African Union

APRM
AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM

THE **AFRICA**
GOVERNANCE
REPORT
2021

AFRICA'S GOVERNANCE
FUTURES FOR THE
AFRICA WE WANT

AGA
African Governance Architecture

THE **AFRICA GOVERNANCE REPORT**

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APRM

AGA

African Governance Architecture

CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS, ENTITIES AND FRAMEWORKS RELEVANT FOR THE AGR 2021 SCENARIOS

ACBF	African Capacity Building Foundation
ACDEG	African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance
ACFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
ACSRT	African Centre for the Study of Research on Terrorism
AEC	African Economic Community
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFRIPOL	African Union Mechanism for Police Cooperation
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AGR	Africa Governance Report
AGP	African Governance Platform
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AIDA	Accelerated Industrial Development for Africa
AMDC	Africa Minerals Development Centre
AMV	African Mining Vision
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
APSTA	African Peace Support Trainers Association
AQIM	Al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb
ARC	African Risk Capacity
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUABC	African Union Advisory Board on Corruption
AUPSC	AU Peace and Security Council
BIAT	Boosting Intra-African Trade
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CRG	Continental Reference Group for the AGR 2021
EASBRIG	Eastern Africa Standby Brigade

ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOBRIG	ECOWAS Standby Brigade
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FOMAC	Force Multinationale de l'Afrique Centrale
FTYIP	First Ten-Year Implementation Plan for Agenda 2063
4IR	Fourth Industrial Revolution
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEWE	Gender Equality and Women Empowerment
HDI	Human Development Report
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFF	Illicit Financial Flows
IFR	Institute for Futures Research
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission
NASBRIG	North Africa Regional Standby Brigade
NDP	National Development Plan
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGC	National Governing Council (APRM)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHRI	National Human Rights Institutions
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PRC	Permanent Representatives Committee of the African Union
PIDA	Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa
RDC	Rapid Deployment Capability
REC	Regional Economic Community
RM	Regional Mechanism
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SASBRIG	Southern Africa Standby Brigade
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
STISA	Science Technology and Innovation Strategy for Africa
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNSDGs	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals
WEF	World Economic Forum

AGR 2021 SCENARIOS REFERENCE GUIDE OF AFRICAN UNION AGREEMENTS
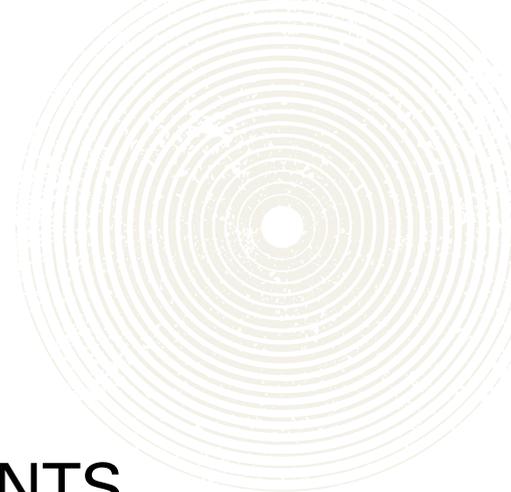
	AGREEMENT	YEAR	PLACE
i.	African Convention on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources; and the Revised Convention	1968 2003	Algeria Mozambique
ii.	Constitution of the Association of African Trade Promotion Organisations	1974	Ethiopia
iii.	Inter-African Convention Establishing an African Technical Cooperation Programme	1975	Uganda
iv.	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child	1980	Ethiopia
v.	African Charter on Human and People's Rights; Protocol to the Charter on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and People's Rights; and Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa	1981 1998 2003	Kenya Burkina Faso Mozambique
vi.	OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism	1999	Algeria
vii.	Convention of the African Energy Commission	2001	Zambia
viii.	Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community Relating to the Pan-African Parliament	2001	Libya
ix.	Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the AU	2002	South Africa
x.	African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption	2003	Mozambique
xi.	Protocol of the Court of Justice of the AU; Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights; and Protocol on Amendments to the Protocol	2003 2008 2014	Mozambique Egypt Equatorial Guinea
xii.	African Youth Charter	2006	Gambia
xiii.	Charter for African Cultural Renaissance	2006	Sudan
xiv.	African Charter on Democracy Elections and Governance	2007	Ethiopia
xv.	African Charter on Statistics	2009	Ethiopia

xvi.	African Charter on the Values and Principles of Public Service and Administration	2011	Ethiopia
xvii.	African Charter on the Values and Principles of Decentralisation Local Government and Local Development	2014	Equatorial Guinea
xviii.	African Union Convention on Cyber Security and Personal Data Protection	2014	Equatorial Guinea
xix.	AU Convention on Cross-Border Cooperation (Niamey Convention)	2014	Equatorial Guinea
xx.	Protocol on the Establishment of the African Monetary Fund	2014	Equatorial Guinea
xxi.	Statute of the African CDC and its Framework of Operations	2016	Ethiopia
xxii.	Statute of the African Minerals Development Centre	2016	Ethiopia
xxiii.	Statute of the African Observatory in Science Technology and Innovation (AOSTI)	2016	Ethiopia
xxiv.	Statute of the African Science Research and Innovation Council (ASRIC)	2016	Ethiopia
xxv.	Agreement Establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area	2018	Rwanda
xxvi.	Statute of the African Space Agency	2018	Ethiopia

AU ASSEMBLY DECISION

Draft decision on the Africa Governance Report 2021

The Assembly,

1. **TAKES NOTE WITH APPRECIATION** of the presentation of the Second Africa Governance Report by H.E Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa, President of the Republic of South Africa and Chairperson of the African Peer Review Forum of Heads of States and Government;

2. **COMMENDS** H.E Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa, President of the Republic of South Africa for his sterling leadership of the APRM, including his excellent presentation of the Africa Governance Report- 2021 (AGR-2021) on behalf of the APRM;

3. **RECALLS** Assembly/AU/Dec.720 (XXXII) in which the Assembly decided that the Africa Governance Report shall be developed by the APRM, in collaboration with the Africa Governance Architecture (AGA), and presented to the Assembly every two (2) years for consideration during its ordinary session;

4. **FURTHER RECALLS** Assembly/AU/Dec.720(XXXII) in which the Assembly during its 32nd Ordinary Session welcomed the Africa Governance Report 2019 and encouraged Member States to consider the recommendations presented. Also Assembly/AU/Dec.765(XXXIII) in which the Assembly decided that the APRM should develop, in collaboration with AGA, the African Governance Report and present it to the 34th Ordinary Session of the Assembly scheduled to take place in February 2021;

5. **COMMENDS** the APRM for developing the Africa Governance Report in collaboration with AGA, pursuant to Assembly/AU/Dec.720 (XXXII), Assembly/AU/Dec.765(XXXIII) and for ensuring that it is presented to the 34th Ordinary Session of the Assembly, despite the challenges presented by the COVID19 pandemic;

6. **WELCOMES** the development of the Africa Governance Report 2021 under the theme, "*African Governance Futures Scenarios 2063*", and **COMMENDS** the APRM, AGA, the Joint Task Force, the Institute for Futures Research at the University of Stellenbosch and participating African Research Institutes and Experts for the commendable work done in developing the African Governance Futures Scenarios 2063;

7.   **AFFIRMS** that the Africa Governance Report 2021 "*African Governance Futures Scenarios 2063*" inspires us to accelerate efforts towards full realisation of the Vision of the African Union (AU) for "*An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens, representing a dynamic force in the international arena*," as well as the AU Agenda 2063 Aspirations, and its Ten Year Implementation Plans;

8.   **URGES** Member States to consider and examine the recommendations contained in the report with a view to enhancing good governance and sharing good practices at both national and continental levels;

9.   **ENCOURAGES** Member States to develop and conduct their own governance futures research and scenarios as a self-assessment tool towards the realisation of Agenda 2063's Aspiration 3 for "*An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law*," Aspiration 4 for "*A peaceful and secure Africa*" and Aspiration 6 for "*An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children*";

10.   **REQUESTS** the APRM, in collaboration with AGA, to continuously conduct futures studies, research and training on governance and related issues in line with the recommendations of the Report;

11.   **FURTHER REQUESTS** the APRM, in collaboration with AGA, to officially launch and widely disseminate the Report, and for all AGA Platform members to incorporate the Report in their Annual Work Plans;

12.   **DECIDES** that the APRM, in collaboration with AGA, should develop the Third Africa Governance Report with a focus on the nexus between Governance and the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR); and

13.   **AFFIRMS** that the Africa Governance Report shall be developed by the APRM in collaboration with AGA and shall be presented to the Assembly every two (2) years for consideration by the Assembly during its ordinary sessions.

FOREWORD
BY CHAIRPERSON OF THE
AFRICAN PEER REVIEW FORUM

The Africa Governance Report 2021 (AGR 2021) is the second report produced by the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), on behalf of the African Governance Architecture (AGA), and focuses on *African Governance Futures 2063 Scenarios*. By utilising *future studies* as its scientific platform, this report represents a collective effort that highlights rigorous, evidence-based research spanning a period of one year.

The AGR 2021 is essentially divided into five sections. The first section begins by outlining the background and rationale for the scenarios formulated in this report and situates the AGR within the expanded mandate of the APRM.

The second section then engages and highlights the consultative and participatory undertaken in the development of the AGR 2021, including engagements with multiple stakeholders and their diverse inputs. By doing so, the material produced is both holistic and informative.

The third section provides an overview of the four scenario stories, and presents the baseline, best/worst and surprise case possibilities for African governance futures. It then proposes key governance drivers and critical impact factors that would inform policy focus areas, which are subsequently identified.

The fourth section examines the policy implications and recommendations that have been developed from the policy focus areas, and also examines the key governance drivers and critical impact factors that affect good governance as surmised from the analysis.

Lastly, the AGR 2021 suggests steps for the uptake and wide dissemination of the AGR 2021, as well as implementation of the recommendations, supported by a strategic media campaign. This report is therefore a pioneering endeavour in many ways, as a foundation to be built upon by subsequent future studies and Africa Governance Reports across Africa.

It therefore gives me great pleasure to share this important report, and I am certain that it will receive the warmest and deserved attention for its invaluable contribution to our development and future as Africans.
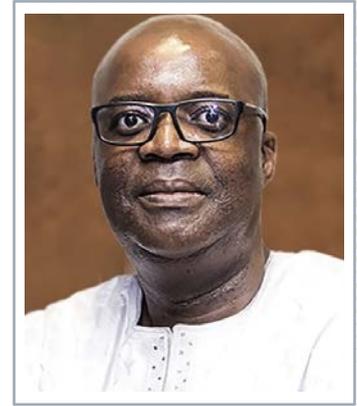
Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa
Chairperson of the Africa Peer Review Forum
President of the Republic of South Africa
12 January 2021

PREFACE

"The Africa Governance Report (AGR) is a product of cooperation and collaboration between the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and members of the Africa Governance Architecture (AGA) Platform. The AGR assesses the state of governance in Africa with a view to providing Member States of the African Union with a comprehensive baseline that can help governments to enhance governance. It provides a yardstick that can be used to measure change or to analyse, assess and track developments to determine governance trends on the continent. It also identifies best practices that can be shared amongst Member States to enhance governance in Africa."

AGR 2019 'Promoting African Union Shared Values'

Rapid change is increasingly impacting and shaping our shared contexts. The political, social, economic and environmental landscape in Africa paints a stark picture of multiple challenges, while offering strategic insights and opportunities at the same time. A bourgeoning youth population, a rapidly growing ICT sector, and abundance of natural resources are undermined by the crippling financial effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the increasing number of civil and military conflicts, and population displacement as a result of these conflicts. These phenomena present a wide variety of issues, relevant opportunities and exciting possibilities to consider, which a scenarios approach through wide mapping and deep analysis, can reveal.

In light of these factors, this second edition of the Africa Governance Report 2021 (AGR 2021) provides concrete and definitive markers through which we can better understand current contexts and develop our preferred futures as Africans. Noting that we are moving into a highly digitized age which is bringing significant transformation, the futures lens applied provides a dynamic outlook on development trajectories emerging across the African Continent.

The AGR 2021 signals important ways Africa can harness incoming changes and direct the trajectory of national, regional and global governance, economic development, and environmentally sustainable practices. Furthermore, technological advances and evolving political economies have spurred a burst of interest in Africa's futures. Consequently, this AGR 2021 is an invaluable instrument through which multi-disciplinary sciences and actors can constructively formulate development plans, perform thorough risk analyses, and steer governance and related institutions toward attaining Africa's development and transformation goals.

Prof Eddy Maloka,
Chief Executive Officer
African Peer Review Mechanism

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The AGR 2021 was developed with the support, advice, guidance and engagement of valued stakeholders, research participants and AU offices and bodies, identified in the appendix of the Report. In particular, the AGR 2021 African governance futures research and inclusive scenario building exercise benefited from the strategic oversight, meaningful engagement and participation of:

- **The APRM Focal Points Committee Chairperson and members:** The Focal Points Committee provided strategic leadership and oversight, and approved the AGR 2021 development process. It also facilitated access to continent-wide strategic research participants.
- **APRM National Governing Councils:** NGCs offered critical review and guidance in the development of the AGR 2021 as well as highly appreciated assistance with identification and facilitation of engagement of country-level strategic research participants.
- **The African Governance Architecture Platform:** AGA collaborated with the APRM to steer the AGR 2021 scenario building process, provided vital inputs and ensured inclusion of strategic stakeholders and relevance of outcomes for policy development and actions.
- **The APRM Secretariat:** The lead in the AGR 2021 development process, the APRM Secretariat managed and coordinated the activities of multiple stakeholder groups that participated in the scenario building consultative forums, focus group workshops and online survey. The APRM Secretariat provided core management, logistical, operational and ICT support, including media and publicity, required for the success of the African governance futures research.
- **The Institute for Futures Research, Stellenbosch University:** The lead expert researchers on the AGR 2021, the Institute for Futures Research team provided academic rigour and developed the participatory framework and the conceptual and methodological approach used in the scenario-building exercise.
- **AGR 2021 Continental Reference Group members:** This grouping gave multidisciplinary inputs, commentary and feedback on the AGR 2021 scenario building exercise. CRG members offered valuable critical review of the African governance futures research, emphasising points of relevance for diverse stakeholder groups, as well as enriching the scenarios' recommendations and policy implications.
- **Research Participants and Contributors:** Strategic researchers and a diverse group of contributors actively took part in the scenario building exercise, providing the necessary insights for the development of the AGR 2021 scenarios and shaping the central content of the Report.
- **The AGR 2021 Drafting Committee, Editorial and Publication Teams:** The AGR 2021 content, recommendations and publication design are thanks to the valued efforts of a large team of experts, content editors, graphic designers, ICT, communications and media professionals. The

Report is the successful culmination of a broad collaborative endeavour.

- **Donor Support AGR 2021:** The AGR 2021 was partially supported with funding from APRM partners; The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida (SIDA), the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and the European Union (EU). However, the AGR 2021 does not necessarily reflect the views of the APRM partners (SIDA , EU and GIZ)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
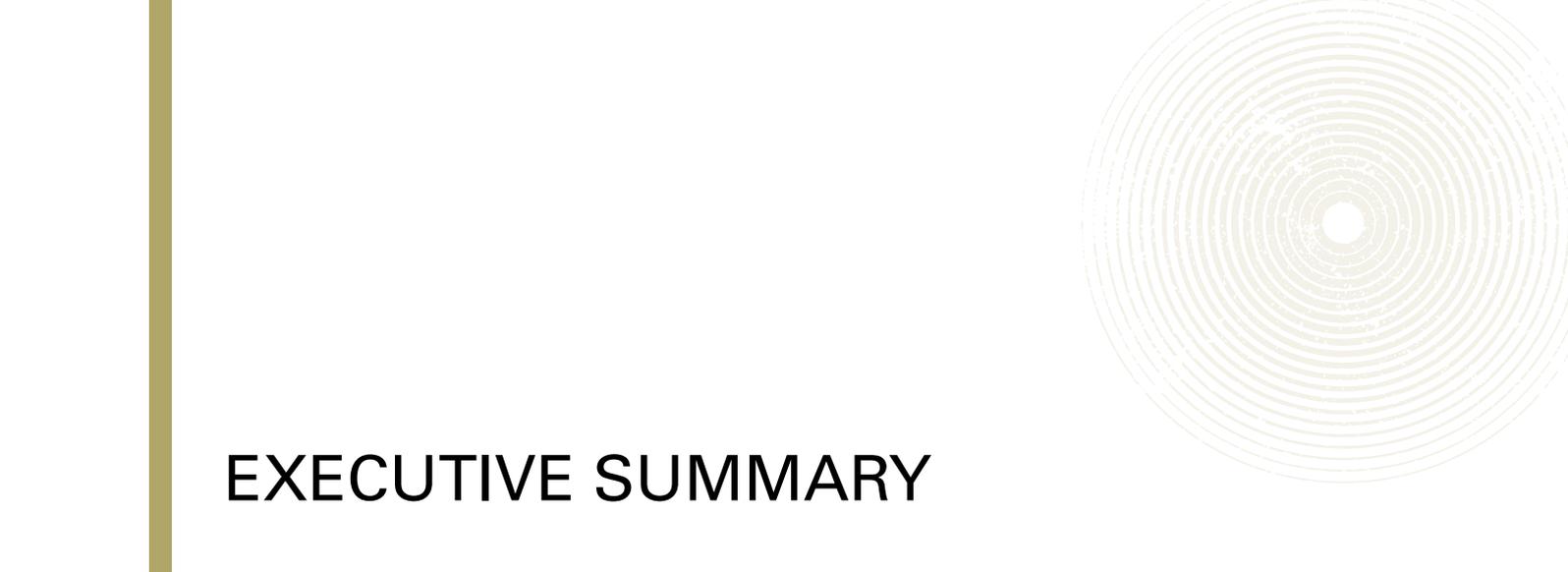
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Africa Governance Report (AGR) is a publication of the African Union (AU) on the state of governance in Africa. It is produced by the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) Secretariat in collaboration with members of the African Governance Platform (AGP) of the African Governance Architecture (AGA), with participation and inputs from a broad stakeholder base.

Promoting good governance in AU Member States is a core component of the AU Assembly mandate. The AU Assembly recognises governance as an essential component in the efforts to achieve continental development goals. Indeed, in 2017 the AU Assembly affirmed and broadened the role of the APRM to oversee monitoring and evaluation in all key governance areas of the continent. The mandate of the APRM was expanded to include tracking implementation of the AU Agenda 2063 and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs or 2030 Agenda). Again, in 2018, the AU Assembly re-positioned the APRM as an early warning tool in the collective effort to prevent conflict. During the 11th Extraordinary Summit of the AU Assembly that same year, a decision was taken to strengthen the capacity of the APRM and to enhance its functional autonomy to enable it to deliver on its expanded mandate. The AU Assembly requested the APRM, in collaboration with the AGA, to regularly develop and present to Member States a report on the state of governance in Africa.

The primary purpose of the AGR is to provide relevant, accurate and informative assessments and reports on select and key governance areas in all 55 Member States of the AU. Based on expert research and analyses, the AGR presents evidence-based, objective, and balanced reviews on the state of African governance, towards attaining long-term political, social and economic stability and development on the Continent. The Report examines themes related to governance in Africa, and:

- Highlights best governance practices for peer sharing;
- Identifies governance constraints and challenges; and,
- Makes recommendations for enhanced governance in AU Member States.

Guided by the AU Agenda 2063, which is the strategic development and transformation framework for the continent, the 2021 Africa Governance Report presents four possible scenarios for *African Governance Futures 2063*. These scenarios are intended as a policy making and implementation guide for African governance. They highlight critical areas for action to achieve preferred futures.

The AGR 2021 Scenario Building Process

The scenario building process involved the following main steps:

- *Definition of focus themes* for the scenarios and identification of driving trends, critical factors, uncertainties and intervention points;
- *Rigorous data collection* on identified governance issues from a variety of sources;
- *Critical analysis and interpretation* of information, using strategic foresight methods;
- *Consultative dialogue* between multi-stakeholders with diverse inputs; and
- *Creative formulation* of African governance 2063 scenario stories.

The Scenarios are based on desktop research, trends analysis, discussions and inputs from scenario building workshops and an online survey. The following are the main scenario building activities undertaken in the development of the AGR 2021:

1. The APRM Secretariat organized a Technical Workshop with core members of the AGR 2021 research team in Cape Town, South Africa in January 2020

This Technical Workshop developed a summary governance and strategic Analytical Framework, Methodological Approach and Roadmap, to guide the AGR 2021 development process and scenario building exercise. The APRM governance experts and IFR strategic foresight experts identified key data points, reference documents to be used and the critical and strategic areas that needed to be addressed in the African governance futures research.

2. An online Multi-stakeholder Forum and Scenario Building Workshop, May 2020

The online launch of the AGR 2021 Scenario Building process included the convening of the Multi-stakeholder Continental Reference Group (CRG) for the African governance futures research. As a diverse informant group, the CRG was tasked to provide critical inputs, with emphasis on areas of particular concern and interest, to ensure the relevance of the AGR 2021. Further the CRG was established with the purpose of championing and popularising the African Governance Futures 2063 Scenarios, supporting wide dissemination of the Report and promoting policy focus and priority action on identified key governance drivers and critical impact factors.

3. An online Scenario Building Workshop with the Africa Governance Architecture Platform (AGA), May 2020

In this workshop, AGA members developed initial African Governance Futures 2063 Scenarios, focusing on Utopian, Dystopian and Surprise possibilities. Consultations identified key factors, possible seminal events and potential action steps to include and explore in the broader scenario development process with multiple stakeholders.

4. Online Survey on critical governance issues and possibilities, July – October 2020

An online survey was conducted with diverse strategic participants from identified sample countries. Strategic respondents shared their perceptions of governance in Africa at regional and country levels, and imagined African governance futures in relation to a number of themes including political leadership,

democracy and fair elections, economic and corporate governance, peace and security, youth development, gender equality, environmental sustainability, healthy societies, technology.

5.   Virtual Focus Group Scenario Building Workshops, September 2020

Multiple stakeholders were selected from identified sample countries to participate in the AGR 2021 Focus Group Scenario Building Workshops. Participants were invited to imagine the future of African governance in 2063 in the best, worst, surprise and base-case scenarios. These stakeholders examined key features of African governance futures and defined each AGR 2021 scenario type. The virtual Focus Group discussed:

i)   The headlines and stories trending in the news;
ii)   The main characteristics of African governance at different systemic levels, from the citizen and institutions, to local, regional, continental and global levels.

6.   Virtual Policy Discussion Workshops, November – December 2020

Following from the scenario building workshops and the development of AGR 2021 draft scenarios, two Policy Discussion Workshops were convened; the first with members of AGA, and the second with the AGR 2021 CRG members. The purpose was to outline the main policy implications and recommendations emerging from the AGR 2021 scenarios. AGA and CRG members shared inputs on policy areas to prioritise from an AU and multi-stakeholder viewpoint, respectively.

7.   Validation Workshop – December 2020

The Draft AGR 2021 final set of scenarios was presented for validation to a gathering of youth, governance experts, academics, RECs, AGA and APRM representatives. The scenario stories were discussed and refined, and the draft recommendations were further developed with reference to the AGR 2019 and critical policy areas identified by the convened expert and stakeholders. The AGR 2021 scenarios, key drivers, critical impact factors and call to action in the form of recommendations were validated and adopted.

AGR 2021 African Governance Futures Scenario Building Process

Summary of AGR 2021

The following is a summary of the African governance futures scenarios that were developed:

Baseline Scenario - "Africa United"

In 2063, the continent has largely achieved Agenda 2063 Aspirations. However key aspects remain that need to be addressed such as gender equity, management of environmental risks and improved access to digital capabilities for Africa's populations. The key features of the baseline scenario are a politically and economically integrated continent including Diaspora communities, and a population that is well connected and efficiently governed.

The assumption here is that the continent has proved resilient against a number of challenges including pandemics and climate change, and has achieved the Agenda 2063 vision mostly as planned. Key steps to realising a baseline scenario of "Africa United" in 2063 are,

    i)   continued uptake, ratification and implementation of instruments, protocols and agreements to promote good governance, peace and security;
    ii)   improved strategic foresight to boost preparedness and anticipatory governance;
    iii)   Improved monitoring and evaluation of governance indicators to improve performance and policy outcomes.

Utopian Scenario - "Africa Thriving"

Attainment of the Agenda 2063 Aspirations and a continent of citizen-driven e-governance are the main features of the Utopian scenario. In this scenario, African populations are educated, healthy, and formidable competitors on the global stage. The continent has achieved democratic and sustainable economies and societies that are crime and conflict free and thriving. Advances in the health field have led to long life expectancy and 'transhumanism' where Africans enhance well-being and boost abilities using advanced technologies. Key assumptions in this scenario are a continuation of current governance, economic and social systems and structures, with some modifications due to digital capabilities and regional unification. Popularity of digitally enhanced health, including integration between AI and humans, is a main assumption. The steps in the journey to building a thriving Africa are a focus on developing 4IR capabilities and applying digitisation to improve governance and general well-being.
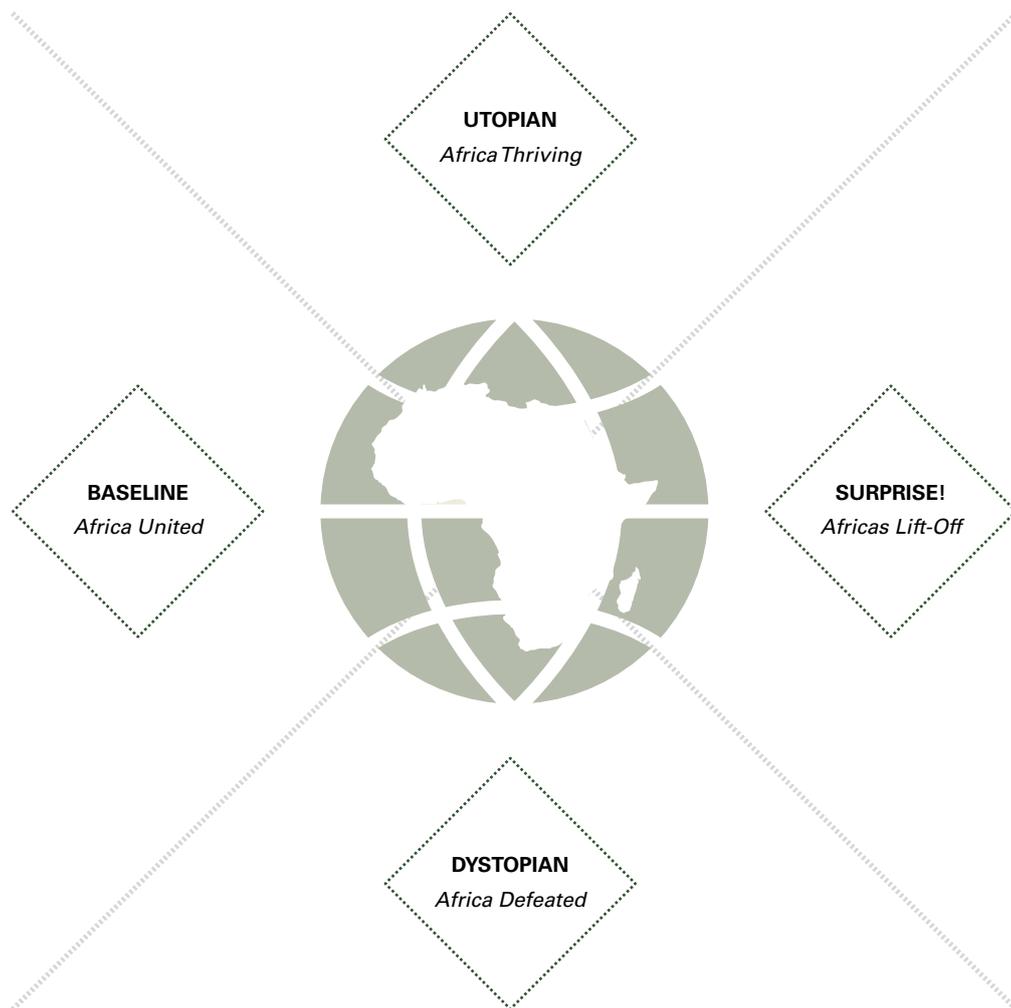
Dystopian Scenario - "Africa Defeated"

In 2063, the key feature of the dystopian scenario for Africa is the dissolution of the African Union and the collapse of economic, health, education and social systems on the continent. Widespread conflict, poverty and hunger as a result of poor leadership and governance define the region. As a result of Africa's incapacity to self-govern, decision making authority, policy management and governance is taken over by non-African actors and international institutions. The assumptions in this worst-case scenario are that Africa's conflicts are unmitigated and that necessary institutional checks and balances to promote better decision making and allow for balanced governance have failed.

Surprise Scenario - "Africa's Lift-Off"

Space travel to Mars is the main feature of the Surprise scenario. Having achieved the UNSDGs and Agenda 2063 aspirations ahead of time, the continent expands its vision towards 2100. In this scenario, a period of

self-reliance that allows Africa to consolidate capacities and nurture talents is assumed. Also assumed is continued drastic natural disasters and climate change, with the earth's regenerative capabilities compromised. As a main step towards a surprise-case future, a high level of trust between African leadership and citizens is established. There is a renewed and widely endorsed social contract that represents and respects the will and vision of Africans to realise an Africa we want, and to mobilise with the urgency and efficiency demanded. Additionally, advancements in science, technology and innovation is a required step to realise the 'Lift-Off' scenario.

African Governance futures scenario 2063

UTOPIAN
Africa Thriving

BASELINE
Africa United

SURPRISE!
Africas Lift-Off

DYSTOPIAN
Africa Defeated

Implications of the Scenarios

The aim of the AGR 2021 scenarios is to provide a useful lens for decision makers, diverse actors and agents of African governance to better anticipate possibilities, avoid risks and challenges to good governance, and strategically align and promote positive advancements and developments for the benefits of the AU, RECs, Member States and their populations.

Each scenario describes a possible African governance future and the steps and events that can lead to best, worst or surprise case outcomes. The scenario stories are neither exhaustive nor final, but they offer a glimpse of plausible African governance futures and highlight areas where critical policy decisions and actions may be required.

Summary of policy implications for each scenario are:

Baseline Scenario – Africa United:

- Continued adoption and implementation of ratified instruments, protocols and treaties to promote good governance, in particular, the African Charter for Democracy, Elections and Good governance.
- Promotion and protection of human rights and inclusion of women and youth.
- Strengthened conflict resolution and peace-building efforts.
- Strategic foresight to enhance anticipatory governance capabilities.

Utopian Scenario – Africa Thriving:

- Successful investment in the social development of African countries, with good health and education outcomes,
- Development of capabilities for 4IR and digitisation, boosting of African contributions to and ownership of technology and innovation.
- Great advancements in e-governance for better citizen engagement and participation, the cornerstone of good governance, development and prosperity.

Dystopian Scenario – Africa Defeated:

- Committed implementation of required preventative measures and mechanisms to mitigate governance, democracy, peace and security challenges and to avoid worst case outcomes.
- Prioritising the needs of citizens through necessary governance administration and service delivery and ensuring the well-being of communities.
- Diversity, inclusion and participation of women, youth, and people with disabilities across all levels of governance in politics, business and society.
- Ensuring the sovereignty of African states and the authority of the AU and freeing the continent from excessive international interference and discouraging an unbalanced focus on non-African interests and external agendas.

Surprise Scenario – Africa's Lift-Off:

- Self-reliance is key to the Surprise scenario, where the necessary investments to achieve the UNSDGs and the Agenda 2063 aspirations have been made.
- Actions to address good governance requirements have been prioritised, making it possible to attain development objectives and transformation goals ahead of schedule.
- The continent's capacity to imagine and explore broader possibilities for African governance have been boosted and redirected, enabling Africa to lead in frontier areas like big data and computational sciences, and space, including satellite deployment and space travel.
- There is greater focus on the advancement of science, technology and innovation to drive development, growth and transformation.

As a long-term visioning and strategic planning tool in support of the APRM expanded mandate and the work of the AGA, the AGR 2021 scenarios are intended to assist in augmenting and harmonising regional and national priorities, policy making and implementation, and in monitoring progress towards good governance for attainment of the UNSDGs and Agenda 2063.

At the Member-State level, the objectives of the AGR 2021 African governance futures scenarios are to,

i. Boost and support adoption of the AGR 2019 recommendations;
ii. Promote formulation and implementation of the AU Agenda 2063 ten-year implementation plans, and to align regional and national priorities;
iii. Provide a template for the development of national governance futures reports and country-level scenarios aligned to Agenda 2063, and linked to national development strategies and plans of action.
iv. Offer a creative tool for multi-stakeholder engagement, decision making, and mobilise actions towards realising the optimal futures of good governance for Africa.

Summary of Recommendations

The AGR 2021 made recommendations on policy focus areas and formulated calls to action as part of the scenario building exercise. It also suggested leverage and intervention points towards achieving African good governance futures outcomes in 2063. Policy implications indicated for each developed scenario were aligned to the recommendations proposed in the AGR 2019, and to the national and regional priority areas identified for the Agenda 2063 First Ten Year Implementation Plan (FTYIP). The resulting call to action was framed in terms of the policy action areas identified according to specific categories of key governance drivers and associated critical impact factors. Additionally, in developing the AGR 2021 recommendations, attention was given to the following defined policy areas: **Sustainers, Compass Pointers**, and **Pivot Points.**

Sustainers are policy areas that form the core of governance in Africa and represent the minimum requirements for functional governance on the continent, regardless of the emerging scenario type, whether best, worse, surprise or base case. Sustaining policy areas are necessary issues to address in terms of boosting essential levels of survival and resilience on the continent. This includes necessary governance administration and basic service delivery for economic and social development, improved education, health and per capita incomes, and active conflict management, security and peace-building measures to ensure the protection and well-being of African communities.

Compass Pointers policy areas are the ideals, foundational ideas and concepts that underpin and inform African Union shared values, instruments and constitutive acts. Policy points identified as Compass Pointers relate to ethics, values, accountability, transparency, inclusion and justice that recognise African indigenous knowledge and contextualise governance concepts and models for cultural relevance. AU ideals of pan-Africanism and representative democracy, and the various protocols, treaties and initiatives targeting these policy points are a main focus here.

Pivot Point policy areas refer to main driving trends and issues where action, or lack thereof, can change the trajectory of Africa's futures to best or worst case outcomes, or lead to significant disruptions. Critical factors such as the growing youth population, increasing economic inequity, and socio-political instability are examples of pivot point areas where decisive policy action is called for to achieve preferred African futures in 2063, rather than worst case governance scenarios.

The purpose of the defined policy areas and identified categories of recommendations is to facilitate decision-making of AU organs, RECs, Member States and diverse actors. Each category highlights priority issues for critical focus, including governance gaps to be addressed and emerging possibilities to prepare for and leverage on.

AGR 2021 Summary of Recommendations

1.　Africa-led solutions

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Africa-led Solutions	• Formalisation of good practices rooted in African resilience and successful approaches demonstrated at grassroots levels	• Recognise and promote Africa-led solutions as key assets for the continent across sectors – agriculture, energy, medicine, education amongst others.
	• Promotion of African-based values and ethics • Digitisation of African languages	• Uplift, legitimise and formalise African knowledge systems.

2. Collaboration/cooperation and communication

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Collaboration/ Cooperation and Communication	• Multilateral and bilateral relations	• Prioritise the interests and needs of the continent in the reset and reform of global multilateral institutions, in particular the WTO and the UN; • Ensure that Member States engagement in multilateral and bilateral relations are not contradictory to requirements for the attainment of the Agenda 2063 aspirations.
	• Strategic and operational eco-systems and linkages	• Enhance the capacity of universities as critical partners and role players in establishing good governance, in particular by providing funding for research and development in relevant curricula; • Strengthen the role of the African private sector as a partner in good governance.
	• Media	• Conduct country-level awareness campaigns to promote governance performance and assessments, and contribute to monitoring gains and shortcomings; • Publish updates on ratification of the various AU treaties, conventions, instruments and protocols by Member States • Raise awareness on the capacities, contributions and achievements of the youth through specific campaigns.

3. Elections

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Elections	• Electoral commissions, rules and institutions • Elections related violence • Elections during crises and pandemics	• Ratify and domesticate relevant instruments including monitoring implementation processes; • Member States should submit regular reports as per ACDEG requirements • Harmonise the practice of election observer missions of regional bodies and the AU, to boost credibility, and develop guidelines and a common approach to add value; • Recognise the role of universities in training of electoral management bodies; • Encourage Member States to use available platforms for sharing of best practices on political parties, legislative issues, diversity and inclusion; • Promote permanent dialogue on political issues for early detection of strong and emerging signals of changes and/or disruptions that may demand particular governance responses.

4. Environment

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Environment	• Climate change and natural disasters	• Apply technology solutions to facilitate adaptation and mitigation strategies at national level, including disaster preparedness.
	• Green shifts and sustainability	• Promote local strategies based on grassroots knowledge • Pass a law to promote sustainability practices and prioritise grassroots approaches; • Fast track the promotion of grassroots environmental practices through established REC protocols on trans-boundary and shared resources.
	• Natural resources management	• Address ongoing land policy and ownership issues.

5. Institutions

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Institutions	• Fit-for-purpose structures and processes	• Enhance the role of RECs and harmonise with Agenda 2063; • Promote available platforms for peer sharing of best practice.
	• Maturity	• Establish culture of continuous learning to respond to changing contexts as well as to apply best practice.
	• Efficiency	• Develop requisite capacities and competencies at state level to achieve Agenda 2063 aspirations; • Urgently address critical issues for good governance, peace and security and protect and promote human rights.
	• Performance monitoring and assessment	• Improve transparency to facilitate governance peer reviews and assessments, including the views of multiple stakeholders.

6. Peace and security

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Peace and Security	• Civil Unrest and popular uprising	• Mitigating hate speech and promoting cultural diversity.
	• Militarisation • Human trafficking • Trans-national organised crime • Cyber-security • Terrorism and violent extremism	• Recognise different types of conflict and create fora for youth engagement in peace-building • Establish a temporary to permanent representative body where former youth combatants can be engaged in conflict resolution; • Clarify the role of Africa as a migrant transit point, and improve data and management of inflows of migrants/refugees moving through Africa, and to other regions because of conflicts or in search of opportunity.

7. Policy

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Policy	• Relevance to context • Implementation mechanisms • Review	• Develop independent, multidisciplinary representative bodies e.g: task-teams to drive action in addressing specific, critical issues; • Draw up targeted investment policies.

8. Political economy

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Political Economy	• Industrialisation, diversification and economic structural transformation	• Improve Africa's position in global value chains; • Boost regional manufacturing based on comparative advantages; • Develop capabilities to catalyse and improve ownership of 4IR.
	• Integration (for instance ACFTA encompassing free movement of persons, AU Passport etc.)	• Align with ACFTA initiative and reports, including integration of policy and infrastructure, harmonisation and incentivisation of taxation regimes, and promotion of the flow of people, ideas, goods and services.
	• GDP growth and social development	• Boost local production capabilities and diversify national economies; • Create more opportunities to reverse brain drain and reduce migration and mobility as well as unemployment.
	• Debt levels, credit ratings, ease of doing business	• Sound financial management practices, boosting finance and investment.
	• Finance and investment	

9. Political leadership

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Political Leadership	• Adaptive • Inclusive • Accountable • Ethical	• Develop an African-centric well-being and happiness index; • Develop a 5 year action plan for youth inclusion in political governance institutions and processes on a quota basis, determined on the basis of youth population percentages, at national and regional level; • Promote inclusion particularly of youth, women and people with disabilities in AU bodies and promote their access to and participation in political decision-making at national and regional levels; • Boost Africa's crisis and disaster preparedness, including streamlining disease mitigation and well as monitoring and prevention measures across the region.

10. Rule of law

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Rule of Law	• Constitutionalism	• Entrench a strong culture of human rights and provide sanctions as deterrents for poor governance practices.
	• Justice and fairness	• Codify norms and standards and legal frameworks to address instances of popular uprisings; • Formalise laws that prescribe inclusion and involvement of youth; • Provide citizens with direct access to the African Court and international jurisdictions for human rights protections.
	• Adherence, compliance and enforcement	• Prioritise and streamline legal frameworks between AU, regional entities and Member States; • Recommit Member States to adhere to, comply with and enforce ratified agreements, instruments, treaties and protocols.

11. Universal rights

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Universal Rights	• Protection and promotion of universal rights as the birth-right of every individual regardless of age, gender, race, ethnicity, cultural heritage and background, status, disability, and religious beliefs	• Entrench a culture of universal rights that respects the inherent rights of all human beings; • Enhance the concept of a trust-based, inclusive social contract rooted in the acknowledgement of universal rights.

12. Women

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Women	• Leadership and decision-making • Economic empowerment • Education • Gender-based violence	• High-level intervention to end harmful traditional practices that prevent the attainment of gender equity across all the identified critical impact factors.

13. Youth

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Youth	• Unemployment	• Drive a skills revolution across Member States to boost employability of the youth.
	• Innovation and entrepreneurship	• Facilitate access to technology as an enabler of youth innovation and entrepreneurship; • Ensure availability and accessibility of funding for youth entrepreneurship.
	• Participation in policy making and implementation forums	• Develop inclusivity indicators; • Promote youth led-mediation of conflicts and peace-building efforts; • Support rehabilitation and re-integration of former youth combatants and facilitate their involvement in good governance efforts; • Mobilise efforts to deconstruct the negative stereotypes of youth capability.

INTRODUCTION
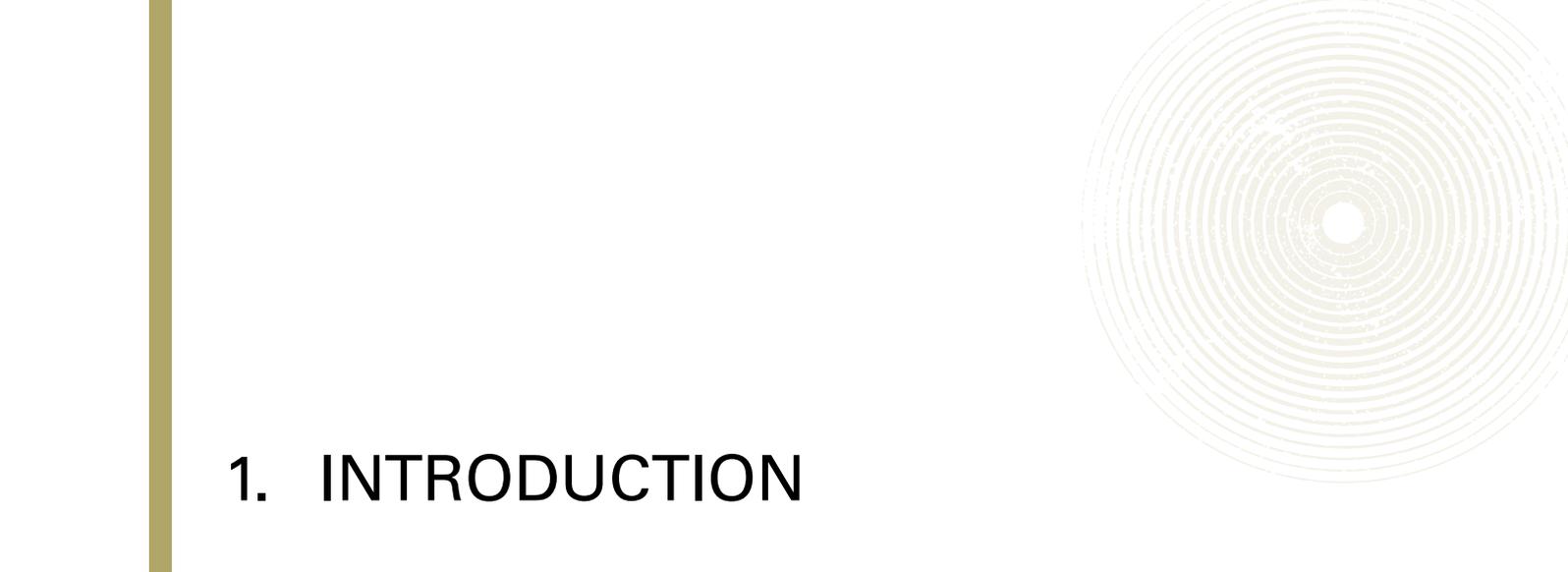
1. INTRODUCTION

The Africa Governance Report (AGR) 2021 presents four scenarios of *African Governance Futures 2063*.

The scenarios depict possible African governance futures that range from best to worst case, and their attendant opportunities, risks, blind spots and potential surprise outcomes. The purpose of the scenarios is to offer a long-term planning, policy making and implementation guide to mobilise collective action, towards achieving preferred futures of African governance.

Recommendations from this AGR 2021 consultative and participatory scenario building process focus on key African governance futures drivers, critical impact factors and priority action areas within the framework of the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063 Aspirations and United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs). These recommendations build on those proposed by the previous AGR 2019, which focused on promoting AU shared values.

AU organs, RECs, Member States, constituencies and all stakeholders are encouraged to consider the AGR 2021 scenarios, the associated policy implications and recommended focus areas. In particular, the call to action is a means to enhance preparedness so as to be able to respond to or anticipate existing or emerging governance risks, and to address good governance gaps and shortcomings, and to improve capabilities to leverage opportunities. The continent can thus move forward towards achieving the Au Agenda 2063 and UNSDGs.

1.1 AGR 2021 background

Enhancing the quality of governance in AU Member States is a core component of the AU Assembly mandate, which recognises that continental developmental goals can only be achieved if there is good governance. Accordingly, in 2017 the AU Assembly affirmed and broadened the role of the APRM to oversee monitoring and evaluation in all key governance areas in the continent. The role of the APRM now includes tracking implementation of the AU Agenda 2063 and the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs or 2030 Agenda). Also, in 2018, the AU Assembly approved the initiative to re-position the APRM as a tool for early warning as part of the collective effort to prevent conflict. To implement its expanded mandate, the APRM was called upon to collaborate with other AU structures, particularly the African Governance Architecture (AGA) and the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which deal with AU Agenda 2063 and the UN 2030 Agenda.

In November 2018, during the 11th Extraordinary Summit of the AU Assembly, the need to strengthen the capacity of the APRM to enhance its functional autonomy and enable it to deliver on its expanded mandate was reaffirmed. The AU Assembly invited the APRM to prepare a report on the state of governance in Africa in collaboration with the AGA and present it to the 32nd Ordinary Session of the Assembly in February 2019.

During the 2019 Assembly, the AU welcomed the inaugural Africa Governance Report (AGR), and urged Member States to consider its recommendations with a view to enhancing good governance and sharing of best practices at country, regional and continental levels. The Assembly also decided that the AGR should be presented every two (2) years for consideration at its Ordinary Sessions.[1] Further, the Assembly urged Member States to develop national governance reports as a self-assessment tool for promoting good governance, in line with the recommendations of the AGR.

The primary purpose of the AGR is to provide relevant, accurate and informative assessments and reports on key governance areas in all 55 Member States of the AU. Based on expert research and analysis, the AGR aims to present evidence-based, objective, and balanced reviews on the state of African governance, towards attaining long-term political, social and economic stability and development on the Continent. The Report:

- Highlights best practices in governance for peer sharing;
- Identifies governance constraints and challenges; and,
- Makes recommendations for take-up and enhanced governance by AU Member States.

1.2 AGR 2019: Promoting African Union shared values

The inaugural AGR 2019 presented a baseline assessment of the current state of governance in Africa, under five thematic areas considered as core components of the AU Agenda 2063[2]:

- **Transformative leadership**: to drive progressive change based on attributes of integrity, inclusivity, responsiveness and effectiveness.
- **Constitutionalism and the rule of law**: respect for the law as the basis for good governance, including promotion and protection of human rights; public participation in governance; access to justice; accountability of government to the public; independence of the legislature and judiciary.
- **Peace, security and governance**: to prevent and mediate conflict and restore stability, and to improve ratification, domestication and harmonisation of all relevant instruments.
- **Nexus between development and governance**: in particular aligning national visions, development and action plans with the AU Agenda 2063 and UNSDGs, promoting inclusive prosperity for all peoples and protecting the natural environment.
- **Role of regional economic communities in African governance**: coordinating and harmonising the functions and responsibilities of RECs with the AU, to enhance continental development and transformation efforts and to realise shared values.

The AGR 2019 presented a set of thirty (30) recommendations, itemised per each theme, as a basis for bolstering governance and reforms at continental, regional and national levels. The AGR 2019 was successfully launched during a number of regional events, with ongoing dissemination and uptake of the contents and recommendations.

1.3 AGR 2021: African Governance futures 2063 scenarios

The AGR 2021 is the second edition of the Report, and presents a view of African governance from a futures perspective.

Building on the initial AGR 2019 theme of *Promoting African Union Shared Values*, the AGR 2021 applies a scenario building and a strategic foresight lens to imagine probable, plausible, possible and provocative African governance futures for the year 2063. The scenarios were generated organically through an iterative consultative and participatory process involving multiple and diverse stakeholders. The African governance futures 2063 scenarios depict best to worst case possibilities, as well as surprise aspects that may emerge in the journey to realising a future of the 'Africa we want' within the next ten (10) to forty (40) years. The AGR 2021 seeks to provide impetus for the AU Member States' adoption and implementation of the AGR 2019 recommendations, and to track progress towards attainment of the AU Agenda 2063 aspirations and the UNSDGs 2030 targets.

Recognising the rapid change in an increasingly complex and interdependent world, the intention of the African governance futures scenarios is to provide a decision and policy making guide and reference tool that:

- Broadly maps and identifies key trends, drivers and factors with impacts for African governance;
- Signals emerging governance risks in order to prevent or mitigate their negative consequences;
- Highlights opportunities for enhanced governance; and
- Indicates how to best orient and prioritise governance strategies and actions for the attainment of the UNSDGs and the AU Agenda 2063 aspirations.

1.4 Scenario building consultative and participatory process

An evidence- and broad-based consultative and participatory strategic foresight process informed the development of the AGR 2021 scenarios. The futures research approach entailed examining current data from relevant sources and generating insights on African governance, including valued inputs from diverse and representative stakeholders.

The following key elements and contributions underpinned the consultative and participatory approach to developing the AGR 2021:

i.   The AGA Reference Group with an oversight and policy advisory role;
ii.   The APRM Secretariat Executive Committee that led and managed the scenario building exercise;
iii. A Research Team of futurists and strategic foresight experts from the IFR;
iv.   Research participants from various African countries and with a broad range of expertise;
v.   A Continental Reference Group made up of key stakeholders of the AGR 2021.

They all worked to ensure policy relevance and applicability of the developed scenarios. The AGR 2021 scenario building exercise was bolstered by the academic rigour of the futures researchers and the inclusive participation of multiple stakeholders and viewpoints.

AGA Reference Group

A technical and policy advisory reference group was created at an AGA Platform meeting in Gaborone, Botswana (18 - 19 January 2020) to guide the development of the AGR 2021. The AGA Reference Group facilitated outreach and engagement with AU executive bodies and organs in the development of the AGR 2021, as well as received regular updates on the ongoing research and scenario building process for review and commentary.

Research Team, Partners and Survey Respondents

The development of the Report was the collaborative effort of a team of governance (from the APRM) and foresight experts (from the IFR). This team:

i.   engaged AU institutional representatives in strategic consultations;
ii.   convened a broad range of stakeholders in focus group scenario building forums; and
iii. administered a public online survey in sample countries to obtain views on the present and possible futures of governance in Africa.

Strategic survey respondents were selected according to the following criteria:

i.   *Broad participation across African countries:* Country participation was invited from each AU region – East, Central, North, South, and West;
ii.   *Representation across economic development levels:* representation of both middle income and low income countries;
iii. *Inclusion of different language groups:* inclusion of countries across the main language groups on the continent (Anglophone, Arabophone, Francophone, and Lusophone countries);
iv.   *Diverse participants:* In-country survey respondents, selected with the facilitation of APRM NGCs, reflected diverse demographic groups including gender, youth, people with disabilities, residency (rural, sub-urban, and urban).
v.   *Relevant expertise:* Strategic research participants were also identified on the basis of expertise and familiarity with African governance, development and transformation issues.

Table of focus group countries selected to participate in AGR 2021 scenario building activities

AGR 2021 STRATEGIC RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS COUNTRY GROUPS	
Focus group scenario building workshops	**Perceptions on African Governance e-survey**
Kenya; Senegal; Cote d'Ivoire; Mauritius; Uganda; Ghana; Tanzania; Zambia; Mozambique; Namibia; Niger	
Gabon; Sudan	South Africa

Continental reference group

Developing the *AGR 2021 African Governance Futures Scenarios 2063* required inputs from different disciplines, spheres and professional domains. The online Multi-stakeholder Consultative Forum that held on 11 May 2020 established a Continental Reference Group (CRG) and invited it to contribute to the AGR 2021 development process.

Members of the CRG were selected on the basis of their representativeness and technical expertise, and drawn from the AU community, futures research institutions, the statistics community, continental association of tech hubs and entrepreneurs, women's rights specialists, governance experts, media representatives, youth representatives, and human rights and law specialists, as well as recognised thought leaders. Such a broad-based membership was necessary to ensure the stakeholder relevance of the AGR 2021.

The APRM convened the CRG in a series of Multi-stakeholder Workshops at key stages in the AGR 2021 development process and roadmap. CRG members were tasked with informing the participatory scenario building approach, championing the AGR 2021 and promoting key stakeholder buy-in of the Report.

1.5 Scenario building steps

In scenario building, multiple rounds of re-framing and re-imagining conversations about possible futures were necessary so as to include multiple and diverse perspectives, viewpoints, experiences and expertise. This made it possible for the insights to be comprehensive, inclusive and relevant. The purpose was to engage in long-term thinking and futures planning in a diligent and holistic manner. The AGR 2021 roadmap and scenario building process followed these steps:

- Confirming the focus themes for the scenarios and defining the scope for identifying driving trends, critical factors, uncertainties and intervention points;
- Rigorous data collection on identified governance issues from a variety of sources;
- Consultative dialogue between multi-stakeholder viewpoints with diverse inputs;
- Critical analyses and interpretation of information, using strategic foresight methods;
- Creative formulation of African governance 2063 scenario stories.

Scenario building steps

The African Governance Futures 2063 Scenarios includes insights generated from different levels of research activity, from:

i)   desktop research and trends analysis, which provided a concrete basis for the scenarios;
ii) input from strategic respondents via an online survey;
iii) various consultations with diverse stakeholders in focus group scenario building workshops.

The scenario building process and AGR 2021 roadmap were initially planned prior to the Covid19 Pandemic. The intention then was to engage in an on-the-ground and in-person survey and focus group workshops involving a large number of respondents. However, with the start of the Covid-19 crisis and its attendant social distancing and travel restrictions, primary research activities were shifted online. As a result, the wide, grassroots based outreach was carried out online only, with internet connectivity issues presenting an obstacle for some participants in some African countries.

The AGR 2021 scenarios are therefore mostly from experts and participants with online access. Going forward, it may be necessary to extend Africa governance futures research beyond online engagement by creating platforms and forums targeting grassroots participants. There is opportunity for broader research participation particularly at country level.

In developing the AGR 2021, the main research activities undertaken were as follows:

a.   The APRM Secretariat Technical Workshop met with core members of the AGR 2021 research team in Cape Town, South Africa in January 2020

The Technical Workshop developed a synthesised governance and strategic foresight Analytical Framework, Methodological Approach and Roadmap, to guide the AGR 2021 development process and scenario building exercise. The joint team of APRM governance experts and IFR strategic foresight experts agreed on key data points, reference documents, critical and strategic areas to include and address in the African governance futures research.

b.   An online Multi-stakeholder Forum and Scenario Building Workshop, May 2020

The online launch of the AGR 2021 Scenario Building process included the convening of the Multi-stakeholder Continental Reference Group (CRG) for the African governance futures research. The CRG was asked to provide critical inputs emphasising areas of particular concern and interest, to ensure the participatory approach and relevance of the AGR 2021. It was also asked to champion and popularize the African Governance Futures 2063 Scenarios, support dissemination of the Report and promote policy focus and priority action on identified key governance drivers and critical impact factors.

c.   An online Scenario Building Workshop with the Africa Governance Architecture Platform (AGA), May 2020

During the workshop, AGA member developed the initial African Governance Futures 2063 Scenarios, focusing on Utopian, Dystopian and surprise possibilities. Consultations provided indicators of key factors, possible seminal events and potential actions to include and explore in the scenario development process with multiple stakeholders. The scenario descriptors and seminal events discussed are summarised in the table below:

**Table outlining AGA scenario building workshop scenarios**

AGA SCENARIO BUILDING WORKSHOP – SCENARIOS OUTLINE		
SCENARIO	**DESCRIPTORS**	**SEMINAL EVENTS**
UTOPIAN	Regional integration, economic growth and political stability	Promotion of good governance and embedding of strategic foresight to boost anticipatory governance and preparedness
	Inclusivity, citizen participation, and representation of women and youth	Widespread representative democracy, human rights and citizen engagement particularly involvement of women and youth at all levels
	Low poverty and low unemployment	African driven solutions, realisation of the ACFTA and a shared vision for the upliftment of African peoples
DYSTOPIAN	State disintegration	Unsustainable debt, corruption and side-lining of civil society, spread of disinformation, uncontrolled crises from health pandemics to natural disasters
	No social contract	Disconnected leadership with lack of accountability leading to citizen disengagement and counter-organising
	Unprecedented strife, unrest and conflict	Citizen revolt against bad governance, mobilisation of the youth by partisan interests
SURPRISE	A focus on Africa's development agenda supersedes political elections and campaigning	Abolishment of political party systems with Africa wide consensus-based democratic processes instead
	Total physical and cyber connectivity across the continent	Substantial investments in cyber and physical infrastructure, driven by large African economies
	Reconfiguration of the AU and international systems	Increased African self-reliance with citizen-driven and citizen-centred development, Africa a leading example of good governance and a respected power internationally, championing new global frontiers

d.   Online Survey on critical governance issues and possibilities, July – October 2020

An online survey was conducted with diverse strategic participants selected from the identified sample countries for the research. Respondents shared their perceptions of the current and emerging states of African governance at regional and country levels on a number of themes. Participants were asked to give their views on the strengths and weaknesses, and to express their hopes and fears about current and future governance in their countries. They were also asked to imagine how Africa will look like in the next decade with respect to political leadership, democracy and fair elections, economic and corporate governance, peace and security, youth development, gender equality, environmental sustainability, healthy societies, technology, amongst other topics.

e.   Virtual Focus Group Scenario Building Workshops, September 2020

Group Discussions Template for Focus Group Scenario Building Workshops – Imagining Governance in Africa in 2063

UTOPIAN

Global
Regional
National
Local
Institutional

Citizen

BASELINE

SURPRISE!

DYSTOPIAN
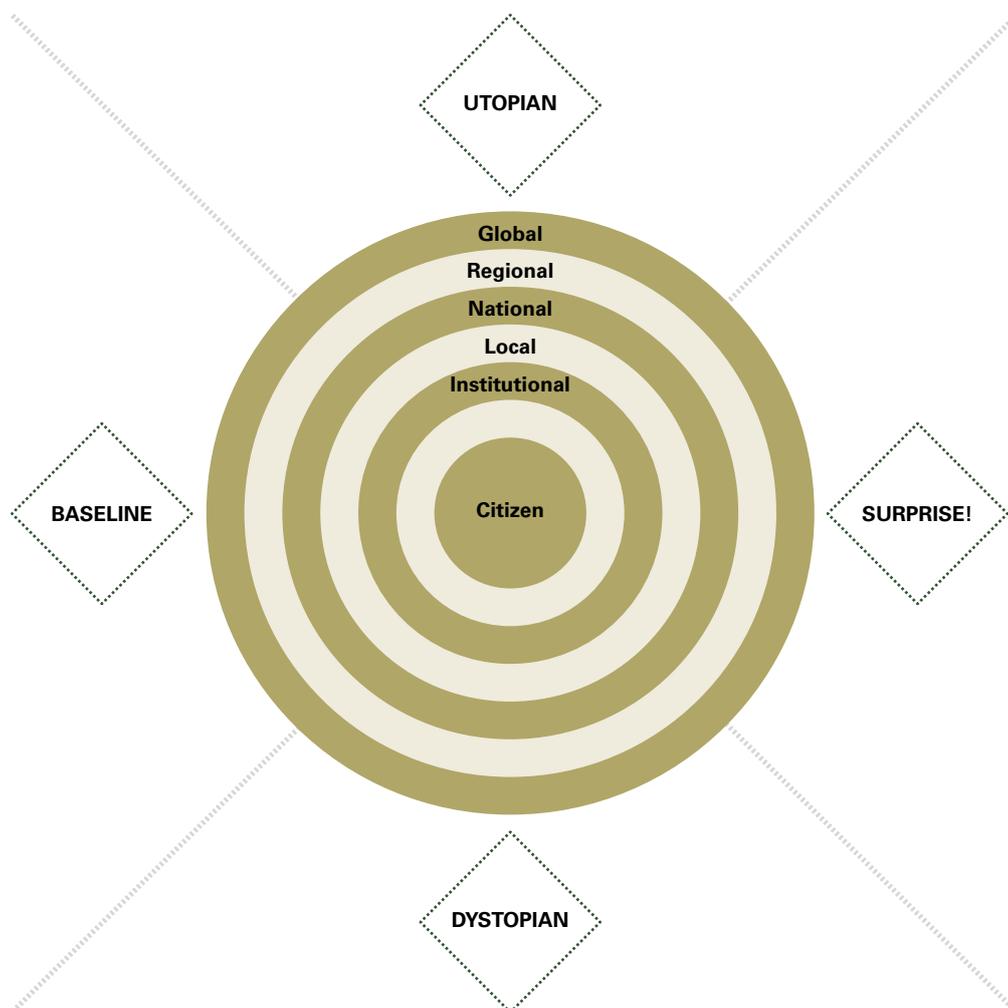
For the Focus Group Scenario Building Workshops, multiple stakeholders were selected from identified sample countries to participate in the AGR 2021 futures research. During group exercises, participants were invited to imagine the future of African governance in 2063 across the scenario types – best, worst, surprise and base-case. Respondents discussed and defined key features of African governance futures for each AGR 2021 scenario type, including:

   i.   the headlines and stories trending;
   ii. the main characteristics of African governance at different levels, from the citizen and institutions, to local, regional, continental and global level.

f.   *Virtual Policy Discussion Workshops, November – December 2020*

After the scenario building workshops and the development of AGR 2021 draft scenarios, two Policy Discussion Workshops were convened; the first with members of AGA, and the second with the AGR 2021 CRG members. The purpose was to outline the main policy implications and recommendations emerging from the AGR 2021 scenarios. AGA and CRG members shared inputs on policy areas to prioritise from an AU and multi-stakeholder viewpoint, respectively. Key discussion points included policy areas to review and/or revise. Additionally, policy areas of governance where African countries are perceived to be performing well, or where improvements are required, were emphasised.

Table of highlighted issues for policy focus and action

Priorities	→	• Ensure good governance, democracy, rule of law, peace, security and regional economic integration; • Address poor leadership and protect human rights; • Increase participation of women and youth in decision making; • Promote economic and social transformation and development in an era of 4IR; • Enhance Africa's crisis preparedness, boost agency and self-reliance and improve the continent's global positioning.
Actions	→	• Promote ratification of AU agreements and encourage Member States to implement good governance policies; • Align national, regional and continental frameworks with Agenda 2063 aspirations, implement plans and work towards UNSDGs targets • Improve financing and funding for policy actions to achieve the UNSDGs and Agenda 2063 • Include women and youth at all levels of governance • Boost AU strategic foresight and early warning mechanisms
Challenges	→	• Persistent governance deficits, particularly corruption and mismanagement of State resources • Militarisation by governments and lack of AU shared values in leadership practice • Governance institutions not fit-for-purpose to achieve set objectives with significant data gaps, ineffective operations and lack of accountability • Peace-building efforts inadequate to address ongoing conflicts
Leverages	→	• Requisite policies are in place and platforms exist for AU Member States and stakeholders to engage on priority areas, share information and exchange on best practice amongst peers • Peace and security structures and mechanisms established and require mobilisation • Ongoing AU reform and continued commitment to Pan-Africanism ideals

g.   *Validation Workshop – December 2020*

The Draft AGR 2021 final set of scenarios were presented for validation to a gathering of youth, governance experts, academics, RECs, AGA and APRM representatives. The scenario stories were discussed and refined, and the draft recommendations developed further with reference to the AGR 2019. Critical policy areas were also identified by experts and stakeholders. The workshop validated and adopted the AGR 2021 scenarios, key drivers, critical impact factors and call to action in the form of recommendations.

1.6 Insights generated from AGR 2021 scenario building process

Desktop research, e-survey and focus group discussions with diverse and multiple stakeholders identified current and emerging trends, events, challenges and issues relevant to governance. Shared and consensus priority areas emerged as central to the concerns of multiple stakeholders. The consultations and discussions from Workshops inspired the scenario narratives of African Governance in 2063.

The scenarios tell stories about possible African governance futures, to guide our decisions and actions today. In utilising current and diverse data sources and engaging different assumptions, viewpoints, interests and interpretations, the scenarios generated insights about how current contexts and trends can continue or change, and how new factors may appear in the short or long term. The objective of the AGR 2021 scenarios is to assist decision and policy makers and diverse actors to consider a wide range of possibilities and planning options for the future. The aim is to add value to strategic visioning processes, long-term planning and decision-making, and prioritisation of policy implementation actions.

In imagining different possible futures of governance in Africa the following notable insights emerged:

Insights from AGR 2021 scenario building process

Identify African citizens as the principal beneficiaries of governance. This was the main requirement for each scenario narrative, including developed recommendations.

The need for AU organs, RECs, Member States and diverse stakeholders to be responsive to change, with the ability to quickly adapt policy, process, systems and structures: This point received emphasis throughout the scenario building process resulting in the thought provoking content of the narratives developed.

In general, there is a tone of optimism in the final set of African governance futures scenarios, and a positive outlook for the continent if requisite good governance policies are implemented.

Central trends and shared governance issues are:
- the demands of the growing youth demographic;
- cultural and gender diversity and inclusion;
- climate and natural environment shifts;
- 4IR and digitisation aspects as part of broader advancements in science, technology and innovation;
- regional integration and social, economic and political cohesion;
- the international geo-political and economic positioning of the African continent.

It is worthwhile to note the applied functions of the AGR 2021 scenario building process. These functions contributed to the identification of, discussion about, and consensus on key insights.

The scenario building functions outlined below can be further used to enrich the dissemination of the AGR 2021 and boost uptake of the suggested recommendations by AU organs, RECs, Member States and broader stakeholderwws.

A scenario building approach is valuable in contributing to the following functions with relevance for governance policy decision making and implementation:

1. Knowledge sharing, exchange and assessment;
2. Stimulating discussions and consensus building on future possibilities;
3. Setting goals and objectives; and
4. Specifying indicators to track and benchmark progress and monitor impacts of actions.

Functions of scenario building

1. Knowledge Function

Scenario building promotes:

- Gathering and sharing of knowledge, surfacing assumptions, deepening analysis and interpreting current contexts;
- Anticipating future implications of present-day decisions and policy actions; and
- Identifying limits to knowledge and provoking new thinking.

2. Communication Function

Developing scenarios can:

- Stimulate discourse and enrich debate across various stakeholder groups; and
- Promote a shared vision of possible futures, and generate commitment and momentum to achieve goals.

3. Goal-setting Function

Scenario building aids in:

- Encouraging reflections about desirable and undesirable future developments; and
- Clarifying goals.

4. Strategy Formulation Function

Scenarios contribute to:

- Mapping and tracking steps towards the achievement of goals; and
- Specifying milestones and benchmarks to assess robustness of policies and relevance of actions.

1.7 Summary of African Governance futures 2063 scenarios

The following is a summary of the AGR 2021 "African Governance Futures Scenarios 2063", depicting different future outcomes of African governance, within the framework of the AU Agenda 2063 and the UNSDGs.

Generated organically through the consultative and participatory approach outlined, and based on analysis of current trends, the scenarios describe best to worst case prospects for the attainment of Africa's development goals and transformation agenda. The scenario stories share imagined possible futures of good governance, potential governance risks, blind-spots, and surprise disruptions.

Each scenario begins on Africa Day 2063 and describes key features of what governance on the continent could look like as a result of a particular governance trajectory. Apart from the dystopian scenario, the attainment of Agenda 2063 is an assumption for the baseline, utopian and surprise scenarios – with Africa's aspirations achieved on time and perhaps even ahead of schedule, despite challenges. Additionally, elements of each scenario type are interwoven across all the stories to add coherence and emphasise the plausibility of the imagined African governance futures. As such, the base, best, worst and surprise case scenarios all share certain elements, in addition to the distinctive features of each.

AGR 2021 Scenarios summary table

SCENARIO	TYPE	STORY	DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE
Baseline	**Base case**	***Africa United***	• Agenda 2063 has largely been achieved • The continent is politically and economically integrated • There are still issues of inequity, in particular gender-based discrimination and a digital divide
Utopian	**Best case**	***Africa Thriving***	• E-governance • Integral citizen participation • Council of Leaders • One Pan-African Parliament
Dystopian	**Worst case**	***Africa Defeated***	• Collapse of governance and political, economic and social systems • African governance administered by non-African actors • Lack of community-level resilience and organisation
Surprise	**Wild card**	***Africa's Lift-Off***	• Strong social contract based on trust and universal rights • Self-reliance of Africa • Governance of new frontiers

Baseline scenario – "Africa United"

The "business-as-usual" scenario for African governance futures

The Base-Case Scenario depicts African governance futures based on the uninterrupted and unchanged maintenance of current dynamics, patterns and trends. In the Base-Case scenario, African governance futures are projected based on current policy and decision-making priorities and actions. The Base-Case scenario assumes that African governance key elements and features will remain the same, and continue to progress positively at a suitable pace, on the current trajectory. This scenario is based on the AGR 2019 baseline study of African Governance, which assesses current governance performance at continental level, examines the role of regional economic communities, measures constitutionalism and the rule of law in AU Member States, highlights trends of African conflicts and instability, and evaluates the nexus between development and governance in Africa. In developing the base-case scenario, there was significant debate on the negative versus positive outlook of current African governance trajectories. The current threats to democracy and free and fair elections in particular, were highlighted as critical impact factors with potential to steer the continent more towards worst than best case outcomes. Nevertheless, in accordance with the positive aspirations of Agenda 2063, assuming continued Member State commitment to realisation of an Africa we want, the Baseline scenario tells the story of the attainment of the Agenda 2063, despite continuing challenges.

Summary:
On Africa Day 2063, the continent has achieved the Agenda 2063 Aspirations, however key aspects remain that need to be addressed, such as gender equity, environmental disasters and access to digital capabilities for Africa's populations. The key features of the baseline scenario are a politically and economically integrated continent including Diaspora communities, and a population that is well connected and efficiently governed. The assumption is that the continent will steadily rebound post-Covid19 (2020s) and, despite challenges such as climate change and continued socio-economic inequities, achieve the Agenda 2063 vision as planned.

To realise the baseline scenario of Africa United in 2063, it would be necessary to incorporate strategic foresight into policies to boost preparedness and entrench monitoring and assessment of governance indicators to improve performance and policy outcomes.

Utopian – "Africa Thriving"

The best-case scenario for African governance futures

The Utopian scenario charts the high road in the attainment of preferred African governance futures. This scenario maps a path of dedicated relevant actions to achieve strategic objectives efficiently and effectively, determinedly addressing blocks and obstacles leveraging the continent's comparative advantages. In this scenario, the necessary policy and decision-making actions are evidence-based, inclusive and aligned to current contexts, maximising opportunities and averting risks. The best case scenario depicts a future that is possible if bold decisions are taken to drive significant transformation. In this Utopian scenario, all aspirations have been achieved on time despite the numerous challenges faced. The continent is prosperous, peaceful and influential, setting standards for governance worldwide. African societies are thriving, productive, educated and skilled. The region is shaped by and functions with strong institutions of good governance across political, economic, corporate and social development spheres. Risks related to conflict, natural disasters and health epidemics are anticipated and well managed. There is inclusivity, peace and prosperity across the continent.

Summary:

Attainment of the Agenda 2063 Aspirations and a continent of citizen-driven e-governance are the main features of the AGR 2021 Utopian scenario. As a result of citizen-centred governance approaches, African populations are educated, healthy, and formidable competitors on the global stage. Effective prioritisation and implementation of relevant policy and strategy has resulted in the continent achieving sustainable economies and societies that are conflict and crime-free and thriving. Science, technology and innovation particularly in the health field has resulted in long life expectancy and 'transhumanism' where Africans have enhanced abilities through advanced technologies. Key assumptions in this scenario are a general continuation of current governance, economic and social systems and structures, with process-level modifications due to digital capabilities and the requirements of regional integration and unification. Uptake and popularity of digitally enhanced health, including integration between AI and humans, is a main assumption. To achieve this, Africa will need to focus on developing 4IR capabilities and applying digitisation to improve governance and general well-being.

Dystopian – "Africa Defeated"

The worst-case scenario for African governance futures

The Dystopian scenario depicts a future where Africa's Agenda 2063 vision and goals have not been attained, and the worst eventualities have occurred. In the steps leading to the Dystopian scenario, governance policy decisions are not aligned to goals, and opportunities and risks for good governance are ignored. Necessary policy and implementation is lacking or inefficient, ineffective and misdirected. Worst case outcomes are described in the Dystopian scenario to highlight the consequences of inaction or inappropriate actions. The *Africa Defeated* scenario highlights shortcomings, obstacles and vulnerabilities that may hinder attainment of preferred futures. In the Dystopian scenario, the continent is in decay and in decline as a result of poor leadership and weak governance. Vulnerable societies struggle to ensure daily livelihoods for their populations, the region is internationally exploited, strained by uncontained conflicts and burdened by climate related hazards with unmitigated widespread impacts.

Summary:
The key feature of the Dystopian scenario for Africa is the dissolution of the African Union and the collapse of economic, health, education and social systems on the continent. Widespread conflict, poverty and hunger as a result of poor leadership, bad governance and corruption define the region. Because of Africa's incapacity to self-govern, decision making authority, policy management and effective governance of the continent is taken over by non-African actors and international institutions. The assumptions in the Dystopian scenario are that Africa's conflicts are unmitigated, and necessary institutional checks and balances to promote better decision making and allow for balanced governance have failed.

Wild Card – "Africa's Lift-Off"

The unexpected or surprise scenario outcome

A Wild Card scenario describes low probability surprise occurrences that break from norms and expectations, with major and widespread impacts. The aim of the Wild Card scenario is to avoid a tunnel vision approach to planning for the future that is based on current experiences and knowledge. Wild Card scenarios depict surprise possibilities and situations that may emerge. The purpose is to encourage proactive preparedness, rather than a reactive response to unexpected events. Wild Card scenarios promote an agile, adaptable and flexible approach to policy planning and implementation. For Africa, a Wild Card scenario in 2063 extends beyond the realisation of a politically and economically integrated, decentralised and borderless Africa as described in the Baseline and Utopian scenarios. The surprise emergence is space travel and interplanetary exploration for Africans. In the AGR 2021 surprise African governance future, governance structures, policies and institutions are sound and functional propelling the continent to new frontiers of civilisation.

Summary:
Space travel to Mars is the main feature of the Surprise case scenario. Having achieved the UNSDGs and Agenda 2063 aspirations ahead of time on the basis of solid and sound cultures of good governance, the continent expands its vision towards 2100. In this scenario, a period of self-reliance that allows Africa to consolidate capacities and talents is assumed. In addition, there is the rapid advancement of science, technology and innovation capabilities. High levels of trust between African leadership and citizens, and shared ownership of Africa's governance futures is established as a main step towards this future.

1.8 Implications of scenarios and call to action

The aim of the AGR 2021 scenarios is to provide a useful lens for decision makers, diverse actors and agents of African governance, to better anticipate possibilities, avoid risks and challenges to good governance, and strategically align and promote positive advancements and developments, with best collective benefits for the AU, RECs, Member States and their constituencies.

Each scenario describes a possible African governance future, and the steps and events that may lead to best, worst or surprise case outcomes. The scenario stories are neither exhaustive nor final. They offer a glimpse of plausible African futures, highlighting areas where critical policy decisions and actions may be required.

As a long-term visioning and strategic planning tool, in support of the APRM expanded mandate and the work of the AGA, the AGR 2021 scenarios are intended to assist in augmenting and harmonising regional and national priorities, policy making and implementation, and to monitor progress in good governance for the attainment of the UNSDGs and Agenda 2063.

At the Member-State level, the objectives of the AGR 2021 African governance futures scenarios are to,

    i.   Boost and support adoption of the AGR 2019 recommendations;
    ii.   Promote formulation and implementation of the AU Agenda 2063 ten-year implementation plans, in line with regional and national priorities;
    iii.   Provide a template for the development of national governance futures reports and country-level scenarios aligned to Agenda 2063, and linked to national development strategies and plans of action.
    iv.   Offer a creative tool for multi-stakeholder engagement, decision making and actions towards realising optimal futures of good governance for Africa.

1.9 Summary recommendations for each African Governance Future type

Baseline Scenario – Africa United

- Political and economic integration of African states and regions including the Diaspora, and celebration of African heritage, culture and arts.
- Continued uptake and ratification of instruments, protocols and treaties to promote good governance, in particular, the African Charter for Democracy, Elections and Good governance.
- Promotion and protection of human rights, inclusion of women and youth and strengthening of conflict resolution and peace-building efforts.
- Embedding strategic foresight for preparedness and anticipatory governance.
- Entrenching monitoring and assessment of governance indicators to improve performance and policy outcomes.

Utopian Scenario – Africa Thriving

- Investment in the social development of African countries, particularly in the health and education sectors;
- Development of capabilities for 4IR and digitisation, including legislation and policy, relevant skills building and support of innovation;
- E-governance allowing citizen engagement and participation in governance systems;
- Re-imagining African governance e.g. a Council of leaders selected via continent-wide democratic processes, a functional and representative single pan-African parliament and direct citizen access to decision making fora via digital platforms.

Dystopian Scenario – Africa Defeated

- Committed implementation of required good governance and peace and security checks and balances and mechanisms to mitigate governance, democracy, peace and security challenges and to avoid worst case outcomes;
- Prioritising the needs of citizens and supporting community well-being through necessary governance administration and service delivery;
- Promoting diversity, inclusion and participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in all levels of governance, politics, business and society;
- Ensuring the sovereignty of African states and the authority of the AU without excessive international interference or unbalanced focus on non-African interests and external agendas.

Surprise Scenario – Africa's Lift-Off

- A focus on self-reliance with the necessary investments and applied urgency required to achieve the UNSDGs and the Agenda 2063.
- Renewed social contract establishing high levels of trust between leadership and African citizens, which represents and respects the will of Africans to realise African visions of futures we want – into 2100.
- Advancements in science, technology and innovation, as a driver of development, growth and transformation in a 4IR era.

AGR 2021:
AFRICAN GOVERNANCE
FUTURES 2063 SCENARIOS

2. AGR 2021: AFRICAN GOVERNANCE FUTURES 2063 SCENARIOS

The AGR 2021 presents four plausible scenarios of African governance futures in the year 2063. The aim is to highlight decision-making options for achieving the AU Agenda 2063 and the UNSDGs 2030, as well as to assist with specifying policy and action intervention points for strategic implementation of the AGR 2019 recommendations.

Scenario building makes it possible for decision and policy makers to consider a wide range of possibilities and planning options for the future. It uses diverse data sources and incorporates different assumptions, viewpoints, interests and interpretations to understand how current contexts and trends may continue or change, or how new factors may appear. In short, these scenarios tell stories about possible futures which can guide our decisions and actions today.

The scenarios depict best to worst case prospects for the attainment of Africa's development goals, including outlooks for good governance, potential governance risks and blind-spots, and possible surprise outcomes.

The intention of the scenarios is to provide a decision and policy making guide and reference tool that:

- Broadly maps and identifies key trends, drivers and factors with impacts for African governance;
- Signals emerging governance risks so that their negative outcomes can be prevented or mitigated;
- Highlights opportunities for enhanced governance; and
- Indicates how to best orient and prioritise governance strategies and actions for the attainment of the UNSDGs and the AU Agenda 2063 aspirations.

At the Member-State level, the AGR 2021 African governance futures scenarios will support take-up of the AGR 2019 recommendations, promote implementation of the AU Agenda 2063 and provide a template for the development of national governance futures and country scenarios, linked to national development strategies and plans of action. As a strategic planning tool in support of the APRM expanded mandate, the scenarios can augment regional and national policy implementation and monitoring of progress towards good governance for the attainment of the UNSDGs and Agenda 2063.

2.1 Baseline scenario "Africa United"

Celebrating 100 years of African Unity – the headlines read.

It is Africa Day 2063 and a public holiday for all Africans. Celebrations are planned in all the official African languages and across the north, south, east, west and central regions. Further away the Caribbean islands and AU 6th Region communities representing the African Diaspora tune in to the live cyber event that will feature speeches, musical shows and documentaries of historic moments that have shaped Africa till this moment. There is particular excitement in South Africa as a special hologram of tata Madiba is being beamed straight into living rooms and mobile devices as he gives his famous freedom speech. Simultaneously, across Africa, AU Member States are honouring their heroes.

It is expected that the new vision for Africa's future for the next 100 years will be announced. Indeed, for the past three years, intense visioning and scenario building exercises, multiple consultations with diverse constituencies and detailed research including quantitative modelling have been taking place. This is a regular process that was established 40 odd years ago in 2021, when the African Union initiated continent wide, scenario-building exercises, as a means to gather data, solidify shared plans, harmonise actions and create momentum towards achieving Africa's development and transformation goals.

The atmosphere of the day however also has an undercurrent of sadness and loss. Many Africans are still reeling from the aftershocks of heavy floods that have devastated Southern, Eastern and Northern Africa destroying livelihoods and cities, with high fatalities. Floods, droughts, wild savannah fires that rage for months, are normal occurrences. Despite early warning and crisis management systems that are fairly advanced, it is still impossible to avoid widespread impacts of natural disasters. To bring some relief to affected communities, African leaders are caught in a deadlock over carbon emission negotiations with other countries internationally. This is despite the fact that some progress has been made toward mitigating greenhouse-gas-emissions through negotiations such as the 2016 Paris Agreement and subsequent agreements. Africans are demanding payments for damages and suffering from climate change damage caused by other countries.

This is not the only issue African leaders are pushing for in the international arena. Fair trade and fair prices for African goods, improved international taxation regulations and better protection of African based intellectual property and patents are also being negotiated. Africa's industries are thriving in terms of productivity, but struggling in terms of profits, and African goods and services are still facing market entry barriers and artificial pricing structures that are not beneficial to the continent. Adding insult to injury, Africa's data and innovations are being stolen by unregulated data cartels. It is a source of immense frustration that communications, documents, information, online meeting platforms, ecommerce channels are not secure and can be easily hacked, compromising governance, business interactions and consumer privacy.

The African Continental Free Trade Area has grown exponentially as businesses, governments and labour collaborate to link Africa's entrepreneurs, markets, investors, producers and consumers. Made in Africa is indeed a global brand, recognised for the unique design elements, sustainable use of natural materials and fair work practices. The manufacturing industry has overtaken tourism as the key sectors of growth in the region. After the pandemic of 2020 and several other pandemic scares, tourism in Africa struggled to recover, as travel remained restricted or tainted with anxieties of spread of various illnesses. Cyber tourism is the popular trend for international visitors. Locally, the development of intra-Africa trade

infrastructure has opened up the region for local travel by road, air, rail, and sea. The one Africa passport has removed visa constraints, and the tourism industry now relies heavily on local visitors.

The fact that the days of conflict and in-fighting on the continent are over further facilitates ease of movement in Africa. Issues of xenophobia and ethnic rivalry have for the most part subsided. The lines between local and migrant, and between diverse African communities no longer exist. Africa belongs to all Africans and cultural diversity is embraced and celebrated. The last eruption of violence was in 2035, ending a 15 year tussle against a well-organised group of radical rebels that resisted pan-Africanist agendas. The group of rebels had been formed in 2022, after the AU failed to Silence the Guns in 2020, as a response to what they termed as the inefficiency of pan-African oriented initiatives. Their core agenda had been to promote nationalism and protectionism, to destabilise the AU and shield smaller countries from being subsumed by the interests of more powerful African states at the time. Made up mostly of youth, the rebel group had mobilised online and outwitted security agencies to organise multiple protests and disruptions across industries and countries. In a tragic series of escalating encounters, the rebel group had finally surrendered to AU peacekeeping forces.

However, there is still work to be done. Though the goal of free education for all has been achieved, the systems and levels of learning are not of equal standard everywhere. Many girl children are still facing some form of discrimination or marginalisation in the classroom. Unfortunately, the policy of free education for all has not resulted in parallel cultural change. Gender stereotypes persist, despite the implementation of equity-based policies. Gender sensitisation programmes are also neglected generally, as resources are being diverted to the technology and digital skills learning. In a highly competitive 4IR world, it is critical to ensure learners are properly skilled for the tech-based world of work.

Though the digital divide remains evident in some areas, Africans are generally well connected to each other and to the world. International education initiatives, partnerships and multi-stakeholder research projects are thriving. Academics and practitioners, experts and innovators are collaborating in online platforms across borders seeking solutions to the world's challenges. Innovative ideas are freely shared in a spirit of cooperation. The long fight against the corona virus crisis, which started in 2020, killing over 2 million people, has pushed the world to work together. The demands for a vaccine had overtaken competitive interests and it was an 'all hands on deck' approach that eventually pulled the world to health and safety. The culture of global collaboration has now become the norm in the protection of lives and livelihoods against all threats.

"Africa Day Celebrations 2063 – All Are Welcome"
the official webpage of the African Union declares.

Africa's anthem can be heard in a chorus of different voices as singing signals that the celebrations will soon begin officially.

Africa United

HEADLINE STORY

Celebrating 100 Years of African Unity!

African leaders discuss attaining the long-awaited vision of a united, peaceful and prosperous, healthy and heritage-rooted Africa.

Happy Africa Day 2063!

BASELINE SCENARIO: "AFRICA UNITED"	
KEY FEATURES	**Politically and economically integrated** Africa that is well-connected, including the Diaspora as part of the AU 6th Region
	A technologically advanced continent although the digital divide continues and there is poor governance, lacking legislation to manage data resources and digital transactions
	The African Continental Free Trade Area is thriving with intra-Africa mobility facilitated by the African passport and good transport infrastructure as well as an active local tourism industry
	High productivity and economic performance although there are ongoing international trade negotiations on fair prices, improved taxation and protection of African trademarks and intellectual property
	Celebration of African cultural heritage and diversity with wide use of official African languages
	Education for all from primary to tertiary levels, however unequal gender-based access to learning and educational opportunities continues
	Collaboration with partners globally on education, technical and professional fields, cooperating in the search for solutions to shared challenges
	Continued environmental shocks and natural disasters despite early warning systems
	A conflict-free Africa with an active peace-keeping force
ASSUMPTIONS	**Continuation of current governance structures and systems** at regional and national levels
	GDP performance trends 2018 – 2020 can rebound post-covid-19. Recovery will be dependent on the continent's capacity to adapt to disrupted economic trends, to structurally transform and translate economic growth to social development, avoiding drastic reversals on gains achieved so far
	Youth-driven unrest and rebellion is a possibility following the failure to silence the guns in the 2020 decade, and the frustration against long-standing regimes and perceived governance failures by the AU, RECs and Member States
	Technological advancements and relevant skills development for digitised worlds of work are underway
	A culture of global collaboration exists despite global competitive interests, to which Africa contributes and benefits from through active negotiations as a unified region
STEPS	**State capacity and capability to achieve Agenda 2063 is developed and good governance approaches are harmonised across the region**
	African-led innovation drives the success of the African Continental Free Trade Area, supported by dynamic business and strategic industry development as well as fair international trade practices
	Strategic foresight is embedded as a critical governance capacity alongside continued tracking, monitoring and review of relevant trends and progress performance of good governance indicators

2.2 Utopian scenario "Africa Thriving"

The Pan-African Parliamentary session is about to start. The governing council members are taking their seats as a performer prepares to sing the African Anthem.

On the agenda is the budget and strategic plan for the 2064-2073 period. There is an atmosphere of triumph as the first council of African leaders, elected by all Africans to represent their regions and interests, is scheduled to announce that the strategic goals and targets of the Agenda for an Africa we want, have been met and on time.

Despite the naysayers, Africans have persevered and turned the tide to finally realise the vision of a united, peaceful, prosperous, healthy and heritage-rooted Africa. The toughest step was the continent-wide elections. Disruptions from destabilising forces intent on blocking this step to African unity had threatened to disrupt the project. There had been no campaigning however, which minimised had the threat. Instead information sessions had been convened in multiple locations during which the policy platforms of each candidate were clearly explained to citizens. Debates and queries were encouraged during these sessions. Voting thereafter had been completely electronic and regulated by hack-proof AI systems. The elected council members were announced within one hour of the last digital vote cast and a diversity quota algorithm allocated each council member seat to representatives of main population groupings. As such, each demographic was represented at some level among the council members. There had been no election protests and no uprisings.

Made up of a diverse grouping across ethnicities, languages, gender and age, the governing council is widely respected, with each councillor having reputable accomplishments and character.

The formal session of the Pan-African Parliament begins. Up for debate is legislation for space migration, the rights of AI entities and new policy for life prolonging applications. The health industry is lobbying for fewer regulations to allow more people access to life prolonging procedures. Life prolonging technologies are blurring the line between humans and machines, and transhumanism is a topical issue, with more clarity needed on acceptable parameters for lengthening human life expectancy. The population boom during the mid-2020s, despite the corona virus pandemic, has resulted in a large elderly population of Africans living stronger for longer. Good health systems have contributed to more Africans celebrating their 100th birthday, and new technologies are available to boost quality of life for everyone from infants and children to senior citizens and people with disabilities. It is important however, that each technology be suitably vetted, including with strict safety criteria and ethical rules.

Parliamentary debate is accessible via live streaming to any African that wishes to participate, and many citizens are free to make their views known. Citizen communication portals are very active, receiving on average twenty thousand messages, queries and recommendations to inform policy debates weekly. The sophisticated data analysis software installed as part of the continent's e-governance systems ensures that each citizen's input is recorded, filed and presented in summarized form during the relevant meetings. The days of top-down rule are history in Africa, as digital platforms allow wide inclusion of different voices on important governance issues and concerns, from environmental regulations, to child welfare issues and media fact checking.

For those not interested in political debates, a wide array of topics is available. Sports communities for instance are closely following the planning of the global Olympic Games that will be held in

quality stadiums across Africa in a year's time. Top athletes are already rushing to the transatlantic trains, or flying in on high-speed drones to acclimatise themselves. At each port of entry, digital immigration systems are efficiently processing visitors. Hospitality workers are busy escorting athlete to their luxury accommodations spread out in different locations, from urban areas to national parks. Africa's unique ability to harmoniously integrate its natural and human environment has made the continent a popular destination for international sports events, tourists, conservationists and adventure seekers.

The world's rarest species of wildlife, from birds to marine life, thrive in protected habitats, and the continent's rich biodiversity is a global treasure. The forests are among the largest in the world, pumping oxygen into the atmosphere and helping to clear the carbon emissions generated by Africa's booming industries. Natural resources management and industrial activity are maintained in a delicate balance that is constantly monitored and measured in accordance with a detailed sustainability index. Industry giants are meticulous in their adherence to green regulations, as transparent corporate governance systems allow consumer and shareholder oversight. Regular and accessible reporting mechanisms inform interested stakeholders of corporate performance indices across a range of areas and this mitigates fraud and criminal activities.

Parallel to Africa's robust economies, the continent's academic, science and research institutions are at the forefront of new discoveries driving innovation and market development, and leading the search for cures and vaccines to the diseases that continue to affect the health of the world. The decision to revisit all curricula on the continent, driven by student initiative, has transformed the educational outputs of the region. Over the past five years, a skills revolution has occurred. The shift to online learning that began during the Covid19 pandemic in the early 2020s has gained momentum in the ensuing decades. Digital and online learning allow for wider access to information and knowledge. Entrepreneurial growth is supporting the development of practical professional experience and exposure to technical training in the field. Relevant skills and capacity has equipped the African population to drive a thriving economy. As a result, poverty was successfully eradicated in Africa soon after 2030 and basic needs for all the population have been met.

Crime has been reduced to zero, and former prisons are now counselling, rehabilitation and trauma recovery centres catering to a wide range of needs. Preventive measures to combat social misconduct are now the norm. The continent's legal structures and justice systems are renowned for their fairness. African judges are often called upon to preside on matters of international significance as a result.

The noise dies down as the agenda of the session is projected onto the screen of the parliamentary hall. Debate on decisions, actions and the budget begins.

UTOPIAN SCENARIO: "AFRICA THRIVING"	
KEY FEATURES	**A Politically, economically and socially united Africa** with a governing council of leaders that oversees the integrated affairs of the continent. AU Agenda 2063 aspirations have been achieved on time
	Strong institutions and e-governance is facilitating citizen engagement and participation in governance on issues that directly impact them
	Open access data, information and knowledge is available on public domains to support citizen engagement and participation in policy making, good governance administration and review
	Ease of mobility across the continent for people, goods, services, and capital, with the requisite transnational policy convergence and harmonisation of continental infrastructure, systems and processes
	Buy-in and cooperative adherence that does not require strong enforcement mechanisms to ensure compliance
	Environmental conservation and high biodiversity
	A heritage-rooted and a healthy Africa with a long life expectancy boosted by technology
ASSUMPTIONS	**Continent-wide leadership** chosen through participatory and inclusive democratic processes, and hack-proof electronic voting systems
	Digitisation and 4IR as a significant trend that is widely embraced and applied to enhance good African governance
	Continuation of current regional governing models
STEPS	**Development of education, science and technology skills**
	Inclusion, participation and policy ownership by African citizens;
	E-governance and continent-wide democratisation and consolidation
	Advances in the health field using technology to enhance longevity and wellbeing

2.3 Dystopian scenario "Africa Defeated"

The United Nations Security Council Emergency Resolution on Africa is being signed. The negotiators adjust their face masks and secure their goggles. Hand sanitizers are being distributed in the room and the pipes that are now regulatory infrastructure in public places are releasing a steady mist of disinfectant. Outside, the temperature is scorching and the mist is also helping to cool the room.

The group of negotiators files out quietly. The continent's fate has been sealed in a bitter echo of the 1885 Berlin Conference. Africa is once again at the mercy of international powers, governed by the multilateral systems of the so-called global government, which is principally a coalition of military powers and authoritarian states.

The start to the 2060 decade is dismal. A few final meetings are being convened in the former AU headquarters amongst the remaining African heads of State. All efforts to regroup have failed and in any case this ultimate meeting is disrupted by protests. Those present are quickly evacuated by security forces fearing a potential escalation of the situation.

War over resources is raging. Disputes about the Nile, the fresh waters of the Congo Basin, natural gas and oil reserves on the continents' shores and the mines in southern and central Africa have increased to include an ever expanding circle of interests, worsening competition and disagreements about distribution of resources and benefits.

With hindsight, theoreticians remark that the corona virus pandemic was a powder keg that had exposed the weaknesses of African States and societies. Instead of developing policies to respond to the Covid19 pandemic, African leaders, as a result of poor governance, had preferred to reinforce their personal power and engage in mismanagement of funds and authority. Presidents eager to extend their presidential terms had falsified infection and death rate statistics, inflating numbers to depict a severe crisis. On the basis of this, elections had been cancelled, states of emergency declared, and the full subjugation of African populations institutionalised.

The African Continental Free Trade Area, which had initially been delayed, had been activated in January 2021. Yet, the benefits had been captured by a selfish elite from the start. Illicit trade, smuggling of goods and people and money laundering had been rife. The formal ACFTA channels had been subsumed by crony capitalists that enticed officials with easy financing. The promise of free trade had translated into widespread greed. The continent's vast informal markets, rather than integrating into formal economies, had splintered into multiple market pools, each with its own rules and trade and currency exchange. Systems were in disarray and good governance was absent.

Today in 2063, the lack of leadership has led to rising poverty and poor health; African populations are easily mobilised by various interest groups; terrorists and private militia groups are taking advantage of the leadership gap and lack of regulations to control large swathes of land. These non-state actors are using access to education and training, albeit militarised and ideological, and access to regular basic needs such as shelter and food to persuade rural and urban communities to serve their interests. Anger via anti-state propaganda and consistent messaging via social media is being fuelled to trigger civil unrest. This is what has led to the collapse of many African States.

At first, the international community, preoccupied with other global crises, was not interested in the fate of Africa. The mayhem on the continent became a priority only when the unrest triggered similar

movements in Diaspora communities, destabilising other countries. It was only then that foreign actors decided to look for a global response to the situation in Africa. African leaders, discredited and illegitimate, were excluded in the debates or negotiations. High level technocrats recognised within the UN system were selected to represent Africa's position. These individuals were selected on the basis of their qualifications from Ivy League institutions, and professional experiences within the global multilateral system. In addition, those negotiating on behalf of Africa were not politicians, neither had they served in public office in any capacity on the continent. Because of this, they were perceived as neutral, the main criteria for the authority now conferred on them to sign-off on Africa's fate.

At community level the resilience of African communities is dependent on local-level organising efforts. Suburbs, villages, neighbourhoods each coordinate their own systems for defence and service provision. Conflicts caused by scarce resources are constantly erupting into violence. School buildings are being converted into barracks, churches have become refugee camps and food distribution centres, farmlands are being overrun by gangs of uneducated but determined youth.

At the conclusion of the negotiations conducted by the international community, the assets of each African country are listed and handed over to a specific managing body. Because of the huge debts owed to foreign countries, a large chunk of the remaining assets is signed over to non-African parties. Non-African actors volunteer to oversee agricultural and marine assets. Corporate interests win contracts to sell the resources of the Saharan and Namibian deserts. It is agreed that cheap African labour will be used in all these transactions, and they would be supervised and managed by an AI workforce. A detailed labour and taxation plan is expected to ensure fair labour practices that will contribute to financing plans for the development of the regions.

Humanitarian agencies are insisting on a human rights clause in the Emergency Resolution on Africa, and are appealing against the reintroduction of slavery and indentured labour practices. They are explaining that Africans too deserve the right to humane treatment and to kind assistance from the world. There is a campaign planned for Labour Day, 1 May 2063 to call for global solidarity to resolve the African crisis. The campaign slogan is "Assisting Africa". The face of a beautiful African girl-child with hands uplifted, against a backdrop of a burning city, is the leading campaign image.

DYSTOPIAN "AFRICA DEFEATED"	
KEY FEATURES	**Dissolution of the African Union** and handover of African Governance to non-African actors
	Collapsed economic, health, education and social systems
	Ineffective states, fragmented with corruption, bad leadership and poor governance
	No rule of law, there is generalized insecurity, the guns are not silent
	Unmanaged natural disasters
	Natural resources have been captured for the sole benefit of a few foreign actors and interests
	Community values have deteriorated and there is widespread competition and conflict
ASSUMPTIONS	**Unmitigated conflicts** and unabated political, social and economic deterioration
	Total interventions by non-African actors: abdication of African leadership and takeover by external bodies
STEPS	**Poor leadership and bad governance without requisite checks and balances**
	Neglecting to centre the citizen at the core of governance and democracy, compromising peace and security
	Pursuing policy agendas and actions that harm the environment
	Complete breakdown of African community values and ethics of care for the collective good

2.4 Surprise scenario "Africa's Lift-Off"

The first commercial shuttle to Mars is scheduled to launch. A digital banner stretching for miles is being beamed across the African skies that reads: "…3…2…1….Lift-off - Book Your Mars Holiday Today!"

It has taken the continent three decades, attention to detail and a firm commitment to reach this milestone where a shuttle is transporting a group of students, families, couples and retirees to a holiday destination on Mars.

The red planet had been conquered in the mid 2030s when the space race between global powers intensified. Life on earth had inched towards the brink with social unrest, unstable economies, and global natural disasters because of climate change shifts. In response, science and businesses had scrambled to find alternatives on other planets, and the space race had been brutal.

Many missions had failed, and it had taken many attempts to refine the science and technology for safe space travel and safe residence on Mars. In the early years, it was the wealthy from the global northern territories, the middle-east and Asia that travelled to space. A number of Africa's billionaires also secured early travel. These first space travellers had suffered severe health problems later, however.

For the general populations, tickets for Mars shuttles had been initially unaffordable, as was the health care needed to sustain life on the red planet. The devastation of the corona virus pandemic in the early 2020s was just the start, and subsequent pandemics and widespread health crises had resulted in large number of people dying or losing their jobs and livelihoods. Only a super wealthy corporate class benefitted from the existing technology and access to the right markets. But while there was swift recovery in some sectors and beneficial adjustments in others to the 'new-normal' post-covid, a high percentage of businesses had perished and unemployment levels had risen sharply.

The 2020 to 2030 decade was a difficult period globally. Each region was challenged to respond and adapt to the demands of a post-pandemic recovery. Committed to the slogan 'leave none behind' championed by the UNSDGs, African leaders focused on investing and lifting African populations out of poverty. The corona virus had spurred collaborative efforts and refocused policy priorities to mitigate its negative consequences and save as many lives and livelihoods as possible.

As the pandemic unfolded, the efforts of African countries to stem the tide of infections was evident in the lower numbers of fatalities recorded within the region than anywhere else in the world. The rapid response allowed for political life to continue with caution, and elections scheduled were successfully held, meeting physical distancing regulations. As African governments demonstrated their capabilities and honoured their contracts to ensure the best policy outcomes for citizenry, cultures of democracy strengthened, and delivery of public goods to the most vulnerable was instituted was a norm. The result was an Africa that strived in unison to achieve its development agenda.

By 2050, the AU Agenda 2063 aspirations had to the general surprise of the continent's detractors, been attained 10 years ahead of schedule. The narrative of the Asian Tigers was replaced by the story of Africa's rapid metamorphosis, especially as, a new vision for the continent - Africa and Beyond 2100 - had been launched – in 2045. New goals were ambitious, and access to space, including travel accessible to all Africans, was included.

Africa and Beyond 2100 is a vision rooted in the established culture of good governance, responsive to and representative of the needs of African populations. The goals for the 22nd Century will be driven by science and technology education and innovations, which are now common place. Africa's youth, adequately skilled, encouraged and well financed, will take the driving seat and apply creativity and digital technologies to find solutions to address the needs of their communities, with scale-up potential for international markets. Inter-generational communities benefitted from the health-innovations, families enjoyed more leisure with domestic and work tasks highly automated. Strong social nets and support systems means that all basic needs are being met, and investments and other development initiatives are focused now on broadening the possibilities of human habitats.

The challenges of the natural environment are still placing a strain on emergency response systems. Data reports are showing higher than normal numbers of casualties resulting from environmental events. Despite the efforts of the international community, the climate on the continent is tipped into high temperature levels, and there are many incidences with impacts for agriculture and several other critical industries. An alternative habitat on other planets is therefore a necessity. Indeed, committed environmental watch and response teams had succeeded in anticipating and averting most natural disasters. It is not considered necessary to vacate earth; rather, Africans are being encouraged to explore other planets to which they can move if they so wished.

The global space travel agency coordinating all space travel has recognised the efforts of the African region to open space travel to more people. Globally, the continent is renowned for the humanitarian, sustainable and equitable stance that informs its policies, institutions and interests. While others have gambled with the safety of their populations, Africa has elected to protect and nurture its own by promoting good governance.

In 2045, as part of the Africa and Beyond 2100 vision, leaders had launched the Africa citizenship programme, welcoming communities the world over to come and build their homes on the continent. There was a photo taken from space that showed the African continent with the clearest atmosphere and lush forests in the heart of central Africa, coined the 'last Eden'. An anti-migrant sentiment had been predominant amongst African populations during the difficult 2020-2030 decade. However as abundance spread, the Ubuntu nature of African customs blossomed again and in 2050 African borders were opened to the world.

The passengers of the shuttle wave cheerily at the live streaming camera in the cabin. This will be the first of many similar journeys.

SURPRISE SCENARIO "AFRICA'S LIFT-OFF"	
KEY FEATURES	**Space travel** and occupation of Mars
	A prosperous Africa driven by youth initiatives and the "leaving none behind" policy
	Highly regulated international migration to the region
ASSUMPTIONS	**Space travel as a priority** based on advanced developments in science, innovation and technology, leveraging Africa's comparative advantages
	Continued climate change and environmental degradation compromising sustainable habitation of the earth and motivating exploration of outer space for alternative liveable planets
	UNSDGS and Agenda 2063 achieved ahead of schedule through concerted and strategic efforts to realise targets and aspirations
STEPS	**Self-reliance and focus on achieving the Agenda 2063 vision, without excessive dependency on external interventions**
	Strong social contract between African governments and their citizens based on African Union shared values
	Advancements in science and technology

IMPLICATIONS
OF SCENARIOS AND
CALL TO ACTION
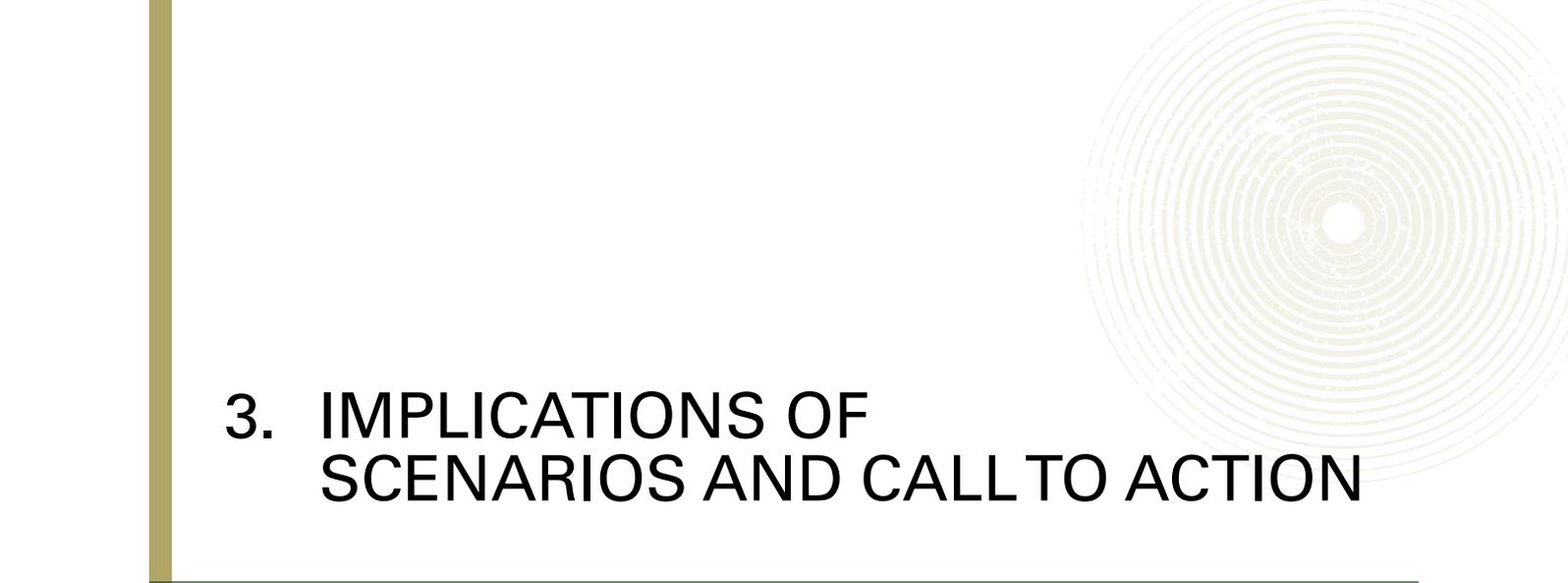
3. IMPLICATIONS OF SCENARIOS AND CALL TO ACTION

These scenarios are neither exhaustive nor final, but they offer a glimpse of plausible African governance futures, as imagined and envisaged by a diverse group of research participants, African governance stakeholders and representatives of AU organs, RECs and Member States. The scenarios include possible steps and events that may lead to best, worst, or surprise case outcomes, and highlight areas where critical policy decisions and actions may be required. The aim of the AGR 2021 scenarios is to provide a useful lens for AU Member states, decision makers, diverse actors and agents of African governance to better anticipate possibilities, to avoid risks and challenges to good governance, and to strategically adopt and promote positive advancements and developments.

The policy implications for each scenario are as follows:

3.1 Baseline Scenario – *Africa United*:

To achieve Agenda 2063 aspirations, AU Member States must continue to implement the instruments, protocols and treaties they have signed and ratified. To promote good governance in particular, the African Charter for Democracy, Elections and Good governance is an important cornerstone for African countries to build on. Additionally, initiatives such as the ACFTA, the transcontinental railway line and the African passport are vital to support and promote opportunities to further the economic and political integration envisioned in the Agenda 2063.

The *Africa United* story describes a near-term future of youth unrest, and a longer term future where despite progress, gender inequality and a digital divide remain. Addressing critical issues related to women and the youth is necessary to positively channel the energy of these populations, especially in a rapidly changing 4IR era. Further, positive engagement of the youth is important to protect from them from being lured into armed and militia movements. To realise peace, security and prosperity as described in the Baseline scenario, and to mitigate the negative consequences of civil unrest and conflict, it will be necessary to promote and protect human rights and include women and the youth in decision making processes.

The main policy implication of the Baseline scenario is the need to adopt strategic governance foresight to boost anticipatory governance capabilities. Thinking and planning ahead, based on continuous scanning and scoping of governance issues, can boost preparedness for eventualities, and augment long-term decision making and strategic actions to take advantage of emerging trends. The *Africa United* scenario imagines the mainstreaming of strategic foresights across the AU, tracking trends, anticipating change and

disruption and devising suitable responses in the interests of good governance and the positive advancement of the continent.

3.2 Utopian Scenario – *Africa Thriving:*

The Utopian scenario describes a future where Africans have harnessed the benefits of technology to improve the health and wellbeing of populations by reducing diseases and thus enhancing the quality of life for Africans. Investment in the social development of African countries, particularly in the health and education sectors, is a central policy implication of the Utopian scenario. Boosting the development of African 4IR capabilities and contributing to digitisation, including ownership of technology and innovation, is another core policy implication.

Requirements for an *Africa Thriving* governance future also include using technology to boost e-governance and broaden citizen engagement and participation in matters of direct or significant impact. Inclusive policies, participatory decision-making and widespread representative democracy are the prerequisites for good governance, development and prosperity in a Utopian Africa in 2063.

In this best case future, the continent is politically and economically united with one pan-African parliament and a council of leaders. Cementing AU shared values in all Member States, decidedly pursuing a pan-African agenda and reconfiguring the AU to act as a central harmonising body across national and regional levels, is the main policy challenge to realise an *Africa Thriving* governance future.

3.3 Dystopian Scenario – *Africa Defeated*:

To avoid a Dystopian African governance future with worst case outcomes, it will be necessary to implement preventative measures, institute checks and balances, and set up mechanisms to mitigate governance, democracy, peace and security challenges.

Mobilising RECS as key agents in development and governance and involving non-governmental actors in the organization of free and fair democratic elections, implementation of anti-corruption conventions, combating of transnational crime, peace-building, etc will be necessary to reverse poor governance in African countries.

Additionally, to avoid the takeover of African governance by external agents as described in the *Africa Defeated* scenario, steps will be needed to protect the sovereignty of African states, promote the legitimacy of leadership and the authority of the AU, and limit international interference in African affairs or an unbalanced focus on non-African interests and external agendas. Accountable leadership as well as representative and transparent governance is needed to counter self-serving leadership and short-term gratification, which compromise long-term benefits for current and future African generations.

Prioritizing the short to long-term needs of citizens through effective governance administration and efficient service delivery is a concomitant policy implication to prevent an *Africa Defeated* future. A core requirement for ensuring the well-being of communities is promoting diversity, inclusion and participation of women, youth, and people with disabilities at all levels of governance in politics, business and society. Harnessing the capabilities and talents of all Africans can provide the impetus to shift the trajectory of African governance away from worst-case outcomes, while leaving none behind.

Protecting Africa's natural environment and resources is also integral to the prosperity and advancement of the continent. Associated policy implications are instituting sustainable natural resources management approaches, particularly foregrounding grassroots methods. Proactive engagement against climate change also requires instituting necessary mitigation, preparedness and early warning systems.

3.4 Surprise Scenario – *Africa's Lift-Off*:

In the Surprise scenario, Africa attains set development and transformation goals ahead of schedule, thereby releasing and redirecting the continent's capacity to imagine and explore broader possibilities for African governance. The Surprise scenario imagines Africa leading in frontier areas of governance on the basis high tech capabilities, including satellites, big data and computational capabilities, and space travel. Advancements in science, technology and innovation as drivers of development, growth and transformation are the necessary steps towards *Africa's Lift-Off*.

Self-reliance is also a key theme in this scenario. This requires a renewed social contract based on increased trust between governments and citizens. Governance in this scenario is also underpinned by a strong culture of human and universal rights.

In *Africa's Lift-Off*, the continent has achieved improved education systems accessible to all Africans, structural transformation of African economies and the eradication of poverty. Necessary investments targeted at achieving the UNSDGs and the Agenda 2063 aspirations, as well as focused priority actions to address good governance, development and transformation requirements, are the main policy implications suggested.

The role of the youth is emphasised, with youth included at all levels of governance, business and society, and leading in finding relevant solutions to development challenges. Under an *Ubuntu* ethos, intergenerational communities thrive, with African families supported through access to all basic needs, and protected from shocks by strong social protection and safety nets.

While environmental issues remain a high concern in the Surprise case scenario, the continent has developed highly efficient early warning systems and a range of mitigation measures to minimise the risks of natural disasters.

Policy implications include targeted youth development and inclusion, disaster and risk preparedness with appropriate crisis response capabilities, environmental conservation and protection.

In developing the AGR 2021 recommendations and their attendant call to action points, policy areas were identified under specific categories, namely – *Sustainers, Compass Pointers,* and *Pivot Points*. The purpose of the policy areas is to facilitate prioritised decision-making in AU organs, RECs, Member States and diverse actors to address governance gaps and prepare for emerging possibilities.

Categories of AGR 2021 policy focus areas
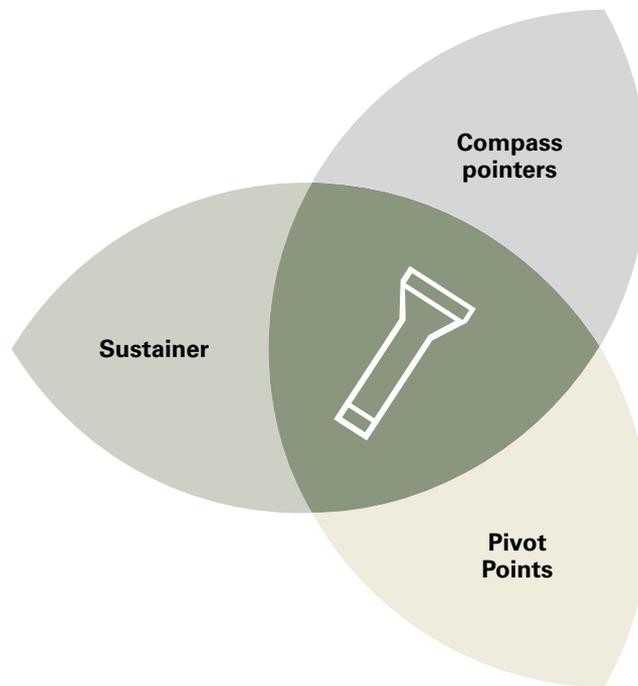
Sustainers are identified policy areas that impact the core of African political, economic, social and environmental contexts, and represent the minimum requirements for functional governance on the continent, regardless of the emerging scenario type – whether best, worse, surprise or base case. Sustaining policy areas are necessary governance issues to address in terms of boosting essential levels of resilience on the continent, and to prevent against a dystopian future.

Compass Pointers policy areas are the high level ideas, foundational ideas and concepts underpinning the African Union shared values and instruments and constitutive acts. Policy points in Compass Pointers, relate to ethics, values, accountability, transparency, inclusion and justice. AU ideals of pan-Africanism and democracy, and the various protocols, treaties and initiatives targeting these policy points are a main focus here.

Pivot Point policy areas refer to main driving trends and issues where action, or lack thereof, can pivot the trajectory of Africa's futures. Critical impact factors such as the growing youth population, increasing inequity, and socio-political instability are highlighted as pivot points where decisive policy action is called for to achieve preferred African futures in 2063, rather than worst case governance outcomes.

In generating the AGR 2021 recommendations, the policy implications as indicated for each scenario, were further aligned to the recommendations of the AGR 2019 as well as to the Agenda 2063 FTYIP national and regional priorities.

AGR 2021 recommendations aligned to the Agenda 2063 FTYIP priority areas and the AGR 2019 recommendations

Agenda 2063 FTYIP national & regional priorities

Good governance, including capable institutions

Peace and Security

Sustainable and inclusive economic growth

Gender/Women development and youth empowerment

Job creation, especially for youth and women

Human Capital Development and Social Protection

Agriculture/value addition and agro-businesses development

Infrastructure development

Science, Technology, Innovation

Manufacturing-based industrialization

Culture, Arts and Sports

AGR 2019 recommendations

Transformative Leadership

Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law

Peace, Security and Governance

Nexus between Development and Governance

Role of RECs in African Governance

AGR 2021 recommendations

Long-term thinking and planning

Ratification of shared values instruments, treaties, protocols

HR protection and prioritizing of the citizen

Inclusion of youth, women and people with disabilities

Equity and representation

CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS AND RECOMMENDED POLICY FOCUS AREAS

4. CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS AND RECOMMENDED POLICY FOCUS AREAS

The AGR 2021 recommendations are made in relation to key identified drivers and critical impact factors influencing African Governance Futures scenarios validated by diverse and representative stakeholders. The recommendations are intended to boost good governance outcomes, in particular to facilitate intentional focus to address the key issues highlighted in each of the African governance futures scenarios.

Good governance futures indicators are also suggested as areas and issues to track, in terms of benchmarking progress towards creating the African governance futures we want.

The detailed AGR 2021 Recommendations are presented in the tables below:

    I.   **Africa-led Solutions**
    II.   **Collaboration/ Cooperation and Communication**
    III.   **Elections**
    IV.   **Environment**
    V.   **Institutions**
    VI.   **Peace and Security**
    VII.   **Policy**
    VIII.   **Political Economy**
    IX.   **Political Leadership**
    X.   **Rule of Law**
    XI.   **Universal Rights**
    XII.   **Women**
    XIII.   **Youth**

I.   Africa-Led Solutions

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Africa-led Solutions	• Formalisation of good practices rooted in African resilience and successful approaches demonstrated at grassroots levels	• Recognise and promote Africa-led solutions as key assets for the continent across sectors – agriculture, energy, medicine, education amongst others.
	• Promotion of African values and ethics • Digitisation of African languages	• Uplift, legitimise and formalise African knowledge systems.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• African community-based values and people-centred models and approaches mainstreamed in governance and development at all levels; • Africa-led solutions prioritised in response to governance, democracy, peace and security challenges; • African languages digitised, facilitating outreach, education and engagement of all African citizens.	

II.   Collaboration, cooperation and communication

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Collaboration/ cooperation and communication	• Multilateral and bilateral relations	• Prioritize the interests and needs of the continent in the reset and reform of global multilateral institutions, in particular the WTO and the UN; • Ensure that Member States engagement in multilateral and bilateral relations are not at odds with the requirements for the attainment of the Agenda 2063 aspirations.
	• Strategic and operational eco-systems and linkages	• Enhance the capacity of universities as critical partners and role players in establishing good governance, in particular provide concentrated funding for research and development of relevant curricula; • Strengthen the role of the African private sector as a partner in good governance.
	• Media	• Conduct country-level awareness and promotion campaigns on governance performance and assessments, contribute to monitoring gains and short-gaps; • Publicise the status of ratification of the various AU treaties, conventions, instruments and protocols by Member States; • Raise awareness on the capacities, contributions and achievements of youth through specific campaigns.

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Strengthened cooperation and collaboration across AU organs, RECs, Member States and all stakeholders; • Established mutually beneficial partnerships between the AU, Academia and Private Sector applying triple and quadruple helix models; • Increased use of the media to promote awareness of the AU and Member States progress towards achieving governance goals and Agenda 2063 aspirations, including publicising the status of important ratifications; • Ongoing country-level campaigns mobilising citizens, in particular youth, to act as accountability agents and champions of good governance in line with appropriate processes, mechanisms, systems and structures.	

III. Elections

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Elections	• Electoral commissions, rules and institutions • Violence related to elections • Organising elections during crises and pandemics	• Ratify and domesticate relevant instruments and monitor implementation; • Member States to submit regular reports as per ACDEG requirements; • Harmonise practice of election observer missions of regional bodies and the AU, to boost credibility, develop guidelines, and a common approach to add value. • Recognise the role of universities in training for enhanced capacity of electoral management bodies; • Member States should commit to use available platforms for sharing of best practices on political parties, legislative issues, diversity and inclusion; • Promote permanent dialogue on political issues for early detection and discussions on strong and emerging signals of changes and/or disruptions that may demand particular governance responses.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• All relevant charters, conventions, protocols related to democracy, elections and good governance have been ratified and domesticated by Member States; • Member State report regularly as per ACDEG requirements; • There are harmonised procedures across AU observer missions, regional and national electoral management bodies, with transparency on and accountability to agreed set of frameworks for election processes; • Available platforms and training initiatives supported by academia, and experts are being used to share best practices and enhance capacity of electoral management bodies; • There is ongoing political dialogue and active fora for engagement on critical governance areas, and there are emerging signals of change and required preparedness and response actions.	

IV. Environment

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Environment	• Climate change and natural disasters	• Apply technology solutions to facilitate adaptation and mitigation strategies at national level including disaster preparedness
	• Green shifts and sustainability	• Include local strategies based on grassroots knowledge • Adopt a law promoting sustainability practices and prioritizing grassroots approaches; • Fast track adoption of grassroots environmental practices through established REC protocols on trans-boundary and shared resources.
	• Natural resources management and transformation of agriculture	• Address ongoing land, natural resources management and ownership issues
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Technology solutions usefully applied to manage natural resources, environments and climate change; • Grassroots knowledge and sustainability practices formalised and prioritized for natural resources use and management; • Land policy and ownership issues addressed, in particular, facilitate ownership and sustainable land management by women, youth and low-income/poor communities; • Africa owned and Africa-driven agenda for agricultural transformation.	

V. Institutions

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Institutions	• Fit-for-purpose structures and processes	• Enhance the role of RECs and harmonise with Agenda 2063 • Promote available platforms for peer sharing of best practices.
	• Maturity	• Establish cultures of continuous learning to respond to changing contexts as well as to apply best practices.
	• Efficiency	• Develop capacities and competencies at state level to achieve the Agenda 2063 aspirations; • Act with urgency to address critical issues for good governance, peace and security, protect and promote human rights.
	• Performance monitoring and assessment	• Improve transparency to facilitate governance peer reviews and assessments, including the views of multiple stakeholders.

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Successful AU reform to ensure the Organisation is fit-for-purpose to serve Member States and their constituencies, and is capable of addressing critical needs and demands in contexts of rapid change and complexity; • AU organs, RECS and Member States have a harmonised policy making and implementation strategy aligned to Agenda 2063; • There is ongoing institutional-level learning, training and capacity building for up-to-date expertise and application of best practice through knowledge-sharing; • There is continuous performance monitoring, assessment and peer review of governance institutions based on transparency and including the views of multiple stakeholders.	

VI. Peace and Security

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Peace and Security	• Civil Unrest and popular uprising	• Mitigate hate speech and promote cultural diversity
	• Militarisation • Human trafficking • Trans-national organised crime • Cyber-security • Terrorism and violent extremism	• Recognise different types of conflict and create forums for youth engagement in peace-building; • Establish a temporary to permanent representative body where former youth combatants can be engaged in conflict resolution; • Clarify the role of Africa as a migrant transit point, and improve data and management of inflows of migrants/refugees moving through Africa, and to other regions, because of conflicts or in search of opportunity.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Governments and communities have been demilitarised, hate speech eliminated, cultural diversity and inclusivity promoted, and incidences of civil unrest and popular uprising reduced; • Mechanisms for the participation of youth and former youth combatants in conflict resolution and peace-building initiatives exist; • All forms of human trafficking, trans-national organised crime, terrorism and violent extremism impacting African populations and exploiting the continent's resources have been eliminated; • AU bodies are actively engaged in security, conflict management, conflict resolution and peace-building; • Protocols for migrants, refugees and displaced persons in and through Africa are efficient and well harmonised.	

VII. Political economy

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Political economy	• Industrialisation, diversification and economic structural transformation	• Improve Africa's position in global value chains; • Boost focus on regional manufacturing based on Africa's comparative advantages; • Develop capabilities to catalyse and improve ownership of 4IR.
	• Integration (for instance ACFTA encompassing free movement of persons, AU Passport etc.)	• Adopt the ACFTA initiative and reports, including integration of policy and infrastructure, harmonisation and incentivisation of taxation regimes, and promote the flow of people, ideas, goods and services.
	• GDP growth and social development	• Boost local production capabilities and diversify national economies; • Create more opportunities to reverse brain drain and reduce migration, mobility and unemployment.
	• Debt levels, credit ratings, ease of doing business	• Encourage sound financial management practices, boost finance and investment. •
	• Finance and investment	
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Improved positioning of the continent in global value chains based on comparative advantages in regional manufacturing; • 4IR capabilities developed and applied in line with the needs and interests of the continent; • Alignment of AU organs, RECs, Member States and key stakeholders with the ACFTA flagship initiative, in particular harmonisation of policy, infrastructure and tax regimes to support mobility of people, ideas, goods and services; • Diversified Member State economies and improved production capabilities, opportunities created to absorb talent, increase employment and reduce migration; • Sound financial management practices that attract increased investment in the continent are in place.	

VIII. Political leadership

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Political leadership	• Adaptive • Inclusive • Accountable • Ethical	• Develop an Africa- developed well-being and happiness index; • Develop a 5 year action plan on youth inclusion in political governance institutions and processes on a quota basis, decided by youth population percentages, at national and regional levels; • Promote inclusion particularly of youth, women and people with disabilities in AU bodies and improve their access to and participation in political decision-making at national and regional levels; • Boost Africa's crisis and disaster preparedness, including streamlining disease mitigation, control and prevention measures across the region.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Higher performance of African States in development, equality, well-being and happiness indices • Inclusion and involvement at all levels of political governance of youth, on the basis of set quotas determined by youth percentages of populations • Efficient crisis prevention and early warning systems and streamlined mitigation, and control of disease, natural and economic disasters	

IX. Policy

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Policy	• Relevance to context • Implementation mechanisms • Review	• Develop independent, multidisciplinary representative bodies such as task-teams to drive action in addressing specific, critical issues; • Target investment policies.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Relevant policies developed including implementation frameworks at national and regional level to promote governance, democracy, peace and security, human rights, development and inclusion; • Established action bodies and budgetary commitments to fund initiatives targeted at critical governance areas; • Continuous policy review and adjustment processes, taking into account the inputs of key stakeholders.	

X. Rule of law

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Rule of law	• Constitutionalism	• Entrench a strong culture of human rights and sanctions for impunity as deterrents of poor governance practices.
	• Justice and fairness	• Codify norms and standards and legal frameworks to address instances of popular uprisings; • Formalise laws that prescribe inclusivity and youth involvement; • Ensure citizen direct access to the African court and international jurisdictions for human rights protections.
	• Adherence, compliance and enforcement	• Prioritise streamlined legal frameworks between AU, regional entities and Member States; • Recommit Member States to adhere to, comply with and enforce ratified agreements, instruments, treaties, protocols.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• There is a culture of good governance, democracy, rule of law and human rights in all AU Member States and governance institutions; • AU Member States are actively committed to the implementation of shared African values, ratified instruments and the constitutive acts of the AU; • Streamlined and respected laws, legal frameworks, codified norms and standards at regional and national levels that promote and protect citizen human rights; • Different population groups are involved in governance and are free to express dissenting opinions.	

XI. Universal rights

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Universal rights	• Protection and promotion of universal rights as the birth-right of every individual regardless of age, gender, race, ethnicity, cultural heritage and background, status, disability, and religious beliefs	• Entrench a culture of universal rights that respects the inherent rights of all human beings; • Enhance the concept of a trust-based, inclusive social contract based on the acknowledgement of universal rights.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Respect for and protection of the universal rights of all human beings, regardless of age, gender, race, ethnicity, cultural heritage and background, status, disability, and religious beliefs; • A dynamic and influential Africa that leaaves none behind and is centred on and driven by diverse peoples	

XII. Women

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Women	• Leadership and decision-making • Economic empowerment • Education • Gender-based violence	• High-level intervention to end harmful traditional practices that prevent the attainment of gender equity across all the identified critical impact factors.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Increased numbers of women in leadership and decision-making positions in the public and private sectors and civil society organisations, and in governance institutions at national and regional levels, with minimum 30%-50% representation; • Higher percentages of girls and women in, and graduating from all levels of school and education in all African countries; • Reduced occurrence of gender-based violence, and effective implementation of necessary protection and safety policies, systems and mechanisms including enforcement measures to prevent gender-based violence; • Available gender targeted funds and financing to support policy actions to end all forms of gender-based discrimination.	

XIII. Youth

KEY DRIVER	CRITICAL IMPACT FACTORS	AGR 2021 CALL TO ACTION FOCUS AREAS
Youth	• Unemployment	• Drive a skills revolution in all Member States to boost employability of the youth.
	• Innovation and entrepreneurship	• Facilitate access to technology to promote youth innovation and entrepreneurship; • Ensure availability and accessibility of funding for youth entrepreneurship.
	• Participation in policy making and implementation forums	• Develop inclusivity indicators; • Promote youth-led conflict mediation and peace-building efforts; • Support rehabilitation and re-integration of former youth combatants and facilitate their inclusion in efforts to promote good governance; • Mobilise efforts to deconstruct the negative stereotypes of youth capability.
	Good governance futures indicators	
	• Established relevant education and training institutions, curricula and programmes, cultivating future-fit skills and capabilities to reduce youth unemployment; • Availability of affordable technology to bridge the youth digital divide; • Thriving youth innovation and entrepreneurship through financing and committed support; • Inclusion of youth as central role players in conflict mediation and peace-building efforts; • Mainstreaming of youth issues across all sectors.	

CONCLUSION
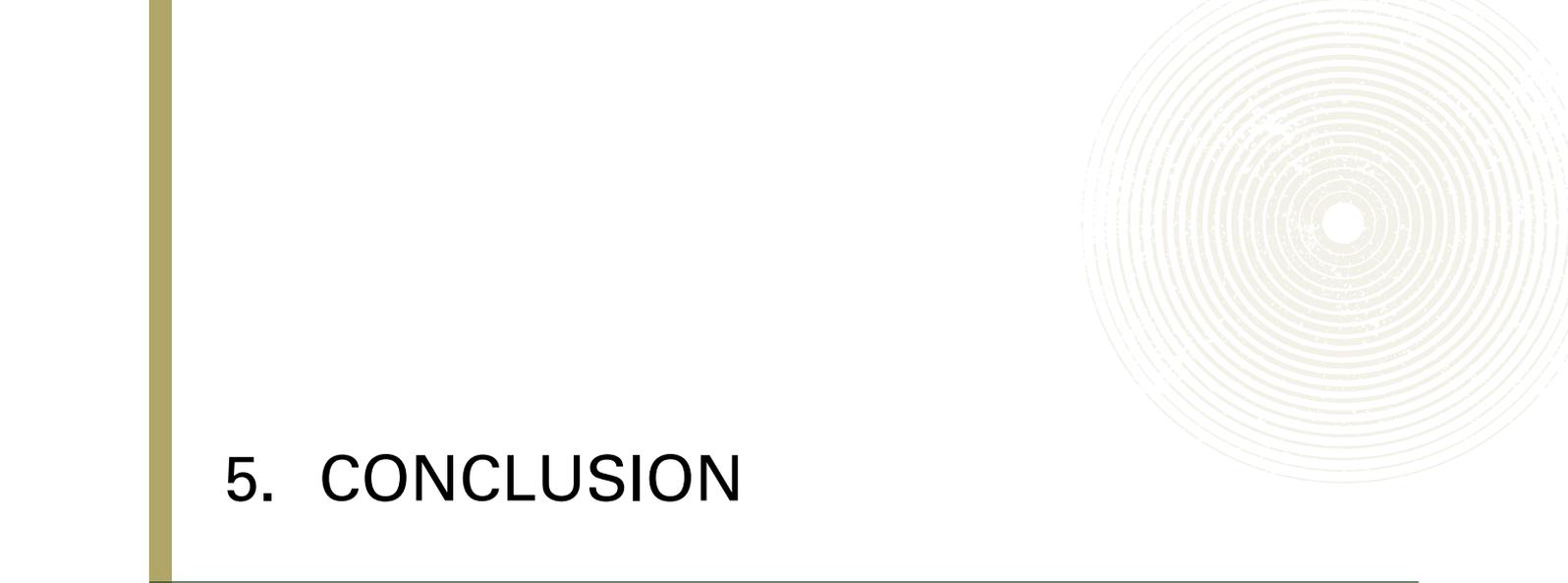
5. CONCLUSION

The AGR 2021 African governance futures scenarios are presented here as a long-term visioning and strategic planning tool in support of attaining (and surpassing) the aspirations of the Agenda 2063 and UN 2030 Agenda. The aim is to contribute towards establishing cultures of good governance, sustainable peace and security and communities where inclusion and participation ensure that no one is left behind in the Africa we want.

The significance of the AGR 2021 scenarios, especially the recommendations proposed for prioritised policy implementation, will depend on the pre-emptive actions taken to either boost or prevent the possible outcomes highlighted in the scenarios. Additionally, there is need for continued tracking of good governance futures indicators, and their alignment with the AGR 2019 recommendations and FTYIP policy priorities. Monitoring and assessing progress towards achieving the continent's development and transformation goals is crucial to avoid worst case outcomes, and place the continent on trajectories with positive, high impact outcomes.

The AGR 2021 scenarios are a notable benchmark that can help Africa to attain the Africa we want. The AGR 2021 enumerates the main policy implications and makes recommendations that can help Africa to attain Agendas 2063 and 2030 goals and expand discussions on the futures possibilities of the continent.

5.1 Africa United

The baseline scenario for African governance futures shows that current trajectories may or may not lead to the achievement of the Agenda 2063 aspirations. While positive progress and gains have been made in terms of good governance and integration in Africa, there are still many areas that require urgent attention.

Currently for instance, flagship initiatives such as the ACFTA are poised to trigger significant transformation towards heightened intra-Africa trade, development and growth. Unfortunately, persistent insecurity and socio-political instability including threats to democracy in many African countries are likely to hamper its implementation, thus posing substantial risks for the continent's advancement.

Also, ignoring some of the potentials of the continent such as women, youth and Diaspora communities, will put the continent on the trajectory to worst case rather than best case scenarios.

It is vital to ensure that concerted efforts are made to address the continent's governance and development deficits, end conflicts and marginalisation of populations, and reverse environmental destruction. It will also

be necessary to pursue investment in policy and strategic priority areas to promote good governance, peace and security and equity-based sustainable development so that the continent can truly benefit from its unique comparative advantages, talents, natural endowments and rich resources. Necessary ratifications must be completed and followed by implementation, to yield positive outcomes and the attainment of the 2063 aspirations.

5.2 Africa Thriving

The utopian scenario highlights best case outcomes for African governance futures by 2063: a politically united and economically integrated continent that is equity-based and prosperous. Main features are digital advancements that have changed the nature of governance institutions and processes, and enabled citizens to directly and actively participate in African governance.

This scenario imagines a restructured AU region that is united across systems, structures and processes, with a single pan-African parliament and a single Council of leaders elected via continent-wide democratic processes. Populations live vibrant and active lifestyles in harmony with natural environments, and the continent is positioned as a valued international partner.

In this future, African governance uses emerging technology to address development issues, drive transformation and empower actors including women and youth. The result is improved health outcomes, eradication of poverty and high levels of education, leading to thriving economies and peaceful societies.

The *Africa Thriving* future calls for the realisation of the highest ideals of Pan-Africanism, where governance institutions, leadership and citizens have adopted shared values, and are well equipped to achieve set goals. United and integrated, the continent can thus work towards achieving the aspirations of Agenda 2063 and becoming a commanding presence on the global stage.

5.3 Africa Defeated

In a worst case scenario for African governance futures, poor governance outcomes lead to a collapse of the region and a subordination of the continent to external interests. Partisan conflicts, apathetic leadership and aggravated communities, struggling to survive amidst multiple crisis events, are main features in this storyline.

Steps that can lead to a dystopian African governance future include, neglect of duty and ignoring of warning signs of decay, wilfully allowing external interference in the sovereignty of the AU region and Member States, and overly accommodating self-serving interests that ignore the rights and requirements for the wellbeing of citizens.

To avoid these negative outcomes, decided focus on ratifying and implementing the various outstanding AU treaties, protocols and instruments is necessary. Promoting the shared values of the AU and encouraging Member State actions in accordance with stipulated priorities is critical.

To prevent the *Africa Defeated* future, AU bodies, RECs and Member States are encouraged to abide by and implement necessary measures to ensure governance, development as well as peace and security in Africa. In particular, they are called upon to strengthen institutional checks and balances against abuse of power,

promote democracy and peace-building, commit to more equitable distribution of economic growth benefits, and prioritise the interests and needs of African populations from the short to the long-term.

5.4 Africa's Lift-Off

This surprise case scenario paints a picture of a world that has shifted past the current configurations to include interplanetary realities, and where Africa, interconnected and self-reliant, plays a central role in leading and shaping new frontiers for humanity. The main surprise feature is the continent's drive towards opportunities such as space travel, having attained the Agenda 2063 aspirations ahead of schedule.

The future described includes utopian elements, such as realisation of the highest ideals of pan-Africanism, with Africa as a strong international player. Dystopian elements are also included, particularly the continuation of crises from environmental shifts to public health threats that demand constant mitigation and management.

This surprise case scenario acknowledges that there may be challenges, such as climate change and ongoing pandemics, which may not be overcome in the world's and Africa's near-term futures. Yet highly functional governance and capabilities of the continent will allow for early warning crisis detection and risk mitigation, as well as innovative responses. Additionally in this scenario, global contexts of crisis create the impetus for the continent to turn inward and attend to urgent issues and demands of governance, development and transformation.

Consequently as a result of concerted efforts in *Africa's Lift-Off,* the AU Agenda 2063 is achieved ahead of time. Africa is recognised globally for its citizen-centred and universal rights based approach to governance, with the continent being celebrated as a region of fairness and abundance, welcoming to all. Following this and building on the continent's gains, a new vision looking to 2100 is developing.

In engaging with this possible surprise scenario, the challenge is to imagine a future of African governance where expectations of good governance are surpassed, and new avenues for advancement can therefore be explored. The call to action is to leverage ongoing and emerging crises to take the bold decisions and implement the necessary steps that can catapult the continent towards governance futures beyond our present parameters.

AGR 2021
DISSEMINATION
AND ROADMAP FOR
APPLICATION OF SCENARIOS

6. AGR 2021 DISSEMINATION AND ROADMAP FOR APPLICATION OF SCENARIOS

The AGR 2021 may be disseminated at different levels, in diverse formats for various audiences, and applied in a range of ways to enhance governance policies, strategy implementation, and monitoring of progress towards long-term development goals.

6.1 Member state adoption and report launch

Following presentation and adoption of The AGR 2021 by AU Member States at the Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly in 2021, it is proposed that a mechanism be established for Member State to disseminate and apply the report at national levels. Distribution of the scenarios as tools for strategic policy and decision-making, and monitoring of operationalisation and take-up of the report can facilitate implementation of recommendations. The African governance futures 2063 scenarios may be presented and disseminated in diverse formats to a variety of audiences, popularising the AGR 2021 scenarios at national level.

6.2 Implications for AU bodies and organs

Following presentation and launch of the AGR 2021, AU bodies and organs may organize a series of dissemination and application workshops to examine the implications of the scenarios for achieving specified mandates and developing institutional strategies. Such workshops will also provide training opportunities and knowledge sharing platforms on best practice as part of continuous institutional learning.

6.3 Monitoring and evaluation of African Governance Trends and progress towards the UNSDGs and Agenda 2063

The scenarios, including the good governance futures indicators suggested in the recommendations, may be used to track and analyse progress towards attainment of the UNSDGs and the AU Agenda 2063 aspirations. The scenarios can further inform development of the Agenda 2063 implementation plans, and contribute to efforts to determine priority issues, identify relevant projects and programmes and mobilise partners and stakeholders around high opportunity areas.

6.4 Media visibility and communications strategy

A key lesson from the development of the AGR 2019 is that there was limited public awareness of the Report. This undermined its uptake throughout the continent. There is need therefore for an innovative approach to ensure the AGR 2021 gains the requisite publicity and media visibility. As such, it is important to integrate media communications and publicity into the process of disseminating the AGR 2021, including maintaining active web portals, releasing current podcasts and short video clips, and writing opinion pieces commenting on the AGR 2021 research process outcomes and uptake of recommendations. Effective media strategies may be developed to mobilise media channels across African countries, to stimulate public debates on the Report and on the African governance futures scenarios. This will provide impetus and momentum to implement the indicated recommendations and calls to action.

APPENDICES

7. APPENDICES

A. AGA reference group members

1. Amb. Salah Hammad, Head of the AGA Secretariat (Chair).

2. Ms. Charity Nchimunya, Executive Secretary AUABC.

3. Amb. Salvator Matata, COMESA Liaison Officer to the AU (representing the RECs).

4. Mr. Kassim Khamis, Senior Political Officer AUC Strategic Planning Directorate Office.

5. Mr. Ibrahim Jagne, Pan African Parliament.

6. Ms. Lindiwe Khumalo, Advisor to the Chairperson of the AUC.

7. Ms. Doreen Apollos, AUC Communications.

B. APRM Secretariat Executive Committee to oversee the AGR 2021

1. Prof Eddy Maloka, CEO, APRM Secretariat

2. Dr McBride Nkhalamba, Head of Research and Methodology Division

3. Dr Kwesi Dzapong Prah, Governance Expert

4. Dr Migai Akech, Governance Expert

5. Julia Kiguru, Project Administrator

6. Sara Hamouda, UNSDGs and Agenda 2063 Expert

7. Rutendo Nazare, UNSDGs and Agenda 2063 Expert

8. Dr Misheck Mutize, Economic and Corporate Governance Expert

9. Yvette Kapinga Ngandu, Peace and Security Expert

C.   Institute for Futures Research (IFR)

IFR RESEARCH TEAM			
	NAME	**POSITION**	**PROJECT ROLE**
Advisory	*Dr Morne Mostert*	Director	Project Oversight, Advisory, Approvals
	Isaac Nkama	Africa Council Board Member	Advisory, Futures Research Associate
	Doris Viljoen	Senior Futurist	Advisory, Scenario Building Expert
Lead Experts	*Dr Njeri Mwagiru*	Senior Futurist	Futurist: Africa and Initiative Focal Point
	Abbas Jamie	Research Associate	Futurist: Innovation and Design Thinking
	Deidre Samson	Research Associate	Futurist: Innovation and Organisational Design
Research Support	*Adwoa Opoku-Nyarko*	Research Associate	Survey Research
	Heilet Betrand	Sales and Content Marketing	Administrative Project Operations

D.   Continental Reference Group (CRG) members

Area of Expertise	Continental Reference Group (CRG) Members
Futures Experts	• Dr. Geci Karuri-Sebina, Director South Africa Node at the Millennium Project. • Prof. Cheikh Mbow, Director, Future Africa. • Mr. Joni Karialainen, Finnish Futures Research Centre.
African Union Community Representative	• Ambassador Baye Moctar Diop, Chairperson of the African Union's Permanent Representatives. (PRC) Subcommittee on Democracy, Governance and the Rule of Law. • Ambassador Dr. Salah Hammad, Head, AGA Secretariat.
African Private Sector	• Ms. Nekesa Were, Director of Strategy, AfriLabs (Association of African Tech Hubs).
Women's Rights Specialist	• Dr. Lilian Lem Atanga, University of Dschang, Cameroon.
Media Representative	• Ms. Natasha Kimani, Head of Programs, Well Told Story.
Youth Representatives	• Mr Moussa Kondo, Chari, APRM Youth Network. • Ms Grace Jerry, APRM Youth Network.
Governance experts	• Prof Yehya Serag, Future University, Egypt.
Statistics Experts	• Dr. Pali Lehohla, Former Head of Statistics South Africa.
Human Rights Law Specialist	• Prof. Charles Fombad, Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria.
Security Expert	• Prof. Michelle Ndiaye, Director, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

E. Key contributors

The following are the key contributors to the AGR 2021 African Governance Futures 2063 Scenarios:

AGR 2021 Contributors	Entity	Role
Steering Group	• *APRM Continental Secretariat* • *AGA Platform*	• Provide strategic and policy oversight • Lead development of the AGR • Mobilise and administer resources • Facilitate key stakeholder engagement • Promote dissemination and uptake of the AGR
Technical Experts	• *Institute for Futures Research*	• Strategic foresight and scenario building experts • AGR 2021 Research Team members
	• *Afrobarometer* • *Human Sciences Research Council*	• Data collection and analysis experts • AGR 2021 Research Team partners
	• *Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University* • *Mo Ibrahim Foundation* • *African Capacity Building Foundation*	• Information and knowledge resources • Promotion of AGR 2021 publicity and dissemination
Stakeholder Inputs	• *APRM Community* • *AU organs and agencies* • *RECs* • *Youth and gender focused organisations* • *Interfaith community* • *Private sector* • *Labour representatives* • *Academia* • *Policy think tanks* • *Corporate and economic governance expert institutions* • *Civil society and advocacy groups;* • *Media*	Stakeholder outreach and inputs received via: • Strategic engagement meetings with AU body representatives; • Consultative forums, workshops and focus groups at regional and continental levels; and • An online public survey at national level
Core Reference Documents	• *African Governance Policy Framework (AGR 2019)* • *AU Agenda 2063* • *First Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 (2013-2023)* • *AU Agreements*	• Core policy frameworks to guide development of African governance futures scenarios

F.   AGR 2021 activities, inputs and outcomes

No.	ACTIVITY	TASKS	INPUTS	OUTCOMES
1.	**AGA Platform Methodology Forum**	*Present AGR 2021 Concept Note on proposed Scenario Building approach and roadmap*	APRM Secretariat IFR-AGR Team AGA	AGR 2021 roadmap and approach approved
2.	**Futures Methods Technical Workshop**	*Futures Methods Training*	APRM Secretariat IFR-AGR Team	Complexity Map of African Governance Issues and draft Discussion Paper
3.	**Define Analytical Framework**	*Identify Drivers, Trends, Uncertainties of African governance futures*	APRM Secretariat IFR-AGR Team AGA	Analytical Framework
4.	**Validate Analytical Framework**	*Desktop Survey on Drivers, Trends, Uncertainties*	IFR-AGR Team	Desktop Survey Data Compiled
		Consultative Forums	APRM Secretariat IFR-AGR Team AGA Stakeholders	Consultative Forums Convened
		Prepare Report on Drivers, Trends, Uncertainties	IFR-AGR Team	Draft Report
		Validate Report	AGA Stakeholders	Publishable Report
5.	**Impact Factor Analysis**	*Design Survey Instruments*	APRM Secretariat IFR-AGR Team	Survey Questionnaires designed
		Test and Validate Survey Instruments	APRM Secretariat	Survey Questionnaires tested and approved
		Administer Survey Instruments	APRM Secretariat	Survey Questionnaires Administered to Selected Respondents
6.	**Scenario Building Exercise**	*Scenario Building Workshops*	Technical Working Groups	African Governance Futures Scenarios developed
		Validation of Scenarios	AGA & Stakeholders	
7.	**Draft Report**	*Prepare Draft Report*	APRM Secretariat AGR Team	Draft Report
		Validate Draft Report	AGA & Stakeholders	Draft Report Approved
8.	**Final Report**	*Finalise AGR 2021*	APRM Secretariat AGR Team	**Final Report**

G. AGR 2021 calendar of activities

	Jan 20	Feb 20	Mar 20	Apr 20	May 20	Jun 20	Jul 20	Aug 20	Sept 20	Oct 20	Nov 20	Dec 20	Jan 21
Presentation AGR Concept Note to AGA Platform	18/01 Botswana												
AGR 2021 Team Futures Methods Technical Workshop	20 & 21/01 RSA												
Develop Complexity Map													
Define Analytical Framework													
Presentation AGR Concept Note and Online Survey Instrument to APRM Focal Points Committee		05/02 Ethiopia				04/06							
AGR 2021 Discussion Paper													
AGA Reference Group Updates (Monthly)													
Desktop Research													
Online Project Launch, Continental Reference Group Forum and Multi-Stakeholder Scenario Building Workshop					11/05 & 18/05								
Online NGC AGR 2021 Briefing Meeting on Phases 1 & 2 of Scenario Building Exercise					20/05	25/06							
AGA Scenario Building Workshop						01/06							
Online Consultations and Institutional Focus Groups Strategic Sample					Algeria, Egypt, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Uganda, RSA, Senegal, Ghana, Zambia, Namibia								
Project Overview Report													

	Jan 20	Feb 20	Mar 20	Apr 20	May 20	Jun 20	Jul 20	Aug 20	Sept 20	Oct 20	Nov 20	Dec 20	Jan 21
Design Survey Instrument(s)													
Test Survey Instrument(s) in Kenya and Niger													
Administer Survey instruments to Selected Strategic Sample					Cameroon, Mozambique, RSA, Nigeria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Gabon, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, Kenya, Angola							
Survey Analysis													
Consolidation of findings and Policy Discussion Workshops AGA and CRG											30/11 02/12		
Draft Report	Chapter outline; Complexity Map		Methodology and Analytical Framework; Draft developing Scenarios				Critical Impact Factors; Policy Implications; Final set of African Governance Scenarios 2063						
Stakeholder validation of Draft Report												14 & 15/12 RSA	
Presentation to AU-PRC Sub-Committee on Human Rights, Democracy and Governance													
Final Report													
Integrated Media Campaign	AGR 2021 Project Launch May 2020; Social media campaign				Africa Day Public Seminar 26/05	Ongoing updates on activities (website content, opinion pieces, media champions, consultative forum events)					Report findings dissemination		

H. Analytical framework

Normative futures · **Explorative futures** · **Strategic futures**

Framework stage				
Context	Au Shared Value Regime & African Governance Policy Framework (AGR 2019); AU Agenda 6063; UNSDGS 2030; ARPM Thematic Areas			
Key domains — Steep/Pestle Analysis model	Political economy	Social capital & citizenry	Technology	Climate & natural environment
Indicative trends — Desktop research	Democratization; Economic liberalisation; Regional integration; international geopolitics	Youth demographics; Education; Health; Mobility; Diversity & inclusion	Innovation; ICTs and broadband	Natural hazards; International policy debates; Renewable energy
Uncertainties/risks — Literature survey & strategic informant interviews	Election disputes and extended terms; Public debt levels; Commodities and terms of trade; jobless growth	Unemployment; Migration; Health hazards; Peace & security; Inequality; Capacity building	Digital divide; Job losses; Changing business models; Infrastructure capacity	Resource constrains; Natural disasters; Mitigation; Adaptation; Preparedness; Resilience
Critical impact factors — Stakeholder consultations & public survey	*Priority focus areas for Africa governance will be derived from the scenario development process; and confirmed through the consultative, validation and research survey processes.			
Scenarios — African governance future narratives	*BASELINE, UTOPIA; DYSTOPIA, WILD CARD			
Interventions/leverage points — Recommendations	*Intervention points action framed with reference to the AGR 2019 five (5) thematic areas and thirty (3) recommendations			

**Drivers of African Governance futures** · **Focus areas for strategic action**

I.   Online survey

AGR 2021 Online Survey participating countries were selected according to itemised criteria (*AGR 2021, section 1.4*) and the sample was confirmed with the APRM National Governing Councils and Focal Points.

Strategic respondents to the AGR 2021 Online Survey were spread across the following 12 African countries, gender and age group distribution, as well as levels of education and professional sector areas:

Strategic respondents to the AGR 2021 Online Survey

Country	% Response of Total Sample
Senegal	18.18%
Niger	15.15%
Ivory Coast	7.58%
Mauritius	12.12%
Uganda	12.12%
Ghana	9.09%
Kenya	9.09%
Tanzania	6.06%
Zambia	6.06%
Mozambique	1.52%
Namibia	1.52%
South Africa	1.52%

31.8%   66.7%
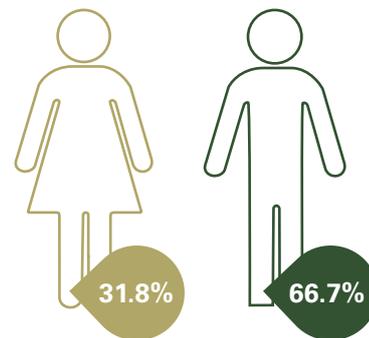
*one individual was non-specified

Age

Other	1
20–35	12
36–45	22
46–55	14
56–65	12
66–75	5
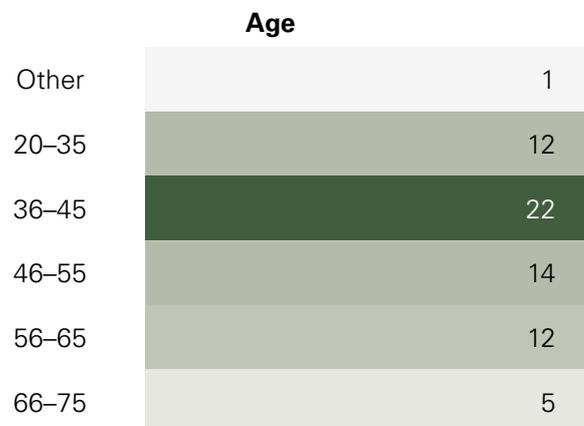
Educational level

Masters 22	Bachelors degree 12	Doctorate 12	Other 12	Postgraduate diploma 6	Diploma 2

Sector

Civil society
11

Education
5

Health
1

Law
4

Non-spesific
3

Other
18

Finance
1

Agriculture
2

Politics

Government
10

Public sector
6

Private
3
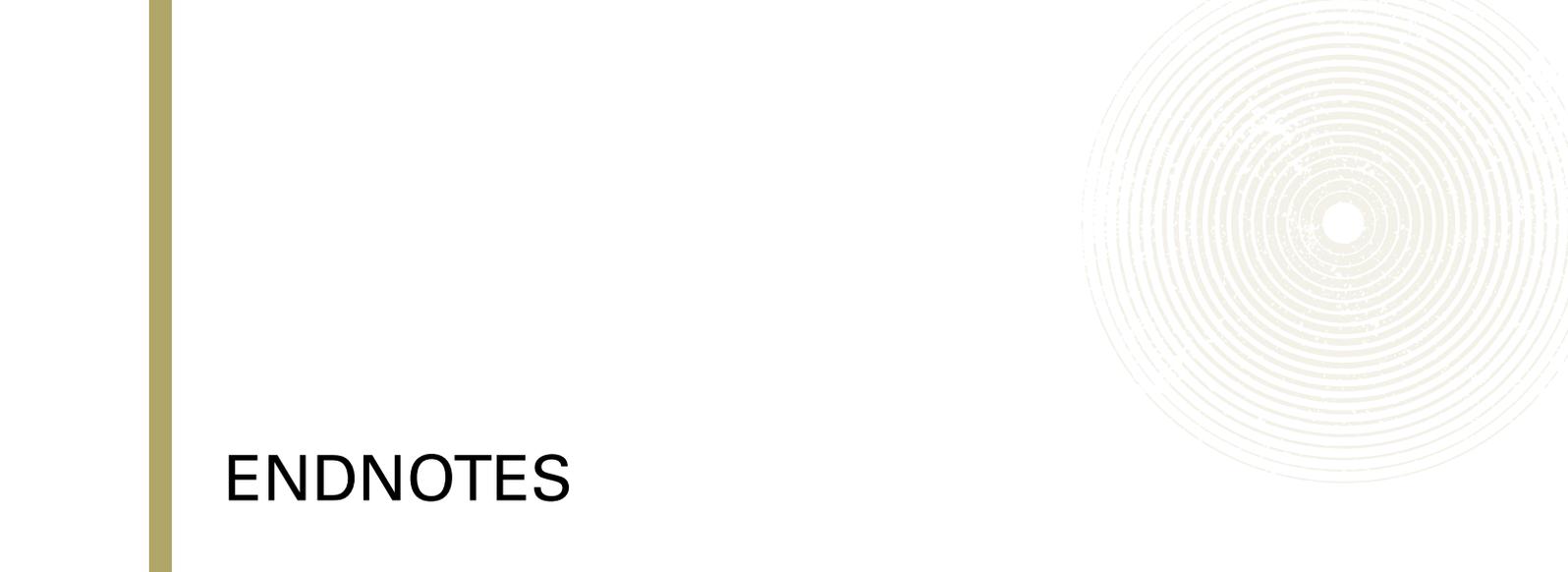
ENDNOTES

1   AU, 2019. Assembly/AU/Dec.720(XXXII)

2   The Africa Governance Report 2019, *Promoting African Union Shared Values*