

## II

### THE 2009 RESULTS: INDEX OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE

The top performers in this year's Index of African Governance are Mauritius, the Seychelles, Cape Verde, and Botswana. Next, because this year we include all of Africa, including the countries of North Africa, is Tunisia, followed by Ghana, Algeria, Namibia, South Africa, and São Tomé and Príncipe, in tenth place. Mauritius heads the list with a score of 86 points out of a perfect 100. It is an "all around" performer, ranking in the top three in all five categories of the Index. The next six countries all score in the 70s, and the final three dip slightly under 70. Scores are based on data for 2007, the latest year for which data are reasonably complete for all countries.

As the category scores demonstrate, Tunisia and Algeria score as well as they do overall *despite* very low scores on participation and respect for civil and political rights. South Africa scores well despite very low scores in safety and security. Indeed, all three of these countries are buoyed in the overall rankings by their relative wealth and development compared with other countries on the continent, as can be seen in the disaggregated scores. Tunisia, for instance, has an appalling human rights record, but rates so well in terms of human development, economic opportunity, and security that those scores compensate for appropriately low results in the regard for human rights area.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the North African nation-states generally score relatively high overall, despite poor rankings in the participation and human rights category. In sub-Saharan Africa, Gabon, this year in eleventh place, shows a similar trend, benefitting in the overall rankings by being secure, despite low participation scores. High income levels also give Gabon a big boost. South Africa, by contrast, does well because only in the safety sub-category does it perform abysmally, exhibiting very high homicide and crime rates.

At the bottom of this year's rankings, the worst performing ten countries are: Somalia, the Sudan, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire (because of continuing conflict in 2007, and other issues), the Central African Republic, Eritrea, Angola (despite its oil riches), Zimbabwe, and Guinea.<sup>2</sup>

Just above Guinea, at numbers 37 through 43 are Ethiopia, Nigeria, Burundi, Liberia, Equatorial Guinea, Swaziland, and Congo (Brazzaville), in that order. Nigeria, despite its vast oil wealth, suffers as in previous years by weak scores for safety and security, participation, rule of law, and human development.

As some of our readers have highlighted to us, a narrower approach to governance is often useful and consistent with some other (but not all) projects on governance. Thus, this year we also display rankings according to this "traditional" or "narrow" governance approach in order to facilitate comparisons across studies (see page 23). This approach is equivalent just to our categories of "Rule of Law, Transparency, and Corruption" and "Participation and Human Rights." If we thus exclude "Safety and Security," "Sustainable Economic Development," and "Human Development," the high performing list is still led by Mauritius, with Cape Verde moving up to second place and Botswana in third, but the North African states do not do as well. Thus, by this narrower method, the top ten countries, based on 2007 scores, would be: Mauritius, Cape Verde, Botswana, South Africa, Ghana, Namibia, the Seychelles, Lesotho, Benin, and São Tomé and Príncipe. The bottom eleven countries would be: Somalia (number 53), the Sudan, Eritrea, Libya, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Chad, Guinea, and Egypt.

1 See Clement Henry, "Tunisia's 'Sweet Little' Regime," in Robert I. Rotberg (ed.), *Worst of the Worst: Dealing with Repressive and Rogue Nations* (Washington, D. C., 2007), 300-324.

2 For additional views on Zimbabwe, see Robert I. Rotberg, "Winning the African Prize for Repression: Zimbabwe," in *Ibid.*, 166-192.

As in previous editions, this 2009 Index of African Governance has benefited from several improvements, and new and enhanced sources of data. The previous essay, “The Meaning of Governance,” explains the core method employed in the 2009 Index of African Governance (and in the 2007 and 2008 Ibrahim Indexes), as well as the exact ways in which the 2009 Index has been improved. To make it possible carefully to study improvements and declines in governance for each country, all changes have been incorporated retrospectively for all years in the 2009 Index (2000, 2002, 2005, 2006, and 2007). This report includes complete data on four years, and the full dataset is available through our website. Analysts, as per usual practice, should refer to the latest version of the data when making comparisons over time.

### **Improvements and Slippages**

Looking at Index scores over time, the 2009 Index shows clearly that many aspects of good governance are slow to change, despite policy reforms and the efforts of leaders. However, one of the fastest ways that authoritarian countries can improve their quality of governance is to allow citizens to choose their leaders—i.e., to bring to political office leaders chosen in free, fair, and competitive elections.<sup>3</sup> Conversely, one of the fastest ways countries can reduce their quality of governance is to boot out elected leaders. In addition, in assessing relative changes over time, it is also important to take into account a country’s starting point: while countries at the top of the rankings certainly can improve their scores, dramatic year-to-year changes are more likely for countries in the middle and bottom of the rankings where there is more room for improvement.

In the latest two years covered in the Index (2006 and 2007), the “most improved” country in terms of governance scores was Mauritania, which returned to democratic rule after its 2005 coup through presidential elections in March 2007, and legislative elections at the end of 2006. While these elections were by no means perfect, they were judged to be generally free and fair by national and international observers. Mauritania’s suspension from the African Union was lifted in 2007. (Mauritania’s improvements, however, were unfortunately short-lived. In August 2008, the democratically elected president was overthrown in a military coup.)

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), which ranks near the bottom of the Index in all years, also showed improvement between 2006 and 2007. The inauguration of a new president and National Assembly, brought to office in elections judged to be generally free and fair (although also flawed) by the international community, made the difference. This improvement notwithstanding, as the Index illustrates, the DRC’s security situation declined notably between these years, and it is in no way a governance success.

Looking at all years covered in the Index, from 2000 as compared to the most recent year (2007), the most improved country is Burundi, followed by Rwanda and Angola. Each of these post-conflict countries showed major improvements in terms of security between 2000 and 2007, continuing challenges notwithstanding. Burundi and Rwanda also retired their transitional governments and brought to office leaders chosen in elections, which were judged to be flawed, but at least partially free and fair, by most observers.

### **Anomalies and Chronological Notations on the 2009 Index**

As was the case for the 2007 and 2008 Ibrahim Indexes of African Governance, this year’s Index of African Governance is based on the most complete statistics available, which require a two year lag. The 2009 Index thus is based on international and locally acquired data for the 2007 year and does not reflect the myriad social, economic, and political upheavals affecting Africa during 2008 and 2009. We are aware of them, but cannot let these major changes distort our results, which depend on internationally supplied and locally supplied hard numbers that are simply unavailable in a consistent manner after 2007. The events and alterations of 2008 will be captured in next year’s Index.

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<sup>3</sup> This point is of course tied to the Index’s methodology. We argue, however, that it also holds more generally, even with many other conceptualizations of governance.

As a result, Zimbabwe's massive economic and political collapse and the terrible troubles of post-electoral Kenya are not fully captured in this year's results. Nor is the turmoil in Guinea-Bissau and Mauritania, the horrific results of war in the DRC, political shenanigans in other nation-states, and positive improvements in a few. For timely reports on these events, we refer readers to the very useful qualitative analyses provided by the International Crisis Group, Freedom House, the Institute for Security Studies, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch, among other sources.

Somalia, in last place this year as it has been in all years of the Index, has slipped in scores as well, but that very low score may reflect the difficulty of gathering accurate numbers for a country that still lacks a government, and therefore (according to the methodology of this Index) cannot—by definition—supply political goods. This year the makers of the Index had intended to include Somaliland as a fifty-fourth African polity, breaking out that unrecognized, politically organized, de facto state from the the larger geographical expression of Somalia, but even local research carried out in Hargeisa, the capital of Somaliland, could not supply sufficient data points to include Somaliland in our Index. At present, this insufficiency seems to reflect the difficulty of setting up a national statistics system from scratch rather than a lack of will or lack of cooperation with our researchers. Similarly, the Index is not able in this year to include Western Sahara, which is recognized by the African Union, but by few other international organizations.

## THE 2009 INDEX OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE RANKINGS

Rank	Country	Score Based on the Latest Index Year (2007)
1	Mauritius	85.7
2	Seychelles	79.8
3	Cape Verde	77.4
4	Botswana	72.7
5	Tunisia	71.5
6	Ghana	70.6
7	Algeria	70.2
8	Namibia	69.2
9	South Africa	68.4
10	Sao Tome and Principe	68.2
11	Gabon	66.5
12	Morocco	65.9
13	Benin	64.0
14	Malawi	63.3
15	Gambia	62.8
16	Senegal	62.7
17	Madagascar	62.4
18	Egypt	61.9
19	Burkina Faso	61.6
20	Tanzania	61.5
21	Libya	61.2
22	Mauritania	61.0
23	Lesotho	60.0
24	Zambia	59.6
25	Comoros	58.7
26	Rwanda	58.6
27	Kenya	58.2
28	Uganda	57.8
29	Niger	57.8
30	Mali	57.2
31	Mozambique	56.8
32	Djibouti	56.7
33	Cameroon	54.4
34	Togo	52.7
35	Sierra Leone	51.6
36	Guinea-Bissau	51.5
37	Ethiopia	51.1
38	Nigeria	50.3
39	Burundi	50.0
40	Liberia	50.0
41	Equatorial Guinea	49.5
42	Swaziland	49.4
43	Congo (Brazzaville)	48.7
44	Guinea	47.4
45	Zimbabwe	47.3
46	Angola	45.9
47	Eritrea	44.4
48	Central African Republic	43.0
49	Cote d'Ivoire	42.7
50	Congo, Democratic Republic	37.3
51	Chad	36.7
52	Sudan	34.8
53	Somalia	16.3

## 2009 INDEX OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE COUNTRY SCORES (2000-2007)

	2000	2002	2005	2006	2007
Angola	35.7	37.1	47.0	47.1	45.9
Benin	64.6	63.1	61.4	62.5	64.0
Botswana	72.3	72.4	71.9	72.3	72.7
Burkina Faso	51.9	54.5	57.8	60.4	61.6
Burundi	35.7	36.7	42.5	50.1	50.0
Cameroon	48.9	48.8	53.7	54.3	54.4
Cape Verde	71.6	74.8	77.2	77.2	77.4
Central African Republic	45.6	45.3	43.2	41.8	43.0
Chad	39.6	40.9	40.0	34.6	36.7
Comoros	52.2	52.7	57.8	60.5	58.7
Congo (Brazzaville)	46.1	47.4	48.9	49.6	48.7
Congo, Democratic Rep.	27.5	28.2	30.9	30.4	37.3
Cote d'Ivoire	44.7	42.3	41.7	41.7	42.7
Djibouti	55.6	55.4	54.4	56.7	56.7
Equatorial Guinea	47.1	49.3	48.5	47.6	49.5
Eritrea	39.1	44.9	45.5	44.7	44.4
Ethiopia	44.5	50.9	52.7	51.4	51.1
Gabon	65.4	64.6	63.4	63.4	66.5
Gambia	53.7	59.2	58.9	57.7	62.8
Ghana	63.7	66.8	68.8	69.6	70.6
Guinea	52.1	51.0	49.0	48.0	47.4
Guinea-Bissau	54.3	51.8	48.0	52.7	51.5
Kenya	57.7	58.2	59.8	59.2	58.2
Lesotho	57.8	59.2	58.9	60.7	60.0
Liberia	40.7	38.5	39.1	49.1	50.0
Madagascar	58.7	55.8	59.4	62.1	62.4
Malawi	61.9	62.3	62.9	62.8	63.3
Mali	50.7	54.2	57.2	57.8	57.2
Mauritania	52.3	57.5	57.4	53.2	61.0
Mauritius	81.3	81.1	84.6	83.4	85.7
Mozambique	52.0	54.9	56.3	57.2	56.8
Namibia	71.1	70.6	68.4	68.6	69.2
Niger	54.0	54.8	58.5	58.3	57.8
Nigeria	45.7	46.2	48.1	49.6	50.3
Rwanda	47.1	49.1	57.4	58.7	58.6
Sao Tome and Principe	61.5	65.8	66.5	66.3	68.2
Senegal	62.0	64.9	66.0	66.0	62.7
Seychelles	77.6	77.8	78.4	80.1	79.8
Sierra Leone	41.6	53.1	51.1	51.7	51.6
Somalia	21.9	20.9	22.0	18.4	16.3
South Africa	68.5	68.7	68.8	69.4	68.4
Sudan	34.5	35.1	33.8	33.4	34.8
Swaziland	47.7	46.8	47.5	50.1	49.4
Tanzania	53.6	60.4	59.5	61.0	61.5
Togo	50.1	51.0	50.4	51.9	52.7
Uganda	49.4	53.2	53.4	57.9	57.8
Zambia	53.9	59.2	58.8	59.4	59.6
Zimbabwe	49.3	50.6	49.5	49.5	47.3
Algeria	61.9	62.1	68.9	67.1	70.2
Egypt	62.4	61.8	62.0	61.7	61.9
Libya	56.0	56.0	60.4	60.9	61.2
Morocco	62.3	61.3	63.5	66.8	65.9
Tunisia	69.8	70.1	70.9	71.2	71.5

## 2009 INDEX OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE COUNTRY RANKS (2000-2007)

	2000	2002	2005	2006	2007
Angola	50	49	44	46	46
Benin	9	12	16	15	13
Botswana	3	4	4	4	4
Burkina Faso	31	28	25	22	19
Burundi	49	50	47	38	39
Cameroon	36	40	32	32	33
Cape Verde	4	3	3	3	3
Central African Republic	42	44	46	48	48
Chad	47	47	49	50	51
Comoros	28	32	26	21	25
Congo (Brazzaville)	40	41	39	41	43
Congo, Democratic Rep.	52	52	52	52	50
Cote d'Ivoire	43	46	48	49	49
Djibouti	21	25	31	31	32
Equatorial Guinea	38	38	40	45	41
Eritrea	48	45	45	47	47
Ethiopia	44	36	34	37	37
Gabon	8	11	13	13	11
Gambia	25	18	22	29	15
Ghana	10	8	7	6	6
Guinea	29	35	38	44	44
Guinea-Bissau	22	33	42	34	36
Kenya	19	21	18	24	27
Lesotho	18	20	21	20	23
Liberia	46	48	50	43	40
Madagascar	17	24	20	16	17
Malawi	14	13	14	14	14
Mali	32	29	29	28	30
Mauritania	27	22	27	33	22
Mauritius	1	1	1	1	1
Mozambique	30	26	30	30	31
Namibia	5	5	9	8	8
Niger	23	27	24	26	29
Nigeria	41	43	41	40	38
Rwanda	39	39	28	25	26
Sao Tome and Principe	16	9	10	11	10
Senegal	13	10	11	12	16
Seychelles	2	2	2	2	2
Sierra Leone	45	31	35	36	35
Somalia	53	53	53	53	53
South Africa	7	7	8	7	9
Sudan	51	51	51	51	52
Swaziland	37	42	43	39	42
Tanzania	26	17	19	18	20
Togo	33	34	36	35	34
Uganda	34	30	33	27	28
Zambia	24	19	23	23	24
Zimbabwe	35	37	37	42	45
Algeria	15	14	6	9	7
Egypt	11	15	15	17	18
Libya	20	23	17	19	21
Morocco	12	16	12	10	12
Tunisia	6	6	5	5	5

## 2009 INDEX CATEGORY SCORES AND TOTALS (BASED ON 2007 DATA; COUNTRIES "A" TO "Z")

	Safety and Security	Rule of Law, Transparency, and Corruption	Participation and Human Rights	Sustainable Economic Opportunity	Human Development	Index of African Governance Score 2007
Angola	83.9	35.3	24.5	44.1	41.7	45.9
Benin	94.4	54.7	83.7	34.1	52.9	64.0
Botswana	77.8	84.8	84.3	50.5	66.0	72.7
Burkina Faso	94.4	62.7	72.3	33.2	45.6	61.6
Burundi	66.5	44.4	60.9	31.4	47.1	50.0
Cameroon	83.2	44.1	53.7	36.3	54.9	54.4
Cape Verde	100.0	88.5	84.8	43.2	70.6	77.4
Central African Republic	50.1	40.8	61.2	30.9	32.2	43.0
Chad	55.2	37.7	33.4	25.7	31.5	36.7
Comoros	94.4	51.2	66.5	31.0	50.5	58.7
Congo (Brazzaville)	71.4	42.8	42.5	33.0	54.1	48.7
Congo, Democratic Rep.	43.3	23.2	54.2	28.0	38.0	37.3
Cote d'Ivoire	69.9	37.5	25.3	32.9	47.9	42.7
Djibouti	94.4	45.0	48.9	37.2	57.9	56.7
Equatorial Guinea	94.4	41.9	20.6	53.0	37.6	49.5
Eritrea	89.4	46.0	10.3	29.6	46.6	44.4
Ethiopia	80.3	49.2	38.1	36.2	51.8	51.1
Gabon	100.0	53.9	56.0	50.8	71.7	66.5
Gambia	94.3	52.6	68.4	39.1	59.5	62.8
Ghana	94.4	75.1	80.5	36.7	66.3	70.6
Guinea	88.2	49.7	23.7	31.6	43.7	47.4
Guinea-Bissau	88.8	32.1	73.2	21.1	42.3	51.5
Kenya	76.2	52.9	59.3	38.6	63.7	58.2
Lesotho	66.7	67.1	74.2	37.2	54.9	60.0
Liberia	63.9	26.9	87.2	32.5	39.3	50.0
Madagascar	94.4	59.4	75.0	34.7	48.5	62.4
Malawi	94.4	63.4	70.9	34.8	53.1	63.3
Mali	79.4	56.6	74.1	32.8	43.3	57.2
Mauritania	76.6	62.5	69.5	36.2	60.0	61.0
Mauritius	100.0	84.6	95.5	59.8	88.8	85.7
Mozambique	94.4	49.5	64.8	36.9	38.4	56.8
Namibia	88.8	77.2	76.3	43.1	60.6	69.2
Niger	90.4	53.1	81.4	30.6	33.4	57.8
Nigeria	66.4	52.3	43.3	38.9	50.6	50.3
Rwanda	98.3	48.4	68.4	35.1	42.9	58.6
Sao Tome and Principe	100.0	46.2	91.5	43.8	59.5	68.2
Senegal	94.1	66.3	63.8	35.8	53.7	62.7
Seychelles	88.8	74.0	74.8	73.8	87.8	79.8
Sierra Leone	77.1	35.3	69.2	34.7	41.7	51.6
Somalia	33.3	5.6	4.9	3.2	34.4	16.3
South Africa	61.1	77.0	82.0	56.1	65.5	68.4
Sudan	35.5	29.0	11.9	38.2	59.4	34.8
Swaziland	72.2	59.6	23.2	40.0	52.1	49.4
Tanzania	88.9	58.9	66.9	36.0	56.9	61.5
Togo	82.9	51.2	45.9	32.8	50.6	52.7
Uganda	81.3	54.4	63.1	35.8	54.5	57.8
Zambia	83.3	60.9	65.8	39.7	48.4	59.6
Zimbabwe	78.9	43.1	40.8	23.5	50.1	47.3
Algeria	93.7	62.1	60.7	48.9	85.7	70.2
Egypt	100.0	56.5	18.9	47.2	86.8	61.9
Libya	100.0	41.4	15.6	60.7	88.5	61.2
Morocco	100.0	61.7	44.3	46.8	76.7	65.9
Tunisia	100.0	70.5	45.3	52.5	89.0	71.5

## 2009 INDEX CATEGORY SCORES AND TOTALS (BASED ON 2007 DATA; BY RANK)

	Safety and Security	Rule of Law, Transparency, and Corruption	Participation and Human Rights	Sustainable Economic Opportunity	Human Development	Index of African Governance Score 2007
Mauritius	100.0	84.6	95.5	59.8	88.8	85.7
Seychelles	88.8	74.0	74.8	73.8	87.8	79.8
Cape Verde	100.0	88.5	84.8	43.2	70.6	77.4
Botswana	77.8	84.8	84.3	50.5	66.0	72.7
Tunisia	100.0	70.5	45.3	52.5	89.0	71.5
Ghana	94.4	75.1	80.5	36.7	66.3	70.6
Algeria	93.7	62.1	60.7	48.9	85.7	70.2
Namibia	88.8	77.2	76.3	43.1	60.6	69.2
South Africa	61.1	77.0	82.0	56.1	65.5	68.4
Sao Tome and Principe	100.0	46.2	91.5	43.8	59.5	68.2
Gabon	100.0	53.9	56.0	50.8	71.7	66.5
Morocco	100.0	61.7	44.3	46.8	76.7	65.9
Benin	94.4	54.7	83.7	34.1	52.9	64.0
Malawi	94.4	63.4	70.9	34.8	53.1	63.3
Gambia	94.3	52.6	68.4	39.1	59.5	62.8
Senegal	94.1	66.3	63.8	35.8	53.7	62.7
Madagascar	94.4	59.4	75.0	34.7	48.5	62.4
Egypt	100.0	56.5	18.9	47.2	86.8	61.9
Burkina Faso	94.4	62.7	72.3	33.2	45.6	61.6
Tanzania	88.9	58.9	66.9	36.0	56.9	61.5
Libya	100.0	41.4	15.6	60.7	88.5	61.2
Mauritania	76.6	62.5	69.5	36.2	60.0	61.0
Lesotho	66.7	67.1	74.2	37.2	54.9	60.0
Zambia	83.3	60.9	65.8	39.7	48.4	59.6
Comoros	94.4	51.2	66.5	31.0	50.5	58.7
Rwanda	98.3	48.4	68.4	35.1	42.9	58.6
Kenya	76.2	52.9	59.3	38.6	63.7	58.2
Uganda	81.3	54.4	63.1	35.8	54.5	57.8
Niger	90.4	53.1	81.4	30.6	33.4	57.8
Mali	79.4	56.6	74.1	32.8	43.3	57.2
Mozambique	94.4	49.5	64.8	36.9	38.4	56.8
Djibouti	94.4	45.0	48.9	37.2	57.9	56.7
Cameroon	83.2	44.1	53.7	36.3	54.9	54.4
Togo	82.9	51.2	45.9	32.8	50.6	52.7
Sierra Leone	77.1	35.3	69.2	34.7	41.7	51.6
Guinea-Bissau	88.8	32.1	73.2	21.1	42.3	51.5
Ethiopia	80.3	49.2	38.1	36.2	51.8	51.1
Nigeria	66.4	52.3	43.3	38.9	50.6	50.3
Burundi	66.5	44.4	60.9	31.4	47.1	50.0
Liberia	63.9	26.9	87.2	32.5	39.3	50.0
Equatorial Guinea	94.4	41.9	20.6	53.0	37.6	49.5
Swaziland	72.2	59.6	23.2	40.0	52.1	49.4
Congo (Brazzaville)	71.4	42.8	42.5	33.0	54.1	48.7
Guinea	88.2	49.7	23.7	31.6	43.7	47.4
Zimbabwe	78.9	43.1	40.8	23.5	50.1	47.3
Angola	83.9	35.3	24.5	44.1	41.7	45.9
Eritrea	89.4	46.0	10.3	29.6	46.6	44.4
Central African Republic	50.1	40.8	61.2	30.9	32.2	43.0
Cote d'Ivoire	69.9	37.5	25.3	32.9	47.9	42.7
Congo, Democratic Republic	43.3	23.2	54.2	28.0	38.0	37.3
Chad	55.2	37.7	33.4	25.7	31.5	36.7
Sudan	35.5	29.0	11.9	38.2	59.4	34.8
Somalia	33.3	5.6	4.9	3.2	34.4	16.3

## 2009 INDEX “TRADITIONAL”\* GOVERNANCE OVERALL SCORES (SORTED BY 2007 SCORE)

	2000	2002	2005	2006	2007
Mauritius	85.8	84.1	89.3	86.1	90.0
Cape Verde	74.9	82.4	88.1	85.6	86.7
Botswana	86.4	86.8	84.7	84.9	84.6
South Africa	83.7	82.9	81.5	82.5	79.5
Ghana	67.3	74.3	75.6	76.8	77.8
Namibia	85.3	82.6	75.8	76.3	76.8
Seychelles	75.5	75.5	74.2	76.7	74.4
Lesotho	69.6	72.3	70.1	71.9	70.6
Benin	75.2	71.4	64.2	66.6	69.2
Sao Tome and Principe	65.3	68.4	67.6	67.3	68.8
Burkina Faso	51.0	53.0	59.2	65.0	67.5
Niger	60.6	60.9	67.1	66.1	67.2
Madagascar	63.1	60.1	61.8	66.5	67.2
Malawi	70.5	68.9	67.5	66.1	67.1
Mauritania	49.8	61.2	58.7	45.2	66.0
Mali	52.5	59.8	64.4	64.7	65.3
Senegal	71.3	76.2	74.1	74.4	65.0
Zambia	53.6	66.8	63.5	63.1	63.4
Tanzania	48.0	64.1	60.5	63.0	62.9
Algeria	49.7	47.2	59.5	55.5	61.4
Gambia	46.3	58.4	53.3	49.3	60.5
Comoros	43.7	43.7	54.8	62.6	58.9
Uganda	42.1	53.3	51.0	59.0	58.8
Rwanda	36.0	37.1	55.9	58.6	58.4
Tunisia	61.3	60.9	59.2	58.2	57.9
Mozambique	54.2	58.0	59.0	60.0	57.2
Liberia	39.5	39.8	33.8	57.0	57.0
Kenya	57.9	59.9	62.0	59.2	56.1
Gabon	58.1	55.3	49.9	49.0	55.0
Morocco	52.3	47.8	49.1	54.7	53.0
Guinea-Bissau	61.1	57.5	44.9	56.5	52.7
Burundi	33.7	34.4	38.6	55.0	52.6
Sierra Leone	45.3	58.4	52.8	53.6	52.2
Central African Republic	57.3	59.1	52.6	50.6	51.0
Cameroon	38.5	38.1	48.7	49.4	48.9
Togo	45.6	44.7	42.9	46.1	48.6
Nigeria	41.4	43.8	44.4	46.8	47.8
Djibouti	49.5	47.7	42.5	47.1	46.9
Ethiopia	33.8	48.5	47.0	44.8	43.7
Congo (Brazzaville)	38.1	45.2	43.7	43.4	42.6
Zimbabwe	43.8	45.7	43.7	43.5	42.0
Swaziland	37.8	37.5	37.1	43.1	41.4
Congo, Democratic Republic	22.3	26.2	20.0	20.0	38.7
Egypt	44.0	42.1	40.5	38.6	37.7
Guinea	55.6	49.1	41.2	38.7	36.7
Chad	45.9	46.7	43.2	34.7	35.5
Cote d'Ivoire	37.2	37.8	28.7	29.8	31.4
Equatorial Guinea	32.7	34.5	31.1	31.9	31.3
Angola	23.6	24.2	33.6	33.3	29.9
Libya	20.8	20.0	27.7	28.5	28.5
Eritrea	29.1	34.5	30.6	29.8	28.1
Sudan	26.1	28.7	23.8	21.5	20.4
Somalia	14.0	14.0	13.2	7.7	5.3

\* Includes Rule of Law, Transparency, and Corruption; and Participation and Human Rights