

A coup is never a solution

Analysis of the warning
signs and impact of recent
coups in Western Africa

Contents

Coup contagion in Western Africa: unpacking warning signs of recent coups	4
The volatile security context in the Sahel	5
Timeline of events: recurrent coups	6
Deteriorating security and shrinking participatory environment: warning signs of Western African coups according to the IIAG	8
Burkina Faso: largest security deterioration in Africa foreshadowed 2022 coups	9
Guinea: shrinking democratic space and decreased accountability anticipated 2021 coup	10
Mali: deteriorating security and decreased accountability in build-up to coups of 2020 and 2021	11
Niger: a worsening security situation and increased corruption foreshadow 2023 coup	12
Coups in Western Africa are not realising their commitments	13
Burkina Faso: militant attacks show no sign of abating since coup	13
Mali: security situation almost twice as bad as pre-coup	14
Guinea: still no elections as civil unrest grows	14
Spotlight: Support for democracy down, pro-military attitudes up	15
Warning signs in other African countries: who is next on the list?	16
Alarm bells in <i>Security & Safety</i> and <i>Participation</i> for many other countries on the continent	16
Spotlight: Coups and uprisings ousting long-term leaders across the continent	17
Spotlight: The AU's growing stance against unconstitutional changes of government	20
Balanced progress in all governance dimensions is key	21
References	22

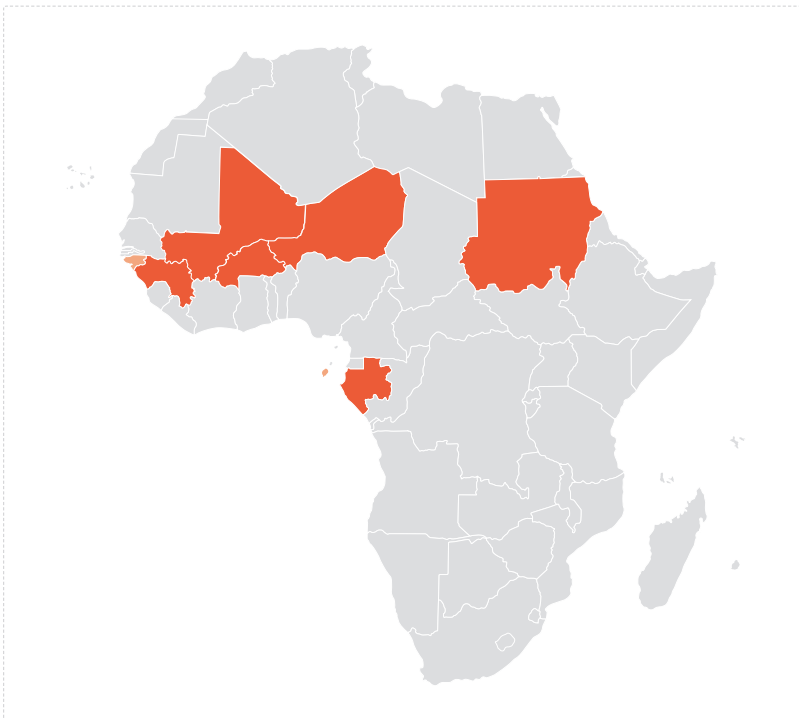
Coup contagion in Western Africa: unpacking warning signs of recent coups

The spate of recent coups in Africa is showing no sign of abating. Coups in Africa are back in the news and on Africa's security agenda. Since 2020, in just three years, 13 coup attempts took place in Africa, eight of them successful in seizing power in Burkina Faso, Gabon, Guinea, Mali, Niger and Sudan.

How to define a coup d'état?

A coup, short for "coup d'état", is a sudden and often violent or illegal seizure of political power or government control by a group of individuals, typically within the military or other influential factions of a country. Coups are typically characterised by a centralised and organised effort, often involving the military, with the goal of seizing power and replacing the government. It can result in the suspension of constitutional order, and the establishment of a new ruling authority, often led by the coup plotters themselves. Coups can take various forms, including coups by the military and armed forces, civilian coups, political coups, or hybrid coups involving a combination of these actors. The motivations behind coups can vary, ranging from political grievances and power struggles to ideological or social reasons.

Africa: coup d'états (2020-2023)



- Successful coup
- Attempted coup
- No coup

Source: MIF Based on Jonathan Powell (Uni of Central Florida) & Clayton Thyne (Uni of Kentucky)

With the exception of Sudan and Gabon, these coups have taken place in Western Africa. Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Niger were all party to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) when the coups occurred and all but Guinea were party to the G5 Sahel and faced major common security concerns.

The volatile security context in the Sahel

The recent coups in the Sahel, with the exception of Guinea, have occurred against a backdrop of increasing insecurity. These security trends have been further intensified by the worsening impacts of climate change, the fallout of the COVID-19 pandemic, and worsening humanitarian, food security and livelihoods crises.

Following the collapse of the Libyan state in 2011, the Sahel region saw an influx of both foreign and returning fighters from Libya as well as significant arms-trafficking through porous state borders in Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali and Niger. In the subsequent years, this proliferation of arms and fighters resulted in the emergence of local Islamist militant groups affiliated to Islamic State (IS) and al-Qaeda as well as the emboldening of local criminal networks and other separatist groups such as the Tuareg insurgency. Over the following twelve years, this led to a substantial deterioration in the region's security.

These various armed groups have often overwhelmed national military capacities and targeted civilians in the Sahel, despite the French military's counter-insurgency Operation Barkhane. This has occurred against a backdrop of intensifying grievances across the Sahel regarding lack of support and insufficient wages in the military, primarily in Mali and Burkina Faso, as well as widespread corruption issues that have frustrated militaries across the region.

Amid this context, the region has for decades acted as a platform for competing geopolitical influences, with France, the US and Russia providing a physical military presence and military support. However, in recent years, increasing anti-French sentiment in former French colonies such as Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger, along with the failure of international missions to stem the militant violence, have led to the gradual withdrawal of French forces.

While French influence has declined, the Sahel has seen an increase in Russian influence, most clearly in the presence of the Wagner Group, a private military company with links to the Russian state, but also in anti-French messaging deployed by Russian social media outlets. The Wagner Group has featured most prominently in Mali, providing security support in exchange for preferential access to resources.

Timeline of events: recurring coups

► BURKINA FASO

2022



January 2022:

- President Roch Marc Christian Kaboré ousted by military coup
- Paul-Henri Sandaogo Damiba installed as Interim President

September 2022:

- Interim President Paul-Henri Sandaogo Damiba ousted by military coup
- Captain Ibrahim Traoré installed as President

2020



November 2020: President Roch Marc Christian Kaboré re-elected

2015



September 2015: Members of the presidential guard engage in a failed counter-coup attempt against the interim government

December 2015: Roch Marc Christian Kaboré elected as President

2014



October 2014:

- Mass protests and a military takeover oust long-term President Blaise Compaoré
- Michel Kafando installed as Interim President

► GUINEA

2021



September 2021:

- President Alpha Condé ousted by military coup
- Mamady Doumbouya installed as Interim President

2020



March 2020: Constitutional referendum that resets and extends presidential terms allowing President Alpha Condé to run for another two terms

October 2020: President Alpha Condé elected for a third term

2015



October 2015: President Alpha Condé re-elected

2010



November 2010: Alpha Condé elected as President

2008



December 2008:

- After the death of longtime President Lansana Conté, the military stages a coup
- Moussa Dadis Camara installed as Interim President

Key



Successful coup



Mass protests oust President



Failed coup



Constitutional referendum



Elections

▶ MALI

2021



May 2021:

- President Bah N'Daw ousted by military coup
- Assimi Goïta installed as Interim President

2020



August 2020:

- President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta ousted by military coup
- Assimi Goïta installed as new Interim Leader

September 2020: Bah NDaw appointed by the coup leader Assimi Goïta as civilian Interim President

2018



2018: President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta re-elected

2013



August 2013: Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta elected as President

2012



March 2012: President Amadou Toumani Touré ousted in military coup

April 2012: Dioncounda Traoré installed as Interim President

May 2012: Failed counter-coup by soldiers supportive of ousted President Amadou Toumani Touré

▶ NIGER

2023



July 2023: A military coup led by General Abdourahamane Tchiani overthrows President Mohamed Bazoum

2021



March 2021: An attempted coup days before newly elected President Mohamed Bazoum is due to be sworn in

2020-2021



December 2020: Elections take place

February 2021: President Mohamed Bazoum declared winner by the electoral commission

2016



March 2016: Mahamadou Issoufou is re-elected in a run-off election

2015



December 2015: Attempted coup fails to overthrow President Issoufou

2011



March 2011: Mahamadou Issoufou wins presidential elections

2010



February 2010: President Mamadou Tandja is ousted in a coup and senior army officer, Col Salou Djibo, named head of a military government

Deteriorating security and shrinking participatory environment: warning signs of Western African coups according to the IIAG

Selected countries: IIAG sub-category trends (2017-2021)

Sub-categories	Burkina Faso	Guinea	Mali	Niger	Africa Average Trend
Security & Safety	-34.2	-1.5	-12.1	-8.9	-2.8
Rule of Law & Justice	-3.2	-1.9	-1.9	+2.0	-0.2
Accountability & Transparency	+2.7	-9.0	-11.5	-1.4	-0.4
Anti-Corruption	-1.4	-1.1	-3.7	-7.8	0.0
Participation	-5.3	-14.8	-16.3	-6.1	-4.4
Rights	-9.5	-8.2	+1.2	-1.7	-1.1
Inclusion & Equality	-1.0	-3.4	-1.6	-2.5	-0.3
Women's Equality	+2.9	0.0	+1.1	-0.5	+2.7
Public Administration	+2.0	-6.6	-11.3	-0.2	+0.6
Business & Labour Environment	-3.6	-2.7	-4.4	-1.8	+0.2
Infrastructure	+0.9	+5.1	+3.1	+0.2	+2.8
Rural Economy	-2.7	+14.6	+11.1	+2.4	+1.6
Health	+6.3	+1.6	+1.7	-6.1	+2.4
Education	+2.7	-2.8	+0.1	+0.8	+1.1
Social Protection & Welfare	0.0	+7.2	+0.4	-4.1	+1.6
Sustainable Environment	-0.2	-0.2	+2.3	+7.7	+1.8

Source: Ibrahim Index of African Governance

The 2022 IIAG shows a decline between 2017 and 2021 both in *Overall Governance* and in the categories *Security & Rule of Law* and *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* for all four Western African coup countries

The four Western African countries to experience a coup d'état between 2021 and 2023 – Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, and Niger, shared common trends on the IIAG between 2017 and 2021, the latest five-year period:

- All four countries declined in *Overall Governance*, as well as the categories *Security & Rule of Law* and *Participation, Rights & Inclusion*.
- All four countries experienced a decline in the sub-categories *Security & Safety*, *Anti-Corruption*, *Participation*, *Inclusion & Equality*, and *Business & Labour Environment*.
- At least three of the four countries also experienced declines in the sub-categories *Rule of Law & Justice*, *Accountability & Transparency*, and *Rights*.
- On average, the sub-categories *Security & Safety* (-14.2) and *Participation* (-10.6) saw the biggest declines across the coup countries over the past five years.


Burkina Faso (-34.2, 1st), Mali (-12.1, 5th), and Niger (-8.9, 7th) were all among the ten most declined countries in Africa in the sub-category *Security & Safety* since 2017

Burkina Faso: largest security deterioration in Africa foreshadowed 2022 coups






Since 2014, Burkina Faso has experienced three coups and one attempted counter-coup. The most recent took place in September 2022, following another coup in January 2022 that ousted President Roch Marc Kaboré, ending a period of democracy that started in 2015. The 2022 coup leaders both claimed deteriorating security to be their primary motivation.

The IIAG shows *Overall Governance* had been improving in Burkina Faso between 2012 and 2017, reaching a peak score of 57.3. However, in the last five years *Overall Governance* has declined (-2.7). This decline preceded the coup d'états of 2022, that took place in the context of deteriorating security and democratic restrictions.

- Between 2012 and 2017 all four IIAG categories improved in Burkina Faso. However, over the past five years, *Security & Rule of Law* (-9.0), *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* (-4.3) and *Foundations for Economic Opportunity* (-0.8) all declined.
- The decline in *Security & Rule of Law* in the last five years has been overwhelmingly driven by the *Security & Safety* (-34.2) sub-category.
- Every indicator in *Security & Safety* has declined over the past five years. No African country has declined more than Burkina Faso in *Absence of Armed Conflict* (-72.0) and *Absence of Violence against Civilians* (-63.0) since 2017. This decline has been driven by a large increase in attacks by non-state armed groups.
- The *Rights* (-9.5) sub-category was the second most declined sub-category over this period, primarily driven by declines in *Digital Rights* (-22.0), with a greater restriction on expression in the digital space and an increase in internet and social media shutdowns.

 In the IIAG *Security & Safety* sub-category, Burkina Faso fell from 13th rank (out of 54) in 2012 to 48th in 2021

Burkina Faso: most declined indicators (2017-2021)

Sub-category	Indicator	2021 Score	Trend	2021 Rank	Africa Average Score 2021	Africa Average Trend (2017-2021)
Security & Safety	<i>Absence of Armed Conflict</i>	22.9	 -72.0	52	85.0	-2.4
Security & Safety	<i>Absence of Violence against Civilians</i>	21.2	 -63.0	45	70.5	-5.9
Rights	<i>Digital Rights</i>	40.7	 -22.0	40	55.7	-1.7
Infrastructure	<i>Shipping & Postal Network</i>	15.7	 -20.2	36	26.8	-4.8
Security & Safety	<i>Absence of Forced Migration</i>	80.9	 -18.9	46	90.1	-0.8

Source: Ibrahim Index of African Governance

Guinea: shrinking democratic space and decreased accountability anticipated 2021 coup






Since 2008, two coups have occurred in Guinea, the most recent being in 2021, which led to the ousting of President Alpha Condé. The coup leaders justified the coup on the grounds of poverty and endemic corruption.

The IIAG shows that in *Overall Governance* Guinea had been improving (+1.6) between 2012 and 2017 but declined by an almost equal amount in the following five years (-1.5). This decline preceded the coup d'état of 2021, that took place in the context of human rights abuses, a shrinking participatory environment and increased corruption.

- Between 2012 and 2017, every category improved in Guinea. However, in the latest five years *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* (-6.6) and *Security & Rule of Law* (-3.3) have seen marked declines.
- *Participation* is the most declined sub-category (-14.8) since 2017, even though Guinea had improved in this measure between 2012 and 2017 (+3.6). *Rights* (-8.2) and *Accountability & Transparency* (-9.0) are the next most declined in the last five years.
- Of the five most declined indicators in the *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* category since 2017, three are within the *Participation* sub-category including *Democratic Elections* (-18.8), *Civil Society Space* (-17.5) and *Freedom of Association & Assembly* (-12.5). Since 2017 *Personal Liberties* (-22.8), which sits in the *Rights* sub-category, was the most declined indicator in the category.
- The most declined indicators in the *Security & Rule of Law* category since 2017 highlight the growing attacks on checks, balances, and accountability mechanisms in the build up to the coup. The five most deteriorated indicators include *Absence of Undue Influence on Government* (-24.4), *Anti-Corruption Mechanisms* (-13.1), *Impartiality of the Judicial System* (-12.8), *Institutional Checks & Balances* (-7.9) and *Accessibility of Public Records* (-7.8).

 In the IIAG *Participation* sub-category, Guinea declined by almost 15 points over 2017-2021

Guinea: most declined indicators (2017-2021)

Sub-category	Indicator	2021 Score	Trend	2021 Rank	Africa Average Score 2021	Africa Average Trend (2017-2021)
Public Administration	<i>Civil Registration</i>	50.0	 -25.0	33	61.8	+1.4
Accountability & Transparency	<i>Absence of Undue Influence on Government</i>	9.5	 -24.4	48	39.7	-3.8
Education	<i>Human Resources in Education</i>	48.6	 -22.9	36	80.8	+2.3
Rights	<i>Personal Liberties</i>	24.9	 -22.8	41	42.9	-1.9
Participation	<i>Democratic Elections</i>	12.7	 -18.8	45	38.3	-5.4

Source: Ibrahim Index of African Governance

Mali: deteriorating security and decreased accountability in build-up to coups of 2020 and 2021

Since 2012, Mali has experienced three coups and one attempted counter-coup. Most recently, in May 2021, President Bah N'Daw was ousted and replaced by a military government who cited ongoing security concerns as a primary motivation for the coup.

The IAG shows that Mali has declined in *Overall Governance* (-3.3) over the decade. While the decline started before 2017, it has accelerated in the last five years. This preceded the 2021 coup, in a context where security had been deteriorating and political freedoms were in decline.

- At the category level, Mali had experienced small declines in *Security & Rule of Law* (-1.6) and *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* (-2.9) between 2012 and 2017. However, the pace of decline has accelerated in the latest five-year period.
- Since 2017, *Security & Rule of Law* (-7.3) was the most declined category, deteriorating at five times the pace of the five years prior. *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* (-3.9) also saw its pace of deterioration accelerate.
- At sub-category level, *Participation* (-16.3) was the most declined since 2017, followed by *Security & Safety* (-12.1) and *Accountability & Transparency* (-11.5). Over the past five years, the pace of decline in *Security & Safety* has almost doubled in comparison to pre-2017. Since 2017, no country has declined more in *Accountability & Transparency* than Mali.
 - Within *Security & Safety*, *Absence of Violence against Civilians* (-44.7) was the most declined indicator for Mali since 2017, driven by an increase in attacks on citizens by rebel groups and militias.
 - In the *Participation* sub-category, decline was primarily driven by the *Democratic Elections* (-42.7), which is in itself a likely reflection of the 2021 coup.
 - In the *Accountability & Transparency* sub-category, decline since 2017 has been driven by rapid declines in *Absence of Undue Influence on Government* (-35.5), an indicator that even experienced major improvement between 2012 and 2017 (+27.9).

In the period 2017-2021, no country has declined more in the IAG *Accountability & Transparency* sub-category than Mali

Mali: most declined indicators (2017-2021)

Sub-category	Indicator	2021 Score	Trend	2021 Rank	Africa Average Score 2021	Africa Average Trend (2017-2021)	
Public Administration	<i>Civil Registration</i>	25.0		-50.0	50	61.8	+1.4
Security & Safety	<i>Absence of Violence against Civilians</i>	20.0		-44.7	47	70.5	-5.9
Participation	<i>Democratic Elections</i>	10.3		-42.7	48	38.3	-5.4
Accountability & Transparency	<i>Absence of Undue Influence on Government</i>	23.0		-35.5	39	39.7	-3.8
Infrastructure	<i>Shipping & Postal Network</i>	10.2		-19.7	48	26.8	-4.8


Source: Ibrahim Index of African Governance

Niger: a worsening security situation and increased corruption foreshadow 2023 coup






The coup in July 2023 marks Niger's fifth coup d'état since gaining independence in 1960. This coup follows a period of democratic rule since the previous coup of 2010. The coup leaders cited the deteriorating security situation as their primary motivation for ousting President Mohamed Bazoum.

The IIAG shows that Niger has declined in *Overall Governance* (-2.6) over the decade with the pace of decline accelerating in the past five years. This decline preceded the coup d'état of 2023, which took place following years of deteriorating security and increased corruption.

- At the category level, *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* has experienced the largest decline (-7.6) over the decade. However, in the past five years *Security & Rule of Law* shows the greatest decline (-3.9) ahead of *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* (-2.7).
- In the last five years, the most declined sub-categories sit within *Security & Rule of Law*. *Security & Safety* (-8.9) has been the most declined sub-category, with the pace of decline more than five times that of the previous five years (2012-2017). *Anti-Corruption* (-7.8) is the next most declined.
- From 2017, the most declined indicators are within the *Anti-Corruption* and *Security & Safety* sub-categories including *Public Procurement Procedures* (-33.9), *Absence of Violence against Civilians* (-26.9) and *Absence of Armed Conflict* (-15.6). The increase in attacks on civilians and armed conflict is a result of increased activity by rebel groups and militias in the latest five years.

 In the IIAG *Security & Safety* sub-category, Niger has declined by almost 9 points over 2017-2021

Niger: most declined indicators (2017-2021)

Sub-category	Indicator	2021 Score	Trend	2021 Rank	Africa Average Score 2021	Africa Average Trend (2017-2021)
Health	<i>Compliance with International Health Regulations (IHR)</i>	0.0	 -44.7	53	52.9	+8.1
Anti-Corruption	<i>Public Procurement Procedures</i>	18.2	 -33.9	39	31.2	-2.7
Security & Safety	<i>Absence of Violence against Civilians</i>	58.9	 -26.9	41	70.5	-5.9
Security & Safety	<i>Absence of Armed Conflict</i>	81.0	 -15.6	42	85.0	-2.4
Accountability & Transparency	<i>Institutional Checks & Balances</i>	55.6	 -14.5	16	43.9	-2.6

Source: Ibrahim Index of African Governance

Legislative and judicial checks on the executive

Two of Western Africa's coup countries, Niger (-14.5) and Mali (-11.7) have experienced the third and fourth largest deteriorations in the IIAG *Institutional Checks & Balances* indicator in the latest five years (2017-2021).

Coups in Western Africa are not realising their commitments

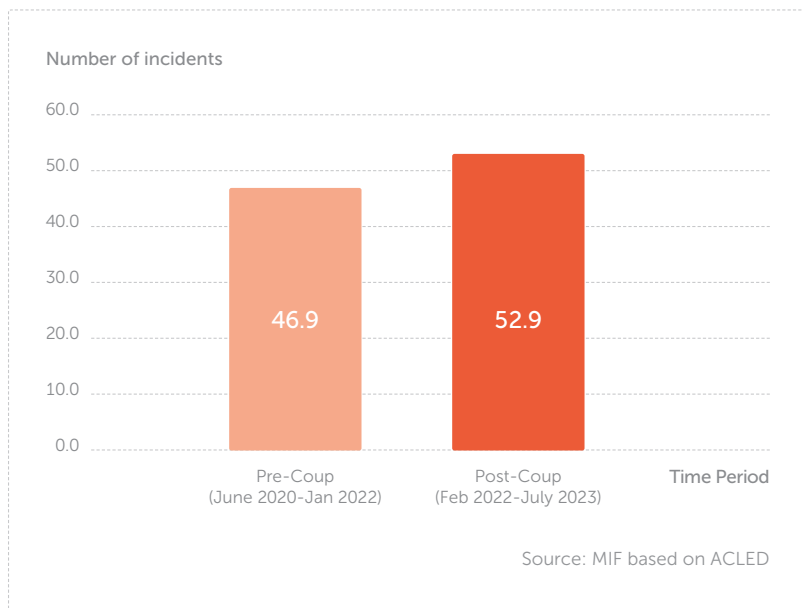
Military leaders who took power in Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, and now Niger have cited a range of justifications for orchestrating coup d'états. Security has emerged as the primary reason in the latter three, as well as deteriorating economic and democratic spaces. In Guinea, endemic corruption, human rights and economic mismanagement were cited as primary reasons.

However, in the subsequent years since the coups, little has improved in these countries. Promises of elections have failed to materialise and living conditions have not improved. Civic space continues to be restricted across all countries, while the security situation in Burkina Faso and Mali is even worse.

Burkina Faso: militant attacks show no sign of abating since coup

In Burkina Faso, civilians are just as vulnerable to violent attacks as they were prior to the coups of 2022. On average, there were nearly 53 incidents of violence against civilians per month in the 19 months following the first coup of February 2022. This is slightly more than in the 19 months prior to the coup, which saw almost 47 incidents per month on average.

Burkina Faso: average monthly incidents of violence against civilians incidents pre- and post- coup (June 2020 - July 2023)



The latest 2022 Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) findings for Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Niger highlight a declining security situation and a shrinking participatory environment over the years 2017 to 2021. Further analysis using data from 2021 onwards shows that coups did not have a positive impact on the security situations they allegedly aimed to address – but on the contrary brought higher insecurity and worsening domestic circumstances. In short, whatever the failings of existing regimes may be, a coup is never a solution.

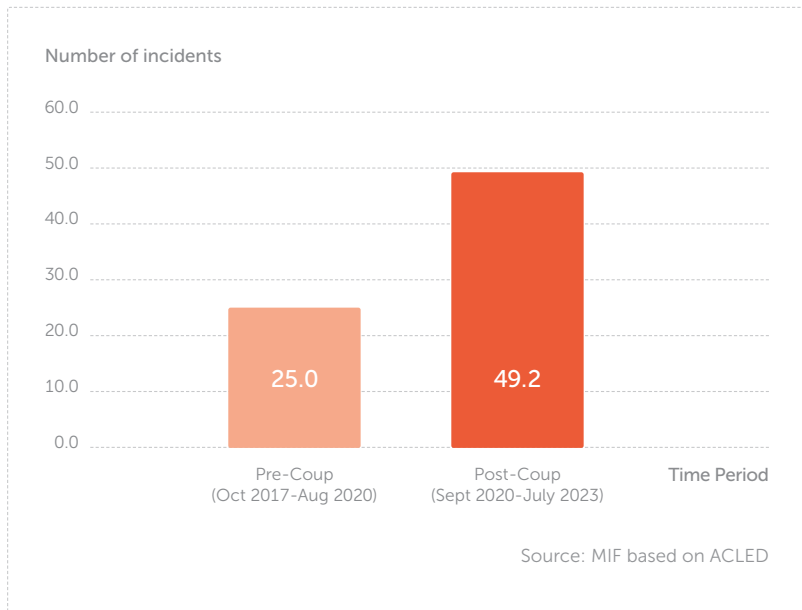
Additionally, roughly half of Burkina Faso's territory remains effectively outside of government control. As of July 2023, more than 1 million people were living in 36 localities blockaded by militant operations. In these areas, access to basic public services and essential supplies remains extremely limited and expensive.

Beyond the security situation, two-thirds (66.6%) of Burkinabe surveyed by Afrobarometer viewed their living conditions as bad or very bad in the round of 2021/2023, an increase from 41.1% compared to the round of 2019/2021. Meanwhile, the share of Burkinabe who said that they went without food at least several times has risen to 40.7% in the round of 2021/2023, from 31.8% in the round of 2019/2021.

Mali: security situation almost twice as bad as pre-coup

In Mali, civilians are even more vulnerable to violent attacks than prior to the 2020 coups. Incidents of violence against civilians have almost doubled, with an average of more than 49 incidents per month in the 34 months following the coup, in comparison to 25 incidents per month in the 34 months prior.

Mali: average monthly incidents of violence against civilians incidents pre- and post- coup (October 2017 - July 2023)



In August 2023, a new UN report suggested that the Islamic State group has almost doubled the territory it controls in Mali in under a year.

Beyond security, the cost of living has risen after the country was hit by ECOWAS sanctions. 37.6% of Malians surveyed by Afrobarometer said that they went without food at least several times in the round of 2021/2023 compared to 30.2% in the round of 2019/2021.

Guinea: still no elections as civil unrest grows

Guinea's coup leaders claimed the army had little choice but to seize power due to "rampant corruption, disregard for human rights and economic mismanagement" under former President Alpha Condé. This came against a backdrop of widespread civil unrest against Condé's leadership after he amended the constitution to allow himself a third term.

In terms of human rights, there is little evidence that the situation has improved. It could even be said to have declined. In May 2022, the military junta banned demonstrations indefinitely and later, doubled down on its repression by dissolving the country's opposition coalition on political grounds. The junta has also restricted access to news sites and social media networks.

Beyond this, there has been no improvement in living conditions. About two-thirds (66.4%) of Guineans surveyed by Afrobarometer viewed their living conditions as bad or very bad in the round of 2021/2023, almost the same as in the round of 2019/2021 (65.3%).

Transition back to civilian rule? All promises, no action

Burkina Faso: The military junta in Burkina Faso has stated it intends to hold elections by July 2024. However, it has also claimed that if it holds elections before the security situation improves then the results would not be recognised due to various regions being inaccessible.

Mali: Following the May 2021 coup, Interim President Assimi Goïta agreed to hold elections on 27 February 2022, in line with the election timetable set out by the previous transitional administration. However, these have been delayed until October or November 2023 for legislative elections and February 2024 for the presidential election. Initially, President Goïta wished to delay the elections until 2026 but due to ECOWAS pressure he reduced this timeframe.

Guinea: Following negotiations with ECOWAS, Interim President Mamady Doumbouya agreed to an electoral timetable, scheduling elections for an unconfirmed date in early 2025. However, in April 2022, the government stated that no elections would be held until a general census had been conducted.

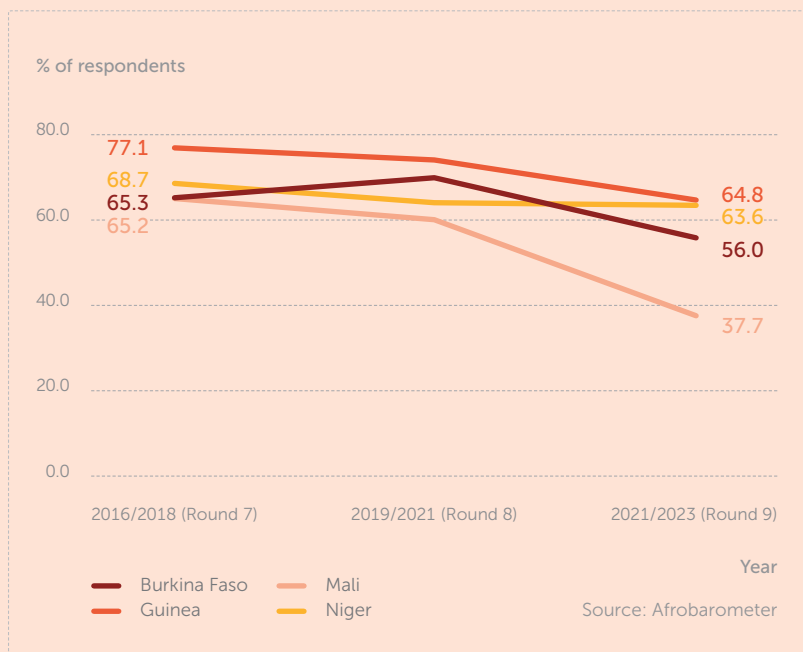
SPOTLIGHT

Support for democracy down, pro-military attitudes up

Afrobarometer perception data shows that in Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Niger support for democracy has declined.

- Mali has experienced the largest decline with only 37.7% of those surveyed in 2021/2023 in favour of democracy - down 27.5% compared to the 2016/2018 survey round.
- Guinea has the highest number of respondents that still support democracy in the 2021/2023 survey round, with nearly two-thirds (64.8%) of Guineans surveyed still in favour of democracy. However, it has seen a decline of -12.3 percentage points compared to the 2016/2018 survey round.

Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali & Niger: Support for democracy (2016/2018 - 2021/2023)



At the same time, support for the military is rising considerably.

- In the 2021/2023 survey round, over three-quarters (79.1%) of Malians surveyed were in favour of military rule - a sharp increase from 31.1% in the 2016/2018 survey round.
- In Burkina Faso support for military increased from 50% in the 2016/2018 survey round to 63.5% in the 2021/2023 survey round. While those rejecting rule by military declined from 42.6% in the 2016/2018 survey round to 27.1% in the 2021/2023 one.
- In the 2016/2018 survey round, roughly one fifth (20.7%) of the respondents in Guinea approved of military rule, while in the 2021/2023 one, this figure grew to roughly one third (36.4%) of respondents.



64.5% of Malians surveyed by

Afrobarometer were not in favour of military rule in the 2016-2018 survey round. However, almost 80% of Malians supported military rule in the 2021-2023 survey round

Warning signs in other African countries: who is next on the list?

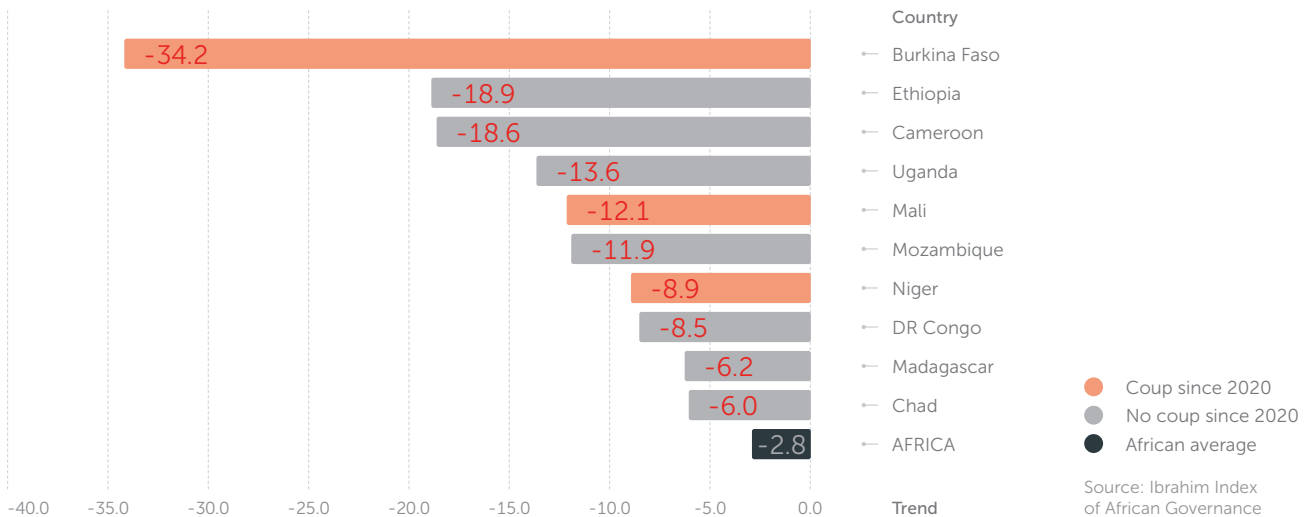
Alarm bells in *Security & Safety* and *Participation* for many other countries on the continent

The 2022 IIAG findings for these measures also highlight potential warning signs in other African countries showcasing similar or worse levels of deterioration.

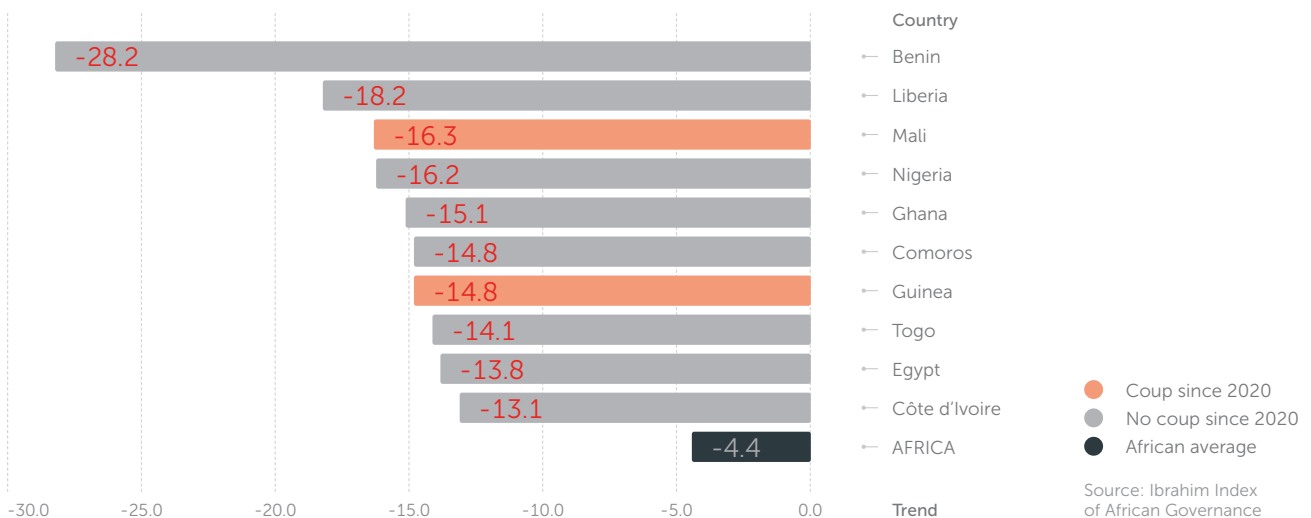
- *Security & Safety*: while Burkina Faso (-34.2) has been the most declined country in this IIAG sub-category between 2017 and 2021, Ethiopia (-18.9), Cameroon (-18.6) and Uganda (-13.6) have all declined more than Mali in the same time period (-12.1), while Mozambique (-11.9) has declined more than Niger.
- *Participation*: Mali (-16.3) is the third most declined country in this IIAG sub-category between 2017 and 2021, behind Benin (-28.2) and Liberia (-18.2). While Nigeria (-16.2), Ghana (-15.1), and Comoros (-14.8) have all seen bigger declines than Guinea in *Participation* since 2017.

- Between 2017-2021, Ethiopia, Cameroon, Uganda and Mozambique have shown declines in the IIAG *Security & Safety* sub-category that are larger than in some recent coup countries.
- Between 2017-2021, Benin and Liberia have shown declines in the IIAG *Participation* sub-category that are larger than in any of the recent coup countries.

Ten most deteriorated African countries: *Security & Safety* (2017-2021)



Ten most deteriorated African countries: *Participation* (2017-2021)



SPOTLIGHT

Coups and uprisings ousting long-term leaders across the continent

A coup is never a solution and should never be used against a democratically elected government. A democratically elected government with a bad track record should be voted out in a free and fair election. However, a coup may be the only option on the table to support the people in a country with an authoritarian government and no checks and balances.

Algeria: nationwide protests led to President Bouteflika's resignation

In April 2019, nationwide protests took place in Algeria following President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's nomination for a fifth term. President Bouteflika, who had been in charge for two decades and was 82 years old at the time, resigned shortly after the military called for his removal from office in support of the protestors. The transition back to civilian rule was quick, with elections taking place in December 2019. Former Prime Minister Abdelmadjid Tebboune eventually won although protestors called for mass boycotts. While opposition continued following the elections, the pandemic, coupled with the repressive actions of the regime, largely weakened the momentum for protestors, leading to a wave of political detentions in April 2021.

Overall Governance (+2.5) improved in Algeria between 2012 and 2019, but in the two subsequent years has deteriorated by -0.4. In the years leading up to the uprising, two IIAG categories showed a decline - *Security & Rule of Law* (-0.5) and *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* (-0.1). The two most deteriorated sub-categories prior to the uprising were *Rights* (-5.8) and *Accountability & Transparency* (-5.6). Following the uprising, the pace of decline for the *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* category accelerated declining by -2.7 between 2019 and 2021. Among the five most deteriorated sub-categories since the coup, three are from the *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* category including *Participation* (-8.7), *Rights* (-3.7) and *Women's Equality* (-2.4).

Gabon: the end of a dynasty?

In late August 2023, President Ali Bongo of Gabon, aged 64, was removed from power by the military shortly after the country's Electoral Commission announced the official results of the August 26th presidential election. This handed Ali Bongo a third consecutive term and extended the Bongo family's 55-year rule over Gabon. Major concerns were expressed over the transparency and legitimacy of the election.

The 2022 IIAG shows that Gabon has improved by +2.1 points at the *Overall Governance* level between 2012 and 2021. In this same period, *Security & Rule of Law* is the only IIAG category to register a decline (-1.0). At the same time, at the sub-category level, the largest declines were registered in *Accountability & Transparency* (-9.2) and *Rights* (-6.0).

Sudan's revolution ousted President Bashir

In April 2019, after a wave of popular uprisings during the Sudanese Revolution since late 2018, long-term President Omar al-Bashir, aged 75, was ousted in a military coup, ending his 30-year grip on power. With the transitional military government in charge, protests continued in Sudan calling for power to be handed to civilian authorities. This eventually led to a power-sharing agreement between the military and Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok.

Two years into the three-year power-sharing period, a military coup led to the arrest of ministers from the transition cabinet, including Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok. Despite briefly being reinstated as Prime Minister following mass protests, Abdalla Hamdok resigned from his post in January 2022 leaving the military as the sole authorities in charge.

Most recently in April 2023, a power struggle between Sudan's de facto head of state and his deputy has resulted in an attempted coup and a wave of violence across Sudan which have displaced many.

The 2022 IIAG shows that Sudan improved in *Overall Governance* by +2.6 points between 2012 and 2019. In the period following the 2019 coup, Sudan continued to improve but at three times the pace. Between 2012 and 2019, all four IIAG categories were improving with *Security & Rule of Law* improving the most (+6.1) followed by *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* (+3.5).

From 2019, *Security & Rule of Law* became the only category to register a decline, albeit small (-0.5). *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* was the most improved between 2019 and 2021, increasing by +7.6 points. Three out of the eight declined subcategories from 2019 to 2021 were from the *Security & Rule of Law* category, with *Security & Safety* deteriorating the most (- 9.4).

Zimbabwe: the end of President's Mugabe's era

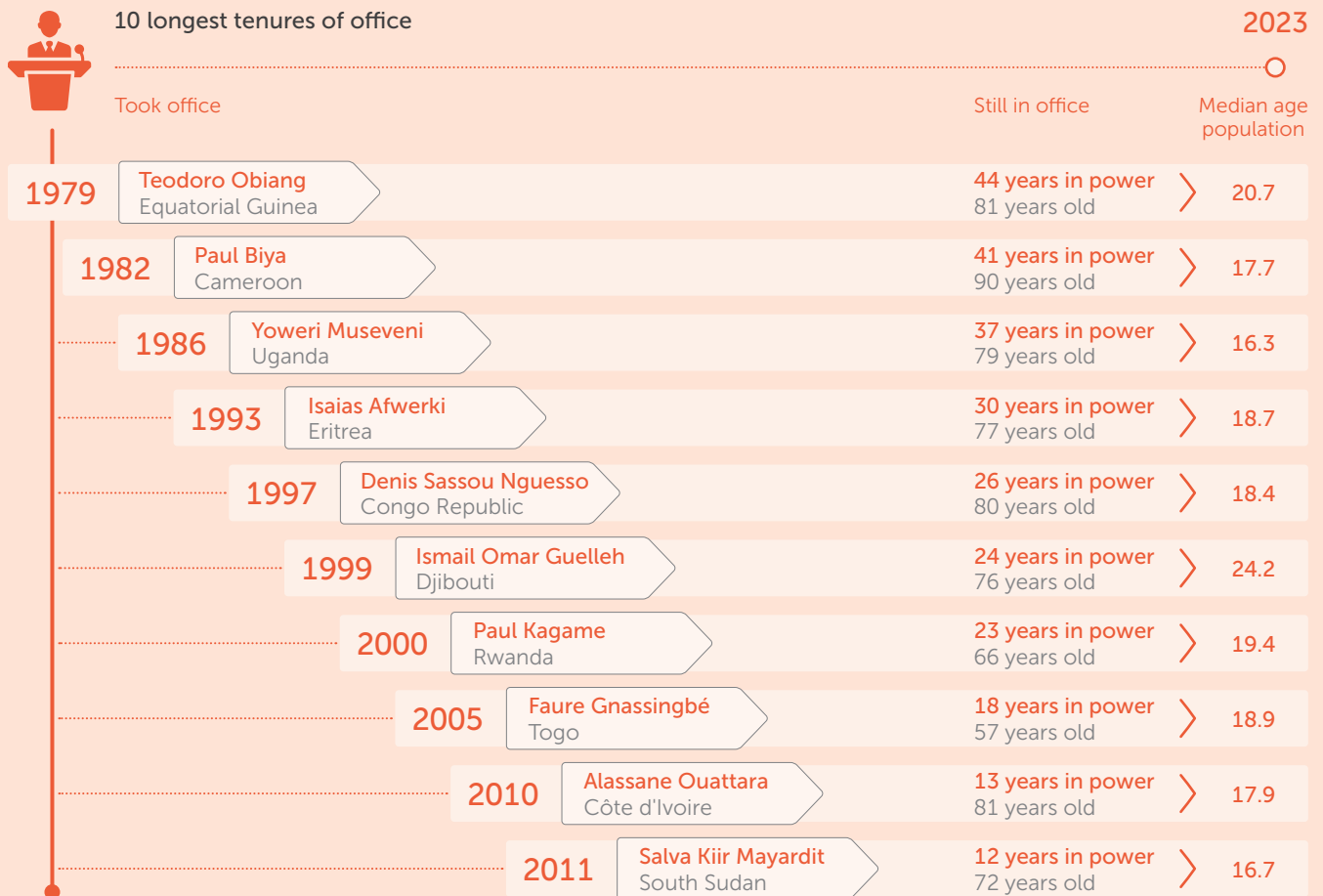
In November 2017, after 37 years of rule by President Robert Mugabe, 93 years old, and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), the military removed President from office, with the stated aim of "bringing the criminals who surrounded Mugabe to justice for the social and economic suffering they caused". The military takeover was sparked by the dismissal of Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa which intensified division within the ruling ZANU-PF with one faction led by First Lady, Grace Mugabe, and the other led by Mnangagwa, largely backed by the military and war veterans. Mnangagwa took over from Mugabe and he has since won two contested presidential elections (2018 and 2023) with ZANU-PF remaining firmly in power.

The 2022 IIAG shows that Zimbabwe has slowly improved by +1.0 between 2017 and 2021 in *Overall Governance*, but this is actually slower than the pace of improvement prior to the coup. At category level, three of the four IIAG categories have continued to improve since 2017, with the exception of *Participation, Rights & Inclusion* (-2.1). Between 2017 and 2021, there have been improvements in four IIAG sub-categories that were previously declining such as *Accountability & Transparency* (+7.0), *Anti-corruption* (+6.2), *Security & Safety* (+2.4) and *Rights* (+1.6). However, there have been declines in seven sub-categories that were improving prior to the coup, with the largest declines seen in *Participation* (-7.7) and *Rule of Law & Justice* (-5.9).

Chad: In April 2021, following the death of Chad's long-time president Idriss Déby Itno amid ongoing clashes between government forces and rebel groups in the country, his son, General Mahamat Idriss Déby, took control of the country and dissolved the government and suspended the constitution.

While unconstitutional in nature, the military takeover has not been officially classified as a coup by the international community and the African Union which have nevertheless repeatedly called for return to a civilian government. So far, however, the 18-month election timeline initially planned has not been respected and the country is still under military rule, with elections tentatively scheduled for 2024.

**Longest mandates, oldest leaders, yet youngest populations:
a growing divide?**



Note: This list does not include leaders from African countries which use a hereditary monarchy system. This includes: Eswatini, Lesotho and Morocco.

Source: MIF

**In 10 African countries,
accounting for 10.5% of the
continent's population, the head
of state or government has been
in power for more than 10 years**

SPOTLIGHT

The AU's growing stance against unconstitutional changes of government

The AU has developed a series of definitions and response toolkits to deter unconstitutional changes of government and protect democracy on the continent.

- In the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, the AU provides its definition of “unconstitutional changes of government” that go against a democratically elected government (via a coup d'état, refusal by an incumbent to relinquish power to the winner in a free and fair election, amendment or revision of the constitution of legal instruments, etc.).
- The AU's response toolkit includes suspension from all the organisation's activities, as well as sanctions in cooperation with Regional Economic Communities (RECs).

The AU's response to popular uprisings: between constitutional and non-constitutional

Coups and uprisings: different actors, techniques, objectives and legitimacy

In summary, coups are typically characterised by a more centralised and organised effort, often involving the military, with the goal of seizing power and replacing the government. Uprisings, on the other hand, are broader and more diverse movements driven by a wide range of grievances and demands, with less centralised coordination and a focus on social or political change rather than a direct seizure of power.

The African Union (AU) is considering excluding popular uprisings against authoritarian rulers from their definition of unconstitutional changes of power. Popular uprisings, such as the ones in Algeria and Sudan in 2019, require the support of the armed forces to prosper. In Algeria, President Bouteflika, who had been in charge for two decades at the time, had to resign shortly after the military called for his removal from office in support of the nationwide protests against him. Similarly, in Sudan, there was a military takeover to depose long-term dictator Omar al-Bashir in support of the will of the people expressed in the streets.

As of September 2023, countries suspended for unconstitutional changes of government are Burkina Faso (February 2022), Gabon (August 2023), Guinea (September 2021), Mali (June 2021), Niger (July 2023) and Sudan (April 2023)

As of September 2023, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Niger are under ECOWAS sanctions which range from travel/visa bans to financial asset freezes

Africa Facility to Support Inclusive Transitions (AFSIT)

In July 2023, the AU and UNDP launched the AFSIT to provide specific programmatic support to countries undergoing complex political transitions or at risk of political crisis to assist in the development of credible, inclusive and legitimate transition roadmaps, mechanisms and institutions, ultimately leading to the restoration of constitutional rule, democracy and stability in relevant countries.

Balanced progress in all governance dimensions is key

Selected countries: IIAG category trends (2017-2021)

Category	Burkina Faso	Guinea	Mali	Niger	Africa Average Trend
Security & Rule of Law	-9.0	-3.3	-7.3	-3.9	-0.9
Participation, Rights & Inclusion	-3.2	-6.6	-3.9	-2.7	-0.7
Foundations for Economic Opportunity	-0.8	+2.6	-0.3	+0.2	+1.3
Human Development	+2.2	+1.5	+1.1	-0.5	+1.8

Source: Ibrahim Index of African Governance

The 2022 IIAG shows that the African average score for *Overall Governance* has followed a positive trajectory over the past five years (2017-2021). However, improvement has only been driven by higher levels of economic and human development on the continent, while at the same time an increasingly perilous security situation and widespread democratic backsliding concerningly undermine further governance progress.

The IIAG performance of Western Africa's coup countries in the same time period clearly reflects these diverging trends at the IIAG category level:

- Burkina Faso and Mali have only improved in the *Human Development* category, while they have deteriorated in *Security & Rule of Law*, *Participation Rights & Inclusion*, as well as *Foundations for Economic Opportunity*.
- Guinea has most closely replicated the diverging underlying trajectories at the African average level, with improvements in the *Foundations for Economic Opportunity* and *Human Development* categories being put at risk by deteriorations in *Security & Rule of Law* and *Participation, Rights & Inclusion*.
- Niger has only experienced a small improvement in the *Foundations for Economic Opportunity* category, while it has deteriorated in *Security & Rule of Law*, *Participation, Rights & Inclusion*, as well as *Human Development*.

Only balanced progress between governance dimensions can ensure sustained stability. A coup is never a solution.

Given that deteriorating security and democratic space were often cited as justification for Western Africa's coups, it is no surprise that, on average, *Security & Safety* (-14.2) and *Participation* (-10.6) were the two most declined IIAG sub-categories among the coup countries (Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Niger) between 2017 and 2021. At the indicator level, the largest average declines were registered in *Absence of Violence Against Civilians* (-34.2) and *Absence of Armed Conflict* (-24.1).



Nothing can justify the overthrowing of a democratic government

Mo Ibrahim, Founder and Chair of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation

References

- ACLED (2022) 10 Conflicts to worry about in 2022. <https://acleddata.com/10-conflicts-to-worry-about-in-2022/sahel/> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- African Arguments (2023) Algeria: The Hirak and its aftermath <https://africanarguments.org/2023/08/algeria-the-hirak-and-its-aftermath/> Access Date: 12 September 2023
- Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2023) 'Burkina Faso Crisis Continues to Spiral' <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/burkina-faso-crisis-continues-to-spiral/> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Africa News (2022) 'In sanctions-hit Mali, cost of living rises' <https://www.africanews.com/2022/02/10/in-sanctions-hit-mali-cost-of-living-rises/> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Africa News (2022) Guinea: No election before general census transitional authorities say. <https://www.africanews.com/2022/04/16/guinea-no-election-before-general-census-transitional-authorities-say/> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- African Union (AU) (2007) African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. <https://au.int/en/treaties/african-charter-democracy-elections-and-governance>. Access date: 15 September 2023
- Afrobarometer (2023) Round 7, 8 & 9 surveys. Variable used: How often you go without food, Your present living conditions, Support for Democracy and Reject the Military <https://www.afrobarometer.org/> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Al Jazeera (2019) Algeria: Bouteflika confirms presidential run for fifth term <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/2/10/algeria-bouteflika-confirms-presidential-run-for-fifth-term> Access Date: 12 September 2023
- Al Jazeera (2019) Former PM declared Algeria president, but thousands protest again <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/12/13/former-pm-declared-algeria-president-but-thousands-protest-again> Access Date: 12 September 2023
- Al Jazeera (2021) 'Coup attempt' in Niger: Here's what we know so far' <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/26/coup-attempt-in-niger-heres-what-we-know-so-far> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Al Jazeera (2021) 'Mohamed Bazoum declared Niger's new president' <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/2/23/ruling-party-mohamed-bazoum-wins-niger-presidential-election> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Al Jazeera (2021) Coup Leader Assimi Goita set to be sworn in as Mali's President. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/7/coup-leader-assimi-goita-set-to-be-sworn-in-as-malis-president> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Al Jazeera (2023) 'Timeline: A history of coups in Niger' <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/7/27/timeline-a-history-of-coups-in-niger> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Al Jazeera (2023) 'Timeline: What has happened in Niger since the coup?' <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/8/20/timeline-what-has-happened-in-niger-since-the-coup> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Amani Africa (2023) Popular uprising and unconstitutional changes of government. <https://amaniafrica-et.org/category/thematic-insights/election-and-governance-issues/popular-uprising/>. Access date: 15 September 2023.
- AP News (2022) Guinea junta agrees with bloc to hold vote in early 2025. <https://apnews.com/article/west-africa-burkina-faso-guinea-mali-8327f4bf6f3c54a9b69eb4a4990f49d6> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Associated Press (AP) (2023) 'UN says raging conflict in Sudan has displaced over 3 million people. UK sanctions warring sides' <https://apnews.com/article/sudan-conflict-military-rsf-displacement-war-dcda6a35935171ed902b2cb7190991ad> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- BBC (2020) Soldiers seize Mali President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-53825673> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- British Broadcasting Corporation (2021) 'Guinea coup attempt: Soldiers claim to seize power from Alpha Condé' <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-58453778> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- British Broadcasting Corporation (2021) 'Guinea coup: Who is Col Mamady Doumbouya?' <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-58461971> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) 'Niger coup plot foiled – President Mahamadou Issoufou' <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-35128742> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) 'Niger election: Opposition's Mahamadou Issoufou wins' <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12737230> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Brookings (2019) Why Algeria's Army abandoned Boutflika <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/why-algerias-army-abandoned-boutflika/> Access Date: 12 September 2023
- Burke J (2017) Military urges calm in Zimbabwe after it seizes key sites in capital <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/14/tensions-rise-in-zimbabwe-as-military-drives-through-outskirts-of-capital>. Access Date: 20 September 2023
- Centre for Strategic and International Studies (2020) The Malian military ousts a wayward government. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/malian-military-ousts-wayward-government> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Centre for Strategic and International Studies (2022) The End of Operation Barkhane and the Future of Counterterrorism in Mali. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/end-operation-barkhane-and-future-counterterrorism-mali> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Council on Foreign Relations (2022) Violent Extremism in the Sahel. <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/violent-extremism-sahel> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Council on Foreign Relations (2023) What is Russia's Wagner Group doing in Africa. <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/what-russias-wagner-group-doing-africa> Access Date: 04 September 2023

- Crisis Group (2023) 'The Attempted Coup in Niger: Avoiding Armed Conflict' <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/sahel/niger/tentative-de-coup-detat-au-niger-eviter-la-confrontation-armee> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Down to Earth (2022) Climate shocks to drive 13.5 million people in Africa's Sahel into poverty by 2050. <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/africa/climate-shocks-to-drive-13-5-million-people-in-africa-s-sahel-into-poverty-by-2050-85046> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- DW (2023) Fact Check: Russia's influence on Africa. <https://www.dw.com/en/fact-check-russias-influence-on-africa/a-66310017> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Foreign Policy (2023) 'Guinea Cracks Down on Protesters' <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/05/31/guinea-conde-doumbouya-crackdown-protesters/> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- France24 (2023) At least 40 killed in weekend terrorist attacks in western Burkina Faso. <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20230530-at-least-40-killed-in-weekend-terrorist-attacks-in-western-burkina-faso> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- France24 (2011) 'Opposition leader wins Niger election' <https://www.france24.com/en/20110314-opposition-leader-mahamadou-issoufou-wins-presidential-election-niger> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- France24 (2023) 'Disputed election sparks beginning of the end of 56 years of Bongo family rule' <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20230830-attempted-coup-in-gabon-aims-to-remove-president-ali-bongo-from-power-and-end-50-year-dynasty> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- France24 (2023) 'Islamic State group nearly doubled its Mali territory in under a year, UN says' <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20230826-islamic-state-group-doubled-controlled-territory-in-mali-in-under-a-year-un-experts-say> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- France-Press A (2018) From exile to election: Emmerson Mnangagwa's timeline to victory. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/03/emmerson-mnangagwa-zimbabwe-timeline-to-victory>. Access date: 20 September 2023
- Guardian (2019) Algeria's president Abdelaziz Bouteflika resigns after 20 years <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/02/algeria-latest-news-president-abdelaziz-bouteflika-resigns> Access Date: 12 September 2023
- Guardian (2019) Mass boycott and police clashes as Algeria holds disputed election <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/12/algeria-stages-presidential-vote-amid-fierce-protests> Access Date: 12 September 2023
- House of Commons Library (2022) Mali: Why have elections been delayed until 2024? <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9636/> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Human Rights Watch (2022) 'Guinea: Government Dissolves Opposition Coalition' <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/08/11/guinea-government-dissolves-opposition-coalition> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Human Rights Watch (2023) Mali: New atrocities by Malian army, apparent Wagner fighters. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/07/24/mali-new-atrocities-malian-army-apparent-wagner-fighters> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- IDMC (2023) Burkina Faso: People caught in a perfect storm of conflict displacement and food insecurity. <https://story.internal-displacement.org/burkina-faso-People-caught-in-a-perfect-storm-of-conflict-displacement-and-food-insecurity/> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Independent (2023) 'UN experts say Islamic State group almost doubled the territory they control in Mali in under a year' <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/mali-ap-islamic-state-united-nations-bamako-b2399780.html> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Institut Montaigne (2023) Anti-French sentiment in West Africa - A Reflection of the Authoritarian Confrontation With the "Collective West" <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/en/expressions/anti-french-sentiment-west-africa-reflection-authoritarian-confrontation-collective-west> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Institute for Security Studies (2023) Burkina Faso's ambitious move to depoliticise government. <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/burkina-fasos-ambitious-move-to-depoliticise-government> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- International Institute for Strategic Studies (2022) Security in the Sahel and the end of Operation Barkhane. <https://www.iiss.org/online-analysis/online-analysis//2022/09/security-in-the-sahel-and-the-end-of-operation-barkhane> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Just Security (2022) Still at War: The United States in the Sahel. <https://www.justsecurity.org/81028/still-at-war-the-united-states-in-the-sahel/> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- LSE (2023) What is driving violence in the Sahel. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2023/07/10/what-is-driving-violence-in-the-sahel/> Access Date: 04 September 2023
- Middle East Eye (2023) 'Sudan timeline: From the fall of Bashir to street-fighting in Khartoum' <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/sudan-turmoil-bashir-fall-fighting-khartoum-timeline> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Mandizha R (2023) Zimbabwe Presidential Election Results: Zanu PF Emmerson Mnangagwa Wins Second Term. https://ihare.com/2023-zimbabwe-elections-zanu-pf-emmerson-mnangagwa-wins-second-term/?utm_content=cmp-true Access date: 20 September 2023
- Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2023) 2022 Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) <https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/iiag> Access Date: 01 September 2023
- Onishi M (2017) Behind Mugabe's Rapid Fall: A Firing, a Feud and a First Lady. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/19/world/africa/robert-mugabe-zimbabwe.html> Access date: 20 September 2023

People's Dispatch (2023) "A slave who cannot assume his own revolt does not deserve to be pitied," says Ibrahim Traoré of Burkina Faso. <https://peoplesdispatch.org/2023/08/02/a-slave-who-cannot-assume-his-own-revolt-does-not-deserve-to-be-pitied-says-ibrahim-traore-of-burkina-faso/#:~:text=Traor%C3%A9%20declared%3A%20%E2%80%9Ca%20slave%20who,fight%20against%20imperialism%20and%20poverty> Access Date: 04 September 2023

Pindula (2017) November 2017 Military Coup. https://www.pindula.co.zw/November_2017_Military_Coup/. Access date: 20 September 2023

Powell, Jonathan M., and Clayton L. Thyne (2011). "Global Instances of Coups from 1950 to 2010: A New Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* 48(2):249-259 Dataset 3: Dataset in ccode/year format (txt format) http://www.uky.edu/~clthyne2/coup_data/home.htm Access Date: 01 September 2023

Reuters (2016) 'Boycott helps Niger President Issoufou win re-election' <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-niger-election-idUSKCN0W00ZN> Access Date: 01 September 2023

Reuters (2023) 'The Niger general who ousted a president he was meant to protect' <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/niger-general-who-ousted-president-he-was-meant-protect-2023-07-31/> Access Date: 01 September 2023

Spiked (2023) From Libya to Niger how the West sowed chaos in the Sahel. <https://www.spiked-online.com/2023/08/29/from-libya-to-niger-how-the-west-sowed-chaos-in-the-sahel/> Access Date: 04 September 2023

The Africa Report (2023) Mali: Poll highlights confidence in Assimi Goïta and Russia. <https://www.theafricareport.com/306565/mali-poll-highlights-confidence-in-assimi-goita-and-russia/> Access Date: 04 September 2023

The Guardian (2010) 'Military junta seizes power in Niger coup' <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/feb/19/niger-military-junta-coup> Access Date: 01 September 2023

TRT Afrika (2023) Doubts on Burkina Faso vote after fresh attacks kill dozens. <https://www.trtafrika.com/africa/doubts-on-burkina-faso-vote-after-fresh-attacks-kill-dozens-13441249> Access Date: 04 September 2023

UN News (2022) Mali reports progress in political transition process, fighting terrorism. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/09/1127861> Access Date: 04 September 2023

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2023) Soldiers and citizens: military coups and the need for democratic renewable in Africa. [https://www.undp.org/africa/publications/soldiers-and-citizens#:~:text=Developed%20as%20part%20of%20UNDP's,changes%20of%20government%20\(UCG\).](https://www.undp.org/africa/publications/soldiers-and-citizens#:~:text=Developed%20as%20part%20of%20UNDP's,changes%20of%20government%20(UCG).) Access date: 15 September 2023

United States Institute of Peace (2023) In Mali, Civil Society Takes on New Role in the Democratic Transition. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/04/mali-civil-society-takes-new-role-democratic-transition> Access Date: 04 September 2023

World Food Program (2023) WFP Burkina Faso Country Brief July 2023. <https://reliefweb.int/report/burkina-faso/wfp-burkina-faso-country-brief-july-2023> Access Date: 04 September 2023



mo.ibrahim.foundation

FB→ /MolbrahimFoundation

TW→ @Mo_IbrahimFdn

IG→ moibrahimfoundation