

Annual Report



The Africa Programme in 2022



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HOUSE

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Cover image: A woman walks past Opibus electric bus outside their warehouse in Nairobi, Kenya on 15 February 2022.

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Foreword

Twenty years ago, African leaders made significant commitments to transparent and accountable governance and respect for human rights with the creation of the African Union (AU), and its adoption of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a comprehensive economic and political reform programme. This was a moment of optimism for greater African agency in international relations and reduced geopolitical rivalry in the continent following the end of the Cold War. There was also hope that long-standing conflicts were ending such as in Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Sudan, and that this was a continent of opportunity and growing prosperity. It was at this time that Chatham House launched its Africa Programme.

Twenty years on, the AU is undergoing intensive reform, geopolitical rivalry for influence has returned, and instability in Sudan (and now South Sudan) and the DRC continues. Twenty years ago, regional conflicts were swirling around the Mano River Union (especially in Liberia and Sierra Leone), while today the hot spots are in the western Sahel and Lake Chad Basin, eastern DRC and northern Mozambique, often across borders. In the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia saw an uneasy ceasefire agreed between the federal government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF).

Islamist militant groups in Africa further expanded their territorial reach in 2022, particularly in the western Sahel, where the al-Qaeda affiliate Jama'at Nusrat al-Islam wal Muslimin (JNIM) continued to make inroads. The drawdown and exit of western forces from Mali, both French bilateral and international contributions for the UN mission there, adds new dimensions to regional security challenges.

Coups have once again swung back into fashion in parts of Africa as they were twenty years ago. Since 2020, there have been successful military coups in Burkina Faso (twice), Chad, Guinea, Mali (twice), and Sudan, and failed ones in the Central African Republic (CAR), Djibouti, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Niger, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Our Africa Programme has been busy explaining that the drivers behind many of these coups significantly differ.

Three national elections illustrate the state of African democracy in 2022, and our Africa Programme focused on two of them: Angola and Kenya. In Angola's August elections, the ruling MPLA lost its absolute majority, with the opposition UNITA winning the majority in Luanda for the first time. In Kenya, also in August, William Ruto prevailed to become president ahead of an incumbent-backed coalition led by longstanding political challenger Raila Odinga. Meanwhile in Equatorial Guinea's elections in November, Africa's longest serving president, Teodoro Obiang, extended his 43-year mandate with 94.7 per cent of the vote, on a turnout of 97 per cent.

Africa's economy was recovering from the COVID-19 pandemic when a range of internal and external shocks struck, such as adverse weather conditions and rapidly rising rates of inflation and borrowing costs. Key African economies such as South Africa and Nigeria have been impacted by low growth, and many African governments have seen their debt burdens increase. On average the public sector debt-to-GDP ratio of African countries stood at above 60 per cent in 2022. In December, Chatham House published a report on African debt distress and the role of China. The era of Chinese state-backed big loans and

mega-projects that started twenty years ago in Angola after the end of its civil war may be coming to an end, but Chinese private-sector investments on the continent will continue through its Belt and Road Initiative and its dual circulation model of development.

Geopolitical competition in Africa has intensified in 2022, particularly among great powers such as China, Russia, the United States and the EU, but also by middle powers such as Turkey and the Gulf states. The sixth AU-EU summit was held in Brussels in February and agreed on the principles for a new partnership, although the Russian invasion of Ukraine that followed disrupted these ambitions. The US also launched a new strategy to strengthen its partnership and held a second US-Africa Leaders' summit in Washington in December (the first since 2014). Russia's ambitions have been curtailed by its invasion of Ukraine, postponing its second summit with African states to 2023. The imposition of international sanctions has complicated its trade and investments, and its military support including via the Russian paramilitary group Wagner has been curtailed, focused on Mali, Libya and the CAR.

International competition to secure Africa's critical and strategic minerals and energy products has intensified, and in the energy sector, European countries are seeking to diversify away from Russian oil and gas with

alternative supplies, including from Africa. Western mining companies and commodity traders are also increasingly seeking alternative supplies from Africa. Decarbonization is becoming a driver of resource nationalism and geopolitical competition in certain African mining markets, home to large deposits of critical 'transition minerals', such as copper, cobalt, graphite, lithium or nickel. Our work in Zambia in 2022 sought to assess how a middle-sized land-locked country navigates this international competition.

COP27 was hosted in Egypt in November and gave African leaders an opportunity to shape climate discussions by pushing their priority areas, such as loss and damage, stranded assets, access to climate finance, adaptation, and desertification. Climate adaptation in Africa is a key condition to preserving economic growth and maintaining social cohesion. In the run-up to COP27, the Africa Programme held conferences in Nairobi, Libreville, and Addis Ababa aimed at ensuring diverse African voices fed into the summit preparations.

Dr Alex Vines OBE

Director, Africa Programme, Chatham House



2022 in numbers



46

research outputs

The Africa Programme produced 46 research outputs, including peer reviewed papers, book chapters, academic journal articles, expert comments, op-eds and multimedia outputs.



88

events

A total of 88 events were hosted by the Africa Programme in 2022, including virtual and in-person roundtables, panel events, and international conferences.



226

speakers

The Programme hosted 226 speakers, including policymakers, governmental figures, and representatives of civil society, academia and industry.



3,000+
citations

Africa Programme staff were cited over 3,000 times in the global media.



32,000+
dissemination

Research outputs are widely read, freely available and distributed to over 32,000 decision-makers and influencers globally.



20
countries visited

Africa Programme representatives visited 20 countries over the course of 2022, including for conference convening in Ethiopia, Gabon, Kenya, Nigeria and Zambia.

Celebrating 20 years of the Africa Programme



The formation of Chatham House's Africa Programme in July 2002 marked the beginning of coordinated engagement with the entire African continent for the first time in Chatham House's history. Over the past 20 years, the Programme has convened over 1,400 research events, hosting political leaders, world-renowned experts and stakeholders to explore critical issues in the politics and international relations of African states. Its researchers have produced more than 200 original publications that have influenced policy and supported informed decision-making in Africa and around the world.

To mark the centenary of Chatham House in 2020, and the 20th anniversary of the Africa Programme at Chatham House in 2022–23, the programme launched its flagship stream of work on African Agency in International Affairs. Through this research focus, the Programme is examining African states' bilateral and multilateral relationships, and the influence that African governments, institutions and citizens exert in global affairs.

Image: Chatham House Africa Programme event on 'The African Union Vision for Peace and Prosperity in Africa' with H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat, Chairperson, African Union Commission' on 12 May 2017.

In 2023, the Africa Programme will establish a Visiting Fellowship for citizens of African countries to spend time at Chatham House. Fellows will participate in the institute's research on African countries' engagement in a rapidly changing global context and will contribute to analyses of geopolitical shifts that place Africa at the centre.



2022 research highlights





Regional relations and resource governance

To mark the onset of Phase II negotiations of the AfCFTA, the Africa Programme hosted a hybrid public event in March with HE Wamkele Mene, Secretary-General of the AfCFTA Secretariat. The discussion explored the key priorities and challenges in implementing the AfCFTA: including the main pillars of Phase II negotiations (intellectual property, competition policy, investment, digital trade, and women and youth); the structures required across countries for domestication of the AfCFTA agreement; and how the AfCFTA will sit alongside existing regional economic communities.

Regional economies and environmental governance

The Africa Programme hosted a conference in March in Lusaka, the seat of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), to examine regional economic linkages in eastern and southern Africa. The conference explored how countries balance their regional and international bilateral and multilateral partnerships, with sessions focusing on infrastructure development, strategic minerals, and debt diplomacy. It featured a keynote speech from Ephraim Mwepya Shitima, Chair of the African Group of Negotiators (AGN) for COP27 and Zambia's Climate Change and Natural Resources Director. Discussion papers on Zambia's debt, foreign relations, and role of civil society in policymaking were published alongside the conference report.

The regional economic communities (RECs) will coexist with the AfCFTA, as the RECs provide an important offer to member states which complements the continent wide agreement. However, this coexistence may pose a challenge to the private sector.

Treasure Maphanga

The programme has continued to follow progress on regional cooperation on resource governance and strategic minerals, with Christopher Vandome authoring a commentary piece on Zambia's progress and leadership on this issue at the 2022 Mining Indaba in Cape Town.

The Africa Programme hosted HE President Félix Tshisekedi, President of the Democratic Republic of Congo, for a roundtable on *Minerals, society, and the environment in the DRC*. The event provided a platform for discussion and debate on how best to utilise the DRC's mineral endowments for economic development and quality job creation while ensuring environmental sustainability. In the final quarter of 2022, a series of roundtables convened by the programme brought together analysts and policymakers to deepen understanding of the impact of regional political economies and geopolitics on conflict dynamics in eastern DRC, including the implications of the DRC's accession to the East African Community (EAC).

Cross-Border Conflict Evidence, Policy and Trends (XCEPT)

As part of the multi-year *Cross-Border Conflict Evidence, Policy and Trends (XCEPT)* project, which examines protracted conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, the Africa Programme is assessing how conflicts connect across borders and the factors influencing both violent and peaceful behaviour in the Horn of Africa region. As part of this project, an Africa Aware podcast episode discussed how political developments in Ethiopia and Sudan have impacted relations between the two countries, while a webinar on Sudan's gold trade and its connections to conflict and transnational impacts examined the environmental and socio-economic dimensions of gold in Sudan's border areas.

Image: Chatham House Africa Programme conference on 'Emerging powers in Africa: Regional and national linkages in Eastern and Southern Africa' (30 March 2022) with an opening keynote from Chawe PM. Chuulu, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, Republic of Zambia.



Sustainable financing and just transition

Ahead of the 2022 Climate Change Conference (COP27) hosted in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, the Africa Programme launched its project *Towards Just Transition: Connecting Green Financing and Sustainable Job Creation in Africa*. As part of this stream of work, the programme convened a series of international conferences and roundtable discussions with the aim of highlighting and streamlining African perspectives, priorities and concerns of implementing a 'just transition', and the effective deployment of green financing in fostering sustainable job creation.

Hybrid conferences held in Nairobi, Libreville and Addis Ababa, in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the Pan African Climate Justice Alliance (PACJA) engaged 600 key stakeholders from government, the African Union, international financial corporations, civil society, and local, continental and international organizations. The project explored the links between green financing and employment creation in sustainable energy and in nature-based solutions, with events and outputs also examining key opportunities for continental cooperation on these policy issues.

Image: Technicians at the opening ceremony of a photovoltaic energy production site in Bokhol, Senegal. (Photo by Seyllou/ AFP via Getty Images)



Across the year, Africa Programme staff were also invited to attend and contribute to several wider consultative conferences and meetings focused on climate change and green transition in Africa. These included the Tenth Conference on Climate Change and Development in Africa and the Eighth Africa Regional Forum on Sustainable Development, hosted by UNECA in Windhoek and Kigali respectively; and a civil society workshop on Africa's COP26 reflections and COP27 Strategy, hosted by PACJA in Cairo.

A roundtable discussion with Niger's Minister of Finance, Hon. Dr Ahmat Jidoud, also explored financing priorities for promoting community-led climate policy in the Sahel, while an Africa Aware podcast episode discussed drought in the Horn of Africa that is affecting 20 million people across several countries.

Across the continent, progress on the UN's Sustainable Development Goals is being jeopardized, and non-energy-producing lower and lower-middle income African governments are struggling to repay their loans.

Alex Vines

African debt sustainability

A research paper on *Debt distress in Africa and the role of China*, was published by the Africa Programme in collaboration with Chatham House's Asia-Pacific and Global Economy and Finance programmes. Analysis in the paper was developed using insights gathered from seven different African country case studies of lending from China: Angola, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Kenya, Republic of the Congo, South Africa and Zambia.

In March, a panel event on 'African debt sustainability and financing needs' explored the repayment burden facing African countries and the scope for international collaboration to address debt distress.

Governance and constitutionalism

Amid an uptick in unconstitutional changes of government (UCG) over the past two years, the Africa Programme has sharpened its research focus on evolving modes of governance and challenges to constitutionalism. A commentary article by Alex Vines in March examined international policy options for responding to the spate of coups across the Sahel and Sudan, including the impact of the Ukraine crisis on international bandwidth for support.

We require further agreement on three main issues: transitional justice, financial accountability, and security. Key constituents in Sudan are largely absent from these conversations, and we are seeing private elite bargains.

Kholood Khair

In partnership with the UNDP, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and European Think Tanks Group (ETTG), the Africa Programme hosted a side-event in October at the 10th High-Level Tana Forum on Security in Bahir Dar, focusing on the underlying drivers of UCG and pathways for restoring constitutional order after military coups.

Federalism and decentralization

Constitutions continue to be undermined across Africa in other ways beyond coups. In a long-form explainer on ‘Democracy in Nigeria’ ahead of the 2023 elections, Leena Koni Hoffmann traced constitutional developments in Nigeria, highlighting the impact of parallel legal systems in undermining constitutionalism and the need to improve mechanisms to defend constitutional democracy. An article entitled *African agency: A paradox at the heart of governance* by Ben Shepherd and Alex Ntung highlighted the failure of decentralization in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) despite its enshrinement in the country’s post-war transitional constitutions.

Social movements in Eswatini

In Eswatini – Africa’s only remaining absolute monarchy of approximately 1.2 million people – popular protests in 2021 and 2022 reflect demands for inclusive multi-party dialogue on socio-economic policy issues and the future of the country’s constitutional model. An article by Christopher Vandome in the *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* and an expert comment co-authored with Koffi Sawyer examined prospects for supporting a meaningful national dialogue. A series of multi-stakeholder consultations on Eswatini was held in partnership with the World Bank Group from February to April to deepen understanding of the socio-cultural context and political economy challenges in Eswatini.

Cyber governance and digital constitutionalism

Cyberspace presents new challenges for international governance and constitutional principles. An Africa Programme side-event at the 10th High-Level Tana Forum on Security in Bahir Dar explored Africa’s priorities in the ongoing UN Cybercrime Convention negotiations, examining the roles and responsibilities of different technology actors and evolutions in digital constitutionalism and multilateralism in Africa. As part of a project on South-South cooperation on technology governance, the Africa Programme hosted a webinar in February on the intersection of technology and the global knowledge economy and potential collaborative strategies among actors in the ‘Global South.’

Image: Russian and Malian flags are waved by protesters in Bamako during a demonstration against French influence in the country. (Photo by Michele Cattani/AFP via Getty Images)



Key elections

Angola

In the lead-up to the Angolan General Election in August 2022, an expert comment by Alex Vines entitled *Angola's fifth multiparty election: Continuity or change* outlined the challenges facing incumbent President João Lourenço and his party the MPLA (Movement for Popular Liberation of Angola) in a fiercely competitive democratic space during an economic downturn. The Angola Forum 2022 reviewed the economic situation in the country and discussed the election outcome.

Kenya

In March 2022 the Africa Programme hosted the two frontrunning candidates in Kenya's presidential election, Dr William Ruto and the Rt Hon. Raila Odinga, for public events at Chatham House. The events were held just eight days apart and were also publicly livestreamed, offering a significant opportunity for debate and scrutiny of their policy agendas both within Kenya and internationally ahead of a pivotal election.

Image: HE William Ruto speaking at Chatham House on 'Kenya's 2022 elections: Prospects and challenges for shared prosperity' on 7 March 2022.



In June, the Africa Programme hosted a roundtable meeting in Nairobi on *Kenya's 2022 elections: Dialogue on participatory and procedural challenges*. The discussion brought together a range of senior civil society figures to attend from across Kenya in a hybrid format. Speakers included the Deputy Commission Secretary for operations at Kenya's Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the Assistant Director of the National Gender and Equality Commission, and the CEO of the Media Council of Kenya.

We are in a zone between generations in terms of the way in which politics and elections are done, and hopefully a future which will be more issue-driven and more issue-based.

Waihiga Mwaura

The Africa Programme also released a podcast episode of Africa Aware in the week prior to the Kenyan election in August, exploring final key policy and preparatory issues ahead of the polls, with guests including Mulle Musau, national coordinator of the Elections Observation Group, and Waihiga Mwaura, editor at Citizen TV Kenya.

South Africa

The Africa Programme has continued to closely follow South Africa's foreign and climate policy, democracy, and politics ahead of the ANC's 2022 congress. A book chapter by Christopher Vandome in the South African Foreign Policy Review examined the development of South Africa's economic diplomacy on the African continent under the Ramaphosa administration. Treasurer General of the ANC, Paul Mashatile, spoke on the outcomes of the party's July policy conference. Chatham House welcomed John Steenhuisen of the Democratic Alliance and Songezo Zibi of the Rivonia circle to speak on democratic alternatives and offer their views on policy. An expert comment argued for a muted tone from the UK in hosting President Ramaphosa for a state visit.

Social norms and accountable governance

As part of its long-running Social Norms and Accountable Governance (SNAG) project focused on behavioural change and anti-corruption in Nigeria, in 2022 the Africa Programme implemented a knowledge exchange workshop training series with a range of five Nigerian policy institutions active on anti-corruption work. A series of half-day workshops were held with each organization to provide training and knowledge sharing on the implementation of behaviour change approaches into their strategies, and a final edited training manual from the series was published online.

Under the SNAG project, a new Local Understandings, Experiences and Expectations survey was also implemented in March in each of Nigeria's geopolitical zones, with a total of 5,600 households surveyed across six states and the Federal Capital Territory, in partnership with the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and local survey partners.

In July, a new briefing paper on *Vote-selling behaviour and democratic dissatisfaction: Is democracy really for sale?* was released. The paper explores how social beliefs and expectations have contributed to the establishment of an incentive structure where

Image: Session 2 of the Chatham House Africa Programme conference in Abuja on 'Towards collective action on corruption in Nigeria' held on 28 July 2022. From left to right: Imam Bashir Mundi, Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah, Oladayo Olaide, Dr Osasuyi Dirisu, Chioma Agwuegbo, Azuka Ogugua.





Image: People cast their ballots in the presidential and parliamentary elections at a polling station in Port Harcourt, southern Nigeria, on 23 February 2019. (Photo by Yasuyoshi Chiba/AFP/Getty Images)

individual voters seek to maximize a short-term material advantage at election time, and offers suggestions for effective interventions to increase voter awareness of the negative long-term effects of vote-trading.

To mark the launch of the paper and discuss other key anti-corruption policy issues, the Africa Programme convened a major conference in Abuja in July focusing on linking evidence and practice in anti-corruption efforts in Nigeria, opened with a keynote address by Abdulrasheed Bawa, Chairman of Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).

When it comes to corruption, perceptions matter, money trails matter but social expectations matter a lot too. Moralistic anti-corruption pleas are unlikely to work the way we think they might. There is a social trap of vote-selling.

Leena Koni Hoffmann

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Pan-African Climate Justice Alliance (Nairobi)

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BP

Brenthurst Foundation

Chevron

De Beers

DP World

ENI

Equinor

ExxonMobil

Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office

Globeleq

Government of Canada

Government of Germany

Government of the United States of America

Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung

Hogan Lovells

Humanity United

Investec

Irish Aid

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

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Ministry of Defence, UK

Mitsubishi Corporation

Mitsui

National Endowment for Democracy

Omidyar Network

Rio Tinto

Robert Bosch Stiftung

Shell International

Standard Bank Group

Standard Chartered Bank

The World Bank

TotalEnergies

Tullow Oil

UNDP

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