#### OUT IN AFRICA: CROSS-NATIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALITY

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CALCEN !!

#### **THE SITUATION IS WORSENING...**

- In Africa, the debate over homosexuality has been characterised by a harsh and, at times, brutal rhetoric.
- According to the 2012 Amnesty International Report the position of the LGBTI community has in fact deteriorated in the last year. During the 2011 period.
- Thirty-six countries in Africa have laws prohibiting homosexuality and half have taken action and steps to criminalise homosexual acts.
- In 2011 period the Malawian government passed legislation criminalising same-sex female relationships with the late Malawian President Binguwa Mutharika describing homosexual males as "worse than dogs".
- The plight of the LGBTI community in Africa is attracting international attention, with the world media beginning to report on the abuses suffered by this community on the continent.



## **CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE WEST OVER SEXUAL ORIENTATION DISCRIMINATION**

- In many Western societies, citizens are growing increasingly willing to offer homosexual persons equal rights and protection from discrimination.
- In recent years, some of Africa's major Western donors have spoken out against homophobic laws and policies on the continent using the language of human rights.
- Confrontations have led to accusations of Western cultural imperialism by some on the continent and suggest a growing rift between Africa and the West on the issue.
- Although the international news media has featured a number of controversial stories about homophobia in Africa, there has been little empirical research conducted.
- This paper contributes to this field of attitudinal research by measuring attitudes towards homosexuality in Africa.

## FIRST ATTITUDINAL STUDY OF ITS KIND IN AFRICA

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- This study focuses on thirteen African countries representing the diverse cultural regions of the continent:
  - four nations from Islamic North Africa,
  - three nations from Western Africa,
  - four nations from Central and Eastern Africa,
  - and three nations from Southern Africa.
- Given the complexity of the continent it is assumed that variation in attitudes between countries will be caused not only by differing population composition but by specific contextual factors.
- This study represents an opportunity to advance our knowledge on country-level contextual characteristics.
  - Few studies have explored and offered explanations for crossnational differences.

## THE EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALITY

- Socialisation theory, often put forward to explain individual differences in attitudes to a specific issue, predicts that exposure to a socialising agent, such as an educational or religious institution, will influence the values and norms that shape attitudes.
- Most studies on attitudes towards homosexuality are conducted in Europe and North America.
- Existing body of research suggests that: the elderly, men, and the less educated disapprove of homosexuality to a greater extent than the young, women, secular people and the better educated.
- Research has repeatedly highlighted the important relationship between religion and homophobia.

CONSTRUCTING HYPOTHESISES: DISAPPROVAL AND AVERSION TO HOMOSEXUALITY

## THE PREDICTIVE POWER OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTION

- One of the most memorable incidents of the 1998 Lambeth Conference of the Anglican Communion, for example, involved the Reverend Emmanuel Chukwuma of the Enugo Diocese in southern Nigeria who attempted to exorcise the Reverend Richard Kircher of Britain in full view of a television crew for his role as general secretary of the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement.
- The importance of differentiating between organisational and subjective religiosity. This study derives three hypotheses to explore the multidimensional nature of religiosity:
  - (1) subjective religiosity,
  - (2) religious participation, and
  - (3) religious denomination.

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#### **THE GENERATIONAL EFFECT**

- The social values and norms of any given society change over time and as this process occurs we experience a generational effect.
- Older cohorts may have been socialised during periods in which homosexuality was depicted and promoted by local authorities and religious communities as a sin or a disease.
  - Colonial era policies in a variety of African countries sought to suppress traditional practices that did not fit with a strict interpretation of Christian heterosexuality.
  - Anti-homosexual laws were largely retained by the postindependence leaders of Africa continuing colonial systems of moral policing.
  - In the 1980s and 1990s associations began to form throughout Africa which advocated for gay rights and greater social tolerance of homosexuality.

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- Education has been identified as a key socialising force within society.
  - Educational institutions may expose individuals to liberal attitudes regarding social acceptance and equality. In addition, educational systems may also expand the general knowledge of individuals, negating negative stereotypes about homosexuals.



# DATA AND MEASUREMENTS: SURVEY DATA

- In order to measure attitudes towards homosexuality in Africa, thirteen African countries which participated in the World Value Survey (WVS) series were selected.
- The sample was weighted to be nationally representative of adults (18 years and older) in specific country. In this study, two waves of the WVS – Wave Four (1999-2004) and Wave Five (2005-2007) – were used.
  - These waves were chosen due to the inadequate coverage of African representation in the early waves of the WVS.
  - The fourth WVS wave (1999-2004) saw the number of participating African states increase to eight, and in the fifth wave (2005-2007) nine countries from the continent were surveyed, though only three African states consistently partook in both waves four and five.
  - Data from Wave Six was at the time of analysis not in the public domain.

# **DEPENDENT VARIABLES**

# • *Moral acceptance of homosexual acts:* whether an individual believes homosexuality is justifiable.

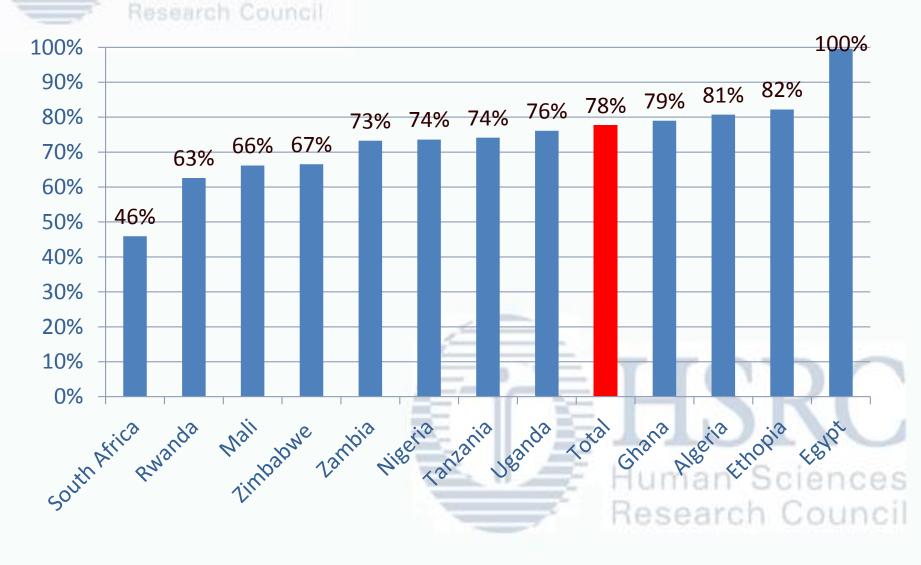
- This is derived from a single question that is phrased in the following manner: "Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card".
- Responses are captured on a ten-point end-anchored scale, with 1 representing "never justifiable" and 10 "always justifiable".
- Social tolerance of homosexuals: whether an individual would tolerate a homosexual person as their neighbour.

- Coded as 1 (not tolerate) and 0 (tolerate) arch Council

# RESULTS OF BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

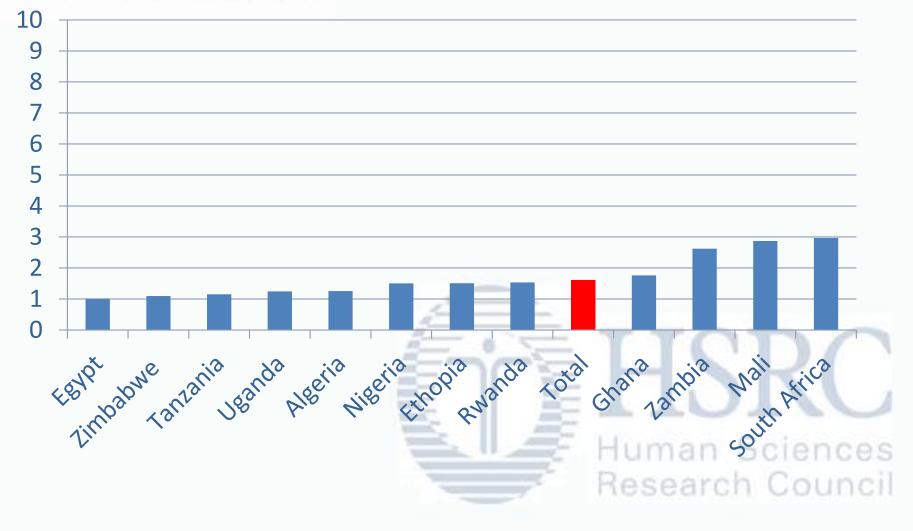
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#### SOCIAL TOLERANCE OF HOMOSEXUALS: I would not tolerate a homosexual neighbour



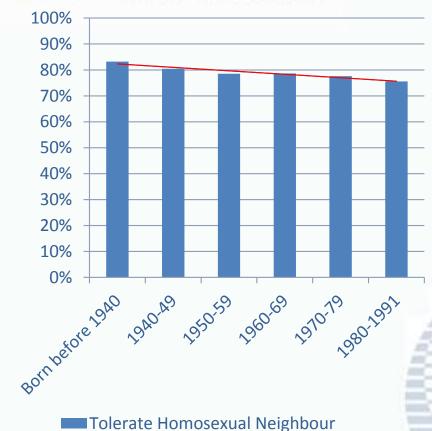
#### MORAL ACCEPTANCE OF HOMOSEXUALITY: 1-10 score with 10 indicating most acceptable

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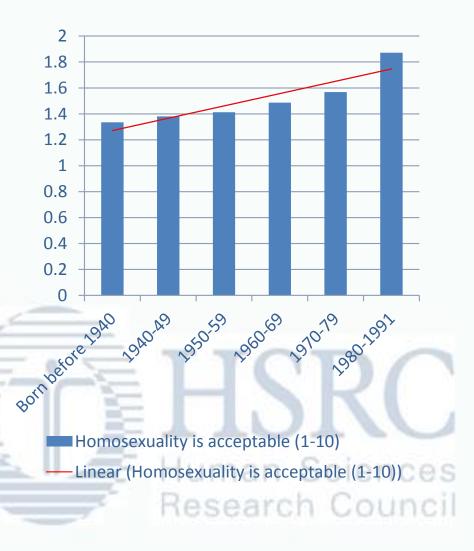


### **COHORT SOCIALISATION**

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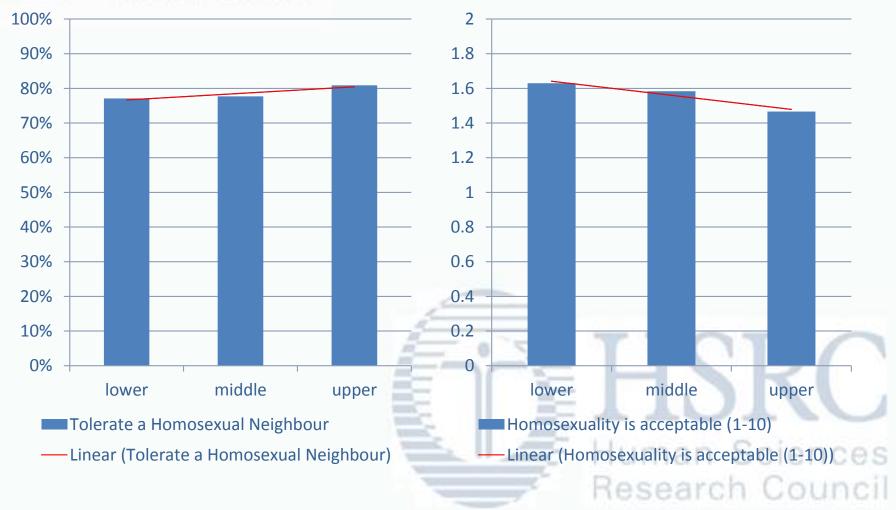


— Linear (Tolerate Homosexual Neighbour)



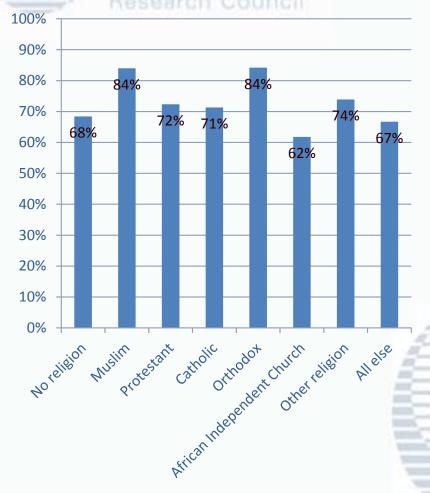
## HUMAN CAPITAL EFFECT

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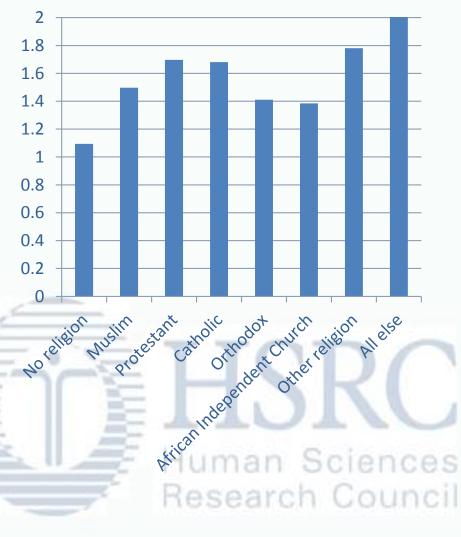


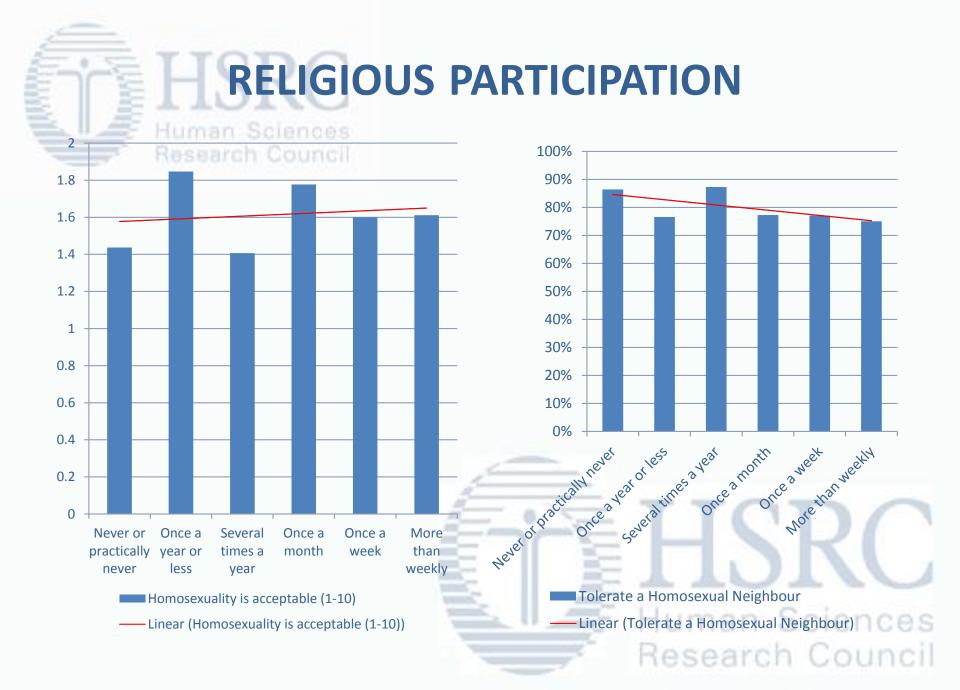
#### **RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION**

Tolerate a Homosexual Neighbour



■ Homosexuality is acceptable (1-10)





# **MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS**

Inclusive

Mirming

#### EIGHT MODELS IN TOTAL WERE CONSTRUCTED TO TEST HYPOTHESES DERIVED FOR THIS STUDY.

• Regression models were created to examine the determinants of approval of homosexuality.

- Acceptability of homosexuality was tested using linear estimation techniques as this measure was continuous.
- Toleration of a homosexual neighbour was measure using binary regression techniques, specifically logistic regression.
- Using data from the fourth and fifth waves of the World Value Survey to create a pooled sample of 21,576 respondents.
- Country variance was controlled for by using a set of 'country dummy' variables.

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# SURPRISES FROM THE MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

- Complex historical forces have created an African continent divided between an Islamic North and a Christian South and yet, at the same time, the continent retains a unique cohesiveness.
  - Indeed, there is no evidence to be found in this paper for a 'clash of civilisations' between Islamic and Christian Africa.
- Muslims were not significantly more likely to disapprove of homosexuality in comparison to other Christian groups, they were far less likely than their Christian counterparts to accept a homosexual neighbour.
- We were unable to find evidence that educational attainment reduced prejudice towards homosexuality.
  - A surprising finding given the international evidence that suggests that educational institutions are prime socialising agents promoting liberal values and tolerance.

# **FAILING TO PROVE A GENERATION EFFECT**

- Some evidence was found for cohort socialisation suggesting that, like Europe and North America the African generation born after 1980 were more willing to accept homosexuality as justifiable.
  - However the generational effect, in the end, could not be proven.
  - The intergenerational difference in attitudes towards homosexuality seems to be related to the differences in human values held by the youth.
- Conclusive evidence indicates that a restrictive legal framework on sexual orientation negatively impacts on attitudes towards homosexuality and that a legal framework that granted civil rights to homosexuals would positively impact on attitudes.
  - possibility of reversed causality in this case of national legal frameworks.
- African leaders could reduce anti-homosexual sentiments and change social values – by passing laws decriminalising homosexuality and granting civil rights for this minority.

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# THE POWER OF TRADITIONAL VALUES

- There is evidence to suggest that cultural values, regarding family and obedience to authority, have an impact on an individual's views on homosexuality.
- Inglehart's traditional vs. secular-rational and selfexpression vs. survival dimensions. Individuals who were near the end of the traditional end of the scales could be defined as 'traditional' and tended to prioritise deference to authority, traditional family values, and parent-child ties.
- For the 'traditional' person, homosexuality is perceived along with divorce and abortion – as part of the liberal discourse which is responsible for eroding traditional family values.
- It seems likely given the evidence presented that a generational shift in Africa may start a cultural shift in attitudes.

Thank

#### THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION QUESTIONS WELCOME

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