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Africa in 2018: what to expect?  
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## ▶ Nigeria in 2018: an important year of electioneering

### Buhari?

- ▶ **Buhari:** hasn't had the impact that his supporters expected.
- ▶ Likely to win again in 2019 with his north-western base.
- ▶ State-centred protectionist.

### Atiku?

- ▶ **Atiku:** left the APC for the PDP in November 2017.
- ▶ Likely to seek the PDP's presidential nomination.
- ▶ Private-sector focused.



## ▶ A new generation of leaders in Southern Africa

### ▶ Ramaphosa

- Likely to pull the ANC behind his vision.
- Structural challenges will remain.
- Policy uncertainty on key economic issues will remain.

### ▶ Lourenço

- Consolidated authority over the government.
- This enabled him to push through economic reforms.

### ▶ Nyusi

- Improving economy to consolidate his authority.
- Will allow him to side-line rivals ahead of 2018.

### ▶ Mnangagwa

- Uninterested in political liberalisation.
- Has already begun pushing economic reforms.



## ► Potential for instability in Central Africa

### Longevity of ruling leaders

- Last African region without leadership transition.

**Equatorial Guinea:** Teodoro Obiang (38 years)

**Cameroun:** Paul Biya (35 years)

**Congo Brazzaville:** Sassou-Nguesso (32 years)

**Chad:** Idriss Deby (27 years)

**Gabon:** Bongo (8 years)

### Growing economic pressures

- Difficulty financing patronage networks.
- Rising socio-economic grievances.
- Challenges to CFA Franc.



## ▶ Crisis resolution: no longer a priority?

- ▶ AU and other bodies less functional (lack of leadership).
- ▶ Western powers no longer interested in policeman role.
- ▶ Political crises not as pressing as counter-terrorism.

### Mali, Burundi, and South Sudan

**Mali:** Frozen process despite overarching agreements.  
No diplomatic incentive for a fresh approach.

**Burundi:** No agreement and no negotiation.  
EAC has no interest or leverage in pushing for a solution.

**South Sudan:** Numerous ceasefires and peace deals.  
None of them have survived (August 2015 and July 2016).



## ▶ A new tool of political repression takes hold

- ▶ 12 African governments disrupted or shutdown internet in 2017.
  - **Cameroon** had 93 days of internet shutdowns since 2015.
  - **Ethiopia** had 36 days of internet shutdowns since 2015.
  - **Congo Brazzaville** had a 15 day shutdown in 2017.
  - **DRC** shut down internet and SMS during protests in 2017.
  - **Uganda, Chad, Gabon, Niger, and Gambia** during elections.
- ▶ This comes at an **economic cost**:
  - Africa lost about \$237 million to internet shutdowns since 2015. (source: CIPESA)
- ▶ Trend is here to stay: **shutdowns likely to continue in 2018.**



