



Reports

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Global Religious Freedom Index 2024–2026: Sub-Saharan Africa

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International Institute
for Religious Freedom



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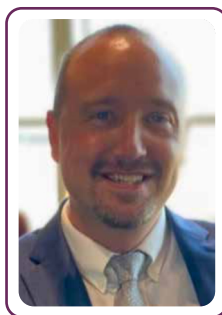
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We understand Freedom of Religion and Belief (FoRB) as a fundamental and interdependent human right as described in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. In line with CCPR General Comment No. 22, we view FoRB as a broad and multidimensional concept that needs to be protected for all faiths in all spheres of society.



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Global Religious Freedom Index 2024–2026: Sub-Saharan Africa

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Key facts

Most hostile religious policy 2023: Niger	
Top 5 government religious support 2023: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nigeria, North 2. Mauritania 3. Somalia 4. Sudan 5. Zanzibar 	Mean government religious support 2023: 9.08 (maximum score 59) Increase government religious support 1990–2023: 32 %
Top 5 government discrimination against religious minorities 2023: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Eritrea 2. Comoros 3. Mauritania 4. Angola 5. Sudan 	Mean government discrimination against religious minorities 2023: 7.72 (maximum score 177) Increase government discrimination against religious minorities 1990–2023: 71 %
Top 5 government regulation of the majority religion 2023: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Eritrea 2. Niger 3. Djibouti 4. Tanzania 5. Nigeria, North 	Mean government regulation of the majority religion 2023: 8.88 (maximum score 156) Increase government regulation of the majority religion 1990–2023: 156 %
Top 5 societal discrimination against religious minorities 2023: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nigeria, North 2. Central African Republic 3. Sudan 4. Burkina Faso 5. South Africa 	Mean societal discrimination against religious minorities 2023: 3.56 (maximum score 102) Increase societal discrimination against religious minorities 1990–2023: 120 %
Top 5 killings of Christians 2023: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nigeria (3827) 2. Democratic Republic of the Congo (163) 3. Ethiopia (94) 4. Mozambique (40) 5. Chad (17) 	Top 5 abductions of Christians 2023: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nigeria (3174) 2. Ethiopia (54) 3. Sudan (50) 4. Democratic Republic of the Congo (35) 5. Cameroon (12)

Executive summary

- This report is the first of the Global Religious Freedom Index, a three-year collaboration between the International Institute for Religious Freedom, Global Christian Relief, and the Religion and State Project at Bar-Ilan University. It presents detailed data on religious freedom in Sub-Saharan Africa, scored annually from 1990 to 2023. The data includes measures on government restrictions on religion, societal discrimination against religious minorities, and physical violence against religious groups.
- Over the past three decades, government and societal restrictions have risen significantly, suggesting a waning tolerance toward religious minorities, with notable increases in government regulation of the majority religion (156 % increase since 1990) and societal discrimination (120 % increase). In Christian-majority countries, government discrimination against minorities rose 125 %, though 2023 averages remain lower than in Muslim-majority countries. Religious support measures also grew, though less significantly.
- Religious discrimination by governments is more common in Muslim-majority countries like Comoros, Mauritania, and Sudan. However, Eritrea, a Christian-majority country, shows the highest level of religious regulation.
- Overall, societal discrimination generally remains low, despite the large increase, but is severe in northern Nigeria, Sudan, and Burkina Faso.
- Physical violence hotspots include Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Mali, Chad, and Sudan. For example, 4,336 killings and 4,053 abductions were reported for Nigeria in 2023, predominantly affecting Christians, though violence within religious groups (such as Muslim on Muslim) is also common.
- Rising restrictions and societal hostility since the 1990s seem driven at least in part by external influences: international conservative Christian groups advocating restrictive religious policies and jihadist groups influencing both government policies and societal violence in Muslim-majority countries.
- The data shows a peak in restrictions on the majority religion or all religions around 2020, likely influenced by COVID-19 restrictions.

Introduction

This Global Religious Freedom Index report presents data on Sub-Saharan Africa collected as part of Round 4 of the Religion and State Project. It is the first in a series of six regional reports, plus a global report, to be published between 2024 and 2026.¹ A description of the data collection methods is available in appendix 1.

Sub-Saharan Africa has captured global attention in recent years, both in news coverage and religious freedom datasets, due to the intensity of religious conflicts, primarily linked to the activities of Islamic extremist groups such as Boko Haram, Al Qaeda and Al-Shabaab. It is often considered a global hotspot of

¹ In 2023, the IIRF delivered a report based on the RAS Constitutions dataset: https://iirf.global/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/2023-11_IIRF-Reports.pdf.

religious persecution, which is why this region was chosen for the first report, aiming to shed light on the objective impact of these groups on the religious freedom of both majorities and minorities.

The main objective of this report is to provide a current overview of key religious freedom trends in Sub-Saharan Africa, based on the most authoritative and comprehensive data available. This report, which distinguishes between government restrictions on religion and societal discrimination against religious minorities, offers an unprecedented level of detail across all Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB) datasets, both in terms of tracked variables and the religious minorities represented.

The RAS dataset describes government restrictions on religion as well as support for religion through three variable categories, discussed in Sections 2–4: separation of religion and state (including support for the majority religion), government discrimination against religious minorities, and regulation of all religions and/or the religious majority. In addition to top 10 rankings for each category in 2023, we provide a comparison of trends between 1990 and 2023. We also highlight the most frequently occurring variables in each category.

Sections 5 and 6 explore measures of societal discrimination against religious minorities, first in general and then specifically concerning physical violence. We present top 10 rankings for the region, analyze historical trends from 1990 to 2023, and identify countries that stand out in specific societal discrimination variables, covering physical and non-physical violence.

For the section on violent societal discrimination, we incorporate data from the Violent Incidents Database (VID), an event-based dataset developed by the International Institute for Religious Freedom (IIRF). The VID records and analyzes public data on violent incidents related to religious freedom violations, filtering by type of actor, religion of the actor, and religion of the victim (Petri & Flores 2021; Petri & Wisdom 2024; Petri & Wisdom 2025).

In our concluding section, we summarize the data presented and provide important nuance to prevailing narratives surrounding religious freedom in Sub-Saharan Africa. The region used have a relatively high level of tolerance toward religion, when compared to other regions (Fox 2018, 2020). However, based on the most recent update of the RAS dataset, we now observe a substantial increase in both government and societal restrictions on religion. Whilst this increase seems to have peaked around the covid-19 pandemic, it is cause for concern. The increase in restrictions observed in recent years may be due to external influences (primarily from global conservative Christians and, especially, jihadist movements).

Separation of religion and state

One of the watershed dimensions of the relation between religion and politics is the separation of religion and the state. This relationship is not binary, as it presents many variations (see Fox 2015). It can range from anti-religious (in the case of communist regimes, for example) to neutral or accommodating of

religion as well as strong support for religion, sometimes in the form of an official religion. Many countries have constitutional provisions that govern the separation of religion and state, but often they are not followed in practice, so it is necessary to look at religious policy more broadly (Fox 2023; Petri & Fox 2023).

The RAS dataset provides a fine-grained typology of religion-state relations, which includes three categories for official religions and eleven categories of state-religion relationships which range from unofficial support for a single religion to overt hostility to all religion. Not all of these fourteen categories are present in Sub-Saharan Africa. Those that are present are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Religion-state relations in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2023

Religion-State Relations	Majority religion		
	Christian	Muslim	Mixed or Other Majority
<i>Official Religion</i>			
<i>State Controlled Religion, Positive Attitude:</i> The state both supports a religion and substantially controls its institutions but has a positive attitude toward this religion		Comoros Djibouti Mauritania Somaliland	
<i>Active State Religion:</i> State actively supports religion but the religion is not mandatory and the state does not dominate the official religion's institutions.	Zambia	Somalia	
<i>No Official Religion</i>			
<i>Preferred Religion:</i> While the state does not officially endorse a religion, one religion serves unofficially as the state's religion receiving unique recognition or benefits. Minority religions all receive similar treatment to each other.	Cape Verde Equatorial Guinea	Gambia Guinea Nigeria, North Sudan Zanzibar	
<i>Cooperation:</i> The state falls short of endorsing a particular religion but certain religions benefit from state support more than others.	Angola Eswatini Kenya Malawi Nigeria, South	Chad	Côte d'Ivoire Mauritius Togo

<i>Supportive:</i> The state supports all religions more or less equally.	Liberia		Benin
<i>Accommodation:</i> Official separation of church and state and the state has a benevolent or neutral attitude toward religion in general.	Botswana Burundi Cameroon Central Afr. Rep. Congo-Brazzaville Congo-Kinshasa Ethiopia Gabon Ghana Lesotho Madagascar Mozambique Namibia South Africa South Sudan Tanzania Uganda Zimbabwe	Burkina Faso Mali Senegal Sierra Leone	Guinea-Bissau
<i>Separationist:</i> Official separation of Church and state and the state is slightly hostile toward religion. This includes efforts to remove expression of religion by private citizens from the public sphere.	Eritrea Rwanda		
<i>State Controlled Religion, Negative Attitude:</i> The state controls all religious institutions and discourages religious expression outside of those institutions. This is part of the state’s policy of maintaining social control or keeping religion in check rather than due to ideological support for religion.		Niger	

Of the countries that have a clear religious majority population in Sub-Saharan Africa, sixteen states have a Muslim majority and twenty-nine states have a

Christian majority.² The remaining states do not have a clear majority. In 2023, the most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have some degree of benevolent attitude towards religion, even though some may be more supportive of a majority religion.

The country with the most hostile religious policy is Niger, especially since the suspension of its constitution in July 2023. By contrast, the constitution of Benin expressly prohibits religious discrimination. The country's government consistently works with all religious groups on matters of general interest, such as informing about the covid-19 pandemic.

The sophistication of the RAS data allows for more nuance when understanding freedom of religion or belief issues. While a state may not show outright hostility against minority religions, it may choose to give preferential treatment to one religion that is not the declared state religion. Of the states that have no official religion, two have a preference for Christianity and five for Islam.

Another factor is the degree of state support for a single religious tradition that is analyzed across a spectrum. This may include financial or institutional support for states with an official religion that is not mandatory like Somalia with support for Muslims and Zambia that supports Christians. Four territories go beyond this to include control of religious institutions: Comoros, Djibouti, Mauritania, and Somaliland (all Muslim).

The RAS dataset includes an index that specifically describes government support for religion. In most cases this support is stronger for the majority religion than other religions. It includes Legislating Religious Precepts (Laws on Relationships, Sex and Reproduction; Laws restricting Women; Other Laws), Institutions or Laws which Enforce Religion, Funding Religion, The Entanglement of Government and Religious Institutions and Other Forms of Support for Religion. It includes a total of 59 binary variables. The religious support index ranges from 0 to 59. Interestingly, while there is a correlation between religious support and the presence of an official religion, it is not a determining factor. For instance, countries without an official religion, like Sudan and Northern Nigeria, show strong religious support, with scores of 19 and 26, respectively. This level of support is even higher than in some countries with an official religion, such as Zambia and Djibouti, which have lower religious support scores of 9 and 13.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, religious support is most common in Nigeria. While quite high in the South of the country, it is more pronounced in the North.³ Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan and Zanzibar complete the top 5. The countries with the highest levels of religious support are all Muslim majority countries (Figure 2). Beyond the top 10, religious support is relatively low, but the steady increase in religious support between 1990 and 2023 is nevertheless noteworthy.

² Because of the important divergences in Nigeria, the RAS dataset scores North and South Nigeria separately. Somalia and Somaliland are also scored separately because they are de facto distinct entities.

³ As noted previously, RAS dataset scores North and South Nigeria separately. Somalia and Somaliland are also scored separately.

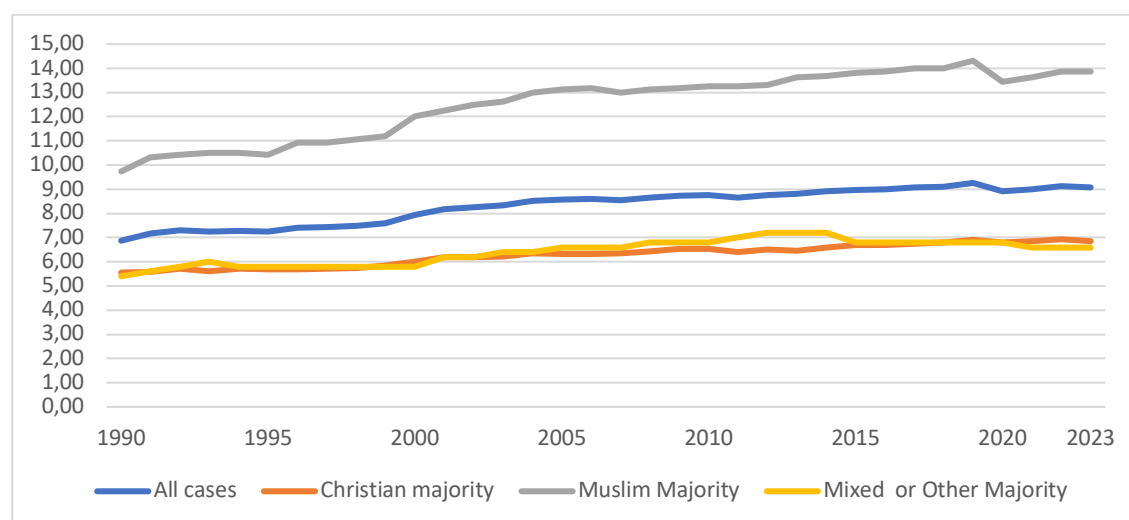
Figure 2. Top 10 religious support in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2023

Rank	Country	Specific Majority Religion	2023
1	Nigeria, North	Sunni Muslim	26
2	Mauritania	Sunni Muslim	22
	Somalia	Sunni Muslim	22
4	Sudan	Sunni Muslim	19
5	Zanzibar	Sunni Muslim	16
6	Somaliland	Sunni Muslim	15
7	Comoros	Sunni Muslim	14
	Nigeria, South	Western Christian	14
	Senegal	Sunni Muslim	14
	Tanzania	Western Christian	14

As an illustration of religious favoritism, Senegal’s government broadly supports Sunni Islam, automatically recognizing marriages performed by Islamic clergy and banning homosexual sex and abortion in agreement with the religious majority’s precepts. Furthermore, inheritance rights are regulated under sharia law and anti-Muslim publications are censored.

An overall 32 % increase of religious support (42 % in Muslim majority countries, 23 % in Christian majority countries and 22 % in mixed/other countries) can be observed between 1990 and 2023 (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Support for religion in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1990–2023



In 2023, twelve types of religious support were present in 20 % or more countries across Sub-Saharan Africa. These are binary categories where the data reports only yes or no. The most common forms of support for religion are as follows:

- Marriages performed by clergy of at least some religions are given automatic civil recognition, even in the absence of a state license. This is true in 48 % of the countries.
- Laws which specifically make it illegal to be a homosexual or engage in homosexual sex. This is true in 66 % of the countries.
- Prohibitive restrictions on abortion. This is true in 94 % of the countries.
- Laws of inheritance defined by religion. This is true in 28 % of the countries.
- Blasphemy laws, or any other restriction on speech about majority religion or religious figures. This is true in 38 % of the countries.
- Government funding of religious primary/secondary schools or religious education programs in non-public schools. This is true in 56 % of the countries.
- Government funding for building, maintaining, or repairing religious sites. This is true in 32 % of the countries.
- Free air time on television or radio is provided to religious organizations on government channels or by government decree. This is true in 32 % of the countries.
- Funding or other government support for religious pilgrimages such as the Hajj. This is true in 36 % of the countries.
- Presence of an official government ministry or department dealing with religious affairs. This is true in 42 % of the countries.
- Religious education is present in public schools. This is true in 52 % of the countries.
- A registration process for religious organizations exists which is in some manner different from the registration process for other non-profit organizations. This is true in 54 % of the countries.

Unlike the government-based religious discrimination and the religious regulation indexes (addressed in the following sections), in which a higher score suggests less religious freedom, the religious support index aims at describing the various forms of religious support that states engage in. In many religious traditions, some types of religious support may be justified on theological grounds. Yet, they are still forms of favoritism from which other religions do not necessarily benefit. That is the reason why they are considered in this index. Religious support may also have unintended consequences for the religions that benefit from it; more support increases the risk of more government control (Kühle 2021). Supporting a religion as a part of a program of control is a common tactic particularly among authoritarian regimes (Fox 2015).

The detailed information present in the trends illustrates the nuance and complexity that can be missing when only considering government restrictions. Information arising from RAS's detailed coding in this category also reflects social trends across the region that may contrast with other parts of the world. Among the twelve types of government support for religion that are common across the region at least half of the countries agree on these issues: restricting abortion, making homosexual acts illegal, funding private religious education or religious schools, having special registration for religious organizations, and providing religious education in public schools. Other variables in this section available for further analysis include prayer in public schools, religious requirements for

holding office and oaths of office, limits on proselytizing and missionaries, limits on minority places of worship, and blasphemy laws.

Government discrimination against religious minorities

The government-based religious discrimination index covers a total of 59 types of discrimination by state authorities against minority religions. To discriminate means to be treated differently. This means that all of these forms of discrimination are restrictions placed on minority religions that are not placed on the majority religion or are placed on minority religions to a greater degree than the majority religion. We address regulations and limitation of all religions or the majority religion in the following section. This is an important distinction which is not found in most other religious freedom indexes because the motivations for governments restricting minority religions and regulating the majority religion can be quite different.

These 59 variables can be grouped in four categories: Restrictions on Religious Practices, Restrictions on Religious Institutions and the Clergy, Restrictions on Conversion and Proselytizing and Other Restrictions. The intensity of engagement of state in any of each of the 59 variables is scored on a 0-3 scale. The variables can be combined to create a measure of religious discrimination against minority religions which ranges from 0 to 177.

In 2023, Eritrea was the country that engaged in government-based religious discrimination the most, with a score of 41, followed by Comoros, Mauritania and Angola. The other countries in the top 10 can be observed in Figure 4:

Figure 4. Top 10 religious discrimination in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2023

Rank	Country	Specific Majority Religion	2023
1	Eritrea	Oriental Orthodox	41
2	Comoros	Sunni Muslim	36
3	Mauritania	Sunni Muslim	27
4	Angola	Catholic	20
	Sudan	Sunni Muslim	20
6	Nigeria, North	Sunni Muslim	18
	Somalia	Sunni Muslim	18
	Somaliland	Sunni Muslim	18
9	Nigeria, South	Western Christian	14
10	Rwanda	Catholic	13
	Uganda	Western Christian	13

The data suggests that high levels of government-based religious discrimination tend to be more frequent in Muslim majority countries, although there

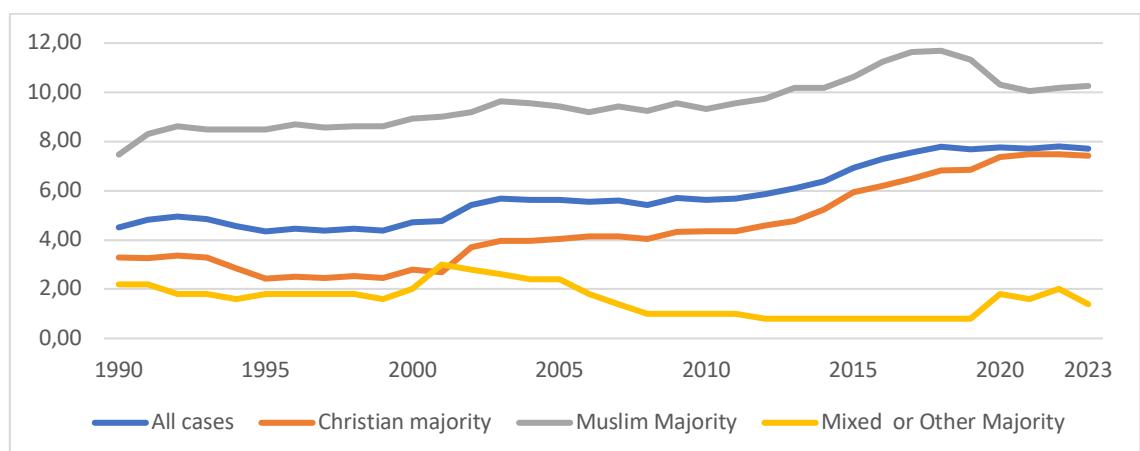
are several Christian majority countries (Eritrea, Angola, South Nigeria, Rwanda, Uganda) where religious discrimination is substantial. As represented in Figure 5, it can also be observed that government-based religious discrimination in Christian majority countries has increased in recent years, and is now close to the regional average. When evaluating the rankings in the top five, changes over time reveals that Christian majority countries have increased the most in this type of discrimination against minorities. Eritrea and Angola had the largest jumps in state discrimination, which may be a response to post 9/11 Islamic extremism.⁴ Many countries dramatically increase their scores. In the year 2000 Eritrea scored 7, Comoros scored 25, Mauritania scored 19, and Angola scored 5.

Most of these countries had at least low levels of government-based religious discrimination in 2023 with only six countries having no governmental religious discrimination at all: Benin, Burkina Faso, Lesotho, Liberia, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. That three of these countries, Burkina Faso, Senegal, and Sierra Leone, are Muslim-majority demonstrates that a flat reading of a religion's influence in the region is misleading. African Muslim-Majority countries are among both the most tolerant and least tolerant countries in the region.

In the case of Eritrea, a 2002 decree has required all religious groups except the Eritrean Orthodox Church to submit registration applications and to cease religious activities and services prior to approval. The government has not approved the registration of additional religious groups since and has cracked down on non-registered groups who observe religion in private.

When considering the evolution of government-based religious discrimination over time (Figure 5), a substantial average increase can be observed since the 2000's. In Christian countries it has even doubled since 2000. This is an important finding, because it suggests that state discrimination against religious minorities increasingly is a religious freedom issue in Sub-Saharan Africa. The upward trend seems to have reach a plateau around 2019 and stabilized currently.

Figure 5. Discrimination against religious minorities in Sub-Saharan Arica, 1990–2023



⁴ Full data tables can be found in Appendix 2.

Taking a closer look at the most common forms of government-based religious discrimination in Sub-Saharan Africa, the following five variables are present in at least 20 % of the countries offering possible regional trends, at various degrees of intensity:

- Restrictions on public observance of religious services, festivals and/or holidays, including the Sabbath.
- Restrictions on building, repairing and/or maintaining places of worship.
- Restrictions on access to existing places of worship.
- Restrictions on formal religious organizations.
- Arrest/detention/harassment of religious figures/officials/members of religious parties for activities other than proselytizing.

As an illustration, the government of Chad restricts all forms of public observance of any non-Sunni Muslim groups, and even of some Sufi Muslim groups. In 2021, media reports indicated that on 3 November, security forces forcibly entered the courtyard of the Blessed Isidore Bakanja Parish, a Catholic Church, in N’Djamena under a vaguely defined “mission”. During this incident, they verbally harassed a priest who attempted to document the scene by filming, vandalized the premises, and aggressively confiscated his phone.

The clear outliers are the territories of Somaliland and Comoros which score the highest possible in three of the variables. Only Comoros prohibits or sharply restricts religious minorities in two variables. This includes public observance of religious services and restrictions on building or maintaining places of worship. Somaliland alone prohibits or sharply restricts access to existing places of worship.

When focused solely on building new places of worship, Angola, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Northern Nigeria, and Rwanda score at the middle of the scale, below Comoros. The low end of the scale includes Côte d’Ivoire, Eswatini (formerly Swaziland), Gambia, Guinea, Mauritania, and Southern Nigeria. The range of restrictions, which includes both Christian and Muslim majority populations, shows that some religious freedom improvements can be made at the level of the state. The additional variables can be relevant to inform policy makers of regional trends and speak clearly on targeted issues.

Regulation of all religions and/or the majority religion

The religious regulation index addresses the general regulation of religious practices and regulation of the majority religion or all religions. It is analytically distinct from religious discrimination, because it looks at how states restrict religious practice, including that of the majority religion. At its core, religious regulation disrespects the principle of the separation of religion and state, as it involves the state interfering with, controlling, or restricting aspects of religion. It also can violate the freedom of religion by interfering with or controlling religious practices or more commonly institutions.

The restrictions governments place on religion, often informed by a suspicion of religion, are described by a total of 52 variables which can be grouped in four

categories: Restrictions on Religion’s Political Role, Restrictions on Religious Institutions, Restrictions on Religious Practices and Other Regulation of Religion. Each variable is scored on a 0-3 scale. Combined, they form a measure of religious regulation which ranges from 0 to 156.

In 2023, Eritrea had the highest score on religious regulation (highest meaning the most regulation) among Sub-Saharan African countries (Figure 6). It stands out as an extreme case, scoring nearly double that of the next country on the list. Compared to the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, the countries in the top 10 can be considered outliers, because the average religious regulation score is much lower (8.9 in 2023). Only three countries scored 0 on this index: Cameroon, Gabon, and South Sudan, all Christian-majority countries. Religious regulation tends to be higher in Muslim Majority countries than in Christian Majority countries (12 vs 7.9 in 2023).

Figure 6. Top 10 religious regulation in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2023

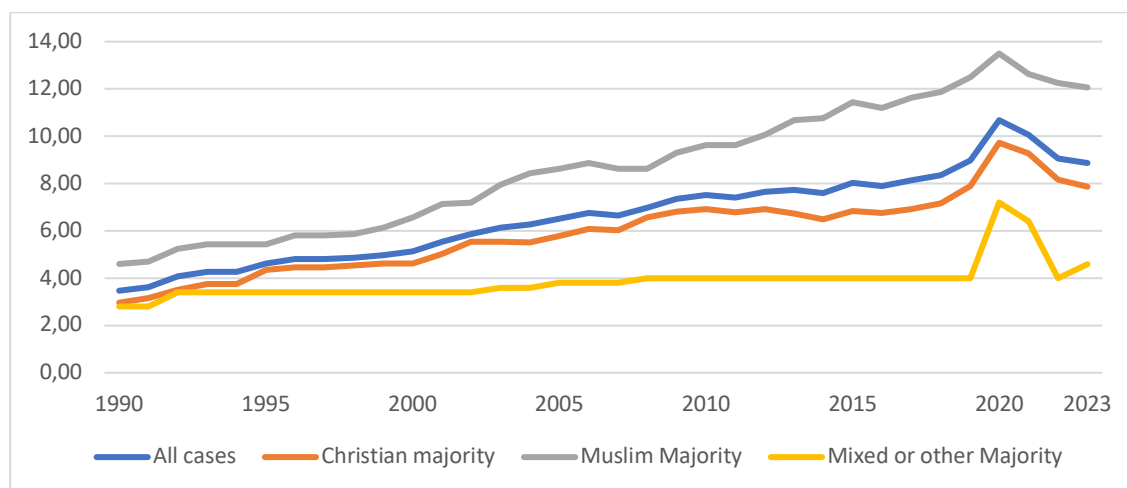
Rank	Country	Specific Majority Religion	2023
1	Eritrea	Oriental Orthodox	51
2	Niger	Sunni Muslim	27
3	Djibouti	Sunni Muslim	23
4	Tanzania	Western Christian	21
5	Nigeria, North	Sunni Muslim	20
6	Rwanda	Catholic	19
7	Mauritania	Sunni Muslim	18
8	Chad	Sunni Muslim	17
9	Sudan	Sunni Muslim	15
	Zanzibar	Sunni Muslim	15

Niger provides an illustration of government interference in the majority religion. Among other things, it has created a committee tasked with “regulating preaching and sermons, accounting for religious buildings, evaluating the management of Quranic schools, and determining the relationship between the Ministry of the Interior, which is charged with the direction of religious affairs and the Islamic Council of Niger” (Garba 2017). It has also engaged in the practice of monitoring religious expression that was considered to be a threat to national security. Some local governments attempt to regulate religious dress or require sermons to be submitted for approval. In 2017, the government established an Islamic Forum with the goal of “standardizing the practice of Islam in the country” (US State Department 2018). Although not with the same intensity as Niger, Tanzania also engages in the monitoring and censoring of sermons of the majority religion, especially when it includes political content.

Similar to government-based religious discrimination, a 156 % increase can be observed in the number and intensity of religious regulation since 1990, peaking

in 2020 before stabilizing (Figure 7). The spike in 2020 was likely due to government restrictions put in place to manage the covid-19 pandemic which were all lifted by the end of 2022. By 2023 they returned to levels similar to those just before the pandemic's outbreak. These trends are generalized across Christian, Muslim and mixed countries.

Figure 7. Regulation of all religions and/or the majority religion is Sub-Saharan Africa, 1990–2023



Among the religious regulation variables, the four most common ones in 2023 (present in at least 20 % of the countries) were the following:

- Restrictions on religious political parties.
- Restrictions on clergy/religious organizations engaging in public political speech (other than sermons) or propaganda or on political activity in or by religious institutions.
- Restrictions on religious-based hate speech.
- Government controls/influences the instructors or content of religious education in public schools

The category with the strongest representation was government restrictions on religion's political role, specifically religious political parties. Twenty-one countries scored in the highest category on this, meaning the activity is illegal or the state actively engages on this issue. The strong showing in this category may indicate encouraging attempts by governments to minimize religions' explicit impact in political parties.

Religious regulation mostly affects the majority religion. For example, Burkina Faso has had a constitutional ban on faith-based political parties since 1991. In Mauritania, mosques are prohibited from being used for any form of political activity since 2003. In Namibia, the state ministry of education determines the syllabus of public education classes.

Societal discrimination against religious minorities (general)

A societal module was added to the RAS dataset in 2017 (retroactive coding goes back to 1990). It focuses on actions taken by societal actors, including discrimination, harassment, acts of prejudice and violence against minority religions. In this section, we discuss the societal discrimination index in general. In the next section, we give additional focus on some of its violence measures.

The societal discrimination index includes 34 variables which can be grouped as follows: Economic Discrimination; Speech Acts; Property Crimes; Non-Violent Harassment; Violence; Other Forms of Societal Discrimination. Variables are scored on 0-3 scale and can be combined to create a measure of composite measure of societal discrimination which ranges from 0 to 102.

According to the public reports that the RAS sourced, societal discrimination was most common in Northern Nigeria, Central African Republic, Sudan, Burkina Faso, and South Africa (Figure 8). This may seem counterintuitive considering the reports of religious violence in countries such as Nigeria or Cameroon. However, the patterns of non-violent discrimination are often quite different from the violent forms and can come from different sources, especially when violent terror groups are present in a country. In other words, religious violence is not a proxy for other forms of societal discrimination.⁵ In addition, the RAS data does not cover all forms of societal violence but focuses specifically on violence related to the societal discrimination of religious minorities.

Figure 8. Top 10 societal discrimination in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2023

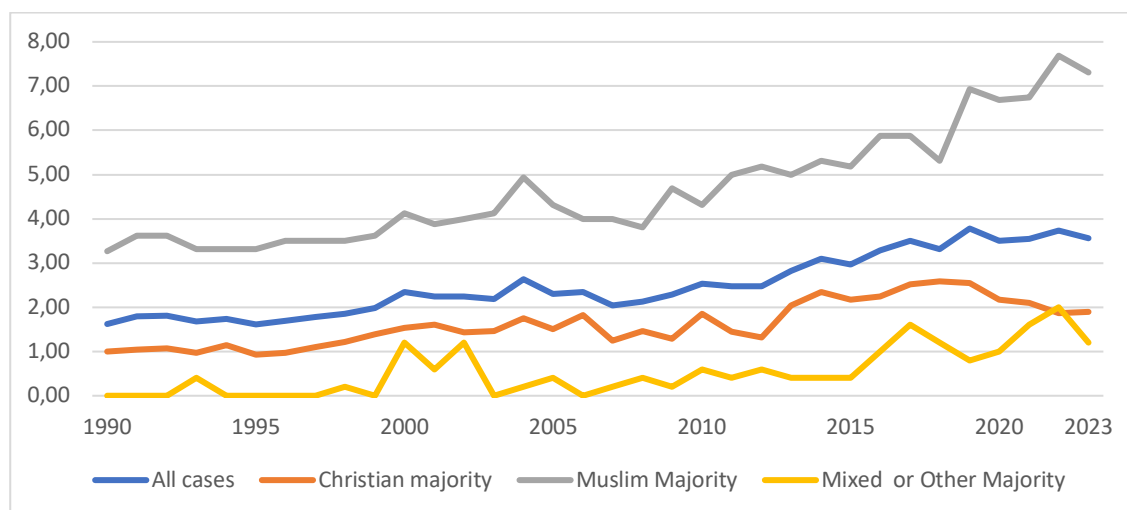
Rank	Country	Specific Majority Religion	2023
1	Nigeria, North	Sunni Muslim	20
2	Central African Republic	Western Christian	18
3	Sudan	Sunni Muslim	16
4	Burkina Faso	Sunni Muslim	13
	South Africa	Western Christian	13
6	Somalia	Sunni Muslim	12
7	Gambia	Sunni Muslim	10
	Niger	Sunni Muslim	10
9	Comoros	Sunni Muslim	8
	Mali	Sunni Muslim	8

⁵ It is also important to bear in mind that the maximum score for each single variable is 3 points, which means it does not precisely track the intensity of physical violence. For that, other tools, such as the Violent Incidents Database of the IIRF are more appropriate, as we will discuss in the next section.

Northern Nigeria tops the list of societal discrimination against religious minorities, with frequent reports from Christians in the North and Muslims in the South that they are being discriminated in the workplace. Vandalism against religious property, as well as business and homes of religious minorities is also structural. Converts away from the majority religion face harassment, which can become very violent. In addition, jihadist groups such as Boko Haram and its various factions, commit large scale violence against non-Muslims in large parts of the country. A notable case in 2014, widely reported in the media, was the abduction of 276 Christians schoolgirls by Boko Haram militants from a boarding school in Chibok. While some of the girls have since been rescued or escaped, over 100 remain missing, with the incident symbolizing the widespread issue of child abduction and forced marriage by extremist groups.

Unlike government involvement in religion, societal discrimination against religious minorities is much more volatile. In absolute terms, it is still relatively low, and 22 countries in this region scored zero on this measure in 2023. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that it increased by about 120 % between 2023 and 1990, with the greatest increases taking place in Muslim majority countries (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Societal Discrimination against religious minorities in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1990–2023



In all Sub-Saharan African countries, only 6 types of societal discrimination were present in 10 % or more cases, as this is far less common. This is far lower than the 20 % threshold in earlier categories and includes:

- Instances of societal economic discrimination against minority religions in the workplace
- Harassment of converts away from the majority religion which does not reach the level of violence. This includes “verbal attacks.”
- Harassment of other (than clergy and converts) members of religious minorities which does not reach the level of violence. This includes “verbal attacks.”
- Physical violence targeted specifically at clergy.

- Physical violence against other (than clergy, converts, and proselytizers) individual members of religious minority which is clearly due to their religious affiliation.
- Expulsion or harassment so severe that it leads to a significant number of minority members leaving a town or region

The relatively low instances of these trends are reflected in the scoring of this variable. For five of these six types of societal discrimination, there are no countries that score at the highest level. Burkina Faso is the only country which scored at the highest level which registered physical violence against other individual members due to their religious affiliation.

Societal economic discrimination against minority religions in the workplace is a major issue in some countries. In Djibouti, for example, Christians of all denominations are generally not accepted, largely attributed to the intense tribalism amongst the Afar and Issa groups. This has led to an environment where any attempt to accept Christianity is deemed a betrayal of the tribe and tribal faith of Islam. Christians are thus isolated and discriminated against for their faith, which likely extends to the workplace. In Uganda, Muslim jobseekers are discriminated against in both the public and the private sectors. Many workplaces do not allow women to wear a veil.

Societal discrimination involving physical violence

Physical violence is one dimension of societal discrimination that is covered by the RAS societal module. A total of eight variables discuss to societal violence against religious minorities that was committed by adherents of the majority religion. In 2023, such incidences of violence have been recorded in three Christian majority countries (Central African Republic, Ethiopia and South Africa), nine Muslim majority countries (Burkina Faso, Chad, Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Niger, North Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan) and one mixed country (Benin).

Each political entity has its own history, language and culture, so it is important not to paint with too broad a brush, but no religious tradition is immune from violent tendencies. Being in the majority brings the opportunity to pressure those of difference to conform. This can also lead to violence. Yet, it is not only the majority that engages in violence.

Most of the violence in this category results from the activity of radical Islamic groups, as is the case generally in the Sahel region. In Mali, for example, on June 9, 2019, Islamic militants of the al-Qaeda-affiliated militant group Jama'at Nusrat al-Islam killed 35 Christians (denomination not identified) in an attack in the Mopti Region. Among those killed were men, women, and children, mostly Christians. The Muslim-Fulani community counter-attacked the Dogon minority throughout 2019 and 2020. By May of 2020, 90 Dogon villages had been destroyed. In January of 2023 Catholic parishioners in the city of Douna reported weeks of persecution from Jihadists groups including forced conversion, church closings, and the prohibition of playing musical instruments. In the Central African Republic, since the outbreak of violence in 2013, Seleka Muslim

militia groups have carried out severe acts of lethal violence and harassment against Christians. As a result of the response of the anti-Balaka insurgency, which largely targeted Muslims, 99 % of the Muslim community in the capital city of Bangui were forced to flee.

It also happens that religious minorities engage in violence against the majority religion. In 2023, the RAS dataset records evidence of this in the following countries: Ethiopia, Gambia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Central African Republic, Chad, Kenya, Cameroon, Nigeria (South), Uganda, and Mozambique. In September 2023, a notable incident occurred in Naquitengue village in Cabo Delgado province, where at least 11 Christians were killed by jihadists who infiltrated the village and separated them from others. The attack on September 15 was carried out by local militants linked to the Islamic State, which claimed responsibility, stating that 11 Christians were killed. The actual death toll may be higher, with reports of severe injuries, burned homes, and additional property destruction (Pontifex & Aido, 2023).

Religious minorities can also engage in violence against other religious minorities. In 2023, this could be observed in Benin, Cameroon, Congo-Kinshasa, Ethiopia, Gambia, South Sudan and Uganda. In Gambia, a Muslim majority country, for example, animist families often separate Christian converts from their children in an attempt to force them to recant their alien faith. Christian converts from Animist backgrounds say that they cannot speak safely about their faith with immediate family members. Animist parents also try to force family members to separate if married to Christians. Converts to Christianity of whatever religious background experience harassment in their daily lives and are often forced to take part in annual traditional rituals to continue being regarded as part of the family and community. The pressure to renounce their new faith is strong. Sometimes they are under threat of abduction and forced marriage.

Although less common, violence by religious organizations from a minority against other members of the same minority occurred in Mozambique and South Nigeria. For example, in Mozambique in October 2017 Islamic fundamentalists affiliated with ISIS frequently attack the civilian Muslim population resulting in the deaths of thousands. In addition, the insurgents burned villages including mosques and as well personal property. The insurgents also kidnapped women and children.

Violence by religious organizations from the majority religion attacking members of their own religion occurred in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, North Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan. This is often the case when Islamic organizations such as Boko Haram attack people of their own faith whom they consider not to be conservative enough, or as part of a broader tactic to affirm its presence. In Sudan, prior to the independence of the south, the large-scale attacks and massive human rights abuses against non-Muslims by militia such as Janjaweed (with and without government support) occurred. The RAS dataset reports clashes among Sunni Muslims (between Sufis and Salafists), as well as clashes between Muslim gangs and Muslim government officials. In Somalia, Islamic group Al-Shabaab committed terrorist acts against mosques.

To complement the RAS data, we now turn to the Violent Incidents Database of the IIRF. In 2023, non-state actors in Sub-Saharan Africa were responsible for a significant number of religiously motivated killings, with Nigeria recording the highest total (Figure 10). In Nigeria alone, 4,336 individuals were killed, predominantly Christians (3,827), followed by Muslims (445) and a small number categorized as other or unknown (64). The Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burkina Faso followed with 359 and 326 killings, respectively, with other cases of violence documented in Mali, Ethiopia, Niger, and smaller but notable figures in Burundi, Sudan, Mozambique, and Chad. This data highlights the concentration of religious violence in Nigeria and other hotspots in the region, where both Christians and Muslims are primary targets, depending on the country and specific regional conflicts (Petri & Bainbridge, 2024).

Figure 10. Top 10 killings by non-state actors in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2023 (Violent Incidents Database)

	Country	Christians	Muslims	Other/ unknown	Total
1	Nigeria	3827	445	64	4336
2	Democratic Republic of the Congo	163		196	359
3	Burkina Faso	15	17	294	326
4	Mali			106	106
5	Ethiopia	94			94
6	Niger		5	53	58
7	Burundi			44	44
8	Sudan	14	27		41
9	Mozambique	40			40
10	Chad	17			17

Conclusions

This inaugural report from the Global Religious Freedom Index, a collaboration between the International Institute for Religious Freedom, Global Christian Relief, and Bar-Ilan University, provides an in-depth look at religious freedom trends in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1990 to 2023.

The data reveals that Sub-Saharan African countries are less tolerant towards religious minorities than they used to be a decade ago (Fox 2018, 2020). Substantial increases can be observed on all our measurements, most notably for the government regulation of the majority religion (156 % increase since 1990) and societal discrimination against religious minorities (120 % increase since 1990). In Christian-majority countries, the increase in government discrimination of religious minorities has been particularly sharp for Christian-majority

countries (125 %) although its 2023 averages scores for this metric remain lower than Muslim-majority countries. The measures for religious support have also increased, albeit less pronounced than the other metrics.

Overall, our scores for government religious discrimination, regulation, and support indicate growing religious freedom challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa. Government religious discrimination is somewhat more prevalent in Muslim-majority countries (with Comoros, Mauritania, and Sudan among the highest on this measure), although some Christian-majority countries (such as Eritrea and Angola) also exhibit substantial religious discrimination. In 2023, Eritrea had the highest level of religious regulation among Sub-Saharan African countries, standing out as an extreme case with a score nearly double that of the next country on the list, Niger. Religious support is most prominent in Nigeria, with high levels particularly in the South but more pronounced in the North. Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan, and Zanzibar complete the top five. The highest levels of religious support are found exclusively in Muslim-majority countries.

Regarding societal discrimination against religious minorities, some notable outliers include northern Nigeria, the Central African Republic, Sudan, Burkina Faso, and South Africa. Non-violent forms of societal discrimination are infrequent, indicating that religious violence does not necessarily correlate with other forms of societal discrimination.

Physical violence against religious minorities is most intense in Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Mali, Chad, and Sudan, as confirmed by data from the Violent Incidents Database of the International Institute for Religious Freedom. In Nigeria alone, there were 4,698 killings and 4,085 abductions in 2023, most of which involved Christians, even though Nigeria also experiences violence within religious groups. Other hotspots of religious violence are Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Ethiopia.

The steady increases in our metrics are alarming and suggest that the relative tolerance toward religion appears to have been eroding in recent years, with government restrictions and societal hostilities increasing, although this trend peaked around 2019 to 2020. Many of these peaks are likely influenced by the following two factors. First, many closures of places of worship due to the measures to combat covid-2019 were present in some countries until 2022. This may have in turn also influenced some societal violence. Second, Sudan had a major regime change in 2019 which caused it to change many of its policies. All measures are still high but have plateaued for the past several years.

As to what caused the increases in the scores since 1990, we suspect they are at least in part driven by external influences. The first is the influence of international conservative Christian groups that advocate for certain religious policies. Notably, at least half of the countries restrict abortion, criminalize homosexual acts, fund religious education, have special registration for religious organizations, and offer religious education in public schools. The second external influence comes from international jihadist groups, which have not succeeded in overtaking national governments but have nonetheless managed to push specific discriminatory measures against religious minorities in Muslim-majority

countries and are responsible for a significant portion of societal violence in these countries. In Christian-majority and mixed-religion countries like southern Nigeria and Burkina Faso, jihadist influence primarily manifests as intense societal discrimination, often through physical violence against both religious minorities and members of the jihadists' own faith.

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Appendix 1: data collection methods

The Global Religious Freedom Index is an initiative of the International Institute for Religious Freedom, funded by Global Christian Relief. It draws on data from the Religion and State round 4 (RAS) Project directed by Prof. Jonathan Fox and Dr. Ariel Zellman at Bar-Ilan University (Israel).

The RAS Project has been used in over 250 peer-reviewed publications including books, academic articles, doctoral dissertations and MA theses and is the most used database on religious freedom and religion-state relations in academic writings. However, it has not as of yet had a significant footprint in advocacy and policy circles. Its advantages over current data used for advocacy and policy is that it is far more accurate and detailed. RAS has established methods to collect this data using a wider array of sources than any other project. It is also the only academic (or non-academic) project that can provide cross-country standardized data on discrimination against religious minorities. Unlike other projects which give a general country score or focus on a single religious minority (e.g. Christians), the RAS scores minorities in each country separately and includes all minorities which are a minimum of 0.2 % of a country's population, as well as Jews, Muslim and Christian minorities that are smaller than 0.2 % but at least several hundred people. Round 3 of RAS included 771 such minorities in 183 countries and territories. Round 4 is adding more minorities primarily by providing more fine-tuned distinctions between different denominations of Christians and identifying small minorities missed previously. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa the number of minorities included individually increased from 160 to 243. Minorities too small to be included for minority-level codings are still included in the country-level codings.

The most recent RAS round 4 (RAS4) data covers 1990 to 2023, with each year measured separately to track changes over time. It describes government involvement in religion through 171 variables describing Official Religion, Religious Support, Religious Restrictions, Religious Discrimination, as well as other topics. Additional variables measure specific religious policies including religious education, the registration of religious organizations, restrictions on abortion, restrictions on proselytizing, and religious requirements for holding public office or citizenship. RAS also measures 34 ways in which societal actors restrict or attack religious minorities including economic discrimination, property crimes, and violence, among other types of discrimination (Fox, Finke & Mataic, 2018).⁶

⁶ A full list of the variables is available at www.religionandstate.com and ras.thearda.com.

Even though the RAS Project collects data on the intersection between religion and politics broadly, when analyzed together, its indicators can be taken to describe many of the dimensions of religious freedom.

This report presents the recently collected data on Sub-Saharan Africa from the main RAS dataset. A subsequent report will cover data from the RAS Minorities module, which will zoom in on the treatment of Christian vs non-Christian groups. Future regional reports, to be published between 2025 and 2026, will cover the Former Soviet Bloc, Western Democracies, Asia (non-former Soviet), the Middle East and North Africa, and (6) Latin America. Finally, the IIRF will deliver a global report in 2027.

Appendix 2: data tables

Religious support index

Country scores (1990, 2000, 2010, 2020, 2023)

Country	Specific Majority Religion	Christian/Muslim/Mixed or Other	1990	2000	2010	2020	2023
Angola	Catholic	Christian	2	2	6	6	6
Benin	Mixed	Mixed or Other	4	4	4	5	5
Botswana	Western Christian	Christian	4	4	4	3	3
Burkina Faso	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	3	3	3	6	5
Burundi	Catholic	Christian	4	4	5	6	6
Cameroon	Catholic	Christian	6	6	6	6	6
Cape Verde	Catholic	Christian	5	5	4	6	6
Central African Republic	Western Christian	Christian	5	5	5	5	6
Chad	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	7	7	8	9	9
Comoros	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	9	12	12	14	14
Congo-Brazzaville	Catholic	Christian	3	3	3	3	3
Congo-Kinshasa	Catholic	Christian	7	7	7	6	6
Côte d'Ivoire	Mixed	Mixed or Other	8	8	10	9	9
Djibouti	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	11	12	12	13	13

Equatorial Guinea	Catholic	Christian	5	5	5	8	8
Eritrea	Oriental Orthodox	Christian		3	5	5	5
Eswatini (Swaziland)	Western Christian	Christian	6	7	8	9	9
Ethiopia	Oriental Orthodox	Christian	8	9	9	9	9
Gabon	Catholic	Christian	6	6	6	5	4
Gambia	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	5	8	9	11	10
Ghana	Western Christian	Christian	8	9	9	11	11
Guinea	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	6	7	8	10	11
Guinea Bissau	Mixed	Mixed or Other	3	4	5	5	4
Kenya	Western Christian	Christian	9	10	11	11	13
Lesotho	Western Christian	Christian	7	7	6	5	5
Liberia	Western Christian	Christian	4	5	6	6	6
Madagascar	Western Christian	Christian	4	6	6	5	5
Malawi	Western Christian	Christian	6	8	8	9	9
Mali	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	5	5	6	7	10
Mauritania	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	18	20	21	21	22
Mauritius	Hindu	Mixed or Other	8	9	9	9	9
Mozambique	Western Christian	Christian	4	4	5	4	4
Namibia	Extended Protestant	Christian	2	2	2	2	2
Niger	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	3	3	6	6	6
Nigeria, North	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	11	22	24	25	26
Nigeria, South	Western Christian	Christian	10	12	13	14	14
Rwanda	Catholic	Christian	3	3	5	6	6
Senegal	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	13	13	14	14	14

Sierra Leone	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	10	10	10	10	10
Somalia	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	17	18	21	21	22
Somaliland	Sunni Muslim	Muslim		15	15	15	15
South Africa	Western Christian	Christian	3	3	4	5	5
South Sudan	Catholic	Christian			.	4	4
Sudan	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	18	26	29	19	19
Tanzania	Western Christian	Christian	11	14	14	14	14
Togo	Mixed	Mixed or Other	4	4	6	6	6
Uganda	Western Christian	Christian	3	3	5	6	6
Zambia	Protestant Extended	Christian	7	8	8	9	9
Zanzibar	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	10	11	14	14	16
Zimbabwe	Protestant Extended	Christian	8	8	8	9	9

Means by year (1990–2023)

	All cases	Christian Majority	Muslim Majority	Mixed or Other Majority
1990	6.87	5.56	9.733333333	5.4
	7.17	5.59	10.3125	5.6
	7.29	5.70	10.4375	5.8
	7.24	5.61	10.5	6
	7.29	5.71	10.5	5.8
1995	7.24	5.68	10.4375	5.8
	7.41	5.68	10.9375	5.8
	7.43	5.71	10.9375	5.8
	7.49	5.75	11.0625	5.8
	7.59	5.86	11.1875	5.8
2000	7.94	6.00	12	5.8
	8.16	6.18	12.25	6.2
	8.24	6.18	12.5	6.2
	8.33	6.21	12.625	6.4
	8.53	6.36	13	6.4

2005	8.57	6.32	13.125	6.6
	8.59	6.32	13.1875	6.6
	8.55	6.36	13	6.6
	8.65	6.43	13.125	6.8
	8.73	6.54	13.1875	6.8
2010	8.76	6.54	13.25	6.8
	8.66	6.41	13.25	7
	8.76	6.52	13.3125	7.2
	8.82	6.45	13.625	7.2
	8.92	6.59	13.6875	7.2
2015	8.98	6.69	13.8125	6.8
	9.00	6.69	13.875	6.8
	9.08	6.76	14	6.8
	9.10	6.79	14	6.8
	9.26	6.90	14.3125	6.8
2020	8.92	6.79	13.4375	6.8
	9.00	6.86	13.625	6.6
	9.12	6.93	13.875	6.6
2023	9.08	6.86	13.875	6.6
increase in % 1990–2023	32.12	23.52	42.55	22.22

Most common variables (2023)

12 types present in at 20 % of countries. The support is present or not (key below).

	Ix02	Ix05	Ix06	Ix15	Ix24	Ix33	Ix40	Ix41	Ix42	Ix45	Ix51	Ix56	total
Angola	Yes		Yes					Yes		Yes		Yes	5
Benin			Yes			Yes		Yes				Yes	4
Botswana	Yes		Yes								Yes		3
Burkina Faso			Yes			Yes			Yes	Yes			4
Burundi		Yes	Yes								Yes	Yes	4
Cameroon		Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		Yes				Yes	6
Cape Verde	Yes							Yes		Yes	Yes		4

Central African Republic	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes		Yes					5
Chad	Yes	Yes	Yes				Yes		Yes	Yes			6
Comoros		Yes	Yes							Yes	Yes		4
Congo-Brazzaville			Yes									Yes	2
Congo-Kinshasa	Yes		Yes								Yes	Yes	4
Côte d'Ivoire			Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	7
Djibouti		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Equatorial Guinea			Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Eritrea		Yes	Yes									Yes	3
Eswatini (Swaziland)		Yes	Yes					Yes			Yes	Yes	5
Ethiopia	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes					Yes	7
Gabon			Yes					Yes				Yes	3
Gambia		Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes			6
Ghana		Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		7
Guinea		Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	8
Guinea Bissau			Yes			Yes			Yes			Yes	4
Kenya	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes			Yes	Yes	8
Lesotho	Yes		Yes			Yes					Yes		4
Liberia	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes							4
Madagascar	Yes		Yes					Yes				Yes	4
Malawi	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes					Yes	Yes	7
Mali			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes			6
Mauritania		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	11
Mauritius		Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		Yes			Yes		6
Mozambique	Yes	Yes								Yes		Yes	4

Namibia		Yes	Yes										2
Niger			Yes			Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	6
Nigeria, North	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		9
Nigeria, South	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes		9
Rwanda			Yes		Yes	Yes					Yes	Yes	5
Senegal	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		10
Sierra Leone	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes				7
Somalia		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes				Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8
Somali-land		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes					Yes	Yes		6
South Africa				Yes		Yes					Yes		3
South Sudan	Yes	Yes	Yes								Yes		4
Sudan		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes			8
Tanzania	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes				Yes	Yes	9
Togo	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes			Yes			Yes	6
Uganda	Yes	Yes	Yes				Yes						4
Zambia	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes					Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Zanzibar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	10
Zimbabwe	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes				Yes		6
% cases	48	66	94	28	38	56	32	32	36	42	52	54	

Key:

- Lx02 Marriages performed by clergy of at least some religions are given automatic civil recognition, even in the absence of a state license.
- Lx05 Laws which specifically make it illegal to be a homosexual or engage in homosexual sex.
- Lx06 Prohibitive restrictions on abortion.
- Lx15 Laws of inheritance defined by religion
- Lx24 Blasphemy laws, or any other restriction on speech about majority religion or religious figures
- Lx33 Government funding of religious primary/secondary schools or religious education programs in non-public schools.
- Lx40 Funding for building, maintaining, or repairing religious sites.

- Lx41 Free air time on television or radio is provided to religious organizations on government channels or by government decree.
- Lx42 Funding or other government support for religious pilgrimages such as the Hajj.
- Lx45 Presence of an official government ministry or department dealing with religious affairs.
- Lx51 Religious education is present in public schools.
- Lx56 A registration process for religious organizations exists which is in some manner different from the registration process for other non-profit organizations

Religious discrimination index

Scores by country (1990, 2000, 2010, 2020, 2023)

Country	Specific Majority Religion	Christian/Muslim/Mixed or Other	1990	2000	2010	2020	2023
Angola	Catholic	Christian	5	5	17	21	20
Benin	Mixed	Mixed or Other	2	0	0	1	0
Botswana	Western Christian	Christian	1	1	1	1	1
Burkina Faso	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	0	0	0
Burundi	Catholic	Christian	2	1	1	1	2
Cameroon	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	11	9
Cape Verde	Catholic	Christian	1	1	1	1	1
Central African Republic	Western Christian	Christian	1	1	2	8	8
Chad	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	2	6	6	6
Comoros	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	26	25	28	36	36
Congo-Brazzaville	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	5	5
Congo-Kinshasa	Catholic	Christian	2	0	2	4	9
Côte d'Ivoire	Mixed	Mixed or Other	5	6	1	3	2
Djibouti	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	2	2	1	6	6
Equatorial Guinea	Catholic	Christian	20	5	4	17	12
Eritrea	Oriental Orthodox	Christian		7	35	43	41

Eswatini (Swaziland)	Western Christian	Christian	1	1	1	3	6
Ethiopia	Oriental Orthodox	Christian	8	8	11	11	11
Gabon	Catholic	Christian	2	2	2	3	2
Gambia	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	1	1	1	8	10
Ghana	Western Christian	Christian	5	2	2	2	2
Guinea	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	4	4	1	2	2
Guinea Bissau	Mixed	Mixed or Other	0	0	0	0	1
Kenya	Western Christian	Christian	3	4	6	7	6
Lesotho	Western Christian	Christian	0	0	1	0	0
Liberia	Western Christian	Christian	0	0	0	1	0
Madagascar	Western Christian	Christian	3	3	4	5	5
Malawi	Western Christian	Christian	20	9	10	12	10
Mali	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	1	1	1	1	1
Mauritania	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	17	19	23	25	27
Mauritius	Hindu	Mixed or Other	2	2	2	2	2
Mozambique	Western Christian	Christian	3	3	2	4	4
Namibia	Extended Protestant	Christian	2	2	2	6	2
Niger	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	3	1	1	1	1
Nigeria, North	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	6	13	13	17	18
Nigeria, South	Western Christian	Christian	1	5	2	11	14
Rwanda	Catholic	Christian	2	6	4	14	13
Senegal	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	0	0	0
Sierra Leone	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	0	1	0
Somalia	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	18	18	18	18	18
Somaliland	Sunni Muslim	Muslim		18	18	18	18

South Africa	Western Christian	Christian	0	0	0	2	2
South Sudan	Catholic	Christian			.	1	2
Sudan	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	34	39	35	25	20
Tanzania	Western Christian	Christian	1	2	3	6	8
Togo	Mixed	Mixed or Other	2	2	2	3	2
Uganda	Western Christian	Christian	2	6	5	8	13
Zambia	Protestant Extended	Christian	1	1	1	3	4
Zanzibar	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	3	1	1
Zimbabwe	Protestant Extended	Christian	3	3	3	3	3

Means by year (1990–2023)

	All cases	Christian Majority	Muslim Majority	Mixed or Other Majority
1990	4.51	3.30	7.466666667	2.2
	4.83	3.26	8.3125	2.2
	4.96	3.37	8.625	1.8
	4.84	3.29	8.5	1.8
	4.57	2.86	8.5	1.6
1995	4.35	2.43	8.5	1.8
	4.45	2.50	8.6875	1.8
	4.39	2.46	8.5625	1.8
	4.45	2.54	8.625	1.8
	4.39	2.46	8.625	1.6
2000	4.71	2.79	8.9375	2
	4.78	2.68	9	3
	5.41	3.71	9.1875	2.8
	5.67	3.96	9.625	2.6
	5.63	3.96	9.5625	2.4
2005	5.63	4.04	9.4375	2.4
	5.55	4.14	9.1875	1.8
	5.59	4.14	9.4375	1.4

	5.43	4.04	9.25	1
	5.69	4.32	9.5625	1
2010	5.63	4.36	9.3125	1
	5.68	4.34	9.5625	1
	5.86	4.59	9.75	0.8
	6.10	4.76	10.1875	0.8
	6.38	5.24	10.1875	0.8
2015	6.92	5.93	10.625	0.8
	7.28	6.21	11.25	0.8
	7.56	6.48	11.625	0.8
	7.78	6.83	11.6875	0.8
	7.68	6.86	11.3125	0.8
2020	7.76	7.38	10.3125	1.8
	7.72	7.48	10.0625	1.6
	7.80	7.48	10.1875	2
2023	7.72	7.41	10.25	1.4
increase in % 1990–2023	71.15	124.91	37.28	-36.36

Most common variables (2023)

Five variables present in at least 20 % of countries:

Restrictions on public observance of rel. services, festivals and/or holidays, including the Sabbath.

Score		
1 The activity is slightly restricted or the government engages in a mild form of this practice for some minorities.	2 The activity is slightly restricted for most or all minorities, the government engages in a mild form of this practice or the activity sharply restricted for some of them or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for some of them.	3 The activity is prohibited or sharply restricted or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for most or all minorities.
Mauritania Uganda Zimbabwe	Angola Chad Equatorial Guinea Eritrea Malawi	Comoros

Restrictions on building, repairing and/or maintaining places of worship.

Score		
1 The activity is slightly restricted or the government engages in a mild form of this practice for some minorities.	2 The activity is slightly restricted for most or all minorities, the government engages in a mild form of this practice or the activity sharply restricted for some of them or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for some of them.	3 The activity is prohibited or sharply restricted or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for most or all minorities.
Côte d'Ivoire Eswatini (Formerly Swaziland) Gambia Guinea Mauritania Nigeria, South	Angola Eritrea Ethiopia Nigeria, North Rwanda	Comoros

Restrictions on access to existing places of worship.

Score		
1 The activity is slightly restricted or the government engages in a mild form of this practice for some minorities.	2 The activity is slightly restricted for most or all minorities, the government engages in a mild form of this practice, or the activity sharply restricted for some of them or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for some of them.	3 The activity is prohibited or sharply restricted or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for most or all minorities.
Nigeria, North Nigeria, South Tanzania Uganda	Angola Cameroon Central African Republic Comoros Congo-Brazzaville Eritrea Rwanda	Somaliland

Restrictions on formal religious organizations.

Score		
1 The activity is slightly restricted or the government engages in a mild form of this practice for some minorities.	2 The activity is slightly restricted for most or all minorities, the government engages in a mild form of this practice, or the activity sharply restricted for some of them or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for some of them.	3 The activity is prohibited or sharply restricted or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for most or all minorities.
Botswana Central African Republic Ethiopia Guinea Bissau Kenya Mali Tanzania Uganda Zanzibar	Angola Chad Congo-Kinshasa Eritrea Nigeria, North Nigeria, South Sudan	

Arrest/detention/harassment of religious figures/officials/members of religious parties for activities other than proselytizing.

Score		
1 The activity is slightly restricted or the government engages in a mild form of this practice for some minorities.	2 The activity is slightly restricted for most or all minorities, the government engages in a mild form of this practice, or the activity sharply restricted for some of them or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for some of them.	3 The activity is prohibited or sharply restricted or the government engages in a severe form of this activity for most or all minorities.
Burundi Malawi Mauritania Mozambique Nigeria, North Nigeria, South South Sudan Uganda	Central African Republic Kenya Sudan Tanzania Eritrea	

Religious regulation index

Scores by country (1990, 2000, 2010, 2020, 2023)

Country	Specific Majority Religion	Christian/ Muslim/ Mixed or Other	1990	2000	2010	2020	2023
Angola	Catholic	Christian	0	1	1	7	7
Benin	Mixed	Mixed or Other	0	0	1	5	1
Botswana	Western Christian	Christian	1	1	1	4	2
Burkina Faso	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	1	4	4	4	4
Burundi	Catholic	Christian	4	7	9	10	11
Cameroon	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	8	0
Cape Verde	Catholic	Christian	3	3	3	3	3
Central African Republic	Western Christian	Christian	1	1	3	2	2
Chad	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	10	11	12	19	17
Comoros	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	4	4	6	10	10
Congo-Brazzaville	Catholic	Christian	0	0	4	9	4
Congo-Kinshasa	Catholic	Christian	2	2	3	7	3
Côte d'Ivoire	Mixed	Mixed or Other	4	4	5	9	5
Djibouti	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	3	10	13	24	23
Equatorial Guinea	Catholic	Christian	5	13	8	7	6
Eritrea	Oriental Orthodox	Christian		23	43	51	51
Eswatini (Swaziland)	Western Christian	Christian	2	2	2	5	2
Ethiopia	Oriental Orthodox	Christian	8	8	9	11	11
Gabon	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	5	0
Gambia	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	2	6	9	8	8
Ghana	Western Christian	Christian	5	8	8	9	9

Guinea	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	3	3	4	12	10
Guinea Bissau	Mixed	Mixed or Other	6	6	6	6	6
Kenya	Western Christian	Christian	3	7	6	10	6
Lesotho	Western Christian	Christian	2	2	2	6	2
Liberia	Western Christian	Christian	3	3	3	7	3
Madagascar	Western Christian	Christian	1	2	11	12	7
Malawi	Western Christian	Christian	1	1	1	1	1
Mali	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	4	4	6	6	6
Mauritania	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	7	7	14	19	18
Mauritius	Hindu	Mixed or Other	1	1	1	5	1
Mozambique	Western Christian	Christian	8	8	8	11	7
Namibia	Extended Protestant	Christian	3	3	3	3	5
Niger	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	4	9	15	29	27
Nigeria, North	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	5	12	17	22	20
Nigeria, South	Western Christian	Christian	5	6	8	12	8
Rwanda	Catholic	Christian	3	5	10	19	19
Senegal	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	3	3	3	6	4
Sierra Leone	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	3	6	9	6
Somalia	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	7	11	7
Somaliland	Sunni Muslim	Muslim		3	3	5	3
South Africa	Western Christian	Christian	2	0	0	8	8
South Sudan	Catholic	Christian			.	2	0
Sudan	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	16	16	20	18	15
Tanzania	Western Christian	Christian	9	12	12	16	21
Togo	Mixed	Mixed or Other	3	6	7	11	10

Uganda	Western Christian	Christian	0	2	3	6	4
Zambia	Protestant Extended	Christian	4	4	8	14	11
Zanzibar	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	7	10	15	14	15
Zimbabwe	Protestant Extended	Christian	5	5	25	17	15

Means by year (1990–2023)

	All cases	Christian Majority	Muslim Majority	Mixed or other Majority
1990	3.47	2.96	4.6	2.8
	3.63	3.15	4.6875	2.8
	4.08	3.52	5.25	3.4
	4.27	3.75	5.4375	3.4
	4.27	3.75	5.4375	3.4
1995	4.61	4.36	5.4375	3.4
	4.80	4.46	5.8125	3.4
	4.80	4.46	5.8125	3.4
	4.86	4.54	5.875	3.4
	4.98	4.61	6.125	3.4
2000	5.12	4.61	6.5625	3.4
	5.55	5.04	7.125	3.4
	5.86	5.54	7.1875	3.4
	6.12	5.54	7.9375	3.6
	6.27	5.50	8.4375	3.6
2005	6.51	5.79	8.625	3.8
	6.76	6.07	8.875	3.8
	6.65	6.04	8.625	3.8
	6.98	6.57	8.625	4
	7.35	6.82	9.3125	4
2010	7.51	6.93	9.625	4
	7.42	6.79	9.625	4
	7.64	6.93	10.0625	4
	7.72	6.72	10.6875	4
	7.60	6.48	10.75	4

2015	8.02	6.83	11.4375	4
	7.90	6.76	11.1875	4
	8.14	6.93	11.625	4
	8.36	7.17	11.875	4
	8.98	7.90	12.5	4
2020	10.68	9.72	13.5	7.2
	10.06	9.28	12.625	6.4
	9.06	8.17	12.25	4
2023	8.88	7.86	12.0625	4.6
increase in % 1990–2023	156.05	165.34	162.23	64.29

Most common variables (2023)

Four variables present in at least 20 % of countries (excluding the other category):

Restrictions on religious political parties.

Score		
1 Slight restrictions including practical restrictions or the government engages in this activity rarely and on a small scale.	2 Significant restrictions including practical restrictions or the government engages in this activity occasionally and on a moderate scale.	3 The activity is illegal, or the government engages in this activity often and on a large scale.
Liberia Madagascar Mali	Burundi Central African Republic Chad Nigeria, North Nigeria South	Burkina Faso Cape Verde Congo-Brazzaville Côte d’Ivoire Djibouti Equatorial Guinea Eritrea Ethiopia Gambia Ghana Guinea Bissau Kenya Mozambique Niger Senegal Sierra Leone Sudan Tanzania Togo

		Uganda Zanzibar
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Restrictions on clergy/religious organizations engaging in public political speech (other than sermons) or propaganda or on political activity in or by religious institutions.

Score		
1 Slight restrictions including practical restrictions or the government engages in this activity rarely and on a small scale.	2 Significant restrictions including practical restrictions or the government engages in this activity occasionally and on a moderate scale.	3 The activity is illegal, or the government engages in this activity often and on a large scale.
Eswatini (Swaziland) Ethiopia Kenya Sudan	Equatorial Guinea Niger Tanzania Zambia Zimbabwe	Chad Eritrea Mauritania

Restrictions on religious-based hate speech.

Score		
1 Slight restrictions including practical restrictions or the government engages in this activity rarely and on a small scale.	2 Significant restrictions including practical restrictions or the government engages in this activity occasionally and on a moderate scale.	3 The activity is illegal, or the government engages in this activity often and on a large scale.
Angola Benin Botswana Côte d'Ivoire Kenya Malawi Mali Nigeria, North Nigeria, South	Burundi Congo-Kinshasa Gambia Sudan	Zambia Zimbabwe Chad Ethiopia Rwanda

Government controls/influences the instructors or content of rel. education in public schools

Score		
1 Slight restrictions including practical restrictions or the government engages in this	2 Significant restrictions including practical restrictions or the government engages in this	3 The activity is illegal or the government engages in this activity often and on a large scale.

activity rarely and on a small scale.	activity occasionally and on a moderate scale.	
Kenya	Djibouti Lesotho Mauritania Rwanda Zimbabwe	Namibia Nigeria, North Nigeria, South Sudan

Societal discrimination index

Country scores (1990, 2000, 2010, 2020, 2023)

Country	Specific Majority Religion	Christian/ Muslim/ Mixed or Other	1990	2000	2010	2020	2023
Angola	Catholic	Christian	0	0	2	1	1
Benin	Mixed	Mixed or Other	0	0	1	1	1
Botswana	Western Christian	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	0	8	13
Burundi	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Cameroon	Catholic	Christian	2	2	2	2	2
Cape Verde	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Central African Republic	Western Christian	Christian	3	3	3	18	18
Chad	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	1	1	3	6	6
Comoros	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	6	9	8	8	8
Congo-Brazzaville	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Congo-Kinshasa	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Côte d'Ivoire	Mixed	Mixed or Other	0	6	0	4	4
Djibouti	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	5	5	8	8	5
Equatorial Guinea	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Eritrea	Oriental Orthodox	Christian		1	1	0	0

Eswatini (Swaziland)	Western Christian	Christian	1	1	1	2	2
Ethiopia	Oriental Orthodox	Christian	5	6	6	7	3
Gabon	Catholic	Christian	1	1	0	0	0
Gambia	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	2	2	2	7	10
Ghana	Western Christian	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Guinea	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	1	1	1	4	4
Guinea Bissau	Mixed	Mixed or Other	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	Western Christian	Christian	2	6	3	4	4
Lesotho	Western Christian	Christian	2	0	0	0	0
Liberia	Western Christian	Christian	0	4	4	0	0
Madagascar	Western Christian	Christian	2	2	2	2	2
Malawi	Western Christian	Christian	0	1	0	1	0
Mali	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	0	6	8
Mauritania	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	0	1	1
Mauritius	Hindu	Mixed or Other	0	0	2	0	0
Mozambique	Western Christian	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Namibia	Extended Protestant	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Niger	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	2	2	2	6	10
Nigeria, North	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	6	13	10	19	20
Nigeria, South	Western Christian	Christian	2	9	13	9	5
Rwanda	Catholic	Christian	0	0	0	1	0
Senegal	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	0	0	0	0
Sierra Leone	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	0	6	0	0	0
Somalia	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	8	9	12	12	12
Somaliland	Sunni Muslim	Muslim		0	0	0	0

South Africa	Western Christian	Christian	5	5	12	9	13
South Sudan	Catholic	Christian			.	1	1
Sudan	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	14	14	15	13	16
Tanzania	Western Christian	Christian	0	0	0	0	0
Togo	Mixed	Mixed or Other	0	0	0	0	1
Uganda	Western Christian	Christian	0	0	0	3	2
Zambia	Protestant Extended	Christian	0	0	0	1	0
Zanzibar	Sunni Muslim	Muslim	4	4	8	9	4
Zimbabwe	Protestant Extended	Christian	1	1	1	1	1

Means by year (1990–2023)

	All cases	Christian Majority	Muslim Majority	Mixed or Other Majority
1990	1.62	1.00	3.266666667	0
	1.79	1.04	3.625	0
	1.81	1.07	3.625	0
	1.67	0.96	3.3125	0.4
	1.73	1.14	3.3125	0
1995	1.61	0.93	3.3125	0
	1.69	0.96	3.5	0
	1.78	1.11	3.5	0
	1.86	1.21	3.5	0.2
	1.98	1.39	3.625	0
2000	2.35	1.54	4.125	1.2
	2.24	1.61	3.875	0.6
	2.24	1.43	4	1.2
	2.18	1.46	4.125	0
	2.63	1.75	4.9375	0.2
2005	2.31	1.50	4.3125	0.4
	2.35	1.82	4	0

	2.04	1.25	4	0.2
	2.12	1.46	3.8125	0.4
	2.29	1.29	4.6875	0.2
2010	2.53	1.86	4.3125	0.6
	2.48	1.45	5	0.4
	2.48	1.31	5.1875	0.6
	2.82	2.03	5	0.4
	3.10	2.34	5.3125	0.4
2015	2.96	2.17	5.1875	0.4
	3.28	2.24	5.875	1
	3.50	2.52	5.875	1.6
	3.32	2.59	5.3125	1.2
	3.78	2.55	6.9375	0.8
2020	3.50	2.17	6.6875	1
	3.54	2.10	6.75	1.6
	3.74	1.86	7.6875	2
2023	3.56	1.90	7.3125	1.2
increase in % 1990–2023	120.16	89.66	123.85	Increase from 0 to 1.2

Most common variables (2023)

Six variables present in at least 10 % of countries:

Instances of societal economic discrimination against minority religions in the workplace

Score		
1 This action occurs on a minor level to one or a few minorities but not most.	2 This action occurs on a substantial level to members one or a few minorities but not most or on a minor level to all or most minorities.	3 This action occurs on a substantial level to members of most or all minority religions.
Eswatini (Swaziland) Gambia Madagascar South Sudan Zimbabwe	Cameroon Djibouti Nigeria, North Nigeria, South Sudan Uganda Zanzibar	

Harassment of converts away from the majority religion which does not reach the level of violence. This includes “verbal attacks.”

Score		
1 This action occurs on a minor level to one or a few minorities but not most.	2 This action occurs on a substantial level to members one or a few minorities but not most or on a minor level to all or most minorities.	3 This action occurs on a substantial level to members of most or all minority religions.
Côte d’Ivoire Djibouti Gambia Guinea Nigeria, North	Chad Comoros Somalia Sudan	

Harassment of other (than clergy and converts) members of religious minorities which does not reach the level of violence. This includes “verbal attacks.”

Score		
1 This action occurs on a minor level to one or a few minorities but not most.	2 This action occurs on a substantial level to members one or a few minorities but not most or on a minor level to all or most minorities.	3 This action occurs on a substantial level to members of most or all minority religions.
Côte d’Ivoire Gambia Kenya Nigeria, South Sudan Zanzibar	Central African Republic Comoros Niger Somalia South Africa	

Physical violence targeted specifically at clergy.

Score		
1 This action occurs on a minor level to one or a few minorities but not most.	2 This action occurs on a substantial level to members one or a few minorities but not most or on a minor level to all or most minorities.	3 This action occurs on a substantial level to members of most or all minority religions.
Ethiopia Gambia South Africa	Mali Niger Nigeria, North	

Physical violence against other (than clergy, converts, and proselytizers) individual members of religious minority which is clearly due to their religious affiliation.

Score		
1 This action occurs on a minor level to one or a few minorities but not most.	2 This action occurs on a substantial level to members one or a few minorities but not most or on a minor level to all or most minorities.	3 This action occurs on a substantial level to members of most or all minority religions.
Benin Chad	Central African Republic Mali Nigeria, North Somalia South Africa Sudan	Burkina Faso

Expulsion or harassment so severe that it leads to a significant number of minority members leaving a town or region

Score		
1 This action occurs on a minor level to one or a few minorities but not most.	2 This action occurs on a substantial level to members one or a few minorities but not most or on a minor level to all or most minorities.	3 This action occurs on a substantial level to members of most or all minority religions.
Mali	Central African Republic Niger Nigeria, North Nigeria, South	

Physical violence involving religion

Incidents of Religious Violence by Non-State Actors in Sub-Saharan Africa (2023), categorized by Religion of Victim (Violent Incidents Database)

Country	Religion of Victim(s)	Killings	Religious buildings damaged	Religious buildings closed	Arrests	Sentences	Abductions	Sexual assaults	Forced marriages	Other forms of physical/mental abuse	Attacks on houses	Attacks on shops or businesses	Forced to leave home	Forced to leave country
Angola	Christian	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
Angola Total		0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
Benin	Animist, ancestor worship, or	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	traditional religion													
	Christian	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	2	0
	Other	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Benin Total		1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	3	0
Burkina Faso Total		326	2	0	0	0	9	0	1	104	21	0	4	0
Burundi	Unknown	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Burundi Total		44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cameroun	Christian	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
	Unknown	13	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cameroun Total		15	1	0	0	0	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Cape Verde	Christian	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cape Verde Total		0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Central African Republic	Christian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	Islam	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Central African Republic Total		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Chad	Christian	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	20	0
Chad Total		17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	20	0
Comoros	Islam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Comoros Total		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Christian	163	4	0	0	0	35	0	0	49	9	4	0	200
	Unknown	196	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	3	6	2	1000	0
Democratic Republic of the Congo Total		359	4	0	0	0	44	0	0	52	15	6	1000	200
Egypt	Christian	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0
	Islam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Egypt Total		1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0
Ethiopia	Christian	94	7	0	0	0	54	0	0	20	451	4	127	0
Ethiopia Total		94	7	0	0	0	54	0	0	20	451	4	127	0
Gabon	Islam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gabon Total		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ghana	Christian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Ghana Total		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Kenya	Christian	2	4	0	0	0	0	3	0	7	8	0	0	0
Kenya Total		2	4	0	0	0	0	3	0	7	8	0	0	0
Libya	Christian	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Libya Total		0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malawi	Christian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Malawi Total		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Mali	Christian	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
	Unknown	106	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	23	25	0	11	0
Mali Total		106	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	27	25	0	11	0
Mozambique	Christian	40	0	0	1	0	6	5	3	7	28	0	35	0
Mozambique Total		40	0	0	1	0	6	5	3	7	28	0	35	0
Niger	Christian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Islam	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	0
	Unknown	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	0
Niger Total		58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	0	0	0	0
Nigeria	Animist, ancestor worship, or traditional religion	64	0	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Christian	3827	5	0	0	0	3200	0	0	8	23	3	18	0
	Islam	445	1	0	0	0	820	0	0	23	6	0	0	0
Nigeria Total		4336	6	0	0	0	4053	0	0	31	29	3	18	0
Rwanda	Christian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rwanda Total		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Somalia	Islam	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

	Unknown	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Somalia Total		6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
South Africa	Christian	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
	Jewish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa Total		6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
South Sudan	Christian	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0
South Sudan Total		0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0
Sudan	Christian	14	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	31	0	0	2	0
	Islam	27	7	0	15	0	50	0	0	57	0	0	0	0
Sudan Total		41	16	0	17	0	50	0	0	88	0	0	2	0
Togo	Christian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Togo Total		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	Jewish	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia Total		0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uganda	Christian	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	0
Uganda Total		10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	0
Zambia	Christian	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Zambia Total		1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Grand Total		5464	62	0	23	0	4227	11	4	421	605	14	1222	200

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