

1 **Maintaining Peace and Security in Sub-Saharan Africa – the**  
2 **Tragic Connection between Corruption, bad Governance and**  
3 **Criminality**  
4

5 **Abstract**

6 *The state of peace and security in the Sub-Saharan region of Africa is worrisome. This*  
7 *paper therefore submitted that the fragile nature of security and peace in Africa is a*  
8 *factor of corruption, poor governance and criminality. It is however recommended that*  
9 *genuine soul cleansing, accountable and participatory governance, education-for-*  
10 *peace, serious collective anti-corruption crusade and Integrated African Regional*  
11 *Surveillance (ARS) would go a long way to checkmate the current high rate of instability*  
12 *in the region.*

13  
14 Key Words: Peace, Security, Sub-Saharan Africa, Corruption, Bad governance,  
15 Criminality.

16 **Introduction**

17 The Sub-Saharan Africa refers to all the 49 countries located in Africa south of  
18 the Sahara desert. They include Angola, Burundi, Congo Democratic Republic,  
19 Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of Congo, Gabon, Kenya,  
20 Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Sao Tome and Principe,  
21 Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Comoros, Somalia, Ethiopia, Botswana, Lesotho,  
22 Mauritius, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, Zambia, Swaziland,  
23 South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mali, Benin Republic, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Gambia, Coted' I  
24 voire, Cape Verde, Niger, Togo, Sierra Leone, Mauritania, Guinea Bissau, Guinea,  
25 Liberia, Senegal and Djibouti. This region has been noted to be the hot-bed of insecurity  
26 and instability in the world. By 2015 Global Peacefulness index, six Sub-Saharan  
27 countries namely Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Central African Republic, Congo  
28 Democratic Republic and Nigeria were among the ten least world peaceful nations out

29 of 162 nations so surveyed, only to be surpassed by Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. This  
30 paper therefore discusses the tragic connection between corruption, bad governance  
31 and criminality as the factorial matrix that engenders lack of peace and insecurity in the  
32 Sub-Saharan Africa.

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#### 34 **Conceptual clarifications on peace and security**

35 Peace refers to a state of tranquility, non-violence and absence of war. It involves  
36 the presence of human and national security. To live peacefully means acquisition of  
37 spirit of tolerance, human dignity and non-discrimination in a society. It could also mean  
38 removal of anti-social behaviour that can threaten the corporate existence of people in a  
39 community.

40 Galtung (1996) identified two types of peace to include positive and negative  
41 peace. According to him, positive peace goes beyond absence of war and violence to  
42 include elimination of unjust structures and inequitable relationships that is geared  
43 towards freedom from all forms of discrimination. Thus, according to Institute for  
44 Economics and Peace (IEP, 2015a), positive peace is transformational because it is a  
45 cross-cutting facilitator of progress that makes it easier for individuals to produce, have  
46 business to sell with entrepreneurs and scientists to innovate and governments to  
47 effectively regulate.

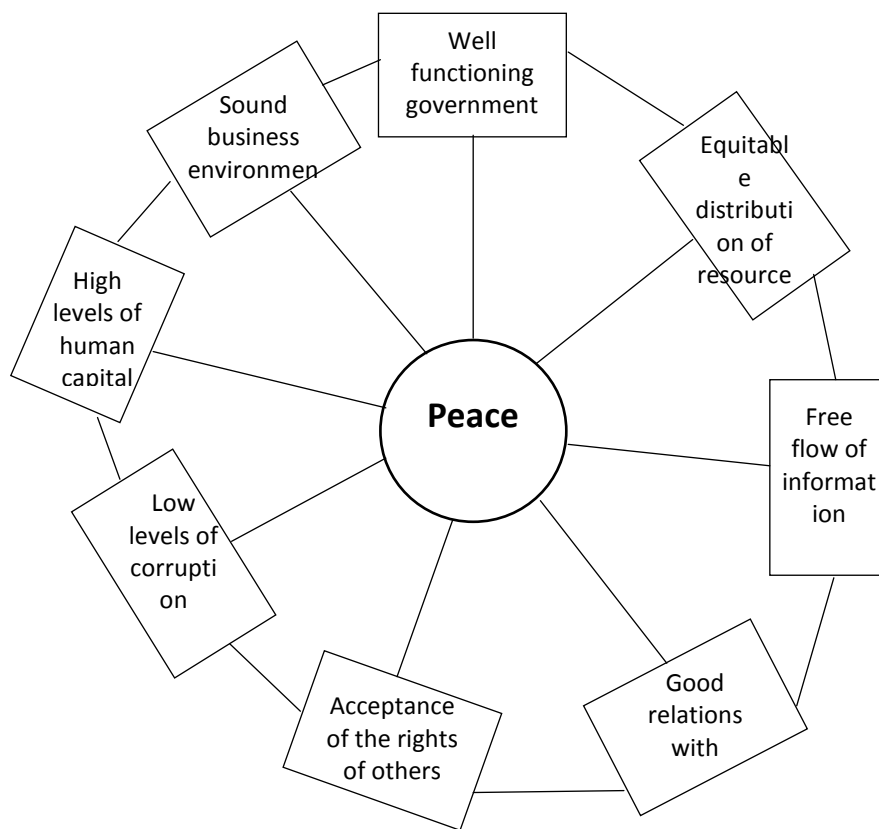
48 The pillars of positive peace include sound business environment, high levels of  
49 human capital, low levels of corruption, free flow of information, good relations with  
50 neighbours, acceptance of the rights of others, well-functioning government and  
51 equitable distribution of resources (IEP, 2015a). Thus, the advantage of positive peace

52 over negative peace are business competitiveness, entrepreneurialism, foundations for  
 53 human well-being, gender equality, steady progress for attaining the Millennium  
 54 Development Goals, youth development, high levels of happenings, social cohesion and  
 55 capital development. Indeed, positive peace builds capacity for resilience and the  
 56 appropriate environment for non-violent conflict resolution and the higher the level of  
 57 positive peace, the higher the likelihood of compromise and non-violent reconciliation of  
 58 grievances (IEP, 2015a).

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60 **Diagrammatic Representation of Pillars of Peace**

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Source: Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP, 2015a: 85).

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75 National and human securities are however engendered by peaceful attitude in the  
76 society. Scholars agree that there can be no peace without security because security is  
77 the condition of being protected physically, emotionally, psychologically from harms,  
78 attack and terror (Ani, 2010). It is an assurance for future well-being and freedom from  
79 threat (Edem, 2010). Thus, while protection of territorial integrity is within the confines of  
80 national security; the promotion of progressive human development falls within the  
81 purview of human security. However, there is “soul sickness” all over the world in terms  
82 of terrorism, corruption, insecurity, criminality and human degradation (Ijaiya, 2005).

### 83 **Corruption and Insecurity in the Sub-Saharan Region**

84 Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa has been the single most devastating factor  
85 promoting insecurity. According to Transparency International (2015b), forty out of the  
86 region’s 49 countries show a serious corruption problem with the continental  
87 powerhouses Nigeria and South Africa not showing improvement. The organization’s  
88 report further shows that nearly 75 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa were estimated  
89 to have paid bribes in the past year with many escaping punishment by bribing the state  
90 securities. With an average score of 33%, corruption in Sub-Saharan countries creates  
91 and increases poverty and exclusion with more than 40 percent living on less than 1.25  
92 dollar per day thus generating tension and violence (Transparency International,  
93 2015b).

94 From the latest African edition of the Global Corruption Barometer  
95 (Afrobarometer), covering 43,143 respondents in 28 Sub-Saharan countries, it was  
96 discovered that courts officials were ranked 1<sup>st</sup> among people that were engulfed in  
97 bribery with 28% of the total views, 2<sup>nd</sup> were the police with 27%, 3<sup>rd</sup> were the

98 Household service providers with 19%, 4<sup>th</sup> were the Document/Permit providers with  
99 17%, 5<sup>th</sup> were the public school stakeholders with 13% and 6<sup>th</sup> were the public  
100 clinic/hospital officials with 11% responses (Transparency International-Afrobarometer,  
101 2015b). Thus, while corrupt individuals with political power enjoy lavish life, millions of  
102 Africans are deprived of their basic needs like food, health, education, housing, clean  
103 water and sanitation thereby engendering criminality and violence (Transparency  
104 International, 2015b).

105 Shehu (2011) noted that the twin problems of corruption and violent conflicts are  
106 the two most enduring challenges to governance, stability, security and development in  
107 Africa. According to him, the potent relationship between corruption and conflict are:

108 (a) Corruption is an important cause of conflict, weakening the government and at  
109 the same time causing grievances and discontent,

110 (b) Corruption prevent conflicts, by bribing competing contenders for power; and

111 (c) Corruption and violent conflicts are basically co-flux phenomena caused by the  
112 same or closely connected mechanisms (Andvig, 2007 quoted by Shehu, 2013).

113 As an abuse of office for private gain, Shehu (2013) submitted that corruption appears  
114 to be the strongest bond that holds the members of the ruling elite together in Africa  
115 with a higher level of patrimonial politics manifesting through political interference in  
116 corruption cases involving 'highly-connected' individuals as were the cases of corrupt  
117 past Governors and Presidents in the continent. According to Huntington (1968), the  
118 causes of corruption are similar to those of violence as both are symptoms of the  
119 weakness of political institutions in the process of governance. This is to state that the

120 society that has high capacity for corruption also has a high capacity for violence  
121 (Huntington, 1968).

122 Johnston (1986) as cited by Shehu (2013) identified four types of corruption viz:  
123 market, patronage, nepotist and crisis corruption. According to him, the market  
124 corruption involves 'routine stakes of exchanges' with many suppliers dispensing  
125 corrupt benefits. These are the cases of admission racketeering, sexual harassment in  
126 schools, etc. The patronage corruption involves few suppliers with routine stakes and  
127 large networks as in cases of government contracts, employment, and law enforcement  
128 bribes. The nepotistic corruption is disintegrative because it involves extraordinary  
129 stakes and a few suppliers within a kingship and friendship network as in high-level  
130 appointments leading to marginalization threat/secession. The crisis corruption involves  
131 multiple suppliers and extraordinary stakes, and is the most unstable and disintegrative  
132 as in the cases of examination malpractice and petroleum racketeering in Nigeria.

133 Andvig (2007) as cited by Shehu (2013) observed that extensive bureaucratic  
134 corruption, particularly when connected to armed forces and tax collection, increases  
135 the likelihood of a successful rebellion as the apparatuses of the state and its military  
136 capability are compromised as was the case of 2.1 billion dollars arm scandal in Nigeria.  
137 This escalated the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria as corrupt transactions involving  
138 bribes to the politicians, military, border guards and custom officials also facilitated  
139 weapon smuggling and purchase of vital military information from public officials which  
140 made Boko Haram to secure military advantage over the state forces. It is further  
141 submitted that corruption at higher level made political elites to deliberately operate the

142 state informally in order to enhance their selfish interest and thereby manipulate violence  
143 as a profitable resource (Shehu, 2013 citing Chabal and Daloz, 1999).

144 As a consequence of corruption-insecurity connection therefore, Boko Haram  
145 was ranked as the most deadliest terror group in the world with a total death of 6,644 in  
146 2014 alone ranking ahead of ISIS that killed 6,073 people in the same year in the  
147 Maghreb region (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2015b). Allen, Lewis and Martfess,  
148 (2014) further reported that at least 29,600 Nigerians have been killed in more than  
149 2,300 ethnic, religious, political and economic-induced violence since 1998 with Boko  
150 Haram alone contributing more than 40 percent (11,100) of the deaths since July, 2009.

151 While Boko Haram was rampaging violently in North-Eastern Nigeria, Northern  
152 Cameroon, Southern Niger and Chad; the Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and  
153 the Al-Shabaab were reigning terror in North Africa and East Africa respectively.  
154 Among, the most deadly attacks committed by the AQIM were:

- 155 • December 11, 2007: Bombing of the United Nations' offices and the  
156 constitutional court killing of 41 people including 17 UN employees.
- 157 • December 24, 2007: Killing of four French family vacationing in Mauritania.
- 158 • November 29, 2009: Kidnapping of 3 Spanish Aid works in Mauritania, only for  
159 them to be released after ransom payment of between 6.3 and 12.7 million  
160 dollars.
- 161 • September 16, 2010: Kidnapping of 5 French nationals in Niger who were  
162 released after 3years.
- 163 • January 7, 2011: Kidnapping of 2 French nationals who were later killed after  
164 abortive French and Nigerian forces rescue mission.

- 165 • January 24, 2012: Execution of more than 100 Malian soldiers who ran-out of  
166 ammunition in Aguelhok.
- 167 • August 16, 2014: Suicide-bombing killing of 2 Malian soldiers on patrol and  
168 injuring other nine
- 169 • January 5, 2015: Bamako attack in Mali killing soldiers with several others  
170 injured.
- 171 • November 20, 2015: Attack on the Radisson Blu Hotel in Bamako, Mali, killing 21  
172 people.
- 173 • January 15, 2016: Attack on another hotel in Burkina Faso and a police station  
174 killing 30 people of 18 different nationalities (counter-terrorism.com, 2016: 10-  
175 12).

176 Kenya has witnessed more than 440 terrorist attacks between 1970 and 2014, killing  
177 more than 1,400 people and wounding more than 5,800 others as a result of the  
178 lethality of Al-Shabaab (The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and  
179 Responses to Terrorism - (START), 2015). Recent high-profile attacks by Al-Shabaab  
180 include the September 21, 2013 attack on Westgate Mall in Nairobi, Kenya which  
181 claimed 72 lives with over 201 people injured; the April 2, 2015 attack on Garissa  
182 University in eastern Kenya near Somali border which killed 147 students with 79 others  
183 injured. Indeed, it is on record that the cost of terrorism all over the world, most of which  
184 are correlated with political violence, economic deprivation and corruption amounts to  
185 52.9 billion dollars in 2014, 50 percent of which happened in Sub-Saharan Africa alone  
186 (Institute for Economic and Peace, 2015b).

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## 188 **The Current Fragility of the Sub-Saharan Countries**

189 According to the Fund for Peace (2015), most Sub-Saharan countries fall under  
190 the categories of worsening and critically worsening fragile states between 2006 and  
191 2015. On a score of 120, countries like South Sudan is on a very High Alert with 114.5,  
192 ranking 1<sup>st</sup> on the scale of the most unstable country in the world. It is followed by  
193 Somalia with 114.0 (ranking 2<sup>nd</sup>), Central African Republic with 111.9 (ranking 3<sup>rd</sup>) and  
194 Sudan with 110.8 (ranking 4<sup>th</sup>). These four most unstable and insecure countries of  
195 Africa were also ranked among the ten most corrupt nations of the world with poor  
196 governance index (see table1 as attached).

197 On the High Alert categories for insecurity are Congo Democratic Republic with a  
198 score of 109.7 (5<sup>th</sup>), Chad 108.4 (6<sup>th</sup>), Guinea 104.9 (10<sup>th</sup>), Nigeria 102.4 (14<sup>th</sup>),  
199 Zimbabwe and Cote d'Ivoire 100.0 (15<sup>th</sup>) respectively (Fund for Peace, 2015). On the  
200 Alert of instability are Guinea Bissau with a score of 99.9 (ranking 17<sup>th</sup>), Burundi 98.1  
201 (18<sup>th</sup>), Niger 97.8 (19<sup>th</sup>), Ethiopia 97.5 (20<sup>th</sup>) etc. Indeed, except for Mauritius with a low  
202 score of 45.2, ranking 142nd is the only Sub-Saharan Africa nation that is categorized  
203 as very stable while all other countries are in the category of warning for being unstable  
204 and fragile (for details see table 1).

205 The fragility of each Sub-Saharan African country equally correlates with their  
206 peacefulness ranking in the world. In a survey of 162 nations (South Sudan 159<sup>th</sup>  
207 position) ranks as the fourth most unpeaceful nation of the world (after Syria, Iraq and  
208 Afghanistan) due to the genocidal wars against the population by Al-Shabaab, followed  
209 by Central African Republic ranking fifth (158<sup>th</sup> position) because of rebels attack on the  
210 populace. Somalia on 157<sup>th</sup> position also ranks as the sixth most unpeaceful nation in

211 the world because of the brutal attacks of the Al-Shabaab Islamic militant group on the  
212 populace. It is however heartwarming that Mauritius (a population of about 1.4 million  
213 people) which is ranked among the countries of High Human Development and stable in  
214 the world is ranked as 25<sup>th</sup> on the world chart of most peaceful nation (see table 1 and  
215 Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015a).

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## 217 **Governance Factor**

218 Governance as a factor of personality traits and value orientation is in shamble in  
219 Sub-Saharan Africa. This is because most African leaders are enmeshed in corruption,  
220 political violence and flagrant disobedience to the rule of law. In a 2015 World Bank  
221 rating of effective governance from scale -2.5 to +2.5, Somalia that was in perpetual  
222 terror attack ranked as the poorest with a maximum negative score of -2.5. Indeed  
223 Somalia is known for no stable government and ranked as the most criminal nation of  
224 the world with popularity in sea piracy, fighting for power and territorial control, theft,  
225 human trafficking and unwarranted killing of non-collaborators across East African  
226 states. It is on record that the sea pirates in Somalia had hijacked more than 42 ships  
227 for ransom since 1994 (Answersafrica.com, 2015).

228 On poor governance scale therefore, abuse of the rule of law, corruption and  
229 criminality positively enhance insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa with only Mauritius (1.1),  
230 Botswana (0.32), Seychelles (0.39), South Africa (0.7), Sao Tome and Principle (0.3),  
231 Benin Republic (0.5), Senegal (0.4), Namibia (0.1) and Cape Verde (0.0) passing the  
232 test of effective governance. This is to state that only 9 out of the 49 Sub-Saharan  
233 African States passed the effective governance test (see table 1). Indeed, apart from

234 Somalia, other worsening countries on poor governance were South Sudan (-2.10),  
235 Eritrea (-2.0) and Central African Republic (-1.8). These were countries noted for  
236 massive instability and criminalities.

### 237 **Other Criminal Connections**

238 Bayart and Hibou (1999) as cited by Shehu (2011) observed the ‘criminalization’  
239 of the state by the elites crippling bureaucratic effectiveness. This process according to  
240 them involves the entrenchment of criminal practices at the heart of government  
241 institutions, including the private use of public security forces, the privatization of  
242 violence and participation of rulers in semi-clandestine economy as were the cases of  
243 fuel importation scandals and untransparent privatization of Power Holding Company in  
244 Nigeria. Hence, the parochial submission that “corruption is not stealing” in Nigeria  
245 reflects bureaucratic criminalization.

246 The state criminalization therefore extended to the situation whereby the political  
247 elites were distributing state economic rents through a system of political patronage  
248 leading to social exclusion agitation like that of the Niger-Delta militancy between 1998  
249 and 2009. These were the situation that also led to civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone,  
250 Rwanda, Burundi and Cote d’Ivoire. As a result of this, Liberia had two civil wars that  
251 claimed over 250,000 lives between 1989 and 2003. This was followed by that of Sierra  
252 Leone between 1991 and 2002 with over 75,000 deaths. A post-2010 election violence  
253 in Coted’Ivoire equally led to over 65,000 deaths when an ethnic group felt that the  
254 unfair resource distribution necessitated the sit-tight syndrome of the other in power  
255 (Antwi-Danso, 2014).

256 Today, kidnapping seems to be replacing armed banditry as a factor of insecurity  
257 in Sub-Saharan Africa. Hardly would a week pass-by without some news of kidnapping  
258 in Nigeria. According to Ani (2010), people are kidnapped in schools, in their work  
259 place, at home and everywhere as they struggle to develop their human capacity base.  
260 Control Risks (2015) reported that Nigeria ranks as 5<sup>th</sup> in kidnapping for ransom in the  
261 world but 1<sup>st</sup> in Africa. NYA International (2015) thus submitted that she accounted for  
262 15% of the world kidnapping in 2014. Sudan ranked 9<sup>th</sup> in the world but 3<sup>rd</sup> in Africa  
263 (after Libya that ranked 2<sup>nd</sup>). Other countries that were classified as being on the very  
264 High Alert like Mauritania, Chad, Mali South Sudan, Somalia, Central African Republic  
265 Congo, Burkina Faso were also ranked among the 50 most terrorized by kidnapers.

266 Relatedly, drug trafficking propels insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa. Udeh (2011),  
267 Ewi (2012), Onuoha and Ezirim (2013), Afokpa (2013) as well as Adetoro (2015),  
268 reported the strong connection between funds generated from drug trafficking and  
269 terrorism in Africa. As a matter of fact, WACD (2014) reported that the illicit drug trade in  
270 cocaine, heroine, cannabis etc has played a direct or indirect role in series of political  
271 upheavals in countries such as Guinea Bissau and Mali and have also contributed to  
272 the funding of extremist groups in North and West Africa. As a matter of fact, AQIM and  
273 MUJAO (Movement for Monotheism and Jihad in North Africa) were nicknamed narco-  
274 terrorists because majority of their funds for terrorist attack in Algeria, Mauritania, Mali  
275 and Burkina Faso came from illegal drug trafficking proceeds. It was also observed that  
276 drug criminals also have the means of contracting legal services that excel in exploiting  
277 loopholes in the law and corruption in the judiciary (WACD, 2014). From the slogan of  
278 “no drugs, no money laundering, and no trade at all”, Afokpa (2013) reported how the

279 Hezbollah in Togo using Lebanese Diaspora were raising hundreds of million dollars to  
280 fund the terror activities of AQIM between 2010 and 2012. Indeed, there is no doubt that  
281 the nexus of corruption, bad governance and criminality tend to fuel-up insecurity in the  
282 Sub-Saharan Africa.

283

## 284 **Recommendations**

- 285 • First and foremost, there is the need for genuine ‘soul cleansing’ specifically in  
286 Africa and generally in the world. After all, no religion preaches violence or  
287 cannibalism as exhibited in terrorism and violent criminality. Man must purge  
288 himself from religiosity without Godliness as characterized by the reign of terror  
289 all over the world. There is therefore the need for both inner peace (peace with  
290 oneself) and outer peace (peace with the wider community) through spirit of love,  
291 kindness, forgiveness, tolerance, hospitality, hardwork, patience, generosity,  
292 patriotism, servant-oriented leadership, selflessness, obedience to rules and  
293 regulations, cooperation, justice, equity and environment friendliness in all  
294 human dealings.
- 295 • There is no doubt that corruption breeds social neglect, discontentment and  
296 destroys a nation. Hence, we must all stand-up to fight it. We all need to change  
297 our common mentality of immediate reward for the pursuit of a better future.  
298 Nevertheless, adequate reward for good performance is necessary from  
299 leadership to ensure that people are contented. Indeed, provision of basic  
300 necessities of life like feeding, housing, clothing, electricity, water and basic

301 education must be provided to all citizens by various governments in order to  
302 reduce sense of human insecurity drastically.

303 • As a rider therefore, good governance that protects human rights, accountability  
304 and public participation is a sine-qua-non for averting insecurity and promoting  
305 peace and unity in the Sub-Saharan countries of Africa. A situation whereby  
306 political office is too monetized is dangerous for the sustenance of democracy  
307 in Africa. Thus, the need for moderate sitting allowance is highly recommended to  
308 replace the bogus political salaries in order to reduce political violence in Africa.

309 • In the spirit of education-for-peace as advocated by UNESCO (2002), there is  
310 therefore “the need to catch them young” in schools (Adetoro, 2014), through a  
311 deliberate teaching of peace education concepts using learning together and  
312 constructive controversy pedagogies. Adetoro (2015) further suggested the use  
313 of Tolerant Sociometry (TS) and Reciprocal Peer Relations Conditional Learning  
314 (RPRCL) for promoting psychological rehabilitation, sharing and reconciliation  
315 values as well as culture of peace in the classrooms. This is to deconstruct the  
316 endemic culture of violence that is pervasive in peoples’ minds and replace it with  
317 culture of peace through the establishment of peace corps across the continent.

318 • The need to stop the current high rate of criminalities and senseless terrorism  
319 demands the development of a robust Continental Early Warning System  
320 (CEWS) through regional intelligence sharing and regional counter-terrorism  
321 activities in Africa. At this juncture, the use of African Peer Review Mechanism  
322 (APRM) and the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) initiatives  
323 must be strengthened under a new African Commission in African Union (AU) to

324 be tagged African Regional Surveillance (ARS). This new commission should  
325 coordinate all the various regional activities on counter-terrorism, drug trafficking  
326 and illegal arms trafficking for combating and check-mating of other criminal  
327 activities in Africa.

328

## 329 **Conclusion**

330 There is no doubt that the Sub-Saharan Africa countries are bedeviled with  
331 instability and insecurity of different dimensions. In the words of Late Bob Marley, “we  
332 do not need no more trouble” in Africa. This can only be achieved through Africa  
333 alliance that is built on good governance and collective anti-corruption crusade. Any  
334 attempt to delay action may be catastrophic. Hence, the need to take prompt action to  
335 safe man from further destructions in Africa is a collective responsibility.

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423 **Table 1**

424 2015 Sub-Saharan Countries' Human Development Index (HDI)/Life Expectancy/  
 425 Corruption Rank/Effective Governance Index/Fragility Rank/Peacefulness Index

S/N	Countries	HDI ranking out of 188	Overall HDI	Life Expectancy in years	Anti-Corruption Score (%) & Ranking	Effective Governance Index from -2.5 to +2.5	Fragility of the States on a Score of 120 & Ranking	Peacefulness Index Ranking
1	Mauritius	63	0.777	74.4	53 (45)	1.1	45.2 (145)	1.503 (25)
2	Seychelles	64	0.772	73.1	55 (40)	0.39	62.1 (124)	-
3	Botswana	106	0.698	64.5	63 (28)	0.32	62.8 (122)	1.597 (31)
4	Gabon	110	0.684	64.4	34 (99)	-0.7	71.3 (103)	1.904 (66)
5	South Africa	116	0.666	57.4	44 (61)	0.7	67.0 (113)	2.376 (136)
6	Cape Verde	122	0.646	73.3	55 (40)	0.0	73.5 (95)	-
7	Namibia	126	0.628	64.8	53 (45)	0.1	70.8 (106)	1.784 (48)
8	Congo	136	0.591	62.3	23 (146)	-1.1	90.8 (33)	2.196 (115)
9	Equatorial Guinea	138	0.587	57.6	-	-1.4	84.8 (54)	1.987 (81)
10	Zambia	139	0.586	60.1	38 (76)	-0.5	85.2 (53)	1.846 (55)
11	Ghana	140	0.579	61.4	47 (56)	-0.3	71.9 (98)	1.840 (54)
12	Sao Tome & Principle	143	0.555	66.5	42 (66)	0.3	73.7 (93)	-
13	Kenya	145	0.548	61.6	25 (139)	-0.3	97.4 (21)	2.342 (133)
14	Angola	149	0.532	52.3	15 (163)	-1.1	88.1 (40)	2.020 (88)
15	Swaziland	150	0.531	49.0	-	-0.5	86.3 (48)	2.102 (101)
16	Tanzania	151	0.521	65.0	30 (117)	-0.6	80.8 (63)	1.903 (64)
17	Nigeria	152	0.514	52.8	26 (136)	-1.2	102.4 (14)	2.910 (151)
18	Cameroon	153	0.512	55.5	27 (130)	-0.7	94.3 (28)	2.349 (134)
19	Madagascar	154	0.510	65.1	28 (123)	-1.3	83.6 (56)	1.911 (67)
20	Zimbabwe	155	0.509	57.5	21 (150)	-1.2	100.0 (15)	2.294 (125)
21	Mauritania	156	0.506	63.1	31 (112)	-1.05	94.9 (26)	2.262 (122)
22	Comoros	159	0.503	63.3	26 (136)	-1.67	83.3 (59)	-
23	Lesotho	161	0.497	49.8	44 (61)	-0.5	79.9 (66)	1.891 (63)
24	Togo	162	0.484	59.7	32 (107)	-1.3	86.8 (47)	1.944 (71)
25	Rwanda	163	0.483	64.2	54 (44)	-0.0	90.2 (37)	2.420 (139)
26	Uganda	163	0.483	58.5	25 (139)	-0.4	97.0 (23)	2.179 (111)
27	Benin Republic	166	0.480	59.6	37 (83)	0.5	78.8 (73)	1.958 (77)

28	Sudan	167	0.479	63.5	12 (165)	-1.6	110.8 (4)	-
29	Djibouti	168	0.470	62.0	34 (99)	-1.0	88.1 (40)	2.113 (102)
30	South Sudan	169	0.467	55.7	15 (163)	-2.1	114.5 (1)	3.383 (159)
31	Senegal	170	0.466	66.5	44 (61)	0.4	83.0 (61)	1.805 (49)
32	Cote d'Ivoire	172	0.462	51.5	32 (107)	-0.8	100.0 (15)	2.133 (105)
33	Malawi	173	0.445	62.8	31 (112)	-0.7	86.9 (45)	1.814 (51)
34	Ethiopia	174	0.442	64.1	33 (103)	-0.5	97.5 (20)	2.234 (119)
35	Gambia	175	0.441	60.2	28 (123)	-0.6	85.4 (51)	2.086 (99)
36	Congo D.R.	176	0.433	58.7	22 (147)	-1.6	109.7 (5)	3.085 (155)
37	Liberia	177	0.430	60.9	37 (83)	-1.4	97.3 (22)	1.963 (78)
38	Guinea Bissau	178	0.420	55.2	17 (158)	-1.6	99.9 (17)	2.235 (120)
39	Mali	179	0.419	58.0	35 (95)	-1.1	93.1 (30)	2.310 (128)
40	Mozambique	180	0.416	55.1	31 (112)	-0.2	86.9 (45)	1.976 (80)
41	Sierra Leone	181	0.413	50.9	29 (119)	-1.2	91.9 (31)	1.864 (59)
42	Guinea	182	0.411	58.8	25 (139)	-1.2	104.9 (10)	2.214 (117)
43	Burkina Faso	183	0.402	58.7	38 (76)	-0.6	89.2 (39)	1.994 (83)
44	Burundi	184	0.400	56.7	21 (150)	-1.1	98.1 (18)	2.323 (130)
45	Chad	185	0.392	51.6	22 (147)	-1.5	108.4 (6)	2.429 (140)
46	Eritrea	186	0.391	63.7	18 (154)	-2.0	96.9 (24)	2.309 (127)
47	Central African Republic	187	0.350	50.7	24 (145)	-1.8	111.9 (3)	3.332 (158)
48	Niger	188	0.348	61.4	34 (99)	-0.7	97.8 (19)	2.320 (129)
49	Somalia	-	-	-	8 (167)	-2.5	114.0 (2)	3.307 (157)

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439 **Notes:**

- 440 • The rankings are ranking in the world
- 441 • HDI was calculated based on population trend, health outcomes, educational  
442 achievements, national income, environmental sustainability, work and  
443 employment, human security, international integration and perceptions of well-  
444 being.
- 445 • Governance index was calculated between +2.5 to -2.5 scores
- 446 • The correlation therefore is that the poorer the anti-corruption stance, the poorer  
447 the governance and the more fragile the country.