

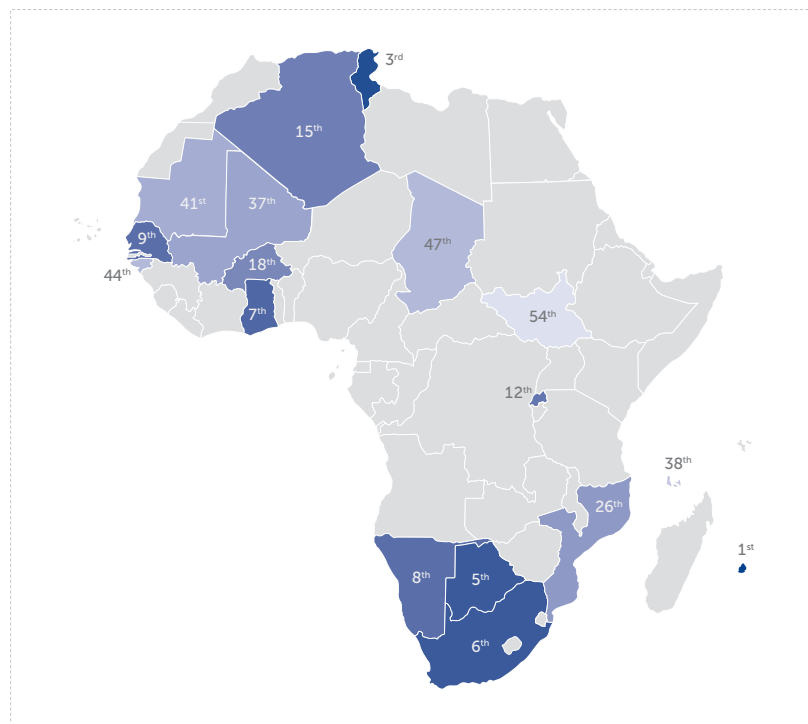
2024: Africa's 'Ultimate' Election Year

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4 Almost 1/3 of African countries, hosting 1/5 of Africa's population, are expected to hold elections in 2024

Selected African countries with elections: IIAG Overall Governance score and rank (2021)



17 African countries are expected to run executive elections in 2024, ranking from 1st to 54th in the 2022 Ibrahim Index of African Governance

Overall Governance IIAG score (out of 100.0)



Source: MIF

Country	Leader (Since)	Running for 2024 Election	2024 Expected Election Date
Algeria	Abdelmadjid Tebboune (2019)	Unannounced yet	Dec-24
Botswana	Mokgweetsi Masisi (2018)	Yes	Oct-24
Burkina Faso ¹	Ibrahim Traoré (2022)	Unannounced yet	Jul-24
Chad ¹	Mahamat Idriss Déby (2021)	Yes	TBC-2024
Comoros	Azali Assoumani (2019)	Yes - already been reelected	Jan-24
Ghana	Nana Addo Akufo Addo (2017)	No	Dec-24
Guinea-Bissau	Umaro Sissoco Embaló (2020)	Unannounced yet	Nov-24
Mali ¹	Assimi Goïta (2021)	Unannounced yet	TBC-2024
Mauritania	Mohamed Cheikh El Ghazouani (2021)	Yes	Jun-24
Mauritius	Pravind Jugnauth (2017)	Yes	Nov-24
Mozambique	Filipe Jacinto Nyusi (2015)	Unannounced yet	Oct-24
Namibia ²	Nangolo Mbumba (2024)	No	Nov-24
Rwanda	Paul Kagame (2000)	Yes	Jul-24
Senegal	Macky Sall (2012)	No	TBC-2024
South Africa	Cyril Ramaphosa (2018)	Yes	May-24
South Sudan	Salva Kiir Mayardit (2011)	Yes	Dec-24
Tunisia	Kais Saied (2019)	Yes	Nov-24

¹ Non-elected leaders

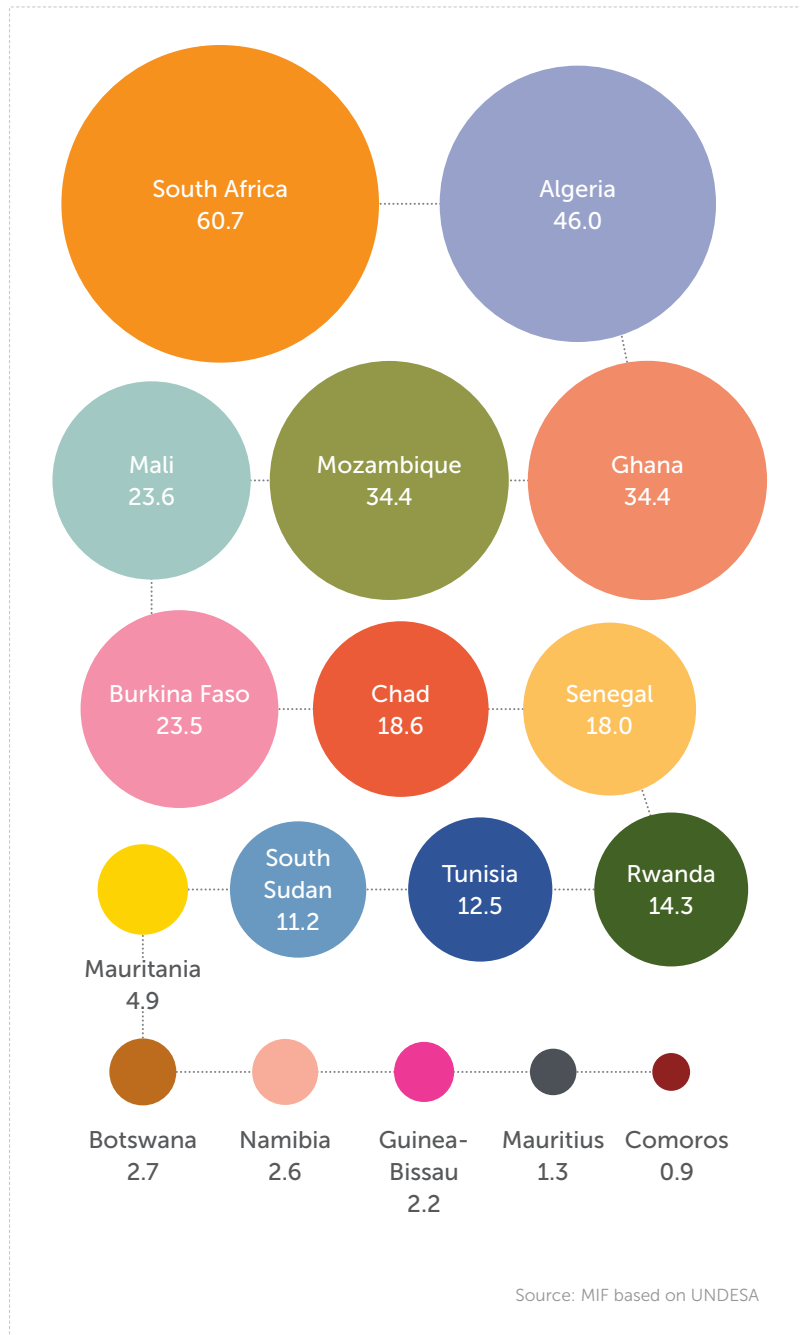
² Following the passing of President Geingob, former vice president Mbumba was announced as interim President as of February 2024.

Source: All sources listed in reference list

2024 has been labelled the 'ultimate election year' globally, with more than 70 countries expected to go to the ballot boxes in various elections including presidential and general.

In Africa, 17 countries are expected to hold elections, equivalent to almost 1/3 of African countries, hosting 1/5 (21.1%) of the continent's population.

Selected African countries with elections: total population (in million) (2024)



African elections are under global watch; South Sudan is expected to hold its first election since independence in 2011, while Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali, currently run by non-elected governments, are expected to transition back to civil democratic rule.

Although elections are generally signalled by term limits to incumbent leaders, not all countries abide by them. For instance, some mandates have been extended through the indefinite postponement of elections.

In five of the 17 countries with expected elections, term limits have either been modified or eliminated: Algeria, Chad, Comoros, Rwanda and South Sudan.

Term limits have never been met by Guinea-Bissau, Mali and Tunisia. Of the 17 countries, seven have retained term limits including Botswana, Ghana, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa.

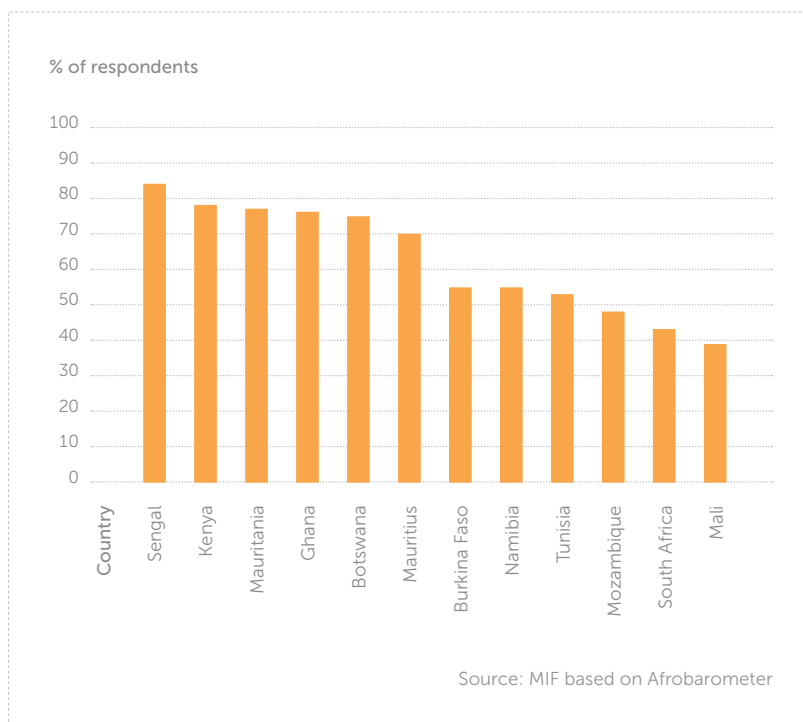
Some of Africa's key trading partners will also hold elections

Africa's elections could impact existing relationships and vice versa. The countries holding elections represent almost one third of the continent's GDP, with South Africa representing the largest share within the group at 13.5%.

This year's elections in Africa are taking place against the backdrop of elections involving some of Africa's primary global trading partners, such as the EU, UK, Russia, the United States and India. New leaders could drive a change in relations for all parties and changes in administration could disrupt current or enhance new socioeconomic partnerships.

Democracy is the most preferred by many in the election countries

Selected African countries with elections: percentage of Afrobarometer respondents that prefer democracy (2021-2023)

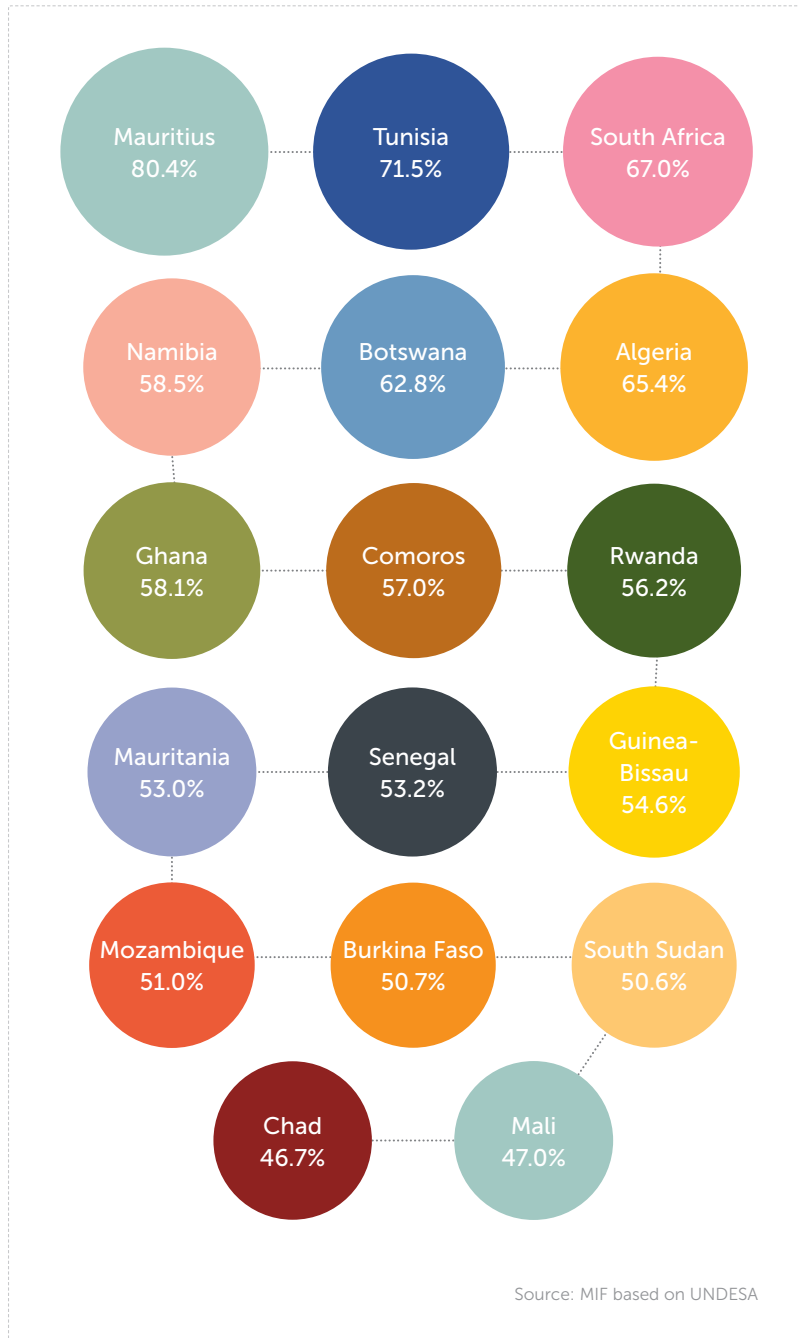


Latest Afrobarometer data (2021/2023) shows that democracy is still the preferred form of government for most of the countries with elections this year. Of the 12 countries with data, nine have more than 50% of respondents preferring democracy over any other form of government. In Senegal as much as 84% of respondents stated their preference for democracy. However, less than 50% of respondents in Mozambique, Mali and South Africa preferred democracy.

More than half of the population will be eligible to vote in the 17 election countries combined

Countries expected to hold elections in Africa have a combined population of around 310 million, 58% of which (180 million people) will be eligible to vote. While Mauritius has the highest percentage of population eligible to vote (80%), less than 50% of the population in Chad and Mali would be eligible to vote as most of the population in both countries is still under 18.

Selected African countries with elections: share of population eligible to vote (2024)



However, lack of identification could exclude around 1/3 of the potential voters

Despite the combined eligibility being so high among these countries, it is unlikely all will be able to vote, as this will heavily depend on the ability for people to register. In Africa there are approximately 500 million people without proof of identity, equivalent to one third of the population. Of the 180 million people eligible to vote, if one third do not have identification, this means that as many as 60 million could be excluded.

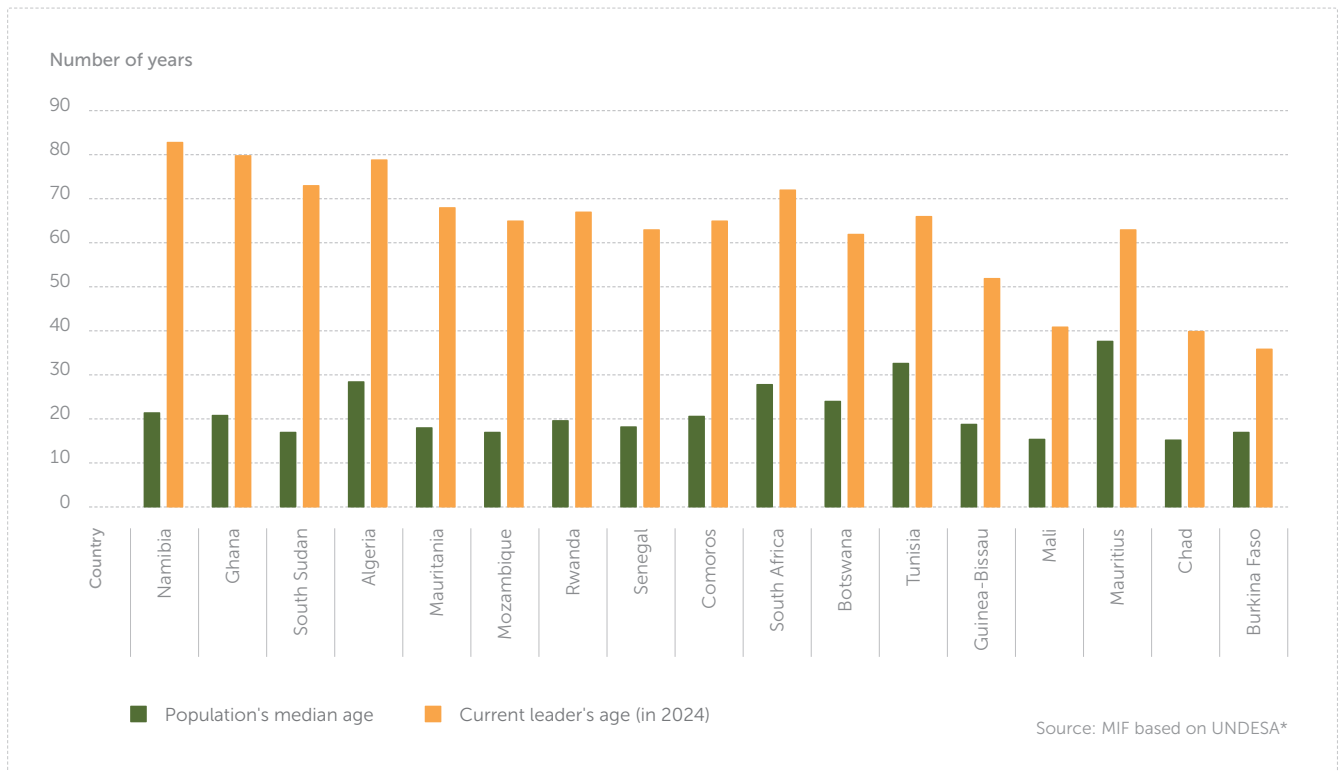
Africa is the youngest continent in the world by some way and will continue to be so for decades to come. Youth forms a large majority of the population across Africa. However, a substantial proportion of Africa’s youth are ineligible to vote due to their age.

Of the 17 African countries with expected elections in 2024, the average gap between the median age of the population and the current leader’s age is 41 years. The largest age gap can be seen in Namibia, where the current president is 41 years older than its population’s median age, which is 22.

Burkina Faso is the only country with a leader in his 30s (36) and represents the smallest age gap at 19 years. Chad has the second smallest age gap between the population’s median age and the current leader’s age (25 years). Due to the high median age of its population (38 years), Mauritius also has the second smallest age gap between the median age in the country and the current leader’s age (25 years).

The smallest age gaps are found in the three countries where current leaders are non-elected: Burkina Faso, Mali and Chad, where the average age gap is 23 years

Selected African countries with elections: median age and leader’s age (2024) (largest to smallest gap)



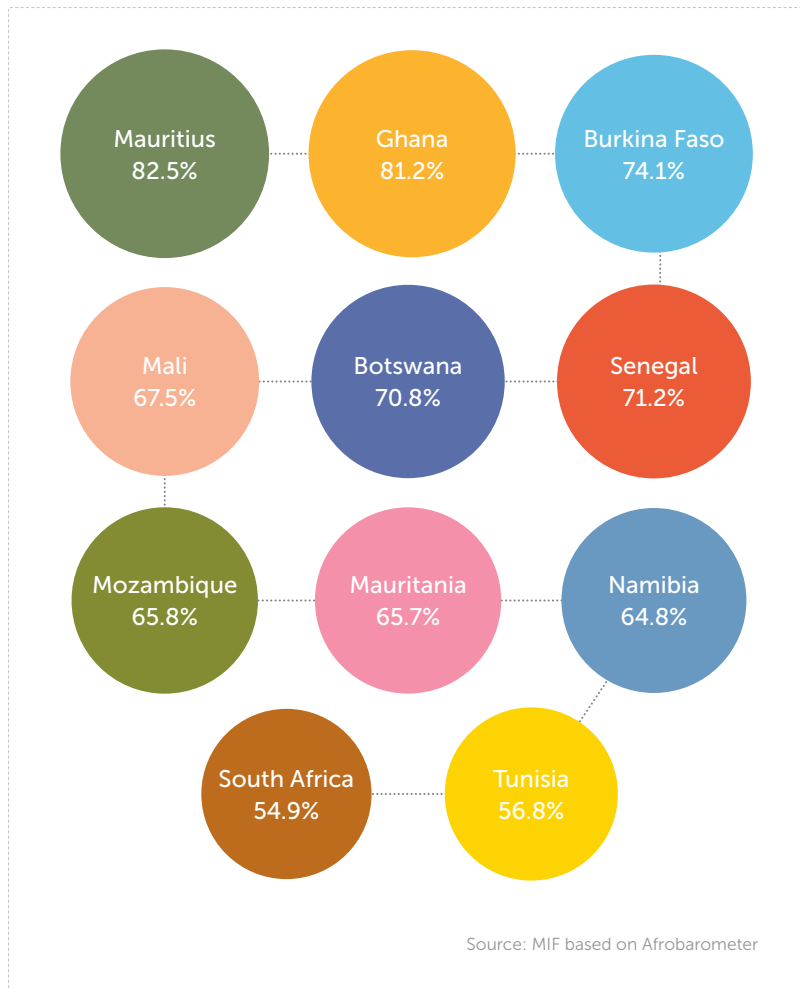
* All sources listed in reference list

“The will of the people must be the basis of governmental authority. That is the foundation of democracy. That is the foundation of good governance.”

Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations and Founder of the Kofi Annan Foundation

In the latest round of Afrobarometer surveys (2021-2023), respondents from countries expected to undergo elections in 2024 expressed their inability to locate their polling station in their last election. In Mauritius and Ghana, over 80% of those surveyed stated they were unable to find their polling station in their last election and thus did not vote. Based on the last election, in all countries more than 50% of respondents stated they could not find the polling station.

Selected African countries with elections: percentage of Afrobarometer respondents unable to find the polling station (2021-2023)




Note: not all 17 countries have data for the latest round of Afrobarometer surveys.

The issue of access to polling stations was also a factor in the most recent election in Nigeria in 2023. According to Reuters, electoral officers reported that the difficult security situation on the ground left nearly 1/5 of the northwestern Zamfara state's polling stations unreachable - these alone would have served over 250,000 people.

In 11 out of the 17 African countries with elections in 2024, based on their last election, more than 50% of respondents could not find their polling station

2023 DR Congo elections: logistical setbacks largely disrupted the vote


In the DR Congo elections in December 2023, observers sounded the alarm on logistical setbacks such as delayed opening of polling stations, security risks and malfunctioning electronic systems. 27% of polling stations across the DR Congo did not open and 45% of voting machines malfunctioned. Churches documented serious incidents which disrupted around 60% of voting.



In DR Congo's latest election, 27% of polling stations did not open and 45% of voting machines malfunctioned

Africa: the costliest elections globally

Africa has the costliest elections globally, both in absolute terms and per capita. Between 2000 and 2018, sub-Saharan Africa spent nearly \$44.3 billion on elections. Within this same period the electoral cost per capita in Africa was \$4.50, twice the world average and higher than in Europe, North America and Australasia, despite having a much lower GDP per capita.



Africa's electoral cost per capita is twice that of the world's average

Malian elected officials spent over 100 times the monthly salary of Malians

According to the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, in 2019 Mali elected officials spent around €54,000 (\$58,295) on an electoral campaign for legislative elections. 28% of that amount was spent on the actual election day, equivalent to 150 times the average monthly salary in the country – this stands at €100 (\$108).

Despite having the costliest elections globally, African citizens continue to face issues with voting operations, voter registration and safe access to polling stations.

There is a degree of dependency on international partners to support elections. The US pledged \$165 million towards the end of 2022 to six election countries: DR Congo, Gabon, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. The EU also has a history of deploying election observation missions to African countries, most recently in Liberia and Sierra Leone for the 2023 elections. However, the AU is playing an increasingly crucial role in monitoring elections, showcasing the continent's growing autonomy.

Declines in key democratic freedoms in the election countries, according to the 2022 IIAG

Overall, the 2022 IIAG shows concerning results as most countries heading to the ballot boxes this year have experienced declines in key categories, sub-categories and indicators related to democratic freedoms during the decade, specifically during election periods. Declining democratic freedoms such as participatory civil society space, digital rights and freedom of expression and belief are necessary for good governance.

"Inclusivity, representation and the protection of political rights are at the heart of democracy – when absent, governments cannot take informed decisions nor be held accountable for delivering on the aspirations and expectations of their citizens. The correlation between freedom of assembly, democratic elections and overall governance is evident."

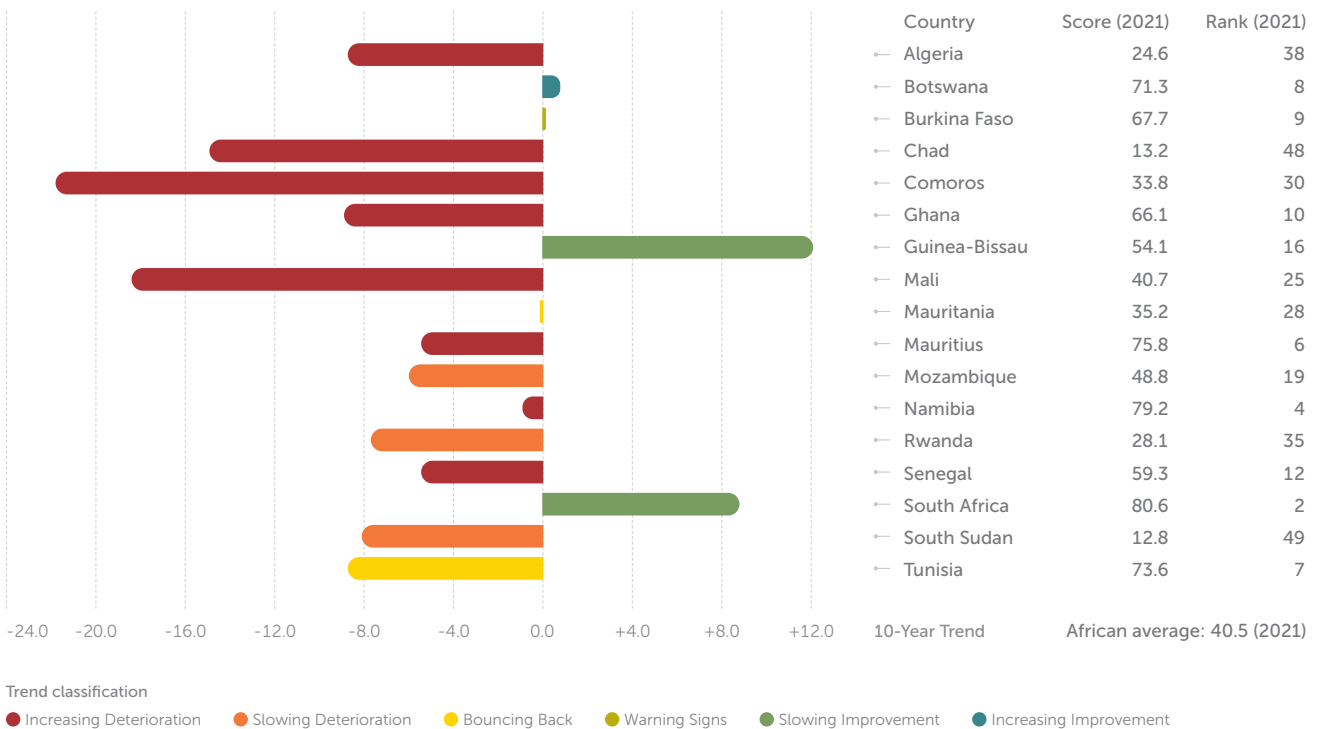
Elhadj As Sy, Chair of the Board, Kofi Annan Foundation

Participation, Rights & Inclusion declined over the last available decade (2012-2021) in ten of the 17 countries with elections this year. Indeed, either Participation or Rights were the two most deteriorated sub-categories for 11 of the countries, further highlighting a concerning backslide in democratic freedoms within a majority of the countries set to have elections this year.

Participation: 13 countries (out of 17) have deteriorated since 2012, 8 of which at an increased pace over the second part of the decade (2017-2021)

Selected African countries with elections: Participation sub-category, 2021 score, 10-year trend & trend classification (2012-2021)

Source: MIF

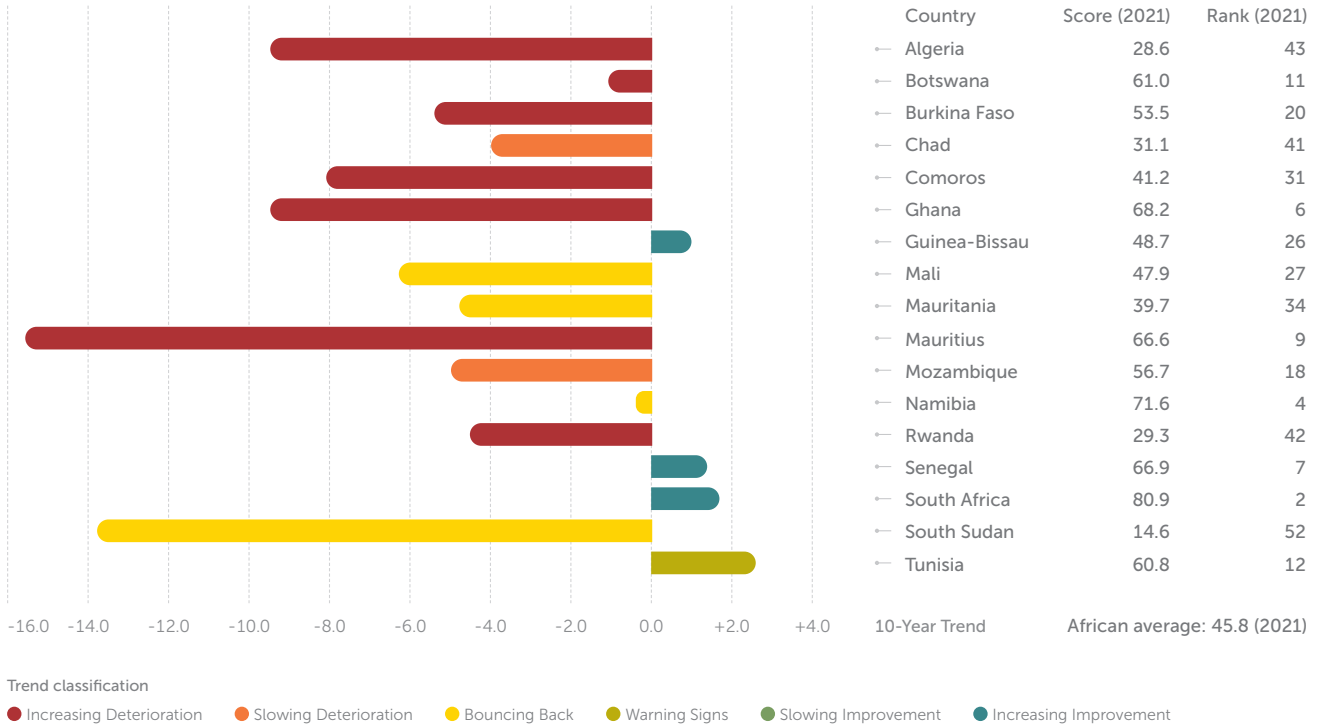


The 2022 Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) is the most comprehensive publicly available dataset measuring African governance performance and includes measures relating to participation, democracy and rights, among others.

Rights: 13 (out of 17) countries have deteriorated since 2012, of which seven at an increased pace over the second part of the decade (2017-2021)

Selected African countries with elections: *Rights* sub-category, 2021 score, 10-year trend & trend classification (2012-2021)

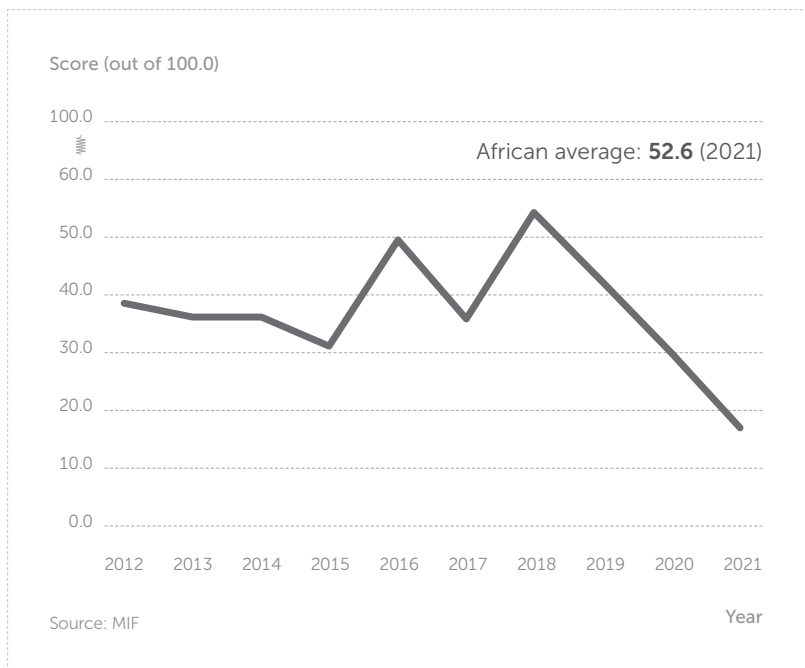
Source: MIF



Civil society space has shrunk in most of the election countries

The *Civil Society Space* indicator has also shrunk in ten out of the 17 election countries between 2012 and 2021, with Chad registering the largest decrease of 21.7 points while also on an increasing deterioration trajectory.

Chad: *Civil Society Space* indicator score (2012-2021)

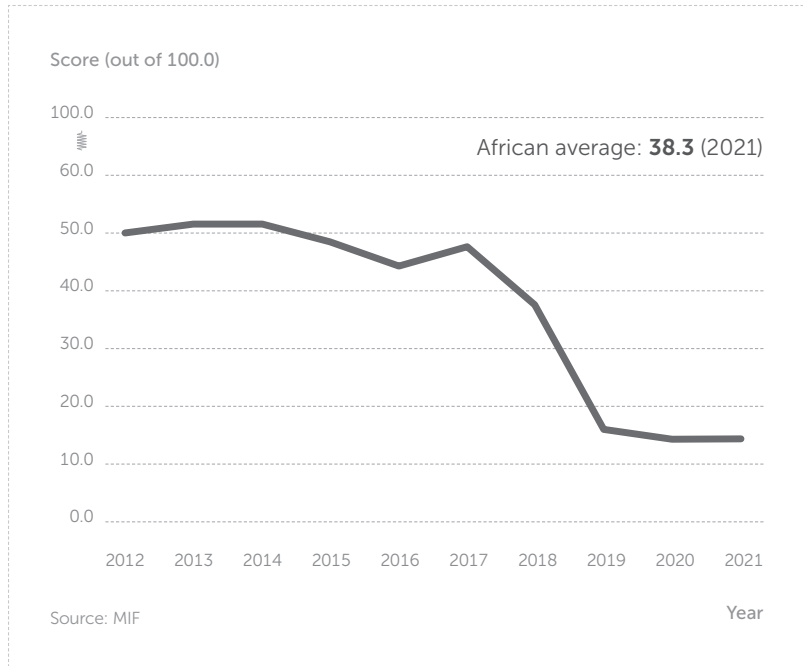


Along with Chad, five countries have registered increasing deterioration: Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mauritius, Namibia and Rwanda.

Democratic elections deteriorated in 11 countries (out of the 17)

The 2022 IIAG shows a ten-year trend decline in 11 election countries in the *Democratic Elections* indicator. Nine countries have followed a trend of increasing deterioration since 2017, and six countries scored lower than the African average in 2021 (Algeria, Chad, Comoros, Mali, Mozambique and South Sudan).

Comoros: *Democratic Elections* indicators score (2012-2021)



Comoros experienced the largest decline in their last election year (2019) dropping by 21.5 points followed closely by Mali (2018) dropping 19.1 by points.

IIAG *Democratic Elections* indicator scores

Country with elections in 2024	Score prior to latest election year	Score during latest election year
Algeria	34.4 (2018)	24.0 (2019)
Botswana	62.8 (2018)	61.9 (2019)
Burkina Faso	73.8 (2019)	66.3 (2020)
Chad	18.7 (2020)	9.1 (2021)
Comoros	37.1 (2018)	15.6 (2019)
Ghana	75.3 (2019)	68.2 (2020)
Guinea-Bissau	55.9 (2018)	61.9 (2019)
Mali	53.0 (2017)	33.9 (2018)
Mauritania	40.7 (2018)	45.2 (2019)
Mauritius	82.3 (2018)	64.4 (2019)
Mozambique	35.8 (2018)	24.9 (2019)
Namibia	82.6 (2018)	73.5 (2019)
Rwanda	47.5 (2016)	46.5 (2017)
Senegal	71.3 (2018)	65.6 (2019)
South Africa	80.4 (2018)	85.3 (2019)
Tunisia	90.7 (2018)	87.4 (2019)

Only three countries made improvements on their score for the *Democratic Elections* indicator on the year during the election: Guinea-Bissau (2019), Mauritania (2019) and South Africa (2019)

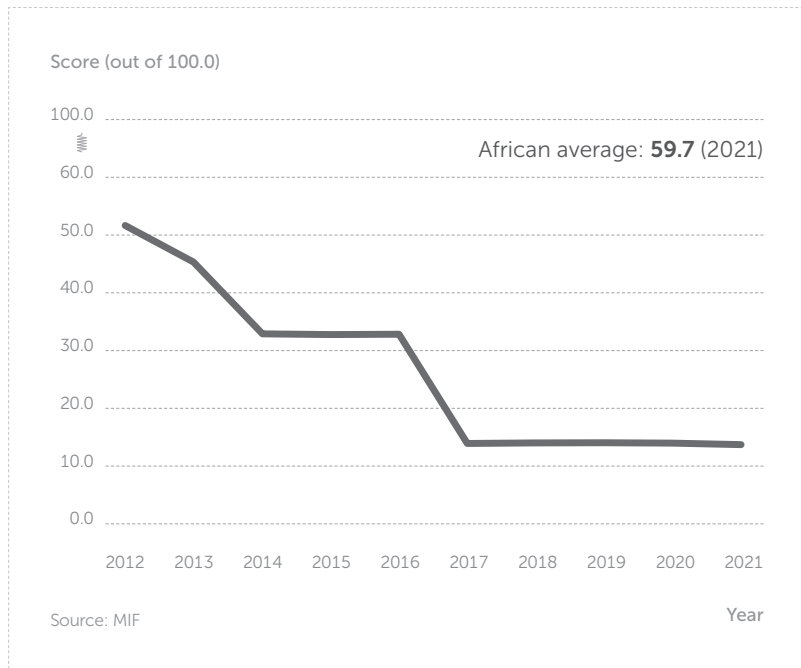
Source: MIF

Note: South Sudan is not included because it has not yet held an election since gaining independence in 2011.

Freedom of Expression & Belief fell in 13 out of 17 countries

Over 2012-2021, 13 countries out of 17 countries registered declines in the IIAG *Freedom of Expression & Belief* indicator, with six countries following an increasing deterioration path. South Sudan has experienced the largest decline of the decade (-38.1). With a 2021 score of 13.6, it is ranked 53rd out of 54 countries for this IIAG indicator.

South Sudan: *Freedom of Expression & Belief* indicator score (2012-2021)



IIAG *Freedom of Expression & Belief* indicator scores

Country with elections in 2024	Score prior to latest election year	Score during latest election year
Algeria	39.0 (2018)	32.1 (2019)
Botswana	84.1 (2018)	84.5 (2019)
Burkina Faso	82.0 (2019)	81.7 (2020)
Chad	41.0 (2020)	39.7 (2021)
Comoros	60.0 (2018)	53.7 (2019)
Ghana	86.6 (2019)	86.5 (2020)
Guinea-Bissau	76.3 (2018)	76.3 (2019)
Mali	75.8 (2017)	69.6 (2018)
Mauritania	35.6 (2018)	39.3 (2019)
Mauritius	93.4 (2018)	93.2 (2019)
Mozambique	68.5 (2018)	66.7 (2019)
Namibia	83.4 (2018)	85.2 (2019)
Rwanda	35.9 (2016)	35.6 (2017)
Senegal	91.5 (2018)	89.7 (2019)
South Africa	93.1 (2018)	92.7 (2019)
Tunisia	81.5 (2018)	82.2 (2019)

Almost 70% of election countries have experienced a decline in their score for *Freedom of Expression & Belief* during the year of their last election

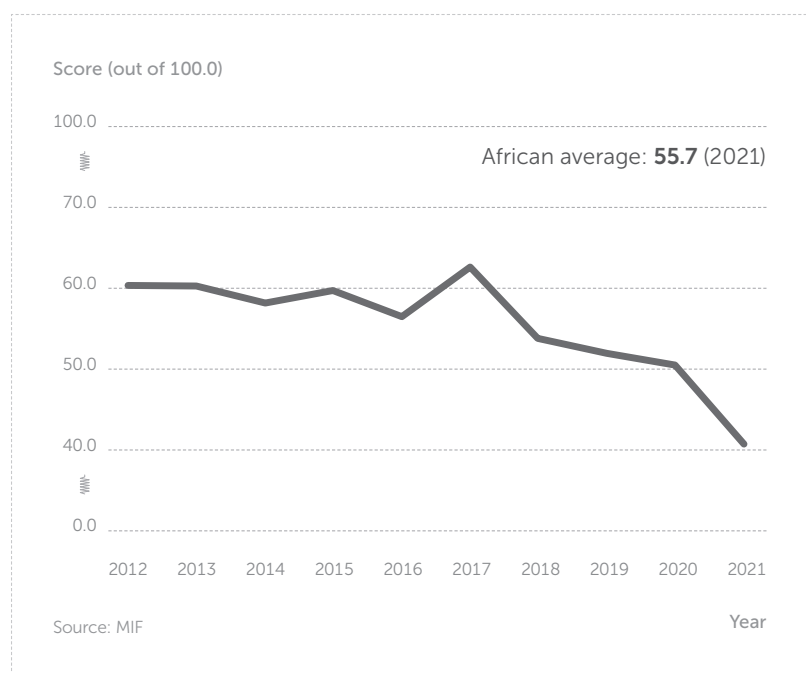
Source: MIF

Note: South Sudan is not included because it has not yet held an election since gaining independence in 2011.

Digital Rights: 14 out of 17 countries deteriorated over 2012-2021

In the *Digital Rights* indicator, 14 election countries showed overall decline across the decade, of which 11 have followed a path of increasing deterioration. This includes Ghana, the highest IIAG scoring (86.7) and ranking (4) in this indicator of the countries having elections in 2024. Although South Sudan has the lowest score (12.8), Burkina Faso has experienced the largest decline (-19.6).

Burkina Faso: *Digital Rights* indicator score (2012-2021)



IIAG *Digital Rights* indicator scores

Country with elections in 2024	Score prior to latest election year	Score during latest election year
Algeria	34.4 (2018)	26.4 (2019)
Botswana	90.2 (2018)	91.1 (2019)
Burkina Faso	51.9 (2019)	50.4 (2020)
Chad	30.9 (2020)	29.0 (2021)
Comoros	60.2 (2018)	57.0 (2019)
Ghana	84.0 (2019)	85.8 (2020)
Guinea-Bissau	62.2 (2018)	62.8 (2019)
Mali	39.3 (2017)	39.3 (2018)
Mauritania	53.1 (2018)	36.3 (2019)
Mauritius	84.1 (2018)	77.8 (2019)
Mozambique	93.5 (2018)	92.3 (2019)
Namibia	76.6 (2018)	83.3 (2019)
Rwanda	42.0 (2016)	38.9 (2017)
Senegal	71.3 (2018)	72.8 (2019)
South Africa	84.1 (2018)	82.9 (2019)
Tunisia	74.0 (2018)	74.0 (2019)

Digital Rights deteriorated in over half of the countries in the year of their last election

Source: MIF

Note: South Sudan is not included because it has not yet held an election since gaining independence in 2011.

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