

# Political Challenges and Institutional Decay in Africa

## Summary

This report examines political challenges and institutional decay across a diverse set of African states, arguing that the central trend is not a simple shift from democracy to dictatorship but a deeper **reprogramming of institutions for regime survival rather than accountability**.

Elections, courts, security services, and civil society are still present in formal terms, yet in many countries they function as instruments of control, patronage, and risk management for ruling elites.

The analysis groups countries into several overlapping regime families. Hard electoral authoritarian and petro clientelist systems such as Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Djibouti, Congo Brazzaville, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Togo, and Uganda are characterized by long ruling incumbents, powerful security sectors, and heavy use of lawfare to criminalize dissent and manage elections. Hybrid competitors such as Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Mozambique, and Madagascar feature real contestation but also recurrent electoral violence, subtle fraud, and increasingly restrictive environments for media and civil society.

Conflict affected and fragile states including Sudan, the Central African Republic, Somalia, parts of the DRC, Ethiopia, and Burundi combine weak central institutions with armed groups, war economies, and external interference. Here, formal political processes often serve to legitimize factional bargains rather than express popular will. By contrast, a small group of partially resilient democracies such as Benin, Senegal, and Ghana have histories of alternation and relatively stronger institutions, yet recent episodes of legal tinkering, protest suppression, and media pressure illustrate the vulnerability of these gains.

Three structural drivers emerge across the cases. First, **elite adaptation** has produced a repertoire of lawfare, term limit manipulation, fake observers, and managed electoral commissions that hollow out democratic procedures from within. Second, **security sectors act as meta institutions**, exercising veto power over transitions and shielding themselves from accountability while expanding economic interests. Third, **rent based political economies and external security partnerships** dilute incentives for genuine reform and reinforce clientelism.

Looking toward 2030, the report outlines a cone of plausible futures that range from a hardened belt of entrenched autocracies to a patchwork of hybrid regimes and a smaller number of democratic renewal hubs. It proposes concrete indicators to monitor, including constitutional engineering, security sector reshuffles, civic space restrictions, digital repression, and subnational flashpoints.

For policymakers, donors, and analysts, the core message is that African political trajectories will be shaped less by the presence or absence of elections than by the underlying struggle over who controls institutions, how security power is constrained, and whether civic space remains open enough to support meaningful course correction.

Based on several sources, here is a list of countries and a brief description of the specific issues they face, particularly concerning political stability, electoral integrity, and civil liberties:

Country	Description of Issues
Cameroon	Faces the <b>Anglophone Crisis</b> (erupted in 2016) stemming from long-standing grievances regarding <b>marginalization, governance issues, and cultural rights</b> within a predominantly Francophone nation. The crisis's root cause is one of ideology birthed during the period of reunification, remaining unaddressed. Grievances include efforts to <b>"Frenchify,"</b> misuse of the Anglophone region's natural riches (especially oil), and <b>underrepresentation</b> in national decision-making bodies. This has escalated into a sociopolitical crisis involving government forces and armed separatist groups ("Amba boys"). The government's authoritarianism relies on a <b>strong patrimonial state</b> , where the presidency is dominant, often suppressing dissent through <b>coercive apparatus</b> like the Rapid Interventions Brigade (BIR). The regime employs <b>lawfare</b> (manipulating legal ambiguity and controlling electoral structures) and uses "Creatures" (presidential appointees) to centralize clientelism and ensure presidential continuity. Recent issues include killings, abductions, and arbitrary arrests, banning opposition coalitions, stifling free speech through decrees, and pervasive corruption. The current power struggle among elites (the Biya Clan vs. the Bureaucratic Axis) impedes resolution of the Anglophone crisis and the persistent threat of Boko Haram in the Far North.

Zimbabwe	Characterized by a long-standing <b>electoral authoritarian regime</b> , violence is instrumentally used by the incumbent ZANU-PF regime, often resulting in <b>preference falsification</b> among citizens who report higher trust in the state due to fear. Issues include endemic corruption, human rights abuses, and <b>democratic backsliding</b> . The post-Mugabe era saw <b>militarization intensify</b> , with the military acting as the <b>supreme power-bloc</b> in transition politics, blocking democratic change in areas like the electoral process, media freedom, the judiciary, and land politics. Recent elections (2018, 2023) were marred by violence, electoral irregularities (delayed ballot papers, faulty voter rolls), and <b>intimidation</b> orchestrated by ZANU-PF, including the use of state operatives like Forever Associates Zimbabwe (FAZ) to threaten voters. The government deploys <b>lawfare</b> through laws like the Patriot Act (criminalizing dissent), the Maintenance of Peace and Order Act (suppressing protests), and the Private Voluntary Organizations (PVO) Amendment Bill (restricting civil society). There is entrenched impunity for abuses committed by state security agents.
Tanzania	Historically a more party-based regime with less coercion than Cameroon, Tanzania has experienced <b>political intolerance</b> and a <b>democratic recession</b> . Recent elections were denounced as a <b>sham</b> by the opposition, with the incumbent declared the winner with 98% of the vote. The country has seen <b>widespread unrest</b> and reports of hundreds of people killed in a police crackdown. The ruling party, CCM, has been in power for nearly half a century, leading to a personalization of politics. Years of <b>repression</b> worsened in recent months, with opponents facing arbitrary arrests. Constitutional review and new elections have been recommended to address deep-seated grievances. Lawfare tactics, such as manipulating legal procedures to entrench power, have also been observed.

<b>Kenya</b>	Electoral violence in Kenya has been attributed to factors like <b>ethnic marginalization, politicized land access</b> , and competition for power that takes the form of inter-ethnic rivalry. The 2007 post-election violence led to high casualties and displaced hundreds of thousands of people. Media reportage, especially by vernacular radio stations, was accused of <b>fuelling violence</b> by broadcasting hate messages and polarizing society along ethnic lines. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have faced government crackdown, including arbitrary arrests, defamation, and legal restrictions on foreign funding, particularly after the 2007 elections, with leaders facing investigation by the International Criminal Court (ICC).
<b>Nigeria</b>	Electoral violence is pervasive. The 2011 elections were accompanied by post-election violence, and the 2015 elections saw large-scale pre-election violence. State-sponsored violence manifested in structural forms, such as the denial of opposition access to state media. Nigeria, like other states, experiences high political stakes due to the <b>patrimonial and rent-based nature of the state</b> .
<b>Ghana</b>	Elections in Ghana, though often considered competitive, show evidence of subtle electoral manipulation, specifically " <b>miscounting</b> " (selective ballot rejection). This type of fraud is associated with incumbents who fear electoral defeat and have established <b>deep clientelist networks</b> . The longer a party holds a constituency seat, the more established its clientelist networks are, making it more credible to engage in this subtle rigging.
<b>Congo-Brazza ville &amp; Gabon</b>	These semi-authoritarian regimes in former French Central Africa have seen clientelistic systems focused on the influence established between France (via industrial holdings) and the former colonies, particularly salient in the cases of these <b>oil exporting</b> nations.
<b>Benin &amp; Senegal</b>	These countries represent cases where pluralism has produced <b>regular alternation in power</b> or at least one change of majority, making them exceptions among semi-authoritarian Francophone nations.

<b>Togo &amp; DRC (Democratic Republic of the Congo)</b>	These countries have employed <b>lawfare</b> (manipulating constitutional and legal processes) to entrench power. Togo transformed its presidential system into a parliamentary one to circumvent presidential term limits. In the DRC and Zimbabwe, term limit manipulation is a recurring pattern of lawfare.
<b>Mozambique</b>	The country has been cited for deeply problematic elections, with violence threatening the polls and opposition parties making allegations of <b>fraud, violence, and ballot box snatching</b> . The use of <b>fake election observers</b> has also been reported to legitimize fraudulent elections.
<b>Ethiopia</b>	The Ethiopian government adopted a law prohibiting CSOs from receiving more than 10% of their funding from foreign donors, severely threatening the survival of many civil society groups, including human rights organizations. <b>Fake election observers</b> have been used to issue positive reports of problematic elections.
<b>Burundi</b>	Elections often turn violent. The government attempted to <b>clamp down on media and communications</b> (including social media) for fear of mobilizing the populace ahead of contested general elections. The country has adopted policies to restrict foreign funding for domestic civil society groups.
<b>Uganda</b>	The country has seen government efforts to restrict civil society, including <b>cumbersome registration processes</b> , and has adopted policies to restrict foreign funding for CSOs. Security concerns led the president to confess to arresting riot experts.
<b>Niger</b>	The government has <b>banned several CSOs</b> and prohibited others from traveling within specific parts of the country.
<b>Rwanda</b>	Human rights groups continuously report a fear of government-sponsored harassment, leading some to <b>self-censor</b> their publications. The country has adopted policies to restrict foreign funding for CSOs.
<b>Sudan</b>	The country has adopted policies to restrict foreign funding for CSOs. Political instability and collapse are noted as a consequence of unaddressed issues.

<b>Equatorial Guinea &amp; Djibouti</b>	These countries are listed as having deeply problematic elections where <b>fake election observers</b> were used to legitimize fraudulent polls.
<b>Madagascar</b>	Protests and demonstrations went the "full length," resulting in the disappearance of a leader (Rajuel).
<b>Central African Republic (CAR) &amp; Somalia</b>	These countries are noted for political instability. Somalia, specifically, has been noted as a place where foreign funding restrictions for CSOs have been adopted.
<b>Senegal</b>	CSO activism contributed to the <b>removal of a government leader</b> in 2012.

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#### **Structured Analytic Report 23-Nov2025:**

#### **Political Challenges and Institutional Decay in Africa – Cross Country Assessment**

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## **BLUF (Bottom-Line-Up-Front)**

Across the cases in several Sub-Saharan African states, the dominant pattern observed can be classified as **adaptive authoritarianism and institutional hollowing**, not simple regime collapse. Many African states still hold elections and maintain formal checks and balances, but core institutions – electoral commissions, courts, legislatures, security services, and civil society – are being **repurposed as tools of regime survival** rather than public accountability.

Key features across the cases examined:

- **Lawfare and managed elections** are now the primary instruments of control, with overt violence and coups used selectively where legal manipulation is insufficient.
- **Clientelism and state capture** are entrenched in mineral rich and long ruling regimes (Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Zimbabwe, Togo, Uganda, Mozambique), while even “good performers” like Ghana, Benin, and Senegal show signs of subtle manipulation or backsliding. [1][2][3][4][5] ([theafricancenter.org](http://theafricancenter.org))

- **Civic space is shrinking** through restrictive NGO laws, foreign funding bans, digital repression, and harassment of human rights groups, especially in Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Sudan, Burundi, Somalia, Niger, and Kenya. [4][6] ([GIGA Hamburg](#))

By 2030 the most plausible regional trajectory is a patchwork of hybrid regimes – a belt of hardened electoral authoritarian and militarized systems with a few resilient but pressured democracies. Institutional decay will be uneven but self-reinforcing where three forces line up: long ruling elites, security sectors with political veto power, and legal regimes that criminalize dissent.

For stakeholders, the analytic priority is to:

- Treat elections and constitutions as contested instruments, not indicators of democratization by default.
  - Monitor lawfare, security sector autonomy, and civic space as leading indicators of further decay or potential renewal.
  - Focus engagement on pressure points inside institutions (courts, professional associations, local governments, religious bodies) that still retain some autonomy.
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## 1. Getting Organized – Typology Across Cases

Using a structured “cluster” lens, our case study list breaks into several overlapping regime families:

### 1.1 Hard electoral authoritarian and petro clientelist systems

**Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Djibouti, Congo Brazzaville, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Togo, Uganda**

Common traits:

- Very long ruling presidents or parties with personalized rule and fused party-state structures. Cameroon’s CPDM and President Biya, and Equatorial Guinea’s Obiang, are textbook “stable authoritarianism” anchored in oil rents and security patronage. [1][7] ([SAIIA](#))
- Heavy reliance on security organs and special forces (for example Cameroon’s BIR, Zimbabwe’s military and intelligence, Uganda’s security agencies) as regime guarantors. [1][2][8] ([Wikipedia](#))

- Use of **lawfare** to criminalize dissent – Patriot or “Patriotic” Acts, NGO and PVO laws, foreign funding bans, and public order acts that effectively outlaw protest. Zimbabwe’s “Patriotic Bill”, PVO amendments, and security service impunity are emblematic. [2]/[8] ([Human Rights Watch](#))

## 1.2 Hybrid competitors with violent and legal manipulation

**Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Mozambique, Madagascar**

- Elections are competitive and alternation has occurred, but violence, ethnic mobilization, or subtle fraud (for example miscounting, selective ballot rejection in Ghana) show institutional fragility. [3]/[9] ([EISA](#))
- Media and CSOs exist but face periodic harassment, foreign funding restrictions, or legal harassment, especially after contentious polls. [4]/[6] ([GIGA Hamburg](#))

## 1.3 Collapsing or conflict affected polities

**Sudan, CAR, Somalia, parts of DRC, Ethiopia, Burundi**

- Weak or imploding central institutions, with armed groups, war economies, and external patrons fragmenting authority.
- Electoral processes are either suspended, heavily manipulated, or used to legitimize factional settlements.
- CSO and media space in many of these contexts is constrained by both state and non state actors, often under cover of anti terrorism or sovereignty narratives. [5]/[6]/[10] ([Carnegie Endowment](#))

## 1.4 “Positive” outliers under pressure

**Benin, Senegal, (partially) Ghana**

- Historical record of alternation and some institutional resilience, yet recent years show backsliding signals – restrictive media laws, protest bans, or manipulation of judicial and electoral processes. [5]/[11] ([theafricacenter.org](#))

This typology helps avoid treating “Africa” as a monolith while still surfacing shared mechanisms of institutional decay.

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## 2. Regional Patterns and Drivers – Diagnostic Synthesis

### 2.1 Lawfare and the “constitutional coup”

Across Togo, DRC, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda and others, legal systems are increasingly used as offensive weapons:

- Term-limit removal or circumvention, shifting from presidential to parliamentary systems or vice versa to extend incumbents.
- New “Patriot”, “NGO”, “Cybercrime”, “Anti terrorism” and “Public Order” laws that criminalize protest, foreign funding, or vaguely defined “anti state” speech. [2][4][6][10] ([Human Rights Watch](#))

**Key diagnostic point:** these moves are not random. They are a **regional learning process** – elites learn from each other how to reverse democratic reforms using the language of legality and sovereignty.

### 2.2 Security sector as meta institution

In many of these countries the military and security services are the ultimate veto players, regardless of constitutional form:

- Zimbabwe’s post Mugabe transition entrenched the military as kingmaker, with FAZ and other security linked actors shaping elections and intimidating voters. [2] ([The Sentry](#))
- Cameroon’s Rapid Intervention Battalion and other elite units have been central both in fighting Boko Haram and repressing the Anglophone crisis, effectively personal guard structures for the presidency. [1][7] ([Wikipedia](#))

The security sector thus becomes both an instrument and driver of institutional decay, especially where it controls significant economic assets.

### 2.3 Clientelism, resource rents, and state capture

Oil, gas, minerals, timber, and aid flows foster patronage networks that undermine autonomous institutions:

- Older Françafrique patterns in Congo Brazzaville, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and Cameroon created “dual accountability” regimes that answer as much to external economic partners as to domestic publics.
- In Ghana and other competitive systems, long term incumbency in constituencies correlates with greater capacity to engage in subtle electoral manipulation – miscounting and selective ballot rejection – because clientelist networks are deeply entrenched. [3][9]

(EISA)

This is state capture in slow motion – rules are rewritten to fit patronage networks rather than the other way around. [12] ([The Guardian](#))

## 2.4 Shrinking civic space and digital authoritarianism

Research on civic space in Africa documents a broad pattern:

- Dozens of states have passed foreign funding restrictions or burdensome registration requirements for CSOs, especially those working on human rights, governance, or elections. [4][6][10] ([GIGA Hamburg](#))
- Governments increasingly use surveillance, internet shutdowns, and social media regulation to contain mobilization, as seen in Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Burundi, and Kenya. [5][6][13] ([The Guardian](#))

Civic space is a sensitive leading indicator. When you see sudden NGO laws, “foreign agent” narratives, or digital repression spikes, institutional decay is usually next.

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## 3. Key Assumptions Check

A SAT style Key Assumptions Check on common analytic beliefs:

1. **“Regular elections indicate institutional health”**
  - Counter evidence: many of the hardest cases hold regular elections – Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Togo, Rwanda, Equatorial Guinea – yet those elections are tightly managed propaganda and control exercises. [2][5][6] ([Human Rights Watch](#))
  - Assessment: in this set, elections are often instruments of decay, not health.
2. **“Civil society and media can always drive correction over time”**
  - Counter evidence: systematic CSO strangulation in Ethiopia, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia, Burundi, Uganda, and legal harassment of media in Tanzania, Kenya and Mozambique, sharply limits corrective capacity. [4][6][10][13] ([GIGA Hamburg](#))
  - Assessment: this assumption only holds where CSOs retain some legal and financial autonomy (for example Senegal 2012, parts of Benin and Ghana).

### 3. “External partners can reliably incentivize reform”

- Counter evidence: decades of democracy support and conditionalities co-exist with entrenched backsliding and state capture, and some regimes now hedge toward alternative patrons unconcerned with governance. [5][10][14] ([theafricacenter.org](http://theafricacenter.org))
  - Assessment: leverage is real but limited, especially where regimes have security or resource rents that reduce dependence.
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## 4. Multiple Hypotheses – Why Decay Is Entrenched

We can frame three competing but overlapping hypotheses:

### 1. Elite Adaptation Hypothesis

Institutional decay is primarily a result of elites learning how to survive the “third wave” by hollowing out institutions while preserving democratic facades. Lawfare, managed elections, fake observers, and CSO restrictions are all adaptive tools.

### 2. Security Complex Hypothesis

Persistent threats – insurgency, terrorism, separatism – empower security sectors, who then entrench their interests and shield themselves from accountability, dragging institutions toward militarization. Cameroon’s Anglophone crisis and Boko Haram front, Zimbabwe’s militarized transition, and Sudan or Somalia’s conflict dynamics fit here. [1][2][10][15] ([SAIIA](http://SAIIA))

### 3. Structural Rent and International Order Hypothesis

Reliance on oil, minerals, or strategic rents, combined with an international system that rewards stability and cooperation on migration or counter terrorism, reduces incentives for real reform. External actors often prioritize access and short term stability over institutional integrity. [5][10][12][14] ([theafricacenter.org](http://theafricacenter.org))

Assessment: all three are mutually reinforcing in most of our cases examined. Analytical error comes when we treat only one as primary.

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## 5. Alternative Futures to 2030 – Cone of Plausibility

Using an Alternative Futures frame, four broad regional trajectories look plausible by around 2030.

### **Future 1 – Hardened Autocratic Belt (High plausibility)**

- Anglophone and Francophone authoritarian regimes consolidate through further lawfare, “managed” constitutional reforms, and periodic electoral theater.
- The Sahel coup belt, Horn conflict states, and coastal petro regimes form a de facto belt of regime security pacts, sharing techniques for digital repression, election management, and CSO control.
- Ghana, Benin, Senegal and a few others remain more competitive but face strong pressure and creeping manipulation.

**Implications:** more predictable elite continuity, but high risk of sudden rupture (coups, urban uprisings) because grievances remain unaddressed.

### **Future 2 – Patchwork Hybrid Region (Baseline)**

- Some countries see **limited liberalizing openings** – legal reforms, improved electoral management, or partial CSO space restoration – often driven by domestic protest and generational change.
- Others continue to decay or collapse, particularly in conflict zones or entrenched petro states.
- Regional organizations (AU, ECOWAS, EAC) are inconsistent – sometimes sanctioning coups or third term bids, sometimes accepting faits accomplis.

**Implications:** monitoring and engagement must be country specific and subnational, not continent wide, focusing on pockets of institutional resilience.

### **Future 3 – Democratic Renewal Pockets (Low to medium plausibility)**

- A wave of youth led mobilization, professional association pushback, and court activism in a handful of key states (for example Kenya, Ghana, Senegal, maybe Nigeria) forces substantive reforms – enforceable term limits, stronger electoral commissions, protection for CSOs.
- These “renewal hubs” become regional reference points, diffusing norms and offering peer support.

**Implications:** donors and technical actors have leverage if they concentrate resources and political capital where domestic coalitions are strong.

## Future 4 – Systemic Fracture and Coup Resurgence (Tail risk but visible)

- Economic shocks, climate stress, and prolonged elite impunity trigger a **second wave of coups and civil conflicts**, especially in states with politicized militaries and hollowed legislatures.
- Elections are postponed or reduced to rubber stamps; CSOs are co-opted or crushed; external actors prioritize security cooperation above all else.

**Implications:** institutional decay turns into institutional collapse, making later reconstruction far more costly.

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## 6. Indicators and Watchpoints for Stakeholders

For an intelligence or risk unit, key indicators to track across your set include:

### 1. Lawfare and constitutional engineering

- New or amended constitutions, term limit changes, shifts between presidential and parliamentary systems.
- Introduction or tightening of Patriot, NGO, cybercrime, or foreign agent laws. [2][4][6][10][14] ([Human Rights Watch](#))

### 2. Security sector autonomy

- Promotions and reshuffles that concentrate power in loyal units (for example Cameroon's BIR reshuffle ahead of elections). [1] ([Reuters](#))
- Military ownership stakes in key sectors, off budget accounts, or opaque intelligence linked business entities.

### 3. Civic space and digital control

- Sudden NGO suspensions, asset freezes, travel bans on activists, and media licensing changes. [4][6] ([GIGA Hamburg](#))
- Internet shutdowns, social media blocking, and new surveillance or data localization laws around contentious political periods. [5][13] ([The Guardian](#))

#### 4. Electoral process quality

- Evidence of miscounting, ballot rejection patterns, fake observer missions, and politically captured election commissions. [3][9] ([EISA](#))
- Violence, hate speech, and incitement spikes in the run up to polls.

#### 5. Subnational flashpoints

- Anglophone crisis dynamics, separatist movements, communal land conflicts, or organized crime–politics nexuses that can catalyze national crises if mishandled. [1][5][10] ([SAIIA](#))

These indicators can be built into a continent wide risk dashboard that tags trajectories by country: stabilizing, stagnating, or decaying.

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## 7. Strategic Implications and Options

From a decision support angle, this landscape suggests:

- **Do not equate form with function.** Treat constitutions, parliaments, and elections as contested instruments whose real role must be empirically assessed.
- **Invest in institutional islands of integrity.** Support bar associations, auditors general, local governments, professional bodies, and independent faith or traditional institutions that sometimes retain more autonomy than national legislatures.
- **Defend civic space as a priority, not an add on.** Restrictions on CSOs, media, and digital rights are early warning for hardening authoritarianism and should trigger calibrated diplomatic and financial responses. [4][6][10] ([GIGA Hamburg](#))
- **Targeted conditionality and positive incentives.** Where domestic coalitions for reform exist, external actors can amplify them through focused support on electoral integrity, judicial independence, and security sector governance, instead of diffuse democracy promotion.

For your stakeholders, this dataset can underpin:

- A comparative institutional decay index for the listed countries.

- A scenario based early warning framework to flag where backsliding is tipping toward breakdown.
  - Country specific engagement playbooks that map which institutions are captured, which are contested, and where leverage is still viable.
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