

## **POLITICAL FREEDOM IN AFRICA: 1980-2008**

| <b>Year</b>    | <b>Free</b> | <b>Partly Free</b> | <b>Not Free</b> |
|----------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| <b>1980</b>    | 4           | 18                 | 29              |
| <b>1981-82</b> | 3           | 17                 | 31              |
| <b>1982-83</b> | 3           | 19                 | 29              |
| <b>1983-84</b> | 2           | 18                 | 31              |
| <b>1984-85</b> | 2           | 16                 | 33              |
| <b>1985-86</b> | 2           | 17                 | 32              |
| <b>1986-87</b> | 2           | 18                 | 31              |
| <b>1987-88</b> | 2           | 15                 | 34              |
| <b>1988-89</b> | 3           | 15                 | 34              |
| <b>1990</b>    | 4           | 19                 | 29              |
| <b>1991</b>    | 8           | 23                 | 21              |
| <b>1992</b>    | 9           | 26                 | 17              |
| <b>1993</b>    | 8           | 16                 | 29              |
| <b>1994</b>    | 8           | 18                 | 27              |
| <b>1995</b>    | 9           | 20                 | 24              |
| <b>1996</b>    | 9           | 20                 | 24              |
| <b>1997</b>    | 9           | 20                 | 24              |
| <b>1998</b>    | 9           | 21                 | 23              |
| <b>1999</b>    | 8           | 25                 | 20              |
| <b>2000</b>    | 9           | 25                 | 19              |
| <b>2001</b>    | 9           | 26                 | 18              |
| <b>2002</b>    | 11          | 22                 | 20              |
| <b>2003</b>    | 11          | 21                 | 21              |
| <b>2004</b>    | 11          | 22                 | 20              |
| <b>2005</b>    | 11          | 24                 | 18              |
| <b>2006</b>    | 11          | 23                 | 19              |
| <b>2007</b>    | 11          | 24                 | 18              |
| <b>2008</b>    | 10          | 24                 | 19              |

Source: Freedom House, *Freedom in the World, Country Ratings, 1972 – 2009*.