

MACRO TRENDS IN AFRICA

Democracy & Good Governance Trends

July 2022

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INTRODUCTION: DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE TRENDS

World news continues to be dominated by the various tensions generated by the conflict in Ukraine and its multidimensional consequences on the world. Although this conflict occupies most of the attention of the international media, it does not in itself summarize the profound dynamics that continue to characterize the course of the world in general and that of the African continent.

In order to contribute to a rapid and synthetic understanding of the major trends affecting the African continent, *STRATEGIES!* provides a summary called "MACRO - TRENDS FOR AFRICA".

The " Macro - Trends for Africa " are:

- A synthesis of the different political, economic, security and humanitarian trends.
- A presentation of recent developments in some of the key areas of life on the continent.
- An overview of key data and statistics that allow us to measure the weight of certain phenomena on the progress of African states and the lives of their populations.
- A summary of the recommendations made by experts and major international institutions to decision-makers and key players in African development.

In this July 2022 edition, *STRATEGIES!* presents an overview of democracy and good governance trends on the African continent during the first half of 2022.

Enjoy your reading.

STRATEGIES! is an African consulting firm specialized in Leadership and Management. Headquartered in Cameroon and registered a branch office in Washington DC since 2017.

With over 27 years of experience, we provide consulting services to development and corporate organizations in facilitation / moderation, organizational development: strategic and operational planning, systems and tools development, macro trends analysis, capacity building, advisory & coaching, etc.

Our areas of expertise include economic development and entrepreneurship, job creation, technical and vocational training, democracy and good governance, peace and security, mining and natural resources governance, agriculture, decentralization, and gender mainstreaming.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOME COUNTRIES IN POLITICAL TRANSITION

| General trends in countries in political transition



- Tensions between the international organizations (ECOWAS, UN) and the transitional governments over the duration and content of the political transition.
- The persistence of huge challenges around the security issue.
- Deep dissensus around the electoral calendar.
- Growing concerns over the human rights issue.
- The persistence of strong tensions between the transitional authorities and the political and civil forces in the transition countries.
- The confrontation of certain non-African powers through the national actors of the ongoing transitions.

| Mali

Recent developments

- UN decision to extend the mandate of MINUSMA by one year in Mali.
- An electoral calendar is available since 29 June 2022
- ECOWAS decides to lift economic sanctions on Mali during the summit held on 3 July 2022.
- Crisis between Mali, Côte d'Ivoire and MINUSMA following the arrest of 49 Ivorian soldiers by the Malian authorities. The soldiers were accused of being mercenaries who had come to destabilize the Malian transition.
- The Malian government ordered the expulsion of the MINUSMA spokesperson.
- Agreement reached to integrate 26,000 former rebels into the army.

Actors involved

- UN, CMA, AU, ECOWAS
- France
- Russia
- Wagner
- MINUSMA: United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
- The Malian armed forces
- Group for the Support of Islam and Muslims (GSIM)

Perspectives

- Establishment of a commission to draft the new constitution for the new electoral law passed on 17 June.
- The presidential elections are scheduled for February 2024, the constitutional referendum for March 2023 and the legislative elections between October and November 2023.

- Operation Barkhane: the departure of the 2,400 French soldiers from Mali is scheduled for the end of summer 2022.

| Burkina Faso

Recent developments

- On 30 June 2022, the Burkinabe government proposed that the date for holding elections to conclude the political transition be set for February 2025.
- ECOWAS agrees to a 24-month transition from 1^{er} July 2022.
- Meeting of former Burkinabe heads of state organised by the transitional president on 8 July 2022 with the aim of finding a solution to terrorism in the country.
- Former Head of State Blaise Compaoré has asked for forgiveness from the family of his predecessor Thomas Sankara.

Actors involved

- UN, AU, ECOWAS
- Non-Aligned Opposition (NAO), party leaders.
- Former heads of state of Burkina Faso
- The Burkinabe military authorities.
- Lt DAMIBA (Head of the transition)

Perspectives

For ECOWAS, the priorities are

- The security challenges.
- The humanitarian issues.
- The return to constitutional order.
- Resource mobilisation.
- Setting up the monitoring and evaluation mechanism.
- An electoral calendar for the organization of the next elections is still pending.

| Chad

Recent developments

- Almost half of the politico-military groups present at the Chad peace talks in Doha suspended talks with the government on 16 July 2022.
- Qatari mediators presented a draft peace agreement on 25 July 2022.
- The Chadian authorities have set the date for the inclusive and sovereign national dialogue for 20 August 2022.
- The peace agreement was signed with the political-military groups except for FACT.

Actors involved

- Transitional Military Council (TMC): in charge since the death of President Idriss Déby. The council is headed by his son, Mahamat Idriss Itno.
- Political parties participating in the transitional government.
- Coalition of opposition and civil society parties WAKIT TAMMA.
- Doha", "Rome", "Qatar", National Coordination for Change and Reform (CNCR): representatives of the 52 politico-military groups present at the peace talks in Doha.

Perspectives

- The aim would be for the parties involved to reach a peace agreement by 20 August 2022, the date set for the inclusive national dialogue, so that the transition ends within the expected timeframe (18 months).
- If the Qatari mediator fails to establish a peace agreement between the parties, the transition would be extended, against the advice of both the rebels and the Chadian political opposition.

| Guinea Conakry

Recent developments

- ECOWAS rejected the three-year timeframe proposed by Colonel Doumbouya.
- Street demonstrations were violently repressed, resulting in injuries and deaths.
- Cellou Dalein Diallo and Ibrahima Kassory Fofana, two former prime ministers, are being prosecuted for embezzlement.

Actors involved

- CNRD (Comité national du rassemblement pour le développement, acronym of the military junta in Guinea) chaired by Colonel Mamadi Doumbouya.
- National Front for the Defence of the Constitution (FNDC). Coalition of political parties, trade unions and associations.
- ANAD: Alliance pour l'alternance démocratique, a coalition of opposition political parties.
- ECOWAS and the mediator Thomas Boni Yayi.
- International diplomatic community present in Guinea.

Perspectives

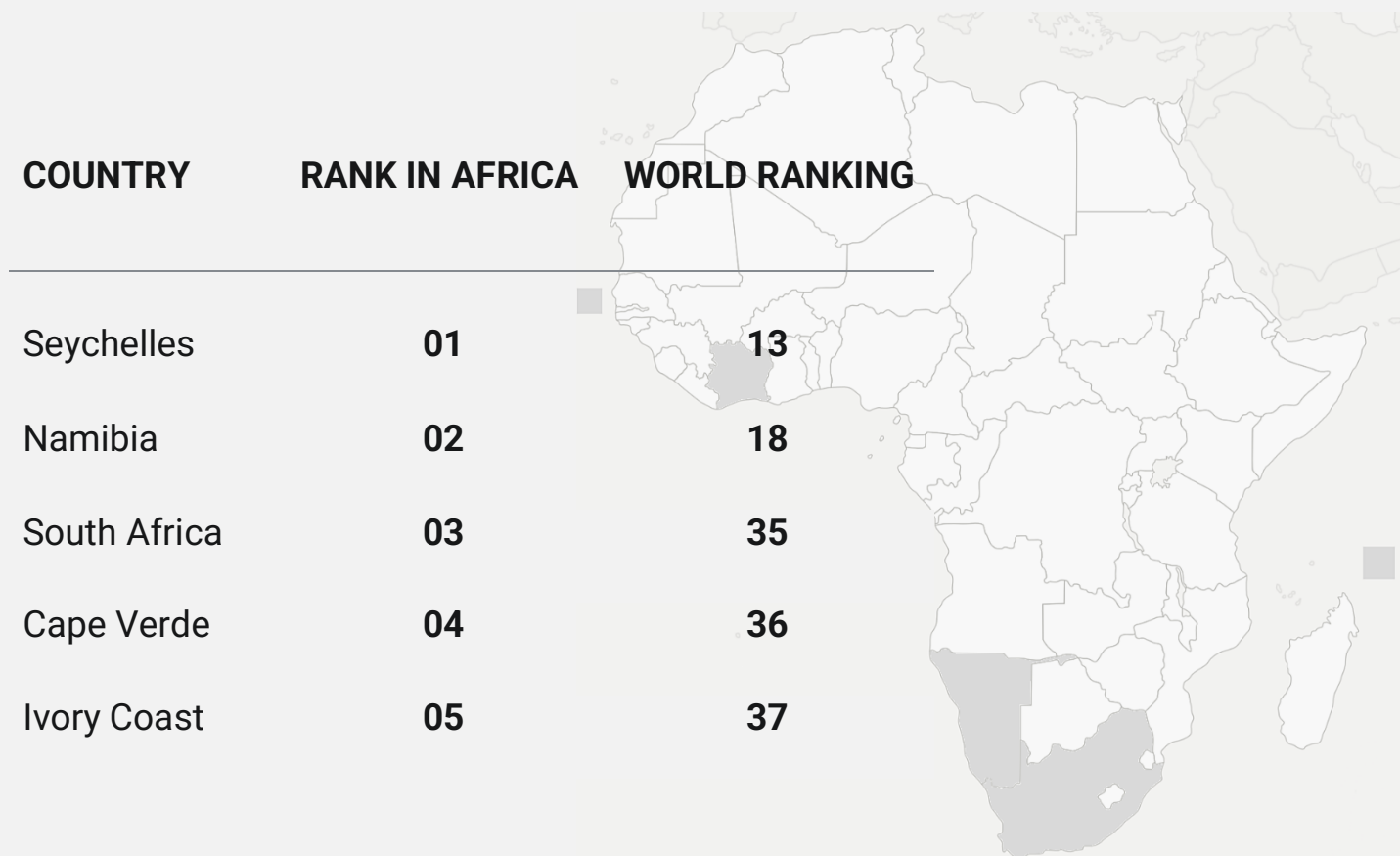
- The priorities for ECOWAS are the shortening of the transition period, the return to constitutional order and the handover of power to civilians.
- The priority for the political opposition is to reach a political consensus through an inclusive dialogue.
- Increased tensions and public demonstrations.

Sources : *crisisgroup.org, voaafrique, africanews, france24, rfi, cameroon-tribune, dw.*

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FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

| Press freedom on the African continent



- The Seychelles is in first place followed by Namibia in second place.
- According to Reporter sans Frontières (RSF), Africa is the second worst territory in terms of press freedom guarantees.
- The Maghreb-Middle East is the worst performing region in Africa in terms of press freedom.

Source: rsf.org

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GOVERNANCE

| Clarification of the classification



- **This ranking is about governance.**
- Governance refers to all the measures and rules that ensure the proper functioning and control of a State, an institution, or an organization, whether public or private.
- **It is therefore not a question of democracy.**
- It is not a question of ranking a country according to the legitimacy of its leaders, the quality of its elections and the real power of the people.

1. LEADERSHIP AND FORESIGHT

Country	African rank	World ranking
Botswana	1	16
Rwanda	2	19
Mauritius	3	25
Senegal	4	36
Ghana	5	47

- **Anti-corruption:** The control and prevention of the abuse of public power for private purposes.
- **Long-term vision:** The ability to develop and express the desired goals and destination for the nation over a longer period.
- **Adaptability:** Responding to various trends and changes with appropriate strategies, policies, and actions.
- **Strategic prioritization:** Development of longer-term plans and decision-making frameworks focused on key objectives and outcomes.
- **Innovation:** The ability to learn, generate, adapt, and apply ideas.
- **Ethical leadership:** Positive moral values and standards that leaders possess and demonstrate.

Source: *The Chandler Good Government Index 2021*

2. ROBUST LAWS AND POLICIES

- **Rule of law:** Whether laws are fair and impartial, whether governments follow due process and are accountable to the law, and whether justice is accessible to all.
- **Quality of the judicial system:** Are the courts efficient and independent of outside influence?
- **Transparency:** The availability and accessibility of government information to the public
- **Regulatory governance:** The ability of governments to establish clear and representative policies and regulations.

Country	African rank	World ranking
South Africa	1	26
Morocco	2	45
Mauritius	3	55
Rwanda	4	58
Namibia	5	62

3. STRONG INSTITUTIONS

Country	African rank	World ranking
Mauritius	1	32
Botswana	2	44
South Africa	3	49
Ghana	4	57
Senegal	5	67

- **Coordination:** The ability to balance interests and objectives, and to ensure that multiple government agencies act in a coherent and collaborative manner.
- **Data capacity:** The ability to collect and use data, and to provide quality digital and online services.
- **Implementation:** The extent to which a government can execute its own policies and achieve its policy objectives.
- **Quality of the bureaucracy:** The capacity and performance of the civil service, regardless of political and policy changes.

Source: *The Chandler Good Government Index 2021*

4. FINANCIAL STEWARDSHIP

- **Public debt:** the dynamics and risk of a country's debt, based on its debt-to-GDP levels, changes in debt, the country's credit ratings and the stage of economic development.
- The average revenue and expenditure position of a government, based on its budget balance, over a five-year period.
- **Spending efficiency:** The extent to which public spending results in outcomes and services with minimal waste.
- **Country risk premium:** The risk of investing in a country because of its sovereign debt repayment capacity and economic governance.

Country	African rank	World ranking
Botswana	1	27
Mauritius	2	40
Morocco	3	47
Rwanda	4	51
South Africa	5	59

5. MARKET ATTRACTIVINESS

Country	African rank	World ranking
Botswana	1	27
Mauritius	2	40
Morocco	3	47
Rwanda	4	51
South Africa	5	59

- **Property rights:** The extent to which legal rights to own and use physical and intellectual property are established and protected.
- **Macroeconomic environment:** The maintenance of inflation and unemployment levels within optimal ranges, taking into account the economic situation and needs.
- **Attracting investment:** The ability to attract foreign direct investment (FDI).
- **Logistics competence:** The quality of the logistics infrastructure and systems in a country.
- **Stability of business regulation:** The stability of policies and regulations concerning business activities
- **Tax efficiency:** Are taxes set at reasonable levels, well designed and simple to comply with?

Source: The Chandler Good Government Index 2021

6. GLOBAL INFLUENCE & REPUTATION

- **International trade:** the freedom, access, and ability to buy and sell goods and services across national borders.
- **International diplomacy:** The extent of a nation's diplomatic representation and presence abroad.
- **National branding:** The consistency of a country's national tourism promotion, image, and appeal to a variety of non-commercial stakeholders.
- **Passport strength:** The credibility of a nation's passport, as measured by the number of visa waiver agreements enjoyed by passport holders worldwide.

Country	African rank	World ranking
Morocco	1	44
Egypt	2	45
South Africa	3	52
Tunisia	4	77
Tanzania	5	78

7. HELPING PEOPLE TO RISE UP

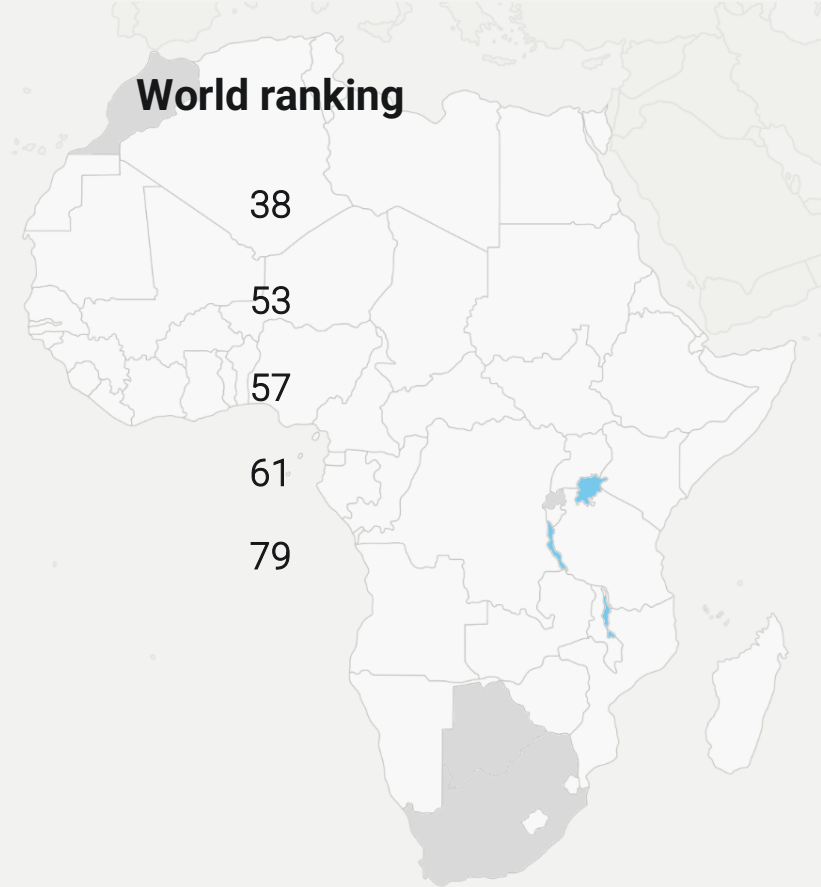
Country	African rank	World ranking
Mauritius	1	42
Algeria	2	59
Tunisia	3	71
Rwanda	4	76
Morocco	5	78

- **Education:** The literacy rate and years of schooling of the population.
 - **Health:** How long a newborn can be expected to live, given current health and mortality projections.
 - **Satisfaction with public services:** Satisfaction with public transport, infrastructure and education
 - **Personal security:** The ability of the state to protect its population from violent crime.
 - **Environmental performance:** The safety and sustainability of a nation's
- **Income equality:** The equal distribution of income across the population
 - **Social mobility:** The extent to which socio-economic circumstances at birth influence a person's future status and prosperity.
 - **Gender gap:** the ability of women and men to participate in and benefit from economic opportunities.
 - **Non-discrimination:** The absence of discrimination, regardless of a person's socio-economic status, ethnic origin, gender, identity, or religion.

Source: The Chandler Good Government Index 2021

| Overall ranking of African countries in terms of good governance

Country	African rank	World ranking
Mauritius	1	38
Rwanda	2	53
Botswana	3	57
Morocco	4	61
South Africa	5	79

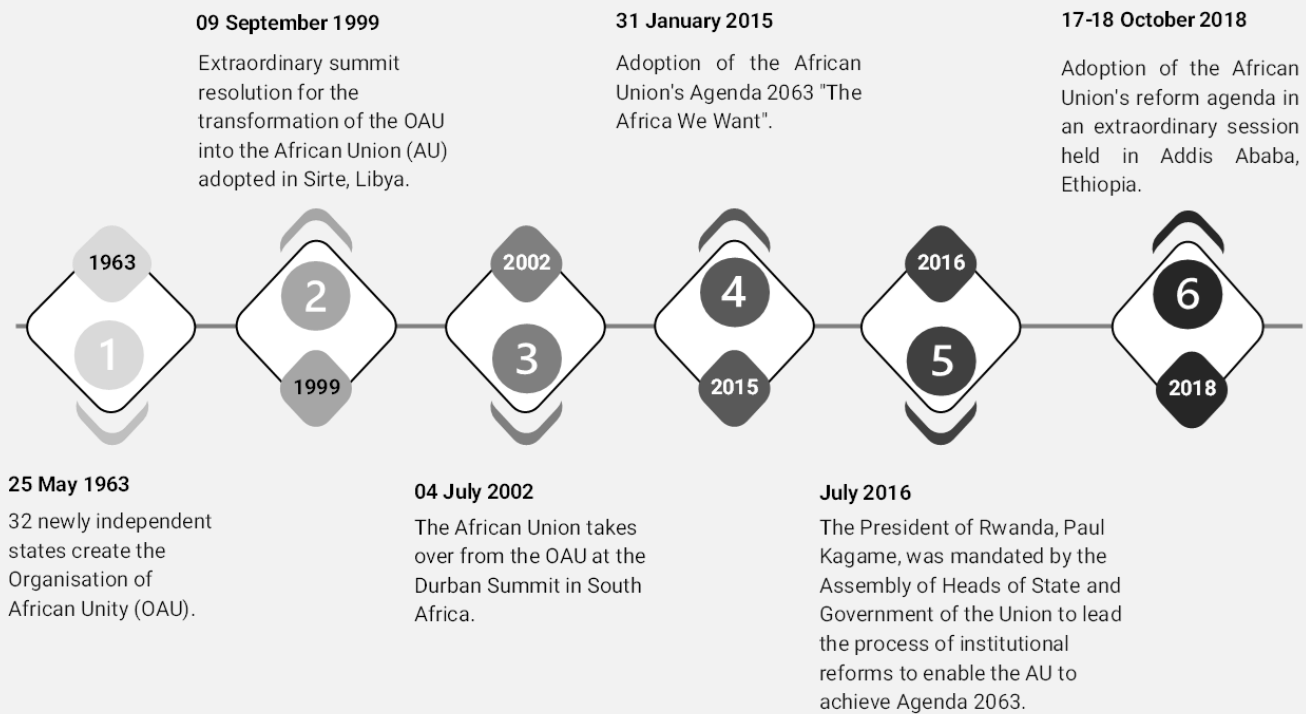


Source: The Chandler Good Government Index 2021

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THE AFRICAN UNION 20 YEARS ON

| From the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) of today



| Main organs of the African Union



| Main institutions



- African Union Headquarters
- The Pan-African Parliament, which does not yet have legislative powers. It has 255 members and 11 committees.
- The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights
- The Economic, Social and Cultural Council
- African Centres for Disease Control and Prevention
- Future financial institutions
 - African Investment Bank: To be launched in 2025.
 - African Central Bank: Launch planned for 2028 - 2034.
 - African Monetary Fund: To be launched in 2023.

| Status of implementation of Agenda 2063

Aspirations of the African Union in Agenda 2063	% of achievement against 2019 target
Aspiration 1: A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development.	29%
Aspiration 2: An integrated, politically united continent anchored in the ideals of pan-Africanism and the vision of the African renaissance.	44%
Aspiration 3: An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law.	16%
Aspiration 4: An Africa living in peace and security.	48%
Aspiration 5: An Africa with a strong cultural identity, a common heritage and shared values and ethics.	12%
Aspiration 6: An Africa with people-centred development that builds on the potential of its people, especially women and youth, and cares for the well-being of children.	38%
Aspiration 7: An Africa that acts as a strong, united, and influential actor and partner on the world stage.	26%

| Major African Union projects are not moving forward

Operational projects

- **The development agency (AUDA NEPAD)** founded in 2018 to improve the effectiveness of the African Union
- **The Pan-African Virtual and Electronic University** established in 2019 and started the implementation of 04 programmes in 2020

Projects on hold

- **The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)**, created in 2012, came into force in January 2021, but no trade has yet taken place.
- **The Open Skies initiative.** Launched in January 2018, it foresees a single air transport market for the 35 signatories. The Covid-19 pandemic has slowed down the project.
- **The integrated high-speed rail network.** It aims to link the continent's capitals and commercial centres. It is still looking for an auditor since 2020.
- **The African Standby Force.** The armed wing of the African Union, it is considered operational since 2015 but has never been activated.
- **The African passport and the free movement of people.** The protocol adopted in 2018 has only been ratified by 4 members.
- **The Great Museum of Africa.** It was to be built in Algiers by 2022 but the legal and commercial files have not yet been finalised.
- **African financial institutions that are still at an embryonic stage.**

| The African Union is still under-funded and highly dependent on foreign aid

The budget of the African Union is 260 times smaller than the European Union's and 65% of it is funded by international contributors.

- 2022 EU Budget (27 countries) : \$177 billions
- 2022 AU Budget (55 countries) : \$650 millions

- Only 17 African countries have implemented the 0.2% tax on imported goods to finance its budget.
- To date, more than 40% of States do not pay their contribution to the financing of the institution.

04 countries have been sanctioned for not having paid more than 50% of their contribution in 2021: Republic of Congo, Guinea, South Sudan, Sao Tome, and Principe.

Year	Overall, AU budget (In millions of dollars)	Part financed by international (In millions of dollars)
2010	250	53%
2015	522	71%
2017	825	73%
2018	775	59%
2019	681	59%
2020	647	60%
2021	623	65%
2022	650	66%
2023	654.8 (Projection)	33% (Projection)

Budget breakdown in 2021 - Total: USD 623 million	Budget (In millions of dollars)	Funding target of Member States	Part financed by the Member States
Operation	172	100 %	93 %
Programmes	187	75 %	22 %
Peace Fund	264	25 %	0 %

| Perspectives for the African Union

Key challenges for the African Union	Priority areas of intervention
<p>According to the pan-African advisory team of the African Union:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The AU is very fragmented and has too many areas of intervention. ▪ The AU's complex structure and limited management capacity lead to inefficient working methods, poor decision-making, and lack of accountability. ▪ The AU is neither financially independent nor autonomous, relying instead on partner contributions for much of its funding. ▪ Coordination between the AU and the Regional Economic Communities is imperfect. 	<p>According to the pan-African advisory team of the African Union:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The AU should focus on fewer priority areas of continental concern. ▪ The AU needs to review its structure and activities for better service delivery. ▪ The AU must be in tune with African citizens. ▪ The AU needs to become operationally effective and efficient in carrying out its missions. ▪ The AU needs to identify and implement sustainable funding for its programmes and reduce over-reliance on development partners.

Source : au.int, [jeuneafrique](http://jeuneafrique.com), [africa24tv](http://africa24tv.com), issafrica.org



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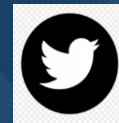
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