only do most African youth across the continent perceive themselves as African, but they extend that 'African-ness' to others.

5. HOW YOUNG AFRICANS PRACTISE CULTURAL INTEGRATION

To assess the extent to which young Africans' views translated into practice, in terms of specific relationships, we asked whether respondents thought they would be welcomed elsewhere on the continent and whether they would consider moving for work. We also asked about their openness to having deeper relationships (friendships, romantic/marriage or working relationships) with Africans from a different ethnicity or from elsewhere on the continent.

Most respondents (76%) felt that they would be welcome if they were to live or work in another African country, with respondents from West Africa being the most positive (83%).

Regionally, this percentage was lowest in North Africa (62%), however, the result is skewed by responses from Egypt, where 44% believed they would be welcome elsewhere on the continent. The survey found that 61% of respondents had friends from other African countries, with those from Southern Africa (68%) and East Africa (67%) most likely to have friends from elsewhere on the continent.

Figure 15: What do you believe about Francophone/Anglophone Africans?

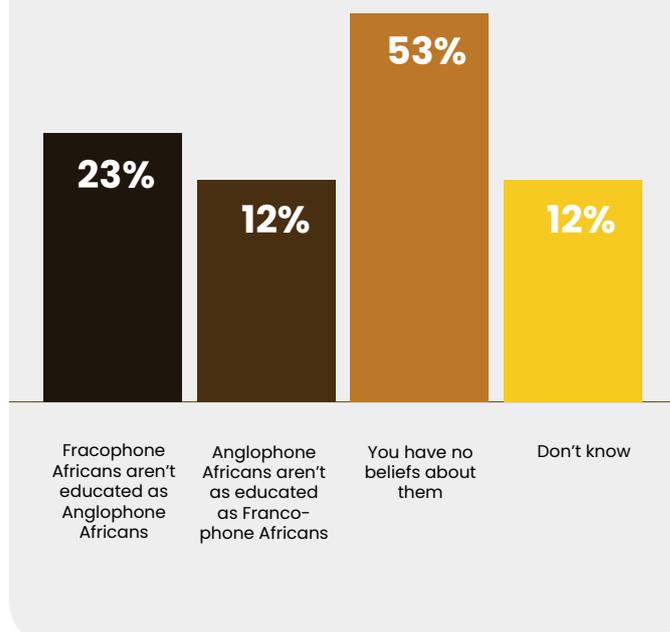
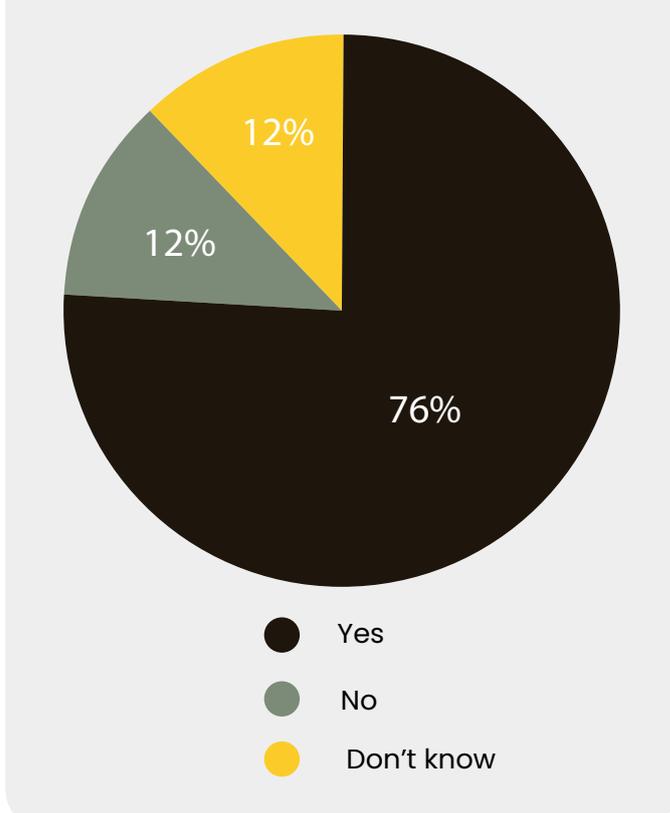


Figure 16: Do you think you would be welcome if you were to work and live in another African country?



However, the regional figure for West Africa (64%) hid stark contrasts between countries: 92% of respondents from Ivory Coast had friends from elsewhere on the continent, but only 58% from Nigeria did. Many from North Africa (57%) did not know any Africans from elsewhere in Africa; however, this result was influenced by respondents from Egypt (69%). Slightly more men had African friends from elsewhere on the continent (64%) than women (57%), and this was true also of the younger age group (63%) compared with the older age group (59%).

Figure 17: Do you have African friends who are not from your country?

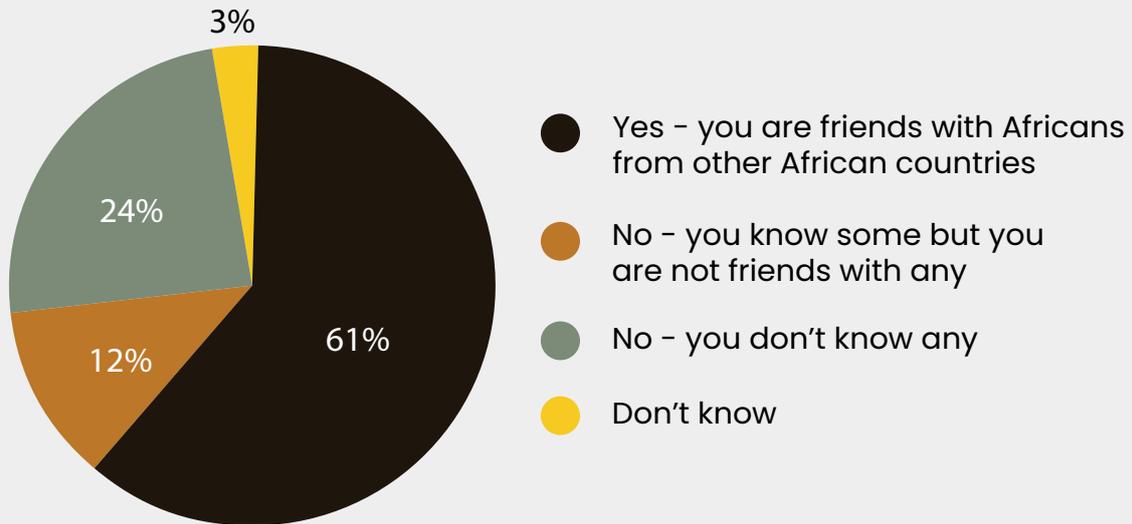
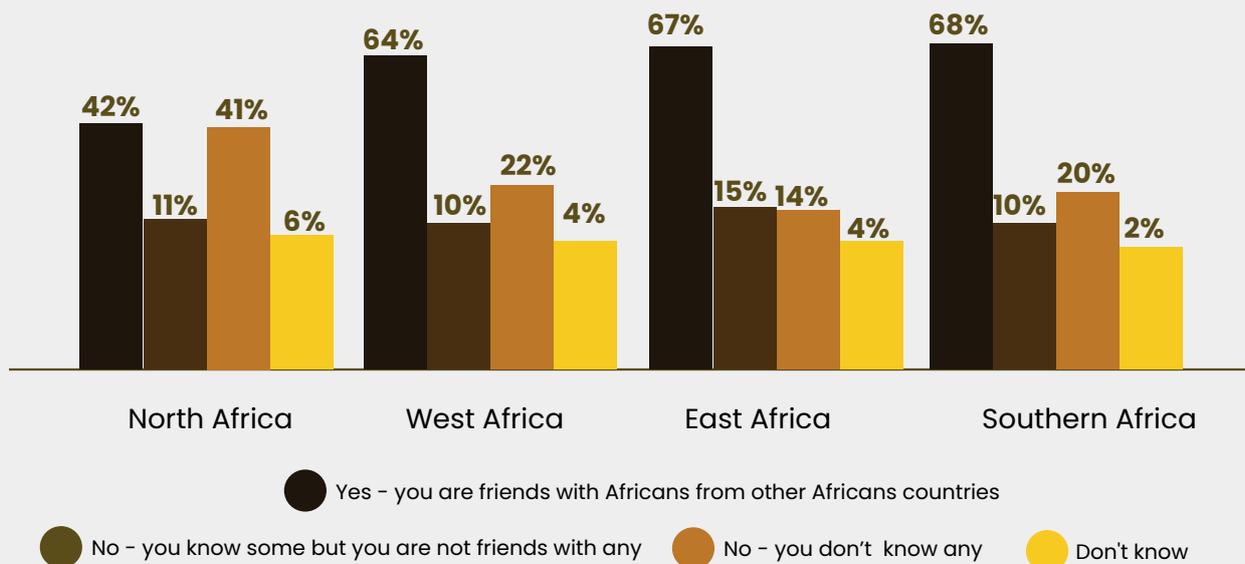


Figure 18: Do you have African friends who are not from your country?



The survey also looked at whether respondents were open to marriage or romantic relationships from a different ethnicity or tribe. Most respondents (71%) said they would consider this. However, only 49% of those from North Africa responded positively; again, the result was affected by the Egyptian respondents (96% responded negatively). In stark contrast, 85% of respondents from East Africa and 84% from Southern Africa were comfortable with the idea of inter-ethnic marriage or romances. Men respondents (73%) and the younger age group (77%) were more open to this than women respondents (69%) and the older age group (68%).

Concerning working relationships, most young Africans polled (82%) were comfortable working with or employing Africans from other countries on the continent. Regionally, respondents from East Africa (94%) and Southern Africa (93%) were the most positive; 63% of respondents from North Africa were open to working with or employing an African from another country, those from Egypt giving the highest negative response (66%).

Figure 19: Would you marry or have a relationship with someone from another tribe/ethnicity?

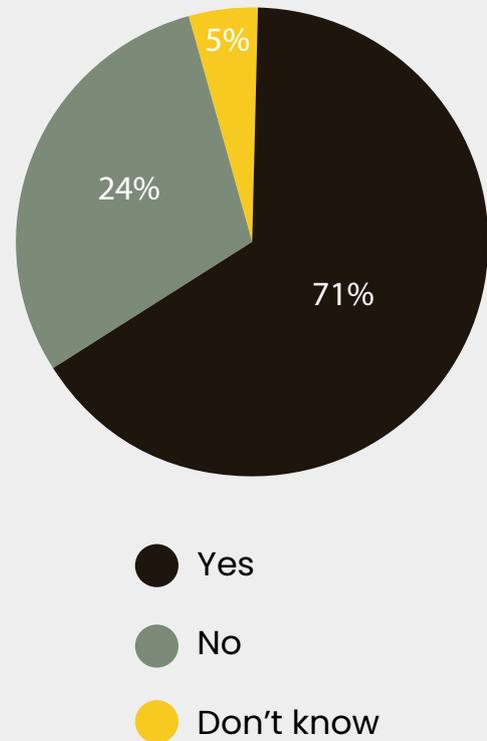
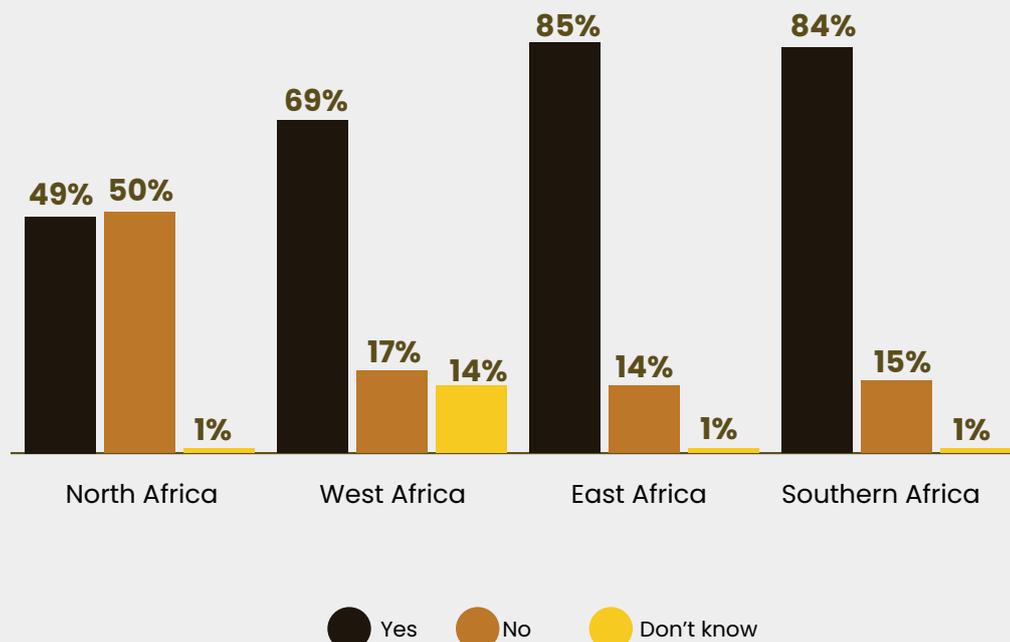


Figure 20: Would you marry or have a relationship with someone from another tribe/ethnicity?



Younger respondents (88%) – perhaps revealing changing attitudes – were more comfortable about these working relationships than the older age group (79%).

Although most respondents (78%) said they would consider moving to work or live in another country in Africa, many from North Africa (35%) responded negatively, especially Egyptians (60%). Respondents from Southern Africa were the most likely to do move (89%), followed by those from East Africa (87%).

While the survey results suggest a general openness to working in other countries in Africa, and a willingness to integrate with Africans from other countries through close relationships, the responses from North Africa are worrying – especially those from Egypt (69% did not have friends from elsewhere in Africa, 66% would not want to work with or employ Africans from elsewhere, 60% would not want to move elsewhere in Africa for work, and 96% would not marry or have a romantic relationship outside their ethnicity).

Figure 21: Would you work with or employ an African from another country?

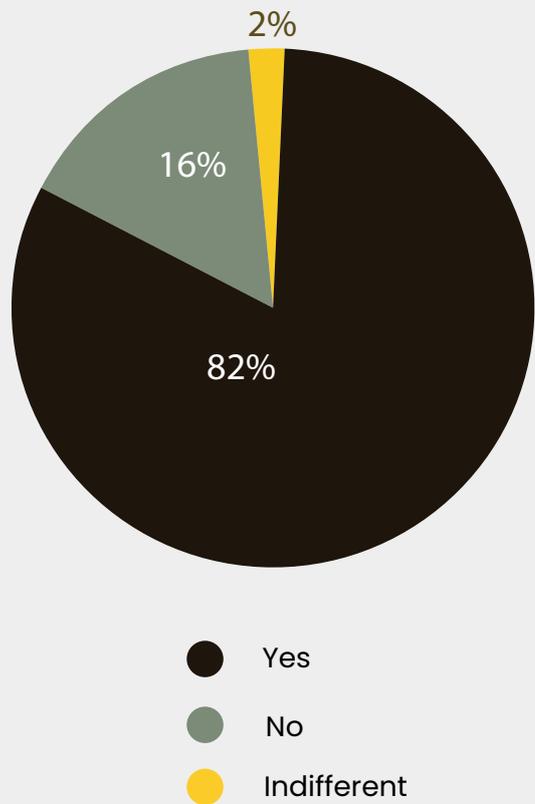


Figure 22: Would you move to work or live in another country in Africa?

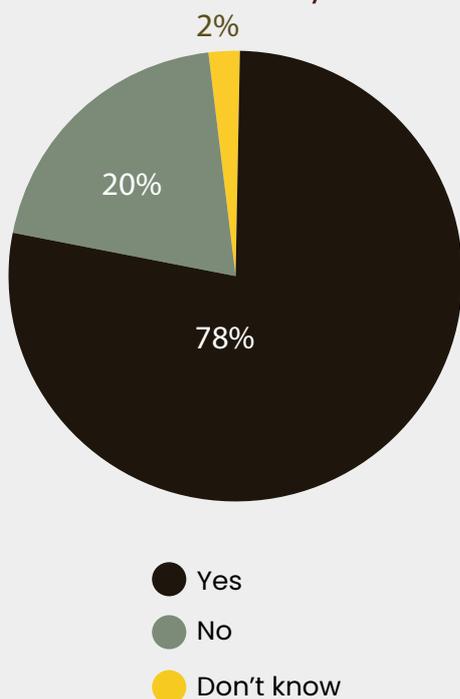
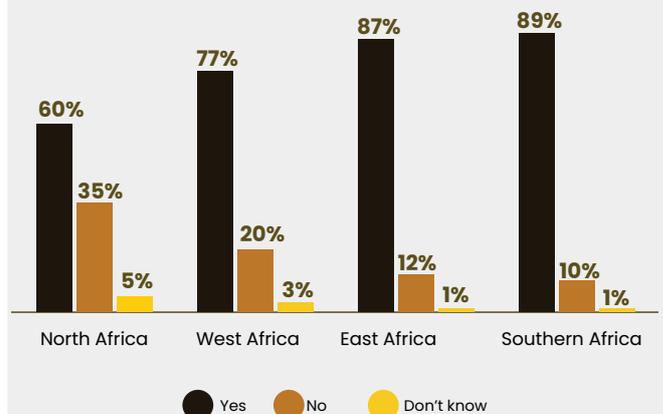


Figure 23: Would you move to work or live in another country in Africa?



NOTES ON THE FINDINGS

The results of our survey suggest that most young Africans perceive themselves to be well-integrated in the continent, and that gives them a positive feeling. In a (forthcoming) literature review on continental integration, ANF found that the African Union and Regional Economic Communities inter-state agreements and protocols were not working well. This finding indicates that integration is not mainly generated at the high levels of state but 'African-ness' is a fundamental part of how young people see themselves.

While it is not possible to make direct cross-comparisons with other studies, as sample countries were different, it is interesting to note that a survey done by the Ichikowitz Family Foundation¹ found that 43% of young Africans were positive about being seen as African.

Other research² has indicated that African youth were more likely to identify themselves by nationality, rather than as African. However, our study did not rank different sources of identity since our focus was integration and the African identity of youth in Africa.

One study³, conducted door-to-door, rather than by cell phone, found that only 37% of African youth had no problem with foreigners living in their country. While South Africans are most often cited as being xenophobic, other studies⁴ have found that xenophobia exists between Ghana and Nigeria, Gabon and Benin, Burundi and Rwanda, Republic of Congo and Democratic Republic of Congo, and Kenya and Somalia. Respondents across our survey largely had a positive view of Africans from other countries on the continent; this may indicate either that the levels of xenophobia are not as high as reported in other studies, or that respondents in our survey under reported their negative attitudes.

Most respondents across our survey (61%) also said they were accommodating and accepting of other tribes and ethnicities, which correlates with various studies⁵. Kenyans, for example, 'largely

showed themselves to be interested in a positive coexistence between tribes while still allowing one's own tribe to be an important aspect of one's identity without being a source of prejudice or discrimination'⁶.

As shown in Figure 7 on page 4, the high number of Nigerians (82%) reporting acceptance of other tribes is surprising given that in their survey, the Ichikowitz Family Foundation⁷ study found Nigerians to be least likely to mix with fellow citizens of different tribes and ethnicities. Perhaps having a positive view of other citizens does not automatically lead to friendships.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of African youth who responded to our survey were accommodating of other tribes, suggests that not only do they perceive themselves as African, but they extend that 'African-ness' to other tribes and ethnicities. Previous studies have found that young Africans complain that their governments stir up ethnic tensions for political gain⁸. Since less than 20% of respondents across our survey reported getting information about Africans from politicians, it is unsurprising that they were not affected by such strategies.

Other studies have found that African youth, especially young women, were increasingly engaging in politics by mobilising on social media, rather than voting or supporting party politics⁹. As reported in the Ichikowitz Family Foundation¹⁰ study, 'many young people today would rather get their information from influencers than from traditional media houses'. Optimism about Africa among youth was often related to social media used, which they perceived as overcoming boundaries¹¹, shaping their identity and charting a new course for the continent¹², and providing opportunities to challenge dominant narratives¹³.

This report generally paints an optimistic picture of potential for continental integration.

CONCLUSION

This report generally paints an optimistic picture of potential for continental integration. In West, East and Southern Africa, young African respondents in our survey always consider themselves African; feel positive about this identity, like the idea of travelling elsewhere in Africa, are happy to have friendships across the continent, and are open to marrying or working with people with other ethnicities or Africans from other countries on the continent.

The outlook for integration with North Africa – particularly Egypt – seems less positive. Survey respondents from North African are less likely to view themselves as African, not keen to travel in Africa and not inclined to have personal relationships with Africans from other parts of the continent.

Further research will need to explore this apparently large disconnect between North Africans and the rest of the continent; it is unclear whether to ascribe the difference to lack of information or other factors.

The survey also indicates that most urban young Africans with a high school education are not xenophobic, even in countries that reportedly have high levels of xenophobia.

Further research needs to examine discrepancies between our data and data from other studies; for example, can the inconsistency be explained by demographic factors?

Hearing negative stories and narratives of corruption and underdevelopment in other African countries and having moderate knowledge about the rest of the continent did not seem to affect respondents' positive perceptions of being African and their attitudes to continental integration. They were open to intra-continental travel, with the main barrier being perceived cost. They were also inclined to believe the positive narrative, mainly gained from social media, that Africans from other countries on the continent would be welcoming towards them.

Overall, this report suggests that young people are in favour of a united, integrated continent, which bodes well for the African Union, NEPAD, and Regional Economic Communities' attempts to make that a reality through various agreements and policies. Therefore, in terms of shifting narrative, ANF needs to consider how to leverage youths' positive attitude to enhance other ongoing efforts for continental integration.

ENDNOTES

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⁴c.f. Romola Adeola, 'Preventing Xenophobia in Africa: What Must the African Union Do?', *African Human Mobility Review* 1, no. 3 (special issue) (September 2015): 254–59; Adeoye O. Akinola, 'The South African Xenophobic Question: A Reflection on the Complicity of State Actors', *Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict Transformation* 7, no. 1 (1 June 2018): 53–79, <https://journals.co.za/content/journal/10520/EJC-10e36f14ea>;

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⁵c.f. Chiumbu, 'Reimagining Citizenship and Identity: Youth Breaking the Boundaries in an Era of Cyber Connectivity';

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⁶Alex O. Awiti and Caleb Orwa, 'Identity, Values and Norms of East Africa's Youth', *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth* 24, no. 4 (2 October 2019): 196, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2018.1554498>

⁷The Rise of Afro-Optimism: African Youth Survey 2020'.

⁸c.f. Awiti and Orwa, 'Identity, Values and Norms of East Africa's Youth';

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¹³Alice D. Kanengoni, 'Editorial', *Buwa*, no. 8 (December 2017): 1–11.

APPENDIX: LIST OF QUESTIONS IN THE POLL

1. Do you consider yourself to be African?

1. Sometimes – when I speak to non-Africans
2. Sometimes – when I travel outside of the continent
3. Always – I am an African first before I am a (insert country)
4. Never – I don't see myself as an African
5. Other

2. How do you perceive being seen as 'African'?

6. Positive – I am proud to be considered African
7. Negative – I am ashamed to be considered African
8. Positive and Negative – I have mixed feelings about being African
9. Indifferent – It doesn't mean anything to me

3. How well do you know your continent?

10. I know it well – I have travelled extensively
11. I know it moderately well – I could know more
12. I don't know it at all
13. I am not interested in knowing the continent

4. How many countries in Africa have you travelled to?

- None
- 1-5
- 6-10

5. Would you travel to other African countries?

14. You would rather travel to a foreign country than to another African country
15. You don't think you can afford to travel to another African country
16. You wouldn't feel safe travelling to another African country
17. You want to travel to another African country

6. What perceptions do you have about travelling to other countries?

18. It is expensive travelling to other African countries
19. It is unsafe to travel to other African countries
20. There is nothing much to see in other African countries
21. They are not as welcoming to other Africans as they are to foreigners

7. What stories do you most hear about other Africans in their country?

22. I hear very little
23. I hear mainly negative stories
24. I hear mainly positive stories

8. What stories do you most hear about other Africans in your country?

25. I hear very little
26. I mainly hear negative stories
27. I mainly hear positive stories

9. What are the negative stories you hear most about neighbouring African countries?

28. There is a lot of corruption
29. There is little development
30. They are xenophobic and do not accommodate people from other African countries
31. Other

10. What are the positive stories you hear most about neighbouring African countries?

- 32. They are friendly and open to people from other African countries
- 33. There are a lot of economic opportunities
- 34. Other

11. Where do you most hear stories about Africans from?

- 35. Friends/community
- 36. Social media
- 37. TV/books
- 38. Newspapers/radio
- 39. Politicians

12. What perception do you have about other Africans living in your country?

- 40. Positive
- 41. Indifferent
- 42. Negative

13. What perception do you have of other tribes and ethnicities in your country?

- 43. Your tribe is more superior than others
- 44. Other tribes have negative traditions
- 45. You are accommodating and accepting of other tribes
- 46. You feel marginalised by other dominant tribes
- 47. Don't know

14. What do you believe about Francophone/Anglophone Africans?

- 48. Francophone Africans aren't as educated as Anglophone Africans
- 49. Anglophone Africans aren't as educated as Francophone Africans
- 50. You have no beliefs about them
- 51. Don't know

15. Do you think you would be welcome if you were to work and live in another African country?

- 52. Yes
- 53. No
- 54. Don't know

15. Do you have friends who are from another African country?

- 55. Yes – there are Africans from other countries living in your community
- 56. No – you know some but are not friends with any
- 57. No – you don't know any

16. Would you marry or have a relationship with someone from another tribe/ethnicity?

- 58. Yes
- 59. No
- 60. Don't know

17. Would you work with or employ an African from another country on the continent?

- 61. Yes
- 62. No
- 63. Don't know

18. Would you move to work or live in another country in Africa?

- 64. Yes
- 65. No
- 66. Don't know

