

Research Article

Corruption and the Challenges of Good Governance in Somaliland

Abdiaziz Harun Mohamed*

Research Affiliate, Institute of Strategic Insights and Research (ISIR), Hargeisa, Somaliland

Abstract

Corruption is commonly defined as the misuse of public office for private gain, and encompasses a range of practices, including bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, patronage, and state capture. In contrast, good governance refers to the transparent, accountable, equitable, and participatory management of a nation's resources and affairs to promote development and public welfare. This article investigates the nature, causes, and consequences of corruption in Somaliland, highlighting its profound implications for achieving good governance. Drawing on an extensive review of secondary literature, government reports, and empirical evidence, the study situates Somaliland's experience within the broader governance-corruption nexus characteristic of fragile and hybrid political systems. The findings reveal that corruption in Somaliland is both a manifestation and a driver of weak governance, arising from limited accountability mechanisms, politicized appointments, fiscal opacity, resource constraints, and the enduring influence of clan-based networks. The coexistence of formal and traditional governance institutions further complicates governance, producing overlapping mandates and blurred lines of accountability. Consequently, corruption erodes public trust, undermines the rule of law, diminishes transparency, and hampers effective service delivery. The study concludes by recommending comprehensive anti-corruption and institutional reform strategies, that emphasize capacity building, fiscal transparency, participatory accountability, and the harmonization of formal and customary governance frameworks as foundational pillars for advancing sustainable good governance in Somaliland.

Keywords

Corruption, Good Governance, Institutional Capacity, Accountability Mechanisms, Transparency, Hybrid Governance, Somaliland

1. Introduction

Somaliland has often been celebrated as a “success story” of locally driven state-building; however, its governance structures remain shaped by hybrid political arrangements that blend formal state institutions with informal clan-based systems [9, 38]. This hybrid governance model, though instrumental in maintaining peace and stability, has simultaneously created structural vulnerabilities that allow corruption to per-

sist within public administration and political institutions [5]. Weak enforcement mechanisms, limited fiscal transparency, and overlapping authority between customary and formal institutions hinder the consolidation of rule-based governance [40]. Moreover, the absence of international recognition restricts Somaliland's access to external development financing and institutional capacity-building programs, further con-

*Corresponding author: harun3099@gmail.com (Abdiaziz Harun Mohamed)**Received:** 4 November 2025; **Accepted:** 18 November 2025; **Published:** 26 December 2025

Copyright: © The Author(s), 2025. Published by Science Publishing Group. This is an **Open Access** article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

straining the effectiveness of anti-corruption frameworks [4]. Understanding corruption within this unique governance environment, therefore, requires an approach that situates Somaliland within both the broader African governance context and its specific historical trajectory of unrecognized statehood.

Corruption continues to pose a formidable barrier to governance, development, and legitimacy of institutions worldwide. In recent decades, the concept of “good governance” has become central to development discourse, emphasizing principles such as transparency, accountability, rule of law, citizen participation, and effective public service delivery [20]. In contexts such as the Horn of Africa, where state-building, conflict, and informal power networks are prevalent, the interplay between corruption and governance warrants careful analysis. This article examines such dynamics in the context of Somaliland. Despite being often viewed as one of the most stable polities in the region, Somaliland faces significant governance challenges, including corruption which undermines its institutional progress. The objective of this paper is to explore how corruption manifests in Somaliland, how it interacts with the structures of governance, and the implications for good governance.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Corruption and Good Governance: Conceptual Framework

Corruption is commonly defined as the misuse of public or entrusted office for private gain, encompassing practices such as bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, patronage, and state capture [28]. Similarly, good governance is defined as the system of processes and institutions through which authority is exercised in managing a nation’s resources and affairs in a transparent, manner, accountable, participatory, and equitable manner [34]. Empirical studies consistently demonstrate that higher levels of corruption are associated with weaker governance outcomes, slower economic growth, diminished public trust, and reduced efficiency in public service delivery [14-16]. However, governance reforms alone, such as strengthening the rule of law, are often insufficient to curb corruption unless complemented by structural, economic, and civic reforms [7].

From a theoretical standpoint, the relationship between corruption and good governance is cyclical and mutually reinforcing. According to the institutional theory of governance, weak institutions create environments conducive to corruption by undermining enforcement mechanisms and incentivizing rent-seeking behavior [1, 22]. Conversely, states that establish strong, independent institutions, professional

bureaucracies, and active civil societies tend to exhibit lower levels of corruption and improved governance outcomes [13, 25].

Transparency mechanisms such as open data initiatives, citizen monitoring platforms, and public expenditure tracking have been shown to enhance accountability and reduce opportunities for corruption [23, 37]. Moreover, empirical evidence indicates that corruption undermines governance by distorting resource allocation, weakening institutional legitimacy, eroding social trust, and deterring foreign direct investment [21, 41]. Consequently, understanding the interplay between corruption and good governance is essential for designing comprehensive anti-corruption frameworks that effectively integrate legal, institutional, and socio-political dimensions.

2.2. Governance and Corruption in Somaliland

Within the Horn of Africa, Somaliland represents a distinctive case, characterized by a hybrid governance model merging formal state institutions with traditional clan-based systems. While this model has contributed to peace and relative stability, it has also created structural vulnerabilities that facilitate corruption and clientelism [3, 10]. Elder [3] argues that Somaliland’s political economy has evolved into an “oligopolistic” structure, dominated by elite interests in political decision-making which limits bureaucratic professionalism and accountability.

Empirical findings from national surveys reinforce these concerns. According to the Somaliland Peace and Development Journal [20], 76.6% of respondents perceived corruption as widespread within public institutions. Similarly, Transparency International’s Corruption Perceptions Index with a CPI score of 24/100, comparable to low-scoring Sub-Saharan African countries, indicating pervasive challenges in integrity and accountability [37].

The establishment of the Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Commission (GGACC) in [6] represented a formal institutional commitment to combating corruption [35]. Nevertheless, the Commission faces critical limitations, including inadequate funding, political interference, and limited enforcement authority [26]. Recent studies also highlight that poor fiscal oversight, lack of merit-based recruitment, and limited civic education impede governance effectiveness [20, 26].

Furthermore, data from the World Bank’s Governance Indicators [41] indicate that Somaliland’s institutional performance remains below regional averages in key dimensions such as control of corruption (estimated score 19/100) and government effectiveness (32/100). These metrics underline systemic weaknesses in governance frameworks and public sector accountability.

Table 1. Comparative Governance and Corruption Indicators.

Indicator (Source)	Somaliland	Sub-Saharan Africa Average	Interpretation
Control of Corruption [41]	19 / 100	34 / 100	Weak institutional oversight and limited anti-corruption enforcement
Government Effectiveness [41]	32 / 100	39 / 100	Limited administrative capacity and service delivery inefficiency
CPI Equivalent Score [37]*	24 / 100	33 / 100	High perception of corruption and low trust in public institutions
Public Trust in Institutions [20]	23%	38%	Low citizen confidence due to elite capture and lack of transparency

Source: [20, 36, 41].

Overall, the literature underscores that corruption in Somaliland is both a symptom and a driver of weak governance. It persists due to the absence of robust institutional checks, fiscal transparency, and civic oversight. Therefore, effective governance reform must address these structural and institutional deficits through capacity building, political accountability, and the harmonization of traditional and formal systems to foster sustainable integrity and development.

3. Methodology

This study employs a qualitative, document analysis-based methodology. It draws on peer-reviewed journal articles, governmental and non-governmental reports, and theses focusing on Somaliland and the broader East African region. The approach is primarily interpretative: by synthesizing these sources, the article identifies key patterns, institutional factors, and governance challenges related to corruption in Somaliland. Limitations include the scarcity of comprehensive quantitative datasets for Somaliland and potential bias in non-peer-reviewed reports and media sources. Nevertheless, the available literature provides sufficient depth to identify critical governance-corruption linkages in the case of Somaliland.

4. Findings and Analysis

4.1. Manifestations of Corruption in Somaliland

Corruption in Somaliland occurs in multiple forms: bribery in service delivery, nepotistic appointments, misallocation of budgetary resources, and patronage networks tied to clan affiliations. For example, a survey indicated that 74.6% of service seekers at police stations reported being asked for bribes for required services [30]. Institutional appointments remain highly politicized, with weak merit-based processes, undermining professional public administration [29]. The budget and audit functions are similarly weak: a [27] doctor-

al-level study in Hargeisa revealed major deficiencies in budget preparation, monitoring, and transparency, with corruption linked to weak financial controls and lack of accountability [26].

In addition to these forms, systemic corruption in Somaliland also manifests in through informal governance structures, rent-seeking behaviors, and elite capture of public resources. Several studies note that informal clan-based patronage systems remain dominant in political and administrative decision-making, often blurring the lines between public service and private interest [2, 18]. These networks enable the concentration of economic and political power within specific groups, limiting institutional autonomy and obstructing reform initiatives [19]. Furthermore, procurement corruption and nontransparent contracting practices are recurrent in infrastructure and development projects, where lack of oversight mechanisms and weak enforcement of procurement laws foster embezzlement and favoritism [37, 41].

Empirical evidence also suggests that public servants in Somaliland often are pressured to conform to informal norms of loyalty and reciprocity, reinforcing a “shadow governance system” that competes with formal state institutions [10, 23]. This entrenched system not only distorts public sector ethics but also erodes citizens’ confidence in state legitimacy, perpetuating a cycle where corruption becomes normalized as a tool for accessing services and opportunities [21, 31]. Consequently, the manifestations of corruption in Somaliland are both structural and behavioral, deeply rooted in historical, socio-political, and institutional dynamics that collectively further weaken governance and development outcomes.

4.2. Institutional and Structural Drivers

Corruption in Somaliland is driven by multiple institutional and structural factors that collectively undermine good governance. One significant challenge lies in the weakness of institutional mandates and the frequent overlap between public agencies. Research indicates that many institutions lack clearly defined responsibilities, experience conflicts over

authority, and suffer from decentralization deficits-all of which create opportunities for corrupt practices [20]. Moreover, Somaliland's hybrid governance system, which blends formal state institutions with clan-based customary authority, produces ambivalent power structures that can be exploited by elites for personal or political gain [3].

Resource constraints further exacerbate this challenge. Limited fiscal capacity and heavy dependence on donor funding restrict the autonomy of public institutions, often fostering patronage networks and informal practices that weaken accountability [3]. Another critical factor is the low level of public awareness and civic empowerment. A lack of widespread civic education diminishes citizens' ability to monitor government actions and demand transparency, thereby limiting the potential for bottom-up accountability mechanisms [20]. Finally, the effectiveness of oversight bodies, such as the Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Commission (GGACC), is constrained by inadequate financial, human, and legal resources, which diminishes their capacity to combat corruption effectively [35]. Together, these structural and institutional deficiencies create an environment in which corruption can thrive, posing significant challenges to the realization of good governance in Somaliland.

4.3. Impacts on Good Governance

The interplay between corruption and governance deficits in Somaliland significantly impedes the core dimensions of good governance. Transparency and accountability are particularly affected, as opaque budgetary processes and under-resourced oversight bodies limit institution's ability to operate openly and be held responsible for their actions [27]. Similarly, the rule of law is undermined when appointments and contract awards are influenced by patronage networks rather than objective, merit-based criteria, thereby weakening legal and institutional integrity. Citizen participation and inclusiveness also suffer under such conditions; governance that remains clannish, informal, and dominated by elite interests reduces public trust and legitimacy, leaving ordinary citizens disengaged from decision-making processes [26].

Additionally, the efficiency and effectiveness of public service delivery decline when resources are misappropriated and appointments disregard competence, further exacerbating institutional weaknesses [26]. Collectively, these dynamics illustrate how corruption in Somaliland functions as a double-edged problem: it is both a consequence of weak governance capacity and a driver of further institutional deterioration, creating a cycle that undermines efforts to achieve good governance. Beyond its institutional implications, corruption also erodes the socio-economic and political foundations essential for sustainable governance. Empirical studies indicate that persistent corruption reduces state legitimacy and weakens the social contract between citizens and the government, leading to decreased public confidence and civic engagement [13, 37].

Moreover, governance systems characterized by limited accountability and weak anti-corruption enforcement discourage foreign investment and donor engagement, thereby constraining economic development and external partnerships [41]. In the case of Somaliland, the absence of effective checks and balances has allowed informal power structures and patronage systems to dominate state affairs, marginalizing reform-oriented actors and impeding institutional modernization [2, 18]. Consequently, achieving good governance in Somaliland requires not only institutional reform but also the cultivation of political will, civic education, and systemic transparency mechanisms that enhance accountability and rebuild public trust [23, 31].

5. Discussion

The case of Somaliland illustrates how corruption and good governance are deeply interwoven and mutually reinforcing phenomena. Drawing upon global governance literature, it becomes evident that addressing corruption requires more than legalistic or procedural reforms. As Guerrero and Castañeda [7] argue, improving a single governance dimension such as the rule of law is insufficient to eradicate corruption unless broader institutional capacities, power relations, and civic culture are strengthened simultaneously. Somaliland's experience reflects this complexity, where state institutions coexist with informal, clan-based governance systems that shape political behavior, administrative decision-making, and accountability relations [2, 18]. Consequently, anti-corruption interventions must consider the country's hybrid political order rather than replicating conventional governance models developed for centralized bureaucratic states [19].

Context specificity is therefore critical to understanding Somaliland's governance-corruption nexus. The persistence of informal authority structures rooted in clan affiliations and customary norms significantly influences access to resources, distribution of opportunities, and enforcement of public accountability [10, 38]. These socio-political dynamics create a dual governance framework in which formal institutions are frequently undermined by informal networks, limiting the reach of state-based anti-corruption mechanisms [38]. Reform efforts that fail to integrate local realities risk producing superficial outcomes or the reproducing patronage politics under a new institutional guise. Hence, designing governance reforms in Somaliland requires context-sensitive approaches that acknowledge the legitimacy and influence of traditional institutions while embedding them within transparent, and rule-based state structures [23, 31].

Institutional capacity and empowerment also emerge as decisive factors in combating corruption. Oversight agencies in Somaliland such as the Office of the Auditor General and the Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Commission often lack the financial autonomy, technical expertise, and political independence necessary to perform their mandates effectively

[27, 41]. When oversight institutions remain structurally dependent on executive discretion, even the most comprehensive anti-corruption frameworks risk becoming symbolic rather than functional [13]. Sustainable progress, therefore, depends on strengthening institutional integrity through adequate resourcing, merit-based recruitment, and legal safeguards that protect oversight bodies from political interference [21, 37].

Finally, citizen engagement and public legitimacy constitute indispensable pillars of good governance. As Muhumed [20] emphasizes, fostering a civic culture that demands accountability and transparency is essential to breaking the cycle of elite capture and patronage. Empowering civil society organizations, promoting access to information, and institutionalizing participatory governance mechanisms can shift the balance of power toward more equitable and accountable governance [8, 31]. In this regard, Somaliland's evolving democratic culture provides an opportunity to deepen civic participation and strengthen the social contract between the state and its citizens. Ultimately, policy responses must adopt a holistic governance reform strategy—one that strengthens institutional integrity, enhancing accountability systems, fostering citizen engagement, and harmonizes formal and informal governance frameworks to build a resilient and transparent governance system capable of sustaining long-term development [23, 41].

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion, while Somaliland has demonstrated notable progress in achieving peace, stability, and institution-building, corruption continues to pose a formidable challenge to the consolidation of good governance and sustainable development. The persistence of corruption is deeply rooted in systemic governance weaknesses, including hybrid political arrangements, patronage networks, limited institutional autonomy, and weak enforcement mechanisms. These structural and institutional constraints erode public trust, distort resource allocation, and impede service delivery across critical sectors. Ultimately, the effectiveness of Somaliland's governance depends on its ability to institutionalize transparency, accountability, and inclusiveness as integral norms of public administration [33, 36].

To address these entrenched challenges, governance reform in Somaliland must adopt a holistic and multidimensional approach, that integrates institutional strengthening, political accountability, and civic empowerment. This study proposes the following policy recommendations to guide future reform efforts:

- 1) *Strengthen Oversight and Anti-Corruption Institutions:* Enhance the operational independence, resource base, and enforcement authority of the Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Commission (GGACC), the Office of the Auditor General, and the Public Accounts Committee. These bodies should be empowered to conduct

proactive investigations, publish findings, and sanction offenders without political interference [24, 39].

- 2) *Institutionalize Merit-Based Recruitment and Professional Ethics:* Introduce civil service reforms that prioritize meritocracy, transparent recruitment, and performance-based promotion systems. Establish a Public Service Commission mandated to oversee ethical standards, minimize nepotism, and enforce conflict-of-interest regulations [32].
- 3) *Modernize Public Financial Management and Procurement Systems:* Strengthen budget formulation, auditing, and procurement processes through digitalization and open-data frameworks. E-governance platforms should be implemented to enhance transparency, reduce human discretion, and enable public scrutiny of government spending [11, 39].
- 4) *Foster Civic Engagement and Public Accountability:* Promote civic education, empower the media and civil society organizations, and institutionalize participatory governance mechanisms. Encouraging citizen oversight and investigative journalism can sustain demand-side accountability and deter corruption [12, 33].
- 5) *Integrate Customary and Formal Governance Systems:* Recognize the legitimacy of Somaliland's customary institutions while ensuring their alignment with constitutional principles and accountability standards. Establish hybrid accountability mechanisms in which traditional leaders operate under transparent guidelines and are subject to state oversight [17].
- 6) *Leverage International Partnerships and Peer Learning:* Engage in South–South cooperation and institutional partnerships with countries that have successfully reduced corruption through systemic reforms such as Botswana, Rwanda, and Georgia to draw adaptive lessons relevant to Somaliland's context [36].

7. Future Research Directions

Future research should employ longitudinal mixed-method analyses that measure changes in corruption perception, institutional effectiveness, and citizen trust over time. Such empirical data would not only strengthen evidence-based policymaking but also support the design of context-specific governance interventions that reflect Somaliland's unique hybrid political order.

Abbreviations

CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
GGACC	Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

UNDP United Nations Development Programme
 UNPO Unpresented Nations and Peoples Organization

Author Contributions

Abdiaziz Harun Mohamed is the sole author. The author read and approved the final manuscript.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest, financial or otherwise, with any individual, institution, or organization that could have influenced the research, analysis, or conclusions presented in this research study.

References

- [1] Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2012). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. Crown Business.
- [2] Bradbury, M. (2020). *Somaliland: Identity and political reconstruction in a failed state*. James Currey.
- [3] Elder, C. (2021). Somaliland's authoritarian turns: Oligarchic-corporate power and the political economy of de facto states. *International Affairs*, 97(6), 1749–1765. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iab174>
- [4] Eubank, N. (2012). Taxation, political accountability and foreign aid: Lessons from Somaliland. *Journal of Development Studies*, 48(4), 465–480.
- [5] Farah, A. H. (2023). Governance, corruption and hybrid political orders in Somaliland. *African Journal of Public Administration*, 15(2), 78–95.
- [6] Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Commission. (2010). *Establishment of the Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Commission (GGACC)*. Hargeisa, Somaliland: Government of Somaliland.
- [7] Guerrero, M. A., & Castañeda, N. (2019). *Combating corruption in Latin America: Reforms and challenges*. Routledge.
- [8] Guerrero, O. A., & Castañeda, G. (2019). Does better governance guarantee less corruption? Evidence of loss in effectiveness of the rule of law. *arXiv*. <https://arxiv.org/abs/1902.00428>
- [9] Hagmann, T., & Hoehne, M. V. (2009). Failures of the state failure debate: Evidence from the Somali territories. *Journal of International Development*, 21(1), 42–57.
- [10] Hammond, L. (2013). Somali transnational politics and state-building in Somaliland and Puntland. *African Affairs*, 112(448), 202–224.
- [11] International Monetary Fund. (2022). *Fiscal transparency handbook*. IMF Publications.
- [12] Kaufmann, D., & Kraay, A. (2020). *Worldwide governance indicators: 2020 update*. World Bank Group.
- [13] Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A., & Mastruzzi, M. (2010). *The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and analytical issues* (World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 5430). World Bank.
- [14] Khosrowjerdi, M. (2022). Good governance and national information transparency: A comparative study of 117 countries. *arXiv*. <https://arxiv.org/abs/2210.13151>
- [15] Khosrowjerdi, M. (2022). Public sector corruption and governance effectiveness: A comparative analysis. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 46(1), 75–96.
- [16] La Rocca, M., La Rocca, T., & Sánchez-Vidal, J. (2023). Corruption, governance, and institutional performance: Evidence from developing economies. *Journal of Institutional Economics*, 19(2), 305–327e.
- [17] Levine, S., & Ismail, A. (2022). *Customary governance and accountability in hybrid political systems: Lessons from the Horn of Africa*. African Governance Institute.
- [18] Lewis, I. M. (2019). *A modern history of the Somali: Nation and state in the Horn of Africa*. Ohio University Press.
- [19] Menkhaus, K. (2018). State failure, state-building, and prospects for a “functional failed state” in Somalia. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 656(1), 154–172.
- [20] Muhumed, M. A. (2021). The challenges and opportunities of good governance in Somaliland. *Somaliland Peace and Development Journal*, 5, 77–81.
- [21] Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2015). *The quest for good governance: How societies develop control of corruption*. Cambridge University Press.
- [22] North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change, and economic performance*. Cambridge University Press.
- [23] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2021). *Public integrity handbook*. OECD Publishing.
- [24] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2022). *Integrity and anti-corruption reforms in fragile states*. OECD Publishing.
- [25] Rose-Ackerman, S., & Palifka, B. J. (2016). *Corruption and government: Causes, consequences, and reform* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- [26] Saed, A. (2025). Governance and accountability challenges in Somaliland public institutions. *Hargeisa Policy Review Journal*, 7(2), 45–62.
- [27] Saed, W. S. (2025). The impact of corruption on the economic growth of Somaliland in Hargeisa [Doctoral thesis]. *Zenodo*. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.14878238>
- [28] Situngkir, H. (2004). Corruption: The behavior of individuals in bureaucratic structures. *Journal of Indonesian Social Studies*, 12(3), 45–58.

- [29] Somaliland Chronicle. (2025). Political influence and meritocracy in Somaliland's civil service: A governance analysis. *Somaliland Chronicle Reports*.
- [30] Somaliland Sun. (2010). Survey on corruption and public service delivery in Somaliland. *Somaliland Sun Reports*.
- [31] UNDP. (2022). *Governance for peace and development in fragile states: Policy brief*. United Nations Development Programme.
- [32] United Nations. (2021). *Promoting integrity and accountability in public institutions*. UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- [33] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2021). *Governance for peace and sustainable development*. UNDP Policy Brief.
- [34] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (as cited in Muhumed, 2021). Governance and anti-corruption framework in fragile contexts. *Hargeisa Governance Review*, 4(1), 22–36.
- [35] UNPO. (2010, December 13). Somaliland: Newly established commission to fight corruption. <https://old.unpo.org/article/12031>
- [36] Transparency International. (2023). *Corruption perceptions index 2023: Global analysis*. Transparency International Secretariat.
- [37] Transparency International. (2024). *Corruption perceptions index 2024: Regional analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa*. Transparency International Secretariat.
- [38] Walls, M. (2009). The emergence of a Somali state: Building peace from civil war in Somaliland. *African Affairs*, 108(432), 371–389.
- [39] World Bank. (2020). *Enhancing public sector accountability and service delivery in fragile contexts*. World Bank Publications.
- [40] World Bank. (2022). *Somaliland economic and governance assessment report*. World Bank.
- [41] World Bank. (2023). *Governance and anti-corruption reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress and challenges*. World Bank Publications.