

Appendix 1: The Nature of Political Regimes, Sub-Saharan Africa, 2004

REGIME TYPE	Regime Subtype	Country	Freedom House Scores		
			Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Freedom Status
DEMOCRACY	Liberal Democracy	Cape Verde	1	1	F
		Mauritius	1	1	F
		South Africa	1	2	F
		Sao Tome & Principe	2	2	F
		Botswana	2	2	F
	Electoral Democracy	Benin	2	2	F
		Ghana	2	2	F
		Mali	2	2	F
		Lesotho	2	3	F
		Namibia	2	3	F
		Senegal	2	3	F
		Seychelles	3	3	PF
		Madagascar	3	3	PF
		Niger	3	3	PF
Kenya	3	3	PF		
SEMI-DEMOCRACY/ SEMI-AUTOCRACY	Ambiguous Hybrid	Mozambique	3	4	PF
		Tanzania	4	3	PF
		Sierra Leone	4	3	PF
		Malawi	4	4	PF
		Nigeria	4	4	PF
		Zambia	4	4	PF
AUTOCRACY	Liberalized Autocracy (Competitive)	Gambia	4	4	PF
		Guinea Bissau	4	4	PF
		Gabon	5	4	PF
		Liberia	5	4	PF
		Djibouti	5	5	PF
		Burundi	5	5	PF
		Togo	6	5	NF
		Central African Republic	6	5	NF
		Cameroon	6	6	NF
	Liberalized Autocracy (Hegemonic)	Comoros	4	4	PF
		Burkina Faso	5	4	PF
		Congo - Brazzaville	5	4	PF
		Uganda	5	4	PF
		Ethiopia	5	5	PF
		Rwanda	6	5	NF
		Mauritania	6	5	NF
		Chad	6	5	NF
		Guinea	6	5	NF
		Angola	6	5	NF
		Cote d'Ivoire	6	6	NF
		Equatorial Guinea	7	6	NF
		Zimbabwe	7	6	NF
	Unreformed Autocracy	Swaziland	7	5	NF
		Congo - Kinshasa	6	6	NF
		Eritrea	7	6	NF
		Somalia	6	7	NF
		Sudan	7	7	NF

Notes to Appendix 1:

N = 48

F = Free, PF = Partly Free, NF = Not Free

Sources: Adapted from Larry Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 2, 2002, Table 2. Updated through December 1, 2004 with data from Arch Puddington and Aili Piano, "The 2004 Freedom House Survey: Worrisome Signs, Modest Shifts," *Journal of Democracy*, 16, 1, 2004, 103-108.

Appendix 2: Characteristics of the State, Sub-Saharan Africa, 2004.

	Political Stability	Government Effectiveness	Regulatory Quality	Rule of Law	Control of Corruption	STATENESS
Angola	-95	-1.14	-1.40	-1.33	-1.12	-1.19
Benin	-37	-39	-49	-47	-34	-41
Botswana	.70	.83	.96	.73	.86	.82
Burkina Faso	-32	-52	-26	-62	-35	-17
Burundi	-2.04	-1.24	-1.35	-1.50	-1.16	-1.46
Cameroon	-90	-64	-71	-1.00	-78	-81
Cape Verde	.67	-.19	.27	.26	.31	.26
C. A. Republic	-1.43	-1.65	-1.28	-1.44	-1.36	-1.43
Chad	-1.20	-1.29	-.84	-1.15	-1.14	-1.12
Comoros	-.13	-1.45	-1.06	-1.04	-1.14	-.96
Congo - Brazzaville	-1.41	-1.17	-1.16	-1.18	-1.02	-1.19
Congo - Kinshasa	-2.27	-1.41	-1.80	-1.74	-1.31	-1.71
Djibouti	-.44	-.76	-.76	-.61	-.94	-.70
Equatorial Guinea	-.30	-1.40	-.78	-1.05	-1.65	-1.04
Eritrea	-.14	-1.05	-1.29	-.78	-.64	-.78
Ethiopia	-.98	-.96	-1.19	-1.00	-.85	-.99
Gabon	-.01	-.53	-.46	-.51	-.58	-.42
Gambia	.38	-.49	-.15	-.32	-.61	-.24
Ghana	-.10	-.17	-.28	-.16	-.17	-.18
Guinea	-.91	-.93	-.94	-1.09	-.81	-.94
Guinea Bissau	-.53	-1.25	-.86	-1.26	-.71	-.92
Ivory Coast	-2.28	-1.30	-.83	-1.42	-1.01	-1.37
Kenya	-.96	-.81	-.43	-.98	-.89	-.81
Lesotho	.27	-.33	-.26	-.03	-.05	-.08
Liberia	-2.20	-1.86	-1.83	-1.76	-.86	-1.70
Madagascar	-.02	-.43	.10	-.30	-.15	-.16
Malawi	-.33	-.81	-.57	-.29	-.83	-.57
Mali	.07	-.29	-.26	-.34	-.52	-.27
Mauritania	.26	.22	.04	-.62	.02	-.02
Mauritius	.91	.60	.33	.84	.33	.60
Mozambique	-.15	-.39	-.29	-.60	-.79	-.44
Namibia	.46	.29	.45	.22	.18	.32
Niger	-.56	-.87	-.63	-.92	-.87	-.77
Nigeria	-1.78	-1.02	-1.26	-1.44	-1.11	-1.32
Rwanda	-.92	-.56	-.42	-.90	-.36	-.63
Sao Tome	.08	-.89	-1.04	-.55	-.66	-.61
Senegal	-.21	-.13	-.31	-.20	-.40	-.25
Seychelles	.84	-.31	-1.21	-.17	.01	-.17
Sierra Leone	-.61	-1.32	-1.02	-1.10	-.88	-.99
Somalia	-2.39	-2.32	-2.63	-2.31	-1.58	-2.25
South Africa	-.24	.74	.44	.32	.48	.35
Sudan	-2.08	-1.28	-1.04	-1.59	-1.30	-1.46
Swaziland	.23	-.60	-.36	-.95	-.95	-.53
Tanzania	-.38	-.37	-.55	-.49	-.57	-.47
Togo	-.55	-1.31	-.77	-1.01	-.92	-.91
Uganda	-1.27	-.43	.07	-.79	-.71	-.63
Zambia	-.16	-.84	-.49	-.54	-.74	-.55
Zimbabwe	-1.86	-1.20	-2.15	-1.53	-1.01	-1.55
Mean, Sub-Saharan Africa	-.59	-.74	-.68	-.74	-.66	-.68
African Countries Above Global Mean (0)	11	5	7	5	7	5

Notes to Appendix 2:

Entries are aggregate point estimates standardized so that each index has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. In other words, the means for all countries in the world are always zero; the means for 48 sub-Saharan African countries are shown in the bottom row. When comparing countries, the reader should take into account margins of measurement and sampling error as well as variations across the data sources that comprise each index (not shown). Moreover, cross-country comparisons are relative: rather than locating a country in relation to absolute standards of governance, the estimates measure a country's standing vis a vis standards prevailing in other countries in the world in 2004. Higher scores correspond to better state characteristics.

Shaded cells signify African countries that score above the global mean in 2004.

N = 48

Source: Daniel Kaufmann, Aart Kraay and Massimo Mastruzzi, "Governance Matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996-2004," (Washington D.C.: World Bank Institute, Draft, May 2005, www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance).

Appendix 3: The Scope of the State: Public Service Infrastructure, 15 African Countries^a, 2002-3

	All Areas	Urban	Rural	Eta
Were any of the following services available in the primary sampling unit?^b				
School	78	80	77	.012
Electricity grid	49	87	27	.234***
Health clinic	45	57	38	.060***
Piped water system	43	78	24	.237***
Police station	24	41	15	.127***
Sewer system	23	54	6	.245***
Paved road	23	42	13	.461***
Post office	18	32	10	.130***
Railway station	8	16	4	.126***
Police visible in locality	28	48	17	.215***
Soldiers visible in locality	11	18	7	.121***

Entries are percentages of interviewers recording “yes.”

a. Botswana, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.

b. Observations made by interviewer in consultation with survey supervisor. The primary sampling unit (PSU) is a census enumeration area.

N = 2,956 PSUs

*** p <.001

Appendix 4: Popular Perceptions of State Capacities, 15 African Countries, 2002-3

Development Capacity	Very Few/ None	Some	All/Most	Don't Know
What proportion of the country's problems do you think the government can solve?	12	33	52	2
Law Enforcement Capacity	Much Less/ Less	Same	More/ Much More	Don't Know
Comparing the current government and the former government, would you say that the one we have now is more or less: Able to enforce the law?	21	17	56	6
	Much Worse/ Worse	Same	Better/ Much Better	Don't Know
Comparing the present system of government with the former system of government, are the following things worse or better: Safety from crime and violence?	32	18	45	4
Administrative Capacity	Very Difficult/ Difficult	Never Try	Easy/ Very Easy	Don't Know
Based on your experience, how easy or difficult is it to obtain the following services:				
* A voter registration card?	13	6	80	2
* A place in primary school for a child?	18	8	73	1
* An identity document?	44	13	41	2
* Help from the police?	43	23	32	3
* Household services (e.g. water, electricity, telephone)?	48	25	22	5
* A loan or payment from government?	45	39	10	6
Welfare Capacity	The State	Kin	Market	Other (inc. No-one)
To whom do you usually turn when you are unable to get: ¹				
* Enough food to eat?	3	39	13	45
* Enough clean water for home use?	10	11	7	72
* Medicines or medical treatment?	25	18	19	38
* Electricity in your home?	13	4	6	77
* Enough fuel to cook your food?	3	17	20	60
* A cash income?	3	41	6	52
Responsive Capacity	Never/Some of the Time		Always/Most of the Time	Don't Know
How much of the time do elected leaders try their best:				
*To look after the interests of people like you?	76		19	4
*To listen to what people like you have to say?	76		19	5

¹ of those who experience shortages of these basic needs

N= 23,197 Afrobarometer survey respondents

Appendix 5: Popular Perceptions of State Legitimacy, 15 African Countries, 2002-3

Legitimacy of State Institutions	Disagree Strongly/ Disagree	Neither	Agree/ Agree Strongly	Don't Know
Please tell me whether you disagree or agree: * Our constitution expresses the values and hopes of the people of (this country).	18	8	60	14
* The police always have the right to make people obey the law.	15	7	76	2
* The courts have the right to make decisions that people must abide by.	17	9	70	4
* The tax department always has the right to make people pay taxes	20	9	75	7
The Rule of Law (Violations of)	Never/Rarely		Often/Always	Don't Know
In this country, how often: * Does the president ignore the constitution?	55		22	22
* Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?	49		46	5
* Are people treated unequally under the law?	48		42	11
Perceptions of Corruption	None/Some		Most/All	Don't Know/ Haven't Heard
How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption: * The president and officials in his office?	56		19	25
* Elected leaders, such as parliamentarians and local councilors?	55		23	22
* Judges and magistrates	51		28	22
* Government officials	51		31	18
* Border officials (customs and immigration)	39		39	22
* Police	43		43	14
Trend in Corruption	Much Less/ Less	Same	More/ Much More	Don't Know
Comparing the current system of government and the former system of government, would you say that the one we have now is more or less: Corrupt?	34	18	37	11
Experience of Corruption	Never	Once or Twice/ A Few Times	Often	Don't Know
How often, if ever, have you had to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favor to a government official in order to: * Get a document or a permit?	86	10	2	1
* Get a child into school?	91	4	1	1
* Get a household service (e.g. water, electricity, telephone)?	91	5	2	2
* Cross a border?	85	5	2	2
* Avoid a problem with the police?	88	8	3	2

N= 23,197 Afrobarometer survey respondents

Appendix 6: State Strength by Status of Freedom, 2004

Status of Freedom	State Strength	
	Weaker State	Stronger State
Not Free	13	3
Partly Free	11	10
Free	0	11

Sources: "Status of Freedom" from Freedom House, Appendix 1
"State Strength" from World Bank Institute, Appendix 2

N = 48 sub-Saharan African countries.