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PROSPECTS FOR AFRICA'S 26 FRAGILE COUNTRIES

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SUMMARY

Africa is witnessing strong and sustained high levels of economic growth and an overall reduction in conflict across the continent. New natural-resource exploitation, growing urbanisation and progress in human-development goals, such as education and health, generally suggest that the African Renaissance rhetoric is being met with reality. However, some countries experiencing conflict are caught in a vicious cycle of violence, chronic poverty, inequality and exclusion from the gains of growth. These countries – which we term the 'more fragile' states – are on a much slower trajectory to long-term peace and development.

This policy paper provides an overview of a longer monograph that provides long-term forecasts of fragility in Africa. Using the International Futures system (IFs) data-analysis and forecasting tool, the paper provides a long-term forecast of 26 fragile African countries. They are chosen on the basis of comparative lists of fragile countries from indicators that reflect the fragility syndrome. In conducting the forecast, the authors argue that fragility should be understood as a syndrome, or set of related conditions, that operates in a system that is mutually reinforcing.

The first section presents a brief analysis that groups the drivers of fragility into four dimensions. This analysis allows us, in the following section, firstly, to identify appropriate variables for forecasting and, secondly, to use the IFs tool to undertake a dynamic forecast of potential prospects. Note that the findings presented here provide only a forecast (one of many that are possible using various data-analysis models), not a prediction – and we draw attention to the limits of such endeavours while pointing to their obvious utility for planning purposes. We provide both optimistic and pessimistic scenarios in comparison to a dynamic base-case forecast.

The forecasts suggest that, in the long-term, ten countries in Africa will continue to remain fragile into the mid-21st century. Others, however, have a good chance of embarking on a pathway from fragility to middle-income-type conditions by 2030 or possibly 2050. The paper concludes with a list of recommendations, the most important of which is the need to plan in the face of continued fragility in the ten long-term fragile countries to 2050.

INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE

This policy paper provides a summary of an in-depth Institute for Security Studies monograph[1] that assesses long-term structural dynamics in Africa by forecasting the future for Africa's 26 'more fragile' countries. Using the IFs historical database and forecasting system, the monograph explores the future of these 'more fragile' countries to 2030 and 2050.[2] The futures approach involves conceptualising and presenting a model of interactions among dimensions of fragility to create a base-case projection, and then manipulating elements of the model to produce pessimistic and optimistic forecasts relative to Africa current trajectory or base case.

The first section of this paper briefly discusses the syndrome of fragility and then lists 26 countries that are identified as 'more fragile' by comparison with 'more resilient' countries constituting the rest of Africa.

In the following section, we explain the methods used to identify the 'more fragile' countries in Africa and derive our list of 26 cases for the combined analysis. This section also describes the variables that enable us to forecast fragility, framing our forecast within the context of Africa's current development trajectory.

The final section provides a summary of the forecasts and a sample of the data presentations that the forecasts provide. The paper concludes with a summary of findings and recommendations.

UNPACKING STATE FRAGILITY: A SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE

The discourse relating to fragile states is wide-ranging, but there is consensus that it is a useful concept for categorising countries and contexts that see marked interactions between armed conflict, interpersonal violence, chronic poverty, high socio-economic inequalities and poor or weak governance. For this paper, we define fragility as low capacity and poor state performance with respect to security and development. A state is fragile when it is unable to provide basic human security and/or create the public goods and conditions needed for a minimum of human development. This raises the controversial and complex issue of causation.

The causes of fragility may be indirect: there may also be pushback as different factors interact, and debates on the causal relationships between the root causes and drivers of fragility are contentious. For example, improvements in economic growth rates – a prerequisite for building state capacity by providing increased tax and other revenues – may simultaneously increase inequality and socio-economic differences. This may increase a state's vulnerability to grievance, protest and insurgency, offsetting capacity gains because of a state's lack of legitimacy or its unwillingness to address those left behind by rampant economic growth. In this manner there are often important feedback loops across the dimensions, some of which may be counter-intuitive. This suggests that forecasting should be done cautiously and with transparency as to how the complex relationships are characterised in the model and the data selections that go into the forecast results.

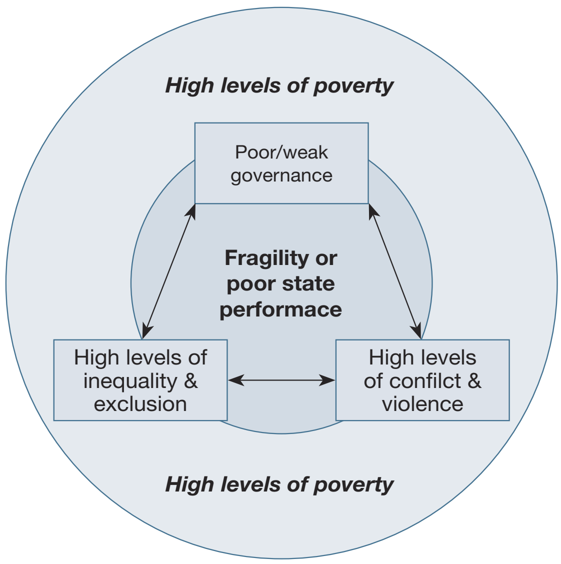
The drivers of fragility can be grouped into four dimensions, namely:

- poor or weak governance;
- high levels of conflict and violence;
- high levels of inequality and economic exclusion; and
- poverty.

Each dimension includes internal, external, deep and proximate drivers of fragility and we argue that fragility emerges from the interaction of these drivers. We do not imply that these dimensions operate at the same level or that they are mutually exclusive – they are not. For example, poverty is in many senses a deeper and less direct driver of fragility than poor governance or violence. Each dimension therefore consists of a cluster of drivers, which have considerable interrelationships.

Figure 1 presents a summary of the context in which state fragility occurs. It presents high levels of chronic poverty as the essential context and deep driver of fragility. Fragile countries experience ongoing and successively high levels of violence, a debilitating condition that reverses development gains and destroys infrastructure. Conflict zones are particularly fragile, in the sense that they appear caught in a vicious circle in which conflict undermines development and governance, and the absence of security provides an enabling environment that further exacerbates conflict drivers. Poverty and violence result in weak or limited governance capacity. In Africa's natural-resource-dependent countries, inequality is often driven (and enabled) by large financial flows from commodity exports when expressed as a ratio of exports to GDP.

Figure 1: Foundational dimensions of fragility



Fragility in Africa should, in part, be seen as a function of the delayed process of state formation and needs to be placed within an appropriate historical context. For many African countries (and elsewhere in the world), the three historical processes of state formation – the consolidation of state security, state capacity and inclusion – now proceed simultaneously, and in mixed and various patterns. State formation today is open-ended and continually subject to contestation. In addition, the private and financial sectors today are much more powerful global actors than at any time previously, with multinational corporations operating at a level between and above states.

> A state is fragile when it is unable to provide basic human security and/or create the public goods and conditions needed for a minimum of human development. This raises the controversial and complex issue of causation

State formation, in the authors' view, is a political process that largely deals with internal changes in relationships along many fronts – political, economic, and sociocultural. In fragile states, legitimacy often ultimately rests on a set of political agreements (in the absence of stable institutions) that serve as the basis for stability. Neo-patrimonial, elite-based and exclusive or 'captured' structures of governance are particularly difficult to change from the outside. Although external actors and global politics impact on state formation, this is essentially about defining and redefining the relationships between citizens and government (vertically), and establishing the power relationships between groups within society (horizontally). Politics and governance, in whatever manifestation, lie at the heart of the challenge of rebuilding fragile states, and are key to the associated policy responses by development partners, international organisations and transnational civil society in seeking to foster peace and development in these contexts.

In the context of fragile states, every aspect of the governmental relationship is directly (and often personally) political. Institutions and processes of state accountability are weak, the policy framework is uncertain and the rule of law subject to various interpretations. The result is often far removed from the rational–legal processes and systems that are commonly associated with the modern state. Many functions of governance are performed in informal ethnic, clan, religious or traditional networks that operate outside the boundaries of human rights, accountability and universal access to education and healthcare as the responsibilities of modern states in the 21st century.

AFRICA'S 'MORE FRAGILE' COUNTRIES FOR FUTURES ANALYSIS

With these conceptual models in mind, the authors developed a list using the World Bank and African Development Bank's (AfDB) harmonised list of conflict-affected and fragile countries for the 2014 financial year. This list was used because of the importance of the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) ranking/judgement in the decisions made by these organisations and other lending agencies in determining the conditions under which these countries can access financing on the international market.

For 2014, the two banks included 19 states in their harmonised list of fragile and conflict-affected countries. The authors added an additional seven countries from the various endogenous indices developed and computed within the IFs system, the Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Ibrahim Governance Index, the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy done by Carlton University, the Failed State Index from the Fund for Peace and the Center for Systemic Peace.

This final list of 'more fragile' states in Africa consists of the following 26 countries: Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Cameroon, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Togo, Uganda and Zimbabwe. By default, in our approach, we consider the rest of the countries in Africa to be 'more resilient'. We use this category to enable broader comparisons between our two principal categories.

The populations of Ethiopia and the DRC are the largest within the 'more fragile' group of countries, followed by Uganda. By 2030 these countries will have populations of 83 million, 66 million and 33,5 million, respectively. The remaining countries in the 'more fragile' group have substantially smaller populations. The IFs forecasting model currently includes data on Sudan with its pre-division borders: we will refer to Sudan/South Sudan, where appropriate indicating the inclusion of data for both countries

> Among the variables we use for the four dimensions of fragility are indices on vulnerability to war and violence, state capacity, long-term education and health prospects, and economic exclusion

Many countries that face long-term problems are not included in the list, including the two countries with the highest democratic deficit in Africa – or, in other words, lack of representative government relative to their expected degree of democracy given the level of human development. These are Equatorial Guinea and Swaziland. Large countries with substantial subregional fragility have also not been included – Nigeria and Kenya, for example. Many of the countries in North Africa, including Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia, face numerous challenges in the short to medium term, but only Libya may experience conditions of fragility lasting for several decades. Its crisis of governance (given the absence of governance institutions during the Ghadaffi regime) is expected to continue much longer than in countries elsewhere in the region, despite its relative wealth compared with other countries on the continent.

The authors recognise that any list of this kind will raise eyebrows and that any given country is unique. Nonetheless, we believe this list drawn up for the forecast is solid on the basis of evidence of the drivers of long-term fragility that lie at the heart of the fragility syndrome.

FORECASTING FRAGILITY

Using IFs, we first considered (and tested) a range of variables to be used for each of the four dimensions of fragility, and evaluated the expected impact of external developments, such as the effect of conflict in neighbouring countries or vulnerability to external economic shocks. In the end, we chose a set of composite variables and paid careful attention to ensuring the least overlap in the sub-index indicators. Each of these variables and indices is composite and individually complex. Among the variables we use are indices on vulnerability to war and violence, state capacity, long-term education and health prospects, and economic exclusion. The use of such broad indices inevitably results in considerable loss of explanatory value and country context, and we caution that forecasting does not mean prediction. We also acknowledge that data gaps do occur for many of our cases, and through careful assessment of the underlying data set we have also sought to account for the weak reliability of statistical measures. Indeed, one of our principal recommendations is to increase efforts to use new technologies to improve data reliability in Africa.

In the following section, we first present a brief picture of Africa's current trajectory – or a base case – for the 'more fragile' and 'more resilient' countries, and then explore the future of the 'more fragile' countries in more detail. Then we explore the future of the 'more fragile' countries from the viewpoint of reasonable optimistic and pessimistic forecasts. Here we present the results from the two scenarios as probability limits of future options rather than presenting each as a separate storyline. We hope that the integrated representation of optimistic and pessimistic forecasts reflects our notion of fragility as a self-reinforcing syndrome.

All amounts in this section are in US$ 2005. Our forecast horizon is 2050 but we use 2030 as a useful milestone.

Comparing 'more resilient' with 'more fragile' groups of countries

Africa's total population will increase to the point where by 2050, 23 per cent of the global population will be living in Africa. By 2025, more people will be born in the African countries collectively than in China and India.

The median age of the 'more fragile' countries populations can be expected to increase from around 18 currently to 21 by 2030, and to 25 by 2050. The median age in the 'more resilient' countries is around three years higher, and population growth rates are expected to be around 0,5 per cent lower.

The IFs base-case forecast is that the African economy as a whole will grow at an average rate of around 5,6 per cent between 2010 and 2050 – significantly faster than the global average growth rate of slightly less than 3 per cent. This forecast of higher rates of growth in Africa has recently received considerable public attention and analysis. A monograph[3] published by the African

Futures Project of the ISS (in partnership with the Pardee Centre) set out our views on the factors behind these improvements, which include the population dividend, evidence of more responsible macroeconomic management and reform, improved agricultural output and industrial management, more stable political frameworks, more effective aid, targeted debt relief, increased domestic revenues, growth in remittances and foreign direct investment, the rise of the global South (China in particular), as well as the extent to which Africa has been able to benefit from the commodities boom.

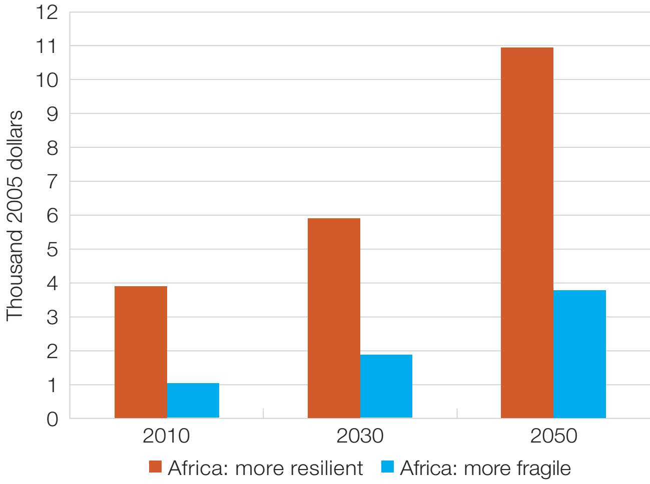
Besides Angola and Ethiopia, growth is likely to be faster in smaller economies and countries with smaller populations.[4] And the fastest growth is not expected to occur in countries that export large quantities of natural resources (with the exception of Angola and Equatorial Guinea). This bears out the findings of much research that countries rich in oil, minerals and other natural resources experience slower economic growth in the longer term than countries that are less resource-rich – although there are exceptions, such as Botswana.

During the forecast period, the size of the African economy will increase almost nine-fold in market exchange rate (MER) terms (from around $1 241 billion in 2010 to $3 498 billion by 2030 and $11 126 billion by 2050). Although there is well-deserved excitement about economic growth in Africa, it is important that future growth prospects are placed in context. Given the size of its total population, Africa's proportional contribution to the global economy will continue to remain modest well into the forecast period. Africa currently constitutes around 2,5 per cent of the global economy and this figure will increase to roughly 3,8 per cent by 2030 and 6,5 per cent by 2050. GDP per capita will grow steadily from $2 718 in 2010 to $4 141 in 2030 and almost $7 588 by 2050 – a growth rate slower than that of the global average, but steady and pronounced over time.

Currently, less than 75 per cent of children are enrolled in primary education across the continent. The IFs base-case forecast is that Africa will achieve 85 per cent enrolment in primary education by 2030. This means that by 2030, 38 million children will not attend primary school. Gross secondary-school enrolment currently stands at 55 per cent and is expected to reach 70 per cent by 2030.

On a per capita purchasing power parity (PPP) basis, the average citizens in both groups ('more fragile' and 'more resilient') would see their incomes rise. This would be a slightly slower increase in the case of the 'more fragile' countries, to $1 857 in 2030 and $3 771 in 2050, at which point the GDP per capita in the 'more resilient' countries is forecast to be substantially higher, at $10 960 (see Figure 2). This will occur despite the fact that the 'more fragile' countries are expected to experience average growth rates of up to 1 per cent higher than the 'more resilient' countries.

Figure 2: GDP per capita (at PPP) for 'more fragile' and 'more resilient' groups of states



Sources: International Futures v6.7, World Development Indicators

If we look at the number of people affected by extreme poverty, using the common $2 per day measurement, and then the percentages of the population for each group, the summary results are presented in Figure 3 and graphically in Figure 4.

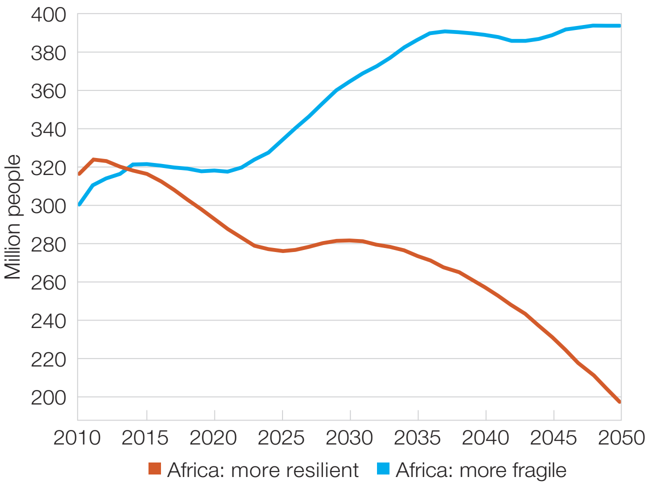
Figure 3: People affected by extreme poverty

Year	More fragile Million people/% population	More resilient Million people/% population
2010	302 million (70%)	317 million (54%)
2030	365 million (53%)	282 million (33%)
2050	394 million (39%)	198 million (17%)

Sources: International Futures v6.7, World Development Indicators

The two groups start with roughly the same number of extremely poor people – slightly more than 300 million (although the percentages of the populations differ). In both groups, the percentages of those in extreme poverty in both groups decline, but much more sharply in the 'more resilient' group, despite the fact that this group had around 162 million more people than the 'more fragile' group in 2010. Therefore, the gap between 'more fragile' and 'more resilient' states is expected to widen in terms of people in chronic poverty. At the same time, the number of people living in extreme poverty increases in the 'more fragile' states, whereas significant decreases are expected in 'more resilient' states. These trends are key to reducing extreme poverty, which we earlier identified as a deep driver of fragility.

Figure 4: People living in extreme poverty (less than $2 per day) (millions) (log normal formulation)



Sources: International Futures v6.7, World Development Indicators

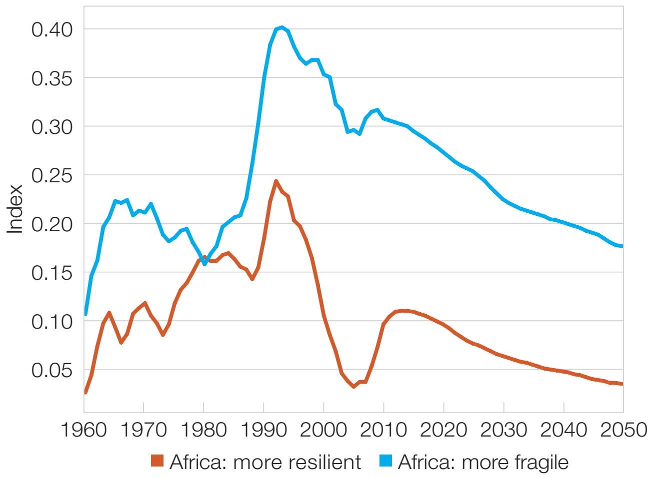
In interpreting these figures, it is important to bear in mind that the populations of both groupings increase substantially in the future, eventually totalling 1 billion people living in 'more fragile' and 1,14 billion people living in 'more resilient' countries by 2050.

All African countries are expected to make steady progress towards improved scores on the Human Development Index. 'More fragile' countries will improve from an average figure of 0,373 in 2010 to 0,47 in 2030 and 0,564 in 2050 – while the gap between the two groups does not change meaningfully. Similarly, the percentage of malnourished children declines more sharply within 'more fragile' countries, reflecting the fact that it is easier to make large inroads at an earlier stage. Based on a forecast using the domestic Gini coefficient, inequality improves but the gap between 'more fragile' and 'more resilient' countries is expected to remain relatively constant.

We would consider that Africa generally experiences a governance gap – in other words, it has less capacity than one would expect in countries at similar levels of development given historical patterns, and certainly less than required to meet the challenges of poverty alleviation and development generally. This is an analysis shared across the developmental sector with numerous efforts to build the capacity of African governments. There are historical reasons for this situation – a result of the African experience of interrupted state formation. In addition, a review of the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance reflects a situation that would indicate that the 'more fragile' countries have even less governance than the 'more resilient' group.

If we look at violence,[5] also going back historically, it is evident that the 'more fragile' countries have experienced much higher levels of internal war and violence than the 'more resilient' countries, and we can expect this trend to continue, even though the levels of future war/violence decline in both groups. In fact, violence is the defining feature of most 'more fragile' countries, and the modelling done by IFs developer, Professor Barry Hughes, indicates that past conflict is the largest contributor (and hence the most important indicator) of future conflict.[6] We present the results in Figure 5 with a five-year moving average to smooth out the trend lines. The graph accurately depicts the sharp rise in internal wars (often enabled by the competing superpowers) leading up to the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the subsequent tapering off of conflict in Africa in the post-Cold War period – and especially since the early 1990s. It also presents the opportunity for further sharp reductions in conflict (equivalent to the sharp rise in the years before 1989), reflected in our optimistic scenario.

Figure 5: State failure internal event – history and forecast[7]

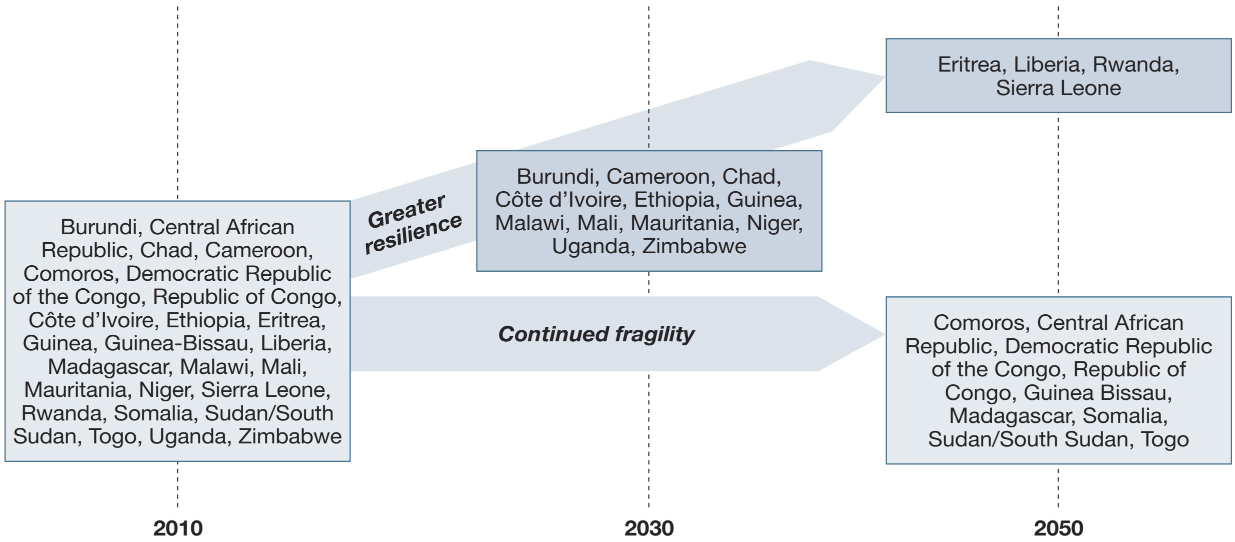


Sources: International Futures v6.7, Political Instability Task Force

In summary, our forecast would indicate that:

- 12 countries might exit fragility on a path towards greater resilience by or before 2030, namely

Figure 6: Continued fragility versus more resilience



Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Uganda and Zimbabwe;

- four countries might exit fragility on a path to greater resilience by or before 2050, namely Eritrea, Liberia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone; and
- ten countries are at risk of remaining in a fragility trap beyond 2050, namely Comoros, Central African Republic, DRC, Republic of Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Somalia, Sudan/South Sudan and Togo.

These forecasts are shown in Figure 6.

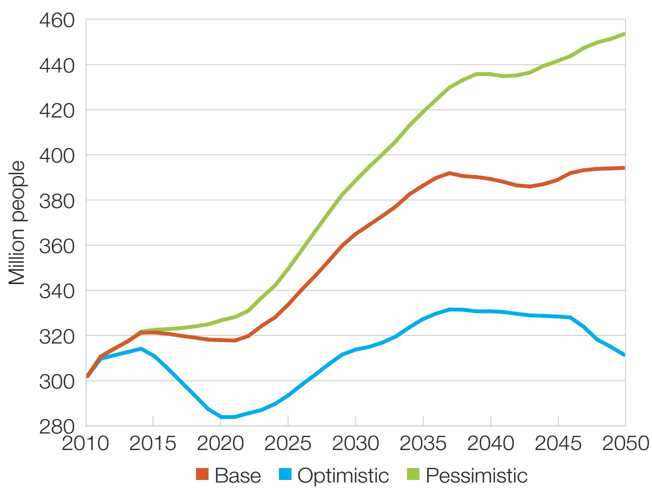
In addition, we need to point to the challenge from environmental stress that Mauritania (which is on a progressive path towards greater resilience) could face in the decades that lie ahead if a solution to its impending water challenges are not found. Mauritania is already depleting its ground-water resources at an alarming rate and it will be impacted more severely by reductions in agricultural yield than any other country within our group of 26 'more fragile' countries as a result of the impact of global warming, with reductions of around 5 per cent from 2010 levels by 2030 and 10 per cent by 2050. It is also important to note that countries like Equatorial Guinea and Swaziland, which we exclude from our analysis, are highly vulnerable to conflict and fragility. Closed political systems appear stable, but are simply more vulnerable, like in Libya, to rapidly developing instability.

On the other hand, by 2050, slightly more than 1 billion Africans (i.e. about half of Africa's population) are forecast to be living in 'more fragile' countries. This number could be reduced to 372 million people by 2050 (around 16 per cent of Africa's population) if the improvements towards greater resilience materialise. In our view, the principal dimension that will affect the trajectory of these countries is inevitably the quality of leadership and the commitment of the governing elite to inclusive growth and developmental policies.

Key risks

Perhaps the most dramatic illustration of the range of possible futures that Africa's 26 'more fragile' countries may experience is shown in Figure 7. This is a potential future that could see 75 million more or fewer people living in extreme poverty by 2030, and 142 million more or fewer by 2050. Or, put differently, between 11 and 14 per cent more or fewer people will experience these dire circumstances depending on the policy choices and social processes that unfold in the years that lie ahead.

Figure 7: People living on less than $2 per day, log normal formulation



Sources: International Futures v6.7, World Development Indicators

Ethiopia and the DRC dominated the picture presented here, having substantially larger populations than the rest, followed by Sudan/South Sudan and Uganda. Inequality within key countries – Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, DRC and Uganda in particular – could vary greatly depending on the development path that is followed, and the degree to which growth is inclusive and focused on the chronically poor (all could see increases in excess of 0,1 on the domestic Gini coefficient). The average Gini scores of 'more fragile' countries would vary between 0,65 and 0,77 for an optimistic and pessimistic future.

Development of state capacity in fragile states has been disappointing, in part because aid has had at times unintended negative effects on local conditions and can in the worst instances exacerbate conflict dynamics.[8] At the same time, progress on improving state legitimacy through better electoral practices, and state authority in terms of progress in security-sector reform and in its development capacity in terms of public-administration reform, has been seen in some of Africa's most conflict-affected states. Beyond the critical roles of political settlement and enlightened leadership, the ingredients for progress in state capacity hinge on long-term development in the state's ability to promote the rule of law, improve public administration, deliver essential services, and make improvements in the accountability of institutions of the state and processes of social accountability.[9]

By 2050, slightly more than 1 billion Africans are forecast to be living in 'more fragile' countries. If the improvements towards greater resilience materialise this number could be reduced to 372 million people by 2050

The reduction in the gap between actual levels of democracy (the supply) and expected levels (demand) when compared with other countries with similar levels of education and GDP per capita could provide a big push in reducing the propensity for internal violence and upheaval.

Unsurprisingly, Sudan/South Sudan, Somalia and the DRC experience the lowest reductions in intrastate violence in the optimistic forecast and the largest increases in violence in the pessimistic forecast. The combined impact of an unstable region, a history of conflict, large youth bulge and various associated factors creates a conflict trap from which it will be very difficult to escape in these instances. This suggests that there should be a persistent and extensive commitment to fostering stability, governance and poverty reduction in the war-ravaged Horn of Africa and Great Lakes Region.

The economic size and GDP per person could vary greatly in these countries and for each scenario. Figure 8 sets out the differences in the size of the economies and GDP per capita between the optimistic and pessimistic forecasts.

Figure 8: Gap between optimistic and pessimistic scenario for 'more fragile' states

Country	Size of the 2030 economy (MER)	GDP per person by 2030 (PPP)
Burundi	$571 million	$99
Cameroon	$7,6 billion	$340
Central African Republic	$767 million	$174
Chad	$3,2 billion	$272
Comoros	$96 million	$115
Democratic Republic of Congo	$2,7 billion	$42
Republic of Congo	$4,9 billion	$887
Côte d'Ivoire	$5,6 billion	$219
Eritrea	$376 million	$77
Ethiopia	$14,1 billion	$207
Guinea	$2,1 billion	$236
Guinea-Bissau	$195 million	$151
Liberia	$1,2 billion	$229
Madagascar	$1,6 billion	$120
Malawi	$2,7 billion	$200
Mali	$4,5 billion	$234
Mauritania	$947 million	$283
Niger	$1,7 billion	$100
Rwanda	$3,8 billion	$357
Sierra Leone	$1,9 billion	$280
Somalia	$1,2 billion	$125
Sudan/South Sudan	$9,2 billion	$203
Togo	$1 billion	$166
Uganda	$12,8 billion	$316
Zimbabwe	$1,3 billion	$166

Source: International Futures v6.7

The economies of key countries – Ethiopia and Uganda in particular – will increase dramatically as a consequence of large increases in their populations. But these increases will only slowly translate into improvements in income per capita and, in some instances, the potential differences are quite low. Unless overall poverty levels can be dramatically reduced through improved interventions and aid effectiveness, fragility will continue to be a critical challenge for these countries well into the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Planning for long-term fragility

We recommend that external partners (the AfDB, the World Bank, the UNDP, the Peacebuilding Fund, the African Union's newly established African Solidarity Initiative[10] and neighbouring countries) collectively engage with each of the ten long-term fragile countries to facilitate the development of individual long-term national development plans. Beyond their internal processes that produce country strategy papers and analysis, organisations such as the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, the AfDB and others should consider investing in methodologies to undertake regular (i.e. annual) independent political-economic and forward-looking assessments of these long-term 'more fragile' states over at least an initial ten-year period – longer if possible.

External partners should consider investing in methodologies to undertake regular independent political-economic and forward-looking assessments of the ten long-term 'more fragile' states over at least an initial ten-year period

We also recommend that international partners explore the use of 'big data' and social media that might complement the more traditional efforts of the World Bank and short-circuit some of Africa's traditional data constraints. Such data can help provide greater knowledge of the conditions of sub-state fragility and development challenges, which are often obscured in the more typical country-level data sets.

Preventing and managing conflict

Over the long term, we recommend a balanced approach, whereby external agencies seek to ensure that investments in the advancement of the institutionalisation of governance, measures to reduce poverty and inequality, and conflict management/mediation proceed in tandem and with some degree of balance between these four dimensions. Contrary to others, we caution against reducing support to 'more fragile' countries to the point where there is a narrow focus only on the provision of security.

Africans should build on the example of the Ad Hoc Investigation Mechanism (AIM) established by the Mbeki Panel to investigate the claims and counter-claims by Sudan and South Sudan about support to armed groups within their territory aimed at destabilising the other. Credible findings that are made public on the extent of cross-border interference in the domestic affairs of others would go a long way to shining a light on these situations, and should trigger remedial censure and action under the auspices of the African Union and the UN Security Council. Once this security issue is addressed, it opens the way for domestic efforts to undertake comprehensive security-review processes that can identify the appropriate levels of expenditure on defence, internal security and intelligence – often hidden from scrutiny and uninformed by a needs analysis.

In the absence of UN Security Council reform to push the international body to greater accountability and responsiveness, much more can be done to bolster the relationship between the UN Security Council and the African Union's Peace and Security Council, particularly within the context of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, which deals with regional organisations. This includes greater integration between AU and UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions, including assessed contributions for AU peacekeeping missions; consultations prior to decision making; division of labour and sharing of responsibilities; the effective use of the comparative advantages of the AU and its regional mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution; the full operationalisation of the African Standby Force; and greater financial support by African member states to African peace efforts.[11]

We also recommend efforts to build informal local-level institutions for resilience and conflict prevention, which can bridge formal state institutions and authority with traditional and informal institutions. The focus on conflict prevention is shifting to two key areas: land and other natural-resource-related disputes in rural areas, and urban conflict, often along identity lines in informal settlements and underserved and marginalised areas, which is often experienced as the result of unmanaged urbanisation. Both deserve attention in the future.

Cash transfers to address chronic poverty

Six 'more fragile' countries, namely Ethiopia, Malawi, Uganda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and possibly Niger, may in future benefit substantially from oil and gas revenue. These governments should consider the use of social cash grants that involve distributing a large share of the new revenue directly to the people as taxable income. If properly managed and extended over a sufficiently long period, the income from new oil and mineral discoveries distributed in this manner could set the basis for genuine economic and social development.

> The key to managing non-renewable resources successfully is a coherent long-term national strategy, embracing all stakeholders that can convert temporary natural-resource wealth into permanent human capital

Two recent technological advances enable even poor and fragile countries to undertake direct cash transfers to poor people. The first is the spread in mobile phones and associated software systems, which enable mobile banking. The second is affordable and reliable personal-identification technologies using biometric identification such as fingerprint and retina recognition.

The African Union, United Nations Economic Commission on Africa and the AfDB should consider reinvigorating and perhaps assuming co-ownership of the African Peer Review Mechanism process. Appropriately managed, such a system could serve as a basis for resource allocation by international lending agencies in addition to (or even instead of) the current system of CPIA indexing used by the World Bank and the AfDB.

Improving natural-resource governance

There is a need to design, monitor and implement wealth-sharing agreements that also contain features to improve government capacity to generate revenue and to create social safety nets for the chronically poor.[12] Efforts should be made for further integration of African countries into global networks such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and Publish What You Pay, as well as efforts to get countries like China to fully participate in them.[13]

African leadership needs to insist that mining companies pay appropriate tax and do not take advantage of corporate social investment projects as a cheap alternative to appropriate levels of taxation. Development partners should consider the provision of expertise at national level in this regard, particularly specialists from the global South who have experience of designing comprehensive policy initiatives to address the dependency created by natural-resource extraction.

The global financial crisis has led to important innovations that Africa's external partners should support. One that has recently attracted renewed international attention – including from the UK's G8 Presidency and Kofi Annan's Africa Progress Panel – is a global agreement to compel fiscal disclosure by companies, especially tax payments and beneficial ownership of companies. These are seen as key instruments to address transfer pricing and other sharp practices, which particularly affect resource-rich fragile states.

Additional measures deserving support include an end to the trade in conflict minerals, consisting of transparency in the supply chain (through due diligence, traceability and certification), the identification and securing of strategic mines, governance reform, and support of the livelihood and economic opportunity of miners.[14]

The key to managing non-renewable resources successfully is a coherent long-term national strategy, embracing all stakeholders that can convert temporary natural-resource wealth into the permanent human capital that can extend opportunities across generations.

Improving governance and regional integration

Development organisations need to consider under what circumstances and how far they are prepared to support internal political processes such as efforts to broaden the elite compact, to counter efforts at secession, and prevent and manage violence – and related processes that eat away at the symptoms and drivers of instability. Domestic ownership is essential to finding such a balance, and we strongly endorse the self-identification prioritisation adopted by the g7+ grouping of fragile countries.[15]

Weaknesses in regional organisations should not, however, detract from the importance of adopting a regional approach in efforts to alleviate the symptoms or causes of fragility. At subregional level, partners should work with regional economic communities, such as the Economic Community of West African States and the Economic Community of Central African States, to embed these approaches in regional documentation, and gain traction for adoption by structures such as the African Union and the African Peer Review Mechanism.

CONCLUSION

Helping fragile and conflict-affected states is difficult, often suffers setbacks and is necessarily a long-term enterprise. The forecasts for fragility in Africa reaffirm the view that much of Africa is witnessing a process of delayed state formation and state building. Rapid economic growth might address many of the deep drivers of fragility (such as poverty), but it may well also accentuate drivers of fragility (such as inequality). Inclusive economic growth and gains in human development are not a panacea for reducing fragility, but they are prerequisites.

> Helping fragile and conflict-affected states is difficult. Policy measures are restricted in their ability to address deep drivers of fragility but long-term future-related analysis can help inform priorities and interventions for Africa's policy makers and external partners

Policy measures are restricted in their ability to respond to deep or root-cause drivers due to the longer time horizons and systemic nature of interrelated problems. These relationships only change gradually over time and provide limited policy leverage. Therefore, one needs to think innovatively about how long-term future-related analysis can help inform the priorities and interventions for Africa's policy makers and for external partners in the coming years. In particular, it seems important to better assess how country-specific future modelling can be especially helpful in working with national stakeholders on long-term development planning.

The forecasts and scenarios presented here provide an opportunity to determine which interventions today can navigate Africa away from fragility, to consolidate gains already made in terms of security and development, and to strategically assist those countries that are likely to continue to struggle into the decades ahead.

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NOTES

1. Jakkie Cilliers and Timothy D Sisk, *Assessing long-term fragility in Africa:Prospects for 26 'more fragile' countries*, Pretoria: ISS, 2013, http://www.issafrica.org/publications/monographs
2. See http://www.ifs.du.ed. The IFs team is based at the Frederick S Pardee Centre for International Futures, University of Denver. The partners have been collaborating within the framework of the African Futures Project for several years. For this forecast, we used IFs version 6.7.
3. Cilliers, Hughes and Moyer, *African Futures 2050*.
4. In declining order, Africa's largest economies in 2013 are South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, Angola and Tunisia. The African countries with the largest populations in declining order in 2013 are Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, DRC, South Africa and Tanzania.
5. Using the same indicator that we use in our forecast within IFs, namely SFINTLWAR.
6. See Cilliers and Sisk, *Assessing long-term state fragility in Africa: Prospects for 26 'more fragile' countries*, for methodological detail on the SFINTLWAR variable in appendix B.
7. The Political Instability Task Force (PITF) upon which IFs draws for this data, defined state failure in terms of four different types of events (with specific magnitude thresholds)—namely, adverse regime change (such as coups), revolutionary wars, ethnic wars, and genocides or politicides. On the recommendation of Ted Robert Gurr, one of the founding fathers of the PITF data project and approach, IFs builds two categories of insecurity from those four types: instability (adverse regime change); and internal war (combining revolutionary war, ethnic war, and genocide or politicide).
8. OECD-DAC, *Do no harm: International support for statebuilding*, OECD-DAC, 2010, http://www.oecd.org/development/incaf/44409926.pdf (accessed 26 August 2013).
9. United Nations support to public administration and local governance in fragile environments, in UNDP BCPR, *Governance for peace: Securing the social contract*, http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/crisis%20prevention/governance-for-peace_2011-12-15_web.pdf.pdf (accessed 26 August 2013).

[10] The African Solidarity Initiative was launched at the 19th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in July 2012, within the context of the implementation of the AU Policy on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development, which was adopted in Banjul in June 2006.

[11] The Peace and Security Council of the AU, at its 397th meeting, held on 23 September 2013, adopted a number of decisions on the partnership between the AU and the UN in the area of peace and security, see http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/communique-of-the-peace-and-security-council-of-the-african-union-au-at-its-397th-meeting-on-the-partnership-between-the-african-union-and-the-united-nations-in-the-area-of-peace-and-security (accessed 27 September 2013).

[12] Nicholas Haysom and Sean Kane, Negotiating natural resources for peace: Ownership, control, and wealth-sharing, Henri Dunant Briefing Paper, 2009, http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/NegotiatingNaturalResources_HaysonKane2009.pdf (accessed 10 August 2013). Publish What You Pay is a movement aimed at getting extractive industries to declare all the money they pay to governments for the rights to natural resources. The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative is a public-private partnership that sets global standards for transparency and accountability in resource-rich countries.

[13] Publish What You Pay is a movement aimed at getting extractive industries to declare all the money they pay to governments for the rights to natural resources. The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative is a public-private partnership that sets global standards for transparency and accountability in resource-rich countries.

[14] A comprehensive approach to Congo's conflict minerals, http://www.comprehensive-approach-conflict-minerals-strategy-paper (accessed 8 October 2013).

[15] African members of the g7+ are: Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan/South Sudan and Togo. The g7+ is a voluntary association of countries that are or have been affected by conflict and are now in transition to the next stage of development. The main objective of the g7+ is to share experiences through peer learning, and to advocate for reforms in the way that the international community engages in conflict-affected countries, http://www.g7plus.org/event-background/ (accessed 17 July 2013).

AFRICAN FUTURES PROJECT

The African Futures Project (www.issafrica.org/futures) is a collaboration between the Institute for Security Studies (http://www.issafrica.org) and the Frederick S. Pardee Center for International Futures (www.ifs.du.edu) at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver. The Institute for Security Studies is an African organisation which aims to enhance human security on the continent. It does independent and authoritative research, provides expert policy analysis and advice, and delivers practical training and technical assistance. The Pardee Center is the home of the International Futures modelling system, an integrated approach to exploring and understanding human development and the broad implications of policy choices. These organisations leverage each others' expertise to provide forward-looking, policy-relevant material that frames uncertainty around human development in Africa.

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