



## «Leopardos africanos»: medianas y pequeñas potencias liderando el continente

### Resumen:

En 2010, un informe de Boston Consulting Group, en analogía con «los tigres asiáticos», utilizaba el calificativo de «leones africanos» para referirse a grandes potencias del continente: Egipto, Marruecos, Argelia, Nigeria, Etiopía o Sudáfrica. Estos países representaban entonces más del 60 % del Producto Interior Bruto africano. Pero en África, además de grandes potencias en términos de población o de producción, hay pequeñas y medianas: los «leopardos africanos». No son tan grandes como sus parientes los leones, pero son más ágiles y trepan con mayor soltura los primeros puestos de rankings que reflejan contribución a la seguridad y a la paz, prosperidad y apertura económica, bienestar social o innovación. Aunque la lista de leopardos podría ser más larga, para este análisis se han seleccionado los siete que, aun con debilidades en algún aspecto de naturaleza económica, social o política, se pueden considerar como los más «completos»: Ghana, Costa de Marfil, Senegal, Kenia, Tanzania, Ruanda y Botsuana.

### Palabras clave:

Leopardos africanos, leones africanos, África subsahariana, Ghana, Costa de Marfil, Senegal, Kenia, Tanzania, Ruanda, Botsuana.

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## Introduction

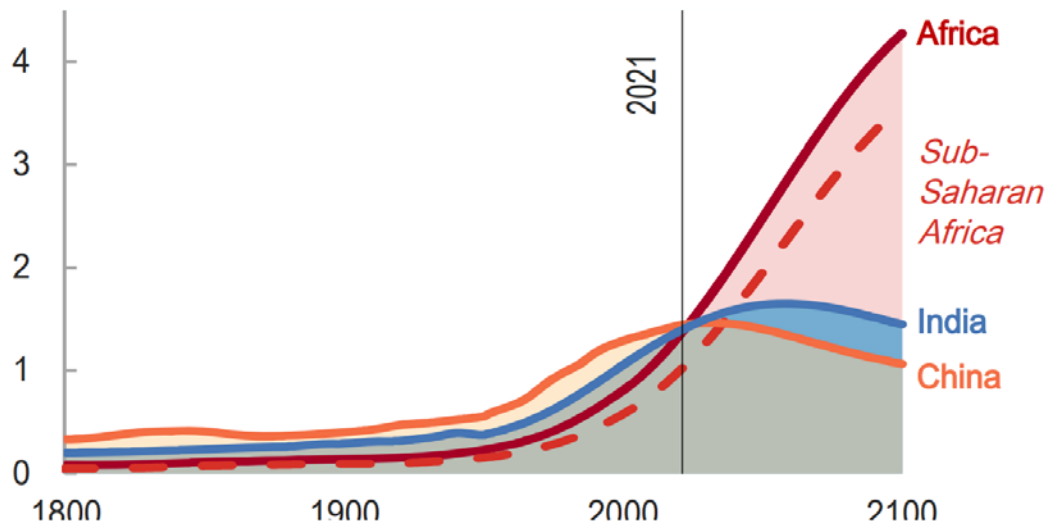
In 2010, in an analogy with “Asian tigers”, a Boston Consulting Group report used the term "African lions" to refer to the continent's great powers: Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Nigeria, Ethiopia and South Africa. These countries then accounted for more than 60% of Africa's Gross Domestic Product. Unfortunately, at the moment, two sub-Saharan lions have stopped roaring. Ethiopia's economy is reeling from civil war while also grappling a multi-billion dollar public debt. For its part, Nigeria, the largest regional economy, is suffering from a regional security crisis caused by the presence and activity of Boko Haram and other jihadist groups<sup>1</sup>. As it stands, South Africa retains the lead among lions in sub-Saharan latitudes.

But in Africa, in addition to great powers in terms of population or production, there are also small and medium-sized ones: the "African leopards". They are not as big as their relatives, the lions, but they are more agile and more easily climb to the top of rankings, reflecting contributions to security and peace, prosperity and economic openness, social welfare and innovation. Although the list of leopards could be longer, for this analysis we have selected the seven which, while they have weaknesses of an economic, social or political nature, can be considered the most "complete": Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal in West Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda in East Africa, and Botswana in Southern Africa. However, there are other small and medium-sized countries that could also fit into this category, such as Namibia, Uganda and Malawi.

World Bank projections predict that by 2050, Africa will have doubled its current population from 1.2 billion to 2.4 billion.

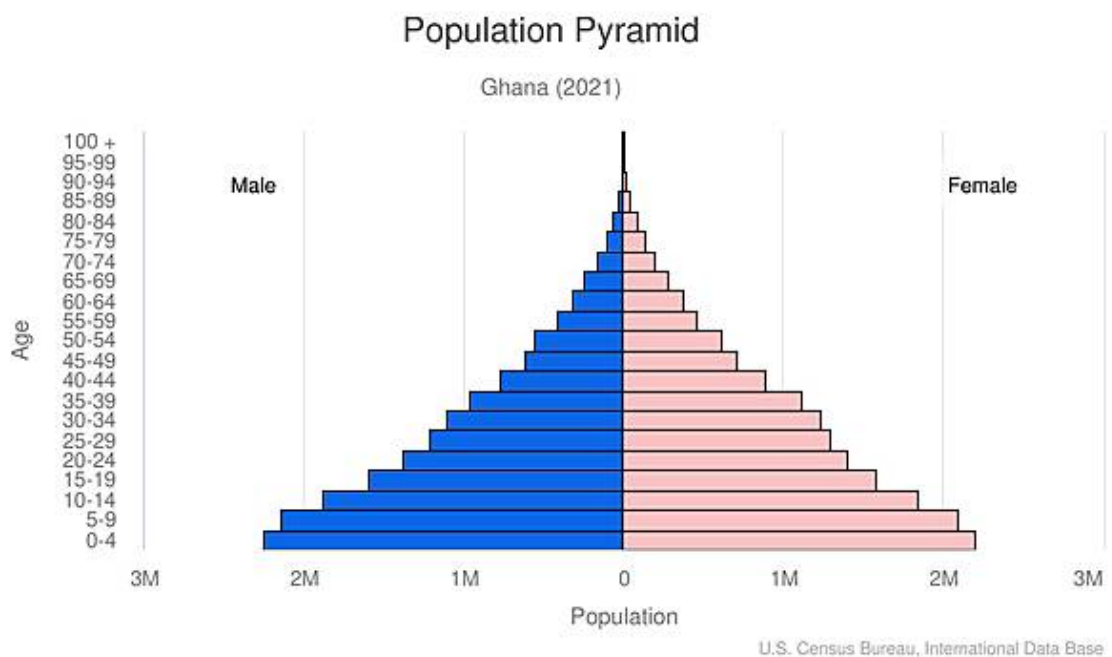
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<sup>1</sup> SORROZA, Alicia. "The 'African lions' of the economy have gone hoarse before they start roaring", *El Confidencial*. Available at: [https://www.elconfidencial.com/mundo/2022-01-07/leones-africa-economia-nigeria\\_3318012/](https://www.elconfidencial.com/mundo/2022-01-07/leones-africa-economia-nigeria_3318012/)

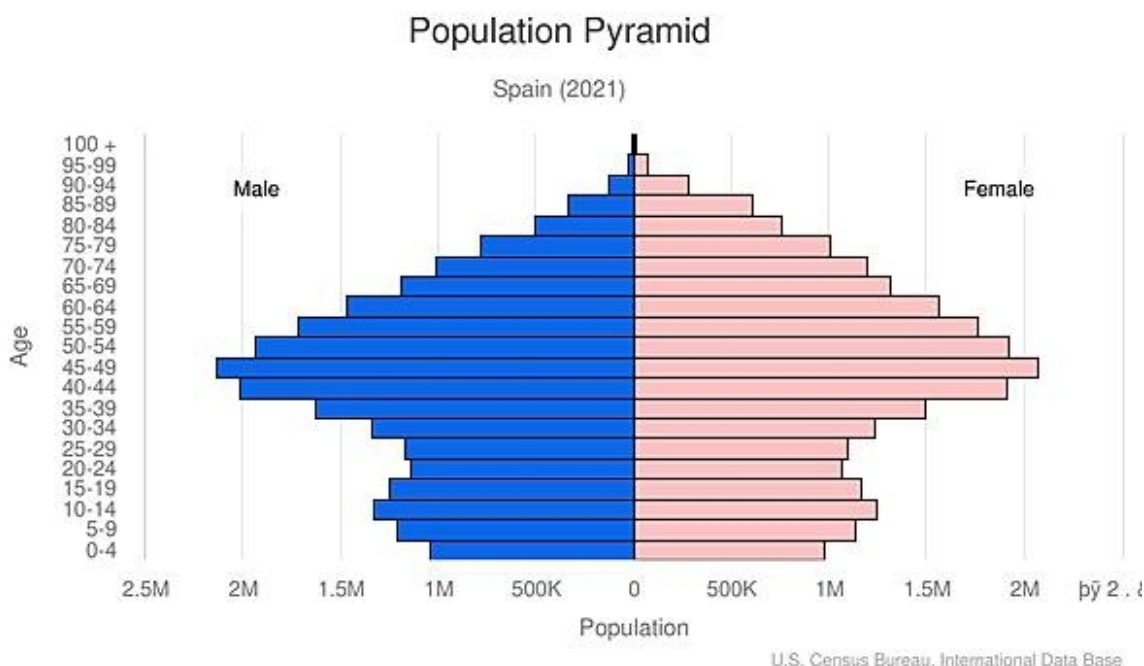


**Figure 1. Population (1800-2100) in billions. Projections by geographical area.** Source. Regional Economic Outlook. Sub-Saharan Africa. International Monetary Fund. October 2021. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/REO/SSA/Issues/2021/10/21/regional-economic-outlook-for-sub-saharan-africa-october-2021>

This increase in the African population will account for half of the world's population growth. Moreover, while the working-age population is growing on this continent, in much of the rest of the world, and especially in advanced economies, the trend is the opposite: an ageing population pyramid.



**Figure 2. Example of an African population pyramid.** Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ghana/>



**Figure 3. Example of an advanced economy population pyramid.** Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/spain/>

This trend may represent a unique opportunity for Africa: an extensive availability of human resources coupled with a large market, two factors that have historically driven economic dynamism<sup>2</sup>.

Africa's demographic landscape and limitless potential is one of the most important debates concerning the continent's future. The predominant discourses on demographic change are negative and come from a Eurocentric point of view. The prevailing argument is that Africa would have fallen into the "Malthusian trap". This situation would favour population growth and presumably increased levels of poverty, as the volume of population outstrips available resources. But it is a mistake to apply policies tried and tested in other regions such as China or Southeast Asia to the different demographic contexts of Africa. This approach ignores socio-cultural differences with respect to African countries. Africa's young people have the capacity to transform the continent's political and socio-economic landscape. For example, the last decade has seen an exponential growth in the number of African *start-ups*. This phenomenon has meant that many parts of the region have been able to attract increasing investment and business opportunities.

<sup>2</sup> AEMRO SELASSIE, Abebe. "The African Century", *Finance and Development*, December 2021. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2021/12/African-Century-Abebe-Selassie.htm>

These *start-ups*, led by well-educated young people, have evolved into engines of economic growth and development<sup>3</sup>.

1 January 2021 marked a milestone for the continent: the entry into operation of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). The AfCFTA will involve member states eliminating tariffs on 90% of goods, facilitating the movement of capital and people, and taking steps to create a customs union across Africa, which will significantly boost trade on the continent. When fully operational in 2030, the AfCFTA is expected to cover a market of 1.2 billion people with a GDP of \$2.5 trillion<sup>4</sup>.

Africa has also become a great power rivalry scenario. This situation has unsurprisingly become an important variable in the political and economic dynamics of African countries. The rivalry has intensified with the increase in Chinese trade and investment in the continent over the past 20 years. It is estimated that in 2010 China overtook the United States as the largest trading partner of African countries with trade now estimated at around \$220 billion<sup>5</sup>. The new Silk Road project, which will connect East Africa to mainland China, has prompted the US to implement its own strategy to strengthen the status of American companies on the continent. Thus, the United States has intensified its presence in Africa through the International Development Finance Corporation (IDFC) which, with an initial endowment of 60 billion dollars, is financing infrastructure projects that favour the presence and investment of North American companies on the African continent. But China and the United States are not alone: there is a growing interest among other powers such as Japan, India, Korea, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia to increase their investments and influence in sub-Saharan Africa<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> CHINYE, Chukwuma. "Myths, future prospects and debates on demographic challenges in Africa", IDEES Journal. Available at: <https://revistaidees.cat/es/mitos-perspectivas-de-futuro-y-debates-sobre-los-retos-demograficos-en-africa/>

<sup>4</sup> Africa. Year in Review 2021", *Oxford Business Group*. Available at: <https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/africa-year-review-2021>

<sup>5</sup> "Africa Report 2019", *Fundación Alternativas*. Available at: <https://www.fundacionalternativas.org/las-publicaciones/informes/informe-africa-2019-dinamicas-transfronterizas-en-un-contexto-globalizado>

<sup>6</sup> African Futures 2030", *Chaillot Paper* 164, February 2021. [https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/CP\\_164.pdf](https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/CP_164.pdf)





Figure 4. New silk route. Available at: <https://www.chinahighlights.com/silkroad/new-silk-road.htm>

While the priority in the short term is the response to COVID-19, future recovery must be managed effectively, taking into account long-term trends. The continent is currently facing the significant challenges caused by the pandemic, but without losing sight of its great potential for growth over the coming decades.

In 2019, a year before the pandemic, four of the leopards were leading GDP growth rates in sub-Saharan Africa. Kenya grew by 5 %, Senegal by 4.4 % and Botswana by 3 %.

	2019
<b>Rwanda</b>	9.5
<i>Ethiopia</i>	9
<i>Uganda</i>	7.7
<b>Tanzania</b>	7
<i>Benin</i>	6.9
<b>Ghana</b>	6.5
<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>	6.2

Table 1. Growth rates Source: [www.imf.org](http://www.imf.org)

In the same year, global growth averaged 2.8 %, Africa 3.3 % and the advanced economies 1.7 %.

In 2021, one year after the pandemic broke out, three of the leopards led growth rates.

2021	
<b>Botswana</b>	<b>9.2</b>
<i>Burkina Faso</i>	6.7
<b>Côte d'Ivoire</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Kenya</b>	<b>5.6</b>
<i>Benin</i>	5.5

Table 2. Growth rates. Source. [www.imf.org](http://www.imf.org)

In the same year, global growth averaged 5.9 %, Africa 5.1 % and the advanced economies 5.2 %.

The International Monetary Fund's projections for 2022 spotlight these as the fastest growing African economies:

2022 (Forecast)	
<b>Rwanda</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>Niger</i>	6.6
<b>Côte d'Ivoire / Benin / South Sudan</b>	<b>6.5</b>
<b>Ghana</b>	<b>6.2</b>
<b>Kenya</b>	<b>6</b>

Table 3. Growth forecast. Source. [www.imf.org](http://www.imf.org)

Although not in the top seven, Senegal, Tanzania and Botswana also have very good growth forecasts for 2022:

2022 (Forecast)	
<b>Senegal</b>	<b>5.5</b>
<i>Tanzania</i>	5.1
<b>Botswana</b>	<b>4.7</b>

Table 4. Growth forecast. Source. [www.imf.org](http://www.imf.org)



According to the Economist Intelligence Unit's Africa 2022 forecast report, Africa's ongoing recovery can be described as a "patchwork of variable performance". Larger economies such as Angola, Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa will again underperform, while smaller and more dynamic economies such as Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania and Kenya will lead the recovery in terms of real GDP growth<sup>7</sup>.

However, the leopards still have plenty of room for progress. If we look at the Human Development Index (HDI), compiled by the United Nations Development Programme, only three leopards - Botswana, Ghana and Kenya - are in outstanding positions and above the average for Sub-Saharan African countries. The HDI measures average performance in three dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge and an acceptable standard of living.

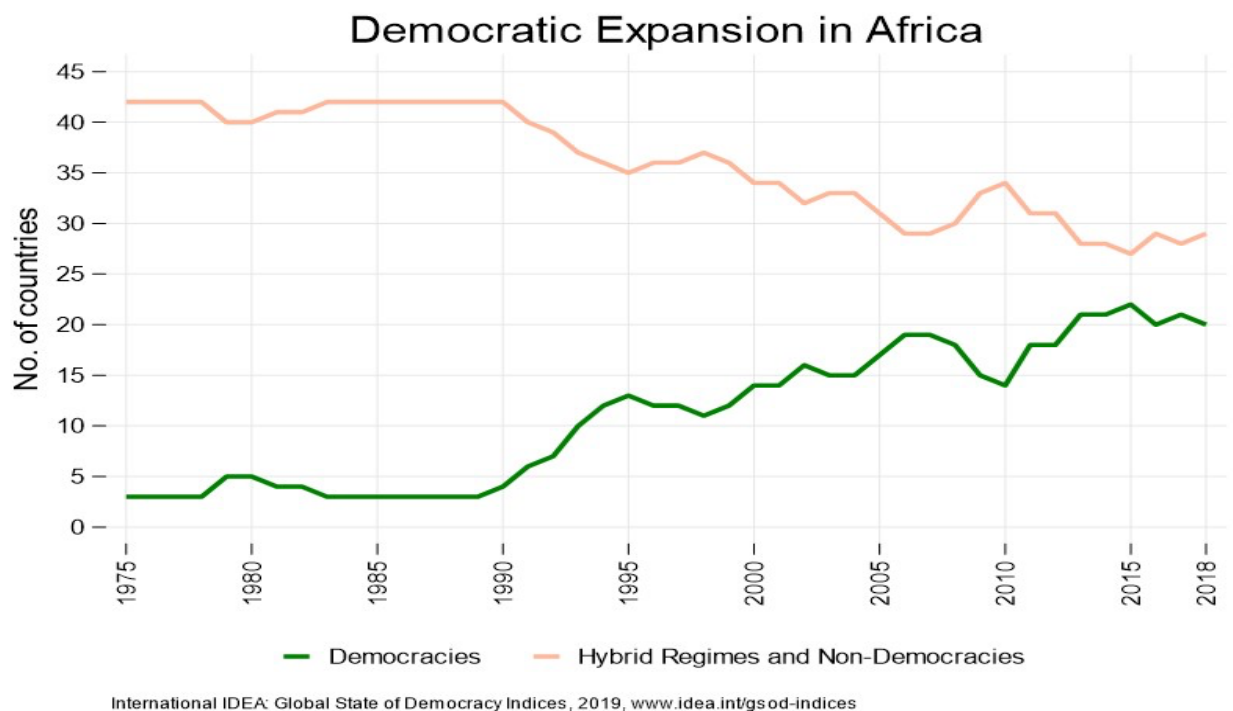
	World ranking	OE 2019
<b>Botswana</b>	100	0.735
<i>South Africa</i>	114	0.709
<i>Gabon</i>	119	0.703
<i>Namibia</i>	130	0.646
<b>Ghana</b>	138	0.611
<b>Kenya</b>	143	0.601
<i>Equatorial Guinea</i>	145	0.592
<i>Zambia</i>	146	0.584
<i>Angola</i>	148	0.581
<i>Congo</i>	149	0.574
<i>Zimbabwe</i>	150	0.571
<i>Cameroon</i>	153	0.563
<u><i>Middle Africa Sub.</i></u>	-	0.547
<i>Benin</i>	158	0.545
<i>Uganda</i>	159	0.544
<b>Rwanda</b>	160	0.543

<sup>7</sup> "Middle East and Africa: what to watch for in 2022", *The Economist Intelligence Unit*. Available at: <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/middle-east-and-africa-in-2022/>

<i>Nigeria</i>	161	0.539
<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>	162	0.538
<i>Tanzania</i>	163	0.529

**Table 5. Human Development Index.** Source. Prepared internally. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2019>

On another front, while it is true that since the 1990s the trend has been towards a gradual expansion of democracy, political rights and civil liberties, in the last year there have been several coups d'état - Niger, Chad, Mali, Guinea, Sudan, Burkina Faso and Guinea Bissau - which have set off alarm bells in the region.



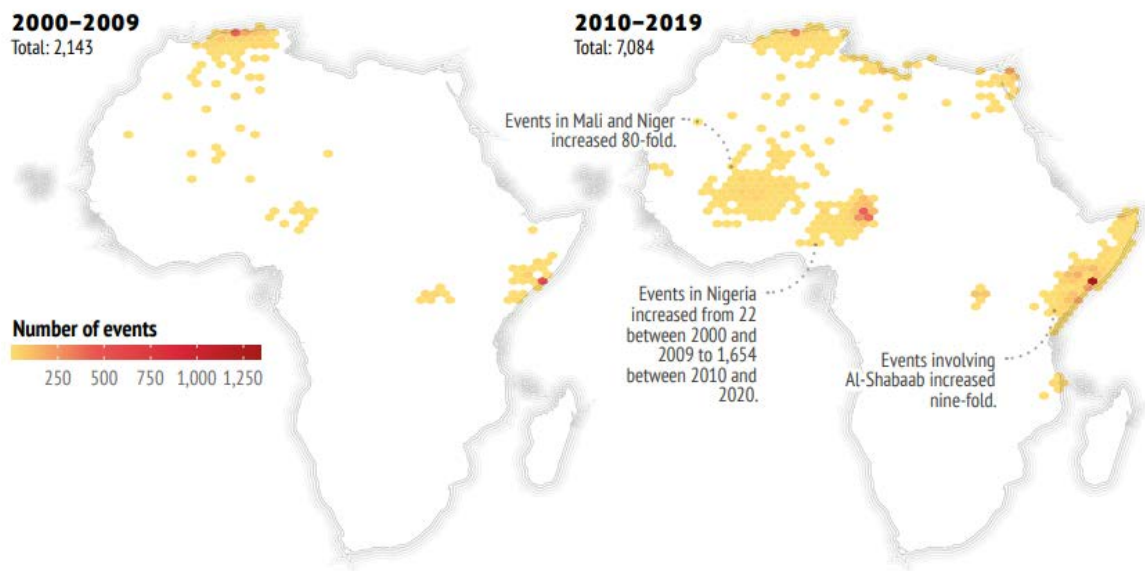
**Figure 5. Democratic expansion in Africa (1975-2018).** Source. International IDEA Global State Democracy Indices, 2019. Available at: <https://www.idea.int/news-media/news/global-report-reveals-democracy%E2%80%99s-expansion-africa-1975-second-only-latin-america>

Moreover, the number of conflict points has multiplied in recent years: Ethiopia is engulfed in a civil war in the northern region of Tigray, the Central African Republic is suffering waves of violence provoked by armed groups, Chad has faced a rebellion coming from southern Libya, separatists and government forces are fighting in western Cameroon, and jihadism - with its multiple ramifications - has not stopped growing since 2016,

spreading death across Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Nigeria or Chad and reaching countries like Mozambique. The wars in Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo are entering their fourth decade. And in Nigeria, there are several overlapping conflicts<sup>8</sup>.

### The spread of transnational jihadist violence

Spatial distribution of conflict events initiated by jihadists in Africa, 2000-2019



Data: UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset, 2020; Natural Earth, 2020

**Figure 6. The spread of jihadist violence.** Source. African Futures 2030, Chaillot Paper 164, February 2021.

Available at: [https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/CP\\_164.pdf](https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/CP_164.pdf)

In this context, the "African leopards" play a fundamental role, each according to its own potential, to serve as an example and role model for the countries around them and thus continue to lead the social and economic transformation of the continent.

### Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal

Ghana, with 31.2 million inhabitants, is a benchmark for the continent. The first decade of the 21st century was extremely optimistic: in the period 2007-2013 GDP grew at an average of 8.3%, crossing the lower-middle income threshold in 2010. It has an educated middle class and its institutions are stable and democratic. However, in an unfavourable international context due to lower gold prices and changes in the monetary policies of developed countries, the economic situation then worsened with the country having to

<sup>8</sup> RODRÍGUEZ SOTO, José Carlos. "Un mapa diferente", *Mundo Negro*. Available at: <http://mundonegro.es/un-mapa-diferente/>

sign a programme with the International Monetary Fund in April 2015 for a disbursement of around 920 million dollars over 3 years. The programme was completed in December 2018, coinciding with a visit by Christine Lagarde, used by the then head of the IMF to stage her support for "a compliant country". The last presidential and legislative elections were held on 7 December 2020 and all election observation missions agreed that, once again, Ghana had organised fair, peaceful and transparent elections. The mission of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to which the country belongs, went as far as to claim that Ghana was the model for other African political parties to emulate. Ghana is the continent's second largest gold exporter after South Africa and the sixth largest oil exporter (after Nigeria, Angola, Libya, Algeria and the Republic of Congo). Ghana is the 'Nigerian lion's' closest partner in West Africa and has privileged relations with the United States, one of its main donors. It also has good relations with the United Kingdom, as a former metropolis and a reference for the country in almost everything. Furthermore, over the last few years it has built up a strong political and commercial relationship with its neighbour, Côte d'Ivoire. With the territorial dispute settled by the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea in 2017 (favourable to Ghana, but abided by by both), a Strategic Partnership Agreement was signed and the two states collaborate closely on security and defence, maritime cooperation, mines, energy and environment, transport, trade and economic policies<sup>9</sup>.



Figure 7. Accra, capital of Ghana. Available at: <http://greenghanaian.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Accra-Airport-City.jpg>

<sup>9</sup>

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emphasis on private sector participation. Côte d'Ivoire relies heavily on agricultural and related activities. Up to two-thirds of the Ivorian population is engaged in agriculture. It is the world's leading producer of cocoa, palm oil and rubber. It also has an expanding gold, oil and gas extractive industry. After suffering a civil war between 2002 and 2007, with a brief aftershock in 2011, in the last decade the country has undergone a process of normalisation and stabilisation thanks to national reconciliation, disarmament and reintegration agreements for ex-combatants. Côte d'Ivoire has particularly strong ties with France in the areas of security, investment, development cooperation and cultural cooperation, and is France's second largest client in sub-Saharan Africa<sup>12</sup>. The EU (36.2%) and the United States (9.1%) are the main destinations for Ivorian exports; its main import markets are the EU (32.4%) and China (19%)<sup>13</sup>.

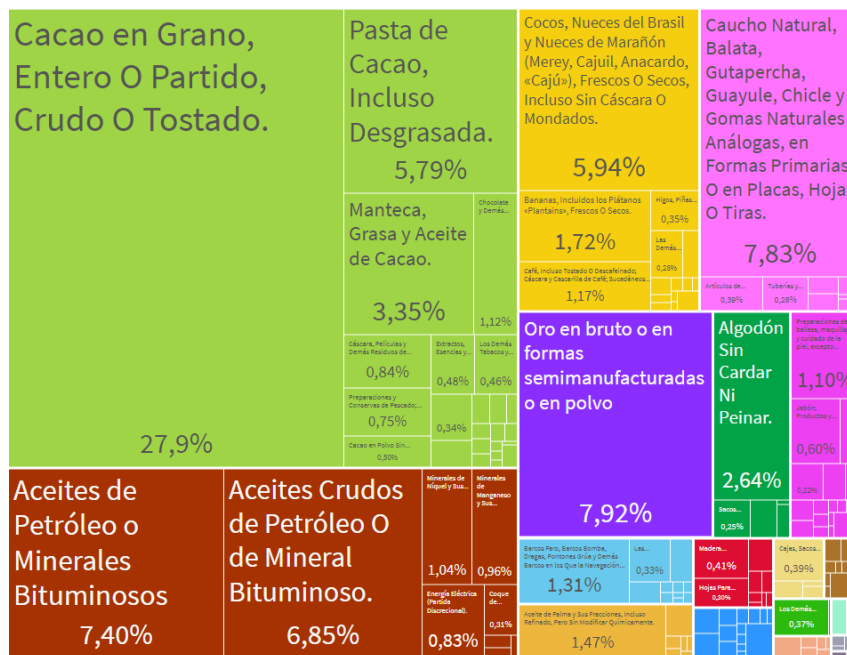


Figure 9. Percentage of main products exported in 2019. Available at: <https://oec.world/es/profile/country/civ>

A PwC study identifies Côte d'Ivoire as a model of good governance for the rest of Africa. According to this services network, since 2013 the country has implemented a series of

<sup>12</sup> MAE Côte d'Ivoire Factsheet. Available at: [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/COSTADEMARFIL\\_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/COSTADEMARFIL_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> ICEX Côte d'Ivoire. Available at: <https://www.icex.es/icex/es/navegacion-principal/todos-nuestros-servicios/informacion-de-mercados/paises/navegacion-principal/el-mercado/estudios-informes/ficha-pais-costa-marfil-2020-doc2016645937.html?idPais=Ci>



strategic reforms that are benefiting society as a whole from an economic and social point of view<sup>14</sup>.



Figure 10. Abidjan, the economic capital of Côte d'Ivoire. Available at: <https://africa-facts.org/10-highly-populated-african-cities/>

Senegal has about 17 million inhabitants. Politically, it is a presidential republic where political alternation in power has been a normal feature since 2000. Since 2012, the country's economic policy has been inspired by the National Strategy for Economic and Social Development, which aims to substantially reduce poverty, and the implementation of the Emerging Senegal Plan, with heavy investment in infrastructure and an ambitious social agenda to achieve "emerging" status by 2035. Since its independence as a republic, Senegal has maintained a close relationship with France, the former colonising power. It also currently has a privileged relationship with the European Union under the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou in June 2000<sup>15</sup>.

Senegalese President Macky Sall has just been appointed as the new rotating president of the African Union. In this context, Sall has stated that he wants his presidency to be

<sup>14</sup> Available at: <https://www.consultancy.africa/news/1682/pwc-portrays-cote-divoire-as-golden-standard-for-governance-reforms>

<sup>15</sup> MAE Senegal. Available at: [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/GAMBIA\\_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/GAMBIA_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf)

imbued with a strong economic and socially inclusive character, and to work for peace and security on the continent<sup>16</sup>.

Recently, DP World, a holding company owned by the emirate of Dubai, announced the largest private investment in Senegal's history: 1.2 billion dollars for the construction of a deep-water port at Ndayane, a short distance from Blaise Diagne international airport, with the aim of becoming the main gateway to West Africa. DP World already has operational experience in the port of Dakar. The new facility will have the capacity to operate the world's largest container ships and form part of DP World's expansion in West Africa. It will have a 300-hectare special economic zone and will join the Dubai-led Global Logistics Passport initiative to facilitate trade between installations<sup>17</sup>.

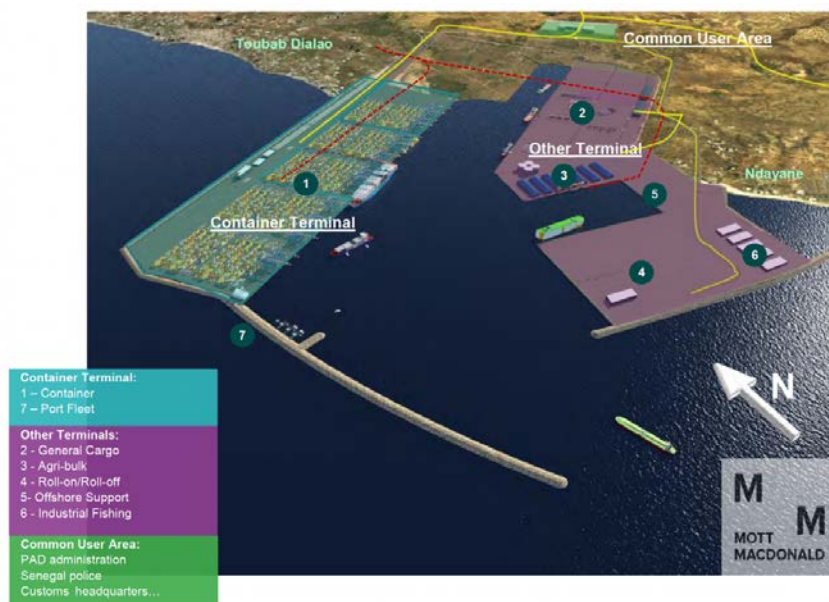


Figure 11. Ndayane Port Project. Available at: <https://www.portdakar.sn/fr/content/port-multifonction-de-ndayane>

Mali (23%), Switzerland (14.7%) and the EU (13.2%) are the main destinations for Senegalese exports; its main import markets are the EU (44.2%) and China (10.7%)<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Available at: <https://elpais.com/internacional/2022-02-07/la-ola-de-golpes-de-estado-y-el-avance-yihadista-retos-africanos-para-2022.html>

<sup>17</sup> Available at: <https://www.puentedemandando.com/west-africa-y-la-madre-de-todas-las-inversiones/>

<sup>18</sup> ICEX Senegal. Available at: <https://www.icex.es/icex/es/navegacion-principal/todos-nuestros-servicios/informacion-de-mercados/paises/navegacion-principal/el-mercado/estudios-informes/ficha-pais-senegal-2020.html?idPais=SN>

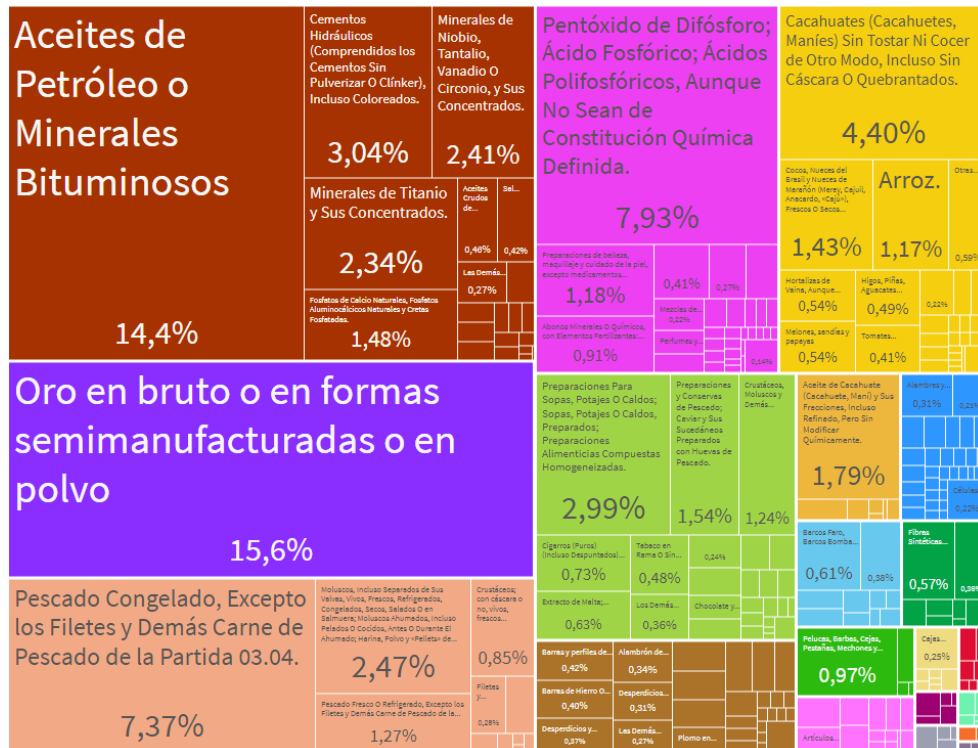


Figure 12. Percentage of main products exported in 2019. Available at: <https://oec.world/es/profile/country/sen>

## Kenya and Tanzania

Tanzania and Kenya, with 59 and 49 million inhabitants respectively, rank sixth and seventh among African countries in terms of population. If we take into account the population figures of "lions" such as Nigeria - over 200 million - and Egypt - over 100 million - we can consider the "eastern leopards" as middle powers.

In December 2007, following an election, Kenya suffered a tragic episode of violence that left more than a thousand people dead and half a million displaced. The situation was eventually normalised with the signing of the National Reconciliation Agreements in February 2008 and the promulgation of a new constitution in 2010. In 2008, the government launched the Vision 2030 programme, which outlines a roadmap for the country's short- and medium-term economic policy. The objective of this programme is to bring Kenya into the upper-middle income economies through sustained annual growth rates of 10% and to build a cohesive and inclusive society. The programme is structured in five-year plans. The first two plans succeeded in placing Kenya among the lower-middle income countries in 2014. The current five-year plan covers the period 2018-2022 and focuses on deepening the country's development by promoting food security, affordable housing (with the construction of 500,000 houses), industry (to reach 15% of







Figure 14. Nairobi, capital of Kenya. Available at: <https://www.key4biz.it/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/nairobi-city-1024x448.jpg>

The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 from the union of two independent states: Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Since its inception, Tanzanian politics has been structured around the existence of a single party. In October 2020, Tanzania held its sixth general election in which John Pombe Magufuli was elected for a second term, but his death in March 2021 saw the appointment of the then number two, Samia Suluhu Hassan, as the new president. During his first five-year term, President Magufuli focused his programme on fighting corruption and reforming the administration. On the economic front, the aim has been the re-industrialisation of the country and the development of large infrastructures under a model of nationalist socialism. The EU is the country's main donor and has supported the government's poverty reduction strategy mainly through budget support in areas such as education, health and infrastructure<sup>21</sup>.

President Suluhu has recently resumed talks with Royal Dutch Shell and the Norwegian company Equinor with the aim of promoting the construction of a liquefied natural gas terminal in the south to exploit the country's gas reserves<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> MAE Tanzania Factsheet. Available at: [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/TANZANIA\\_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/TANZANIA_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.theafricareport.com/173449/tanzania-samia-clears-path-to-2023-launch-of-shell-equinor-gas-facility/>

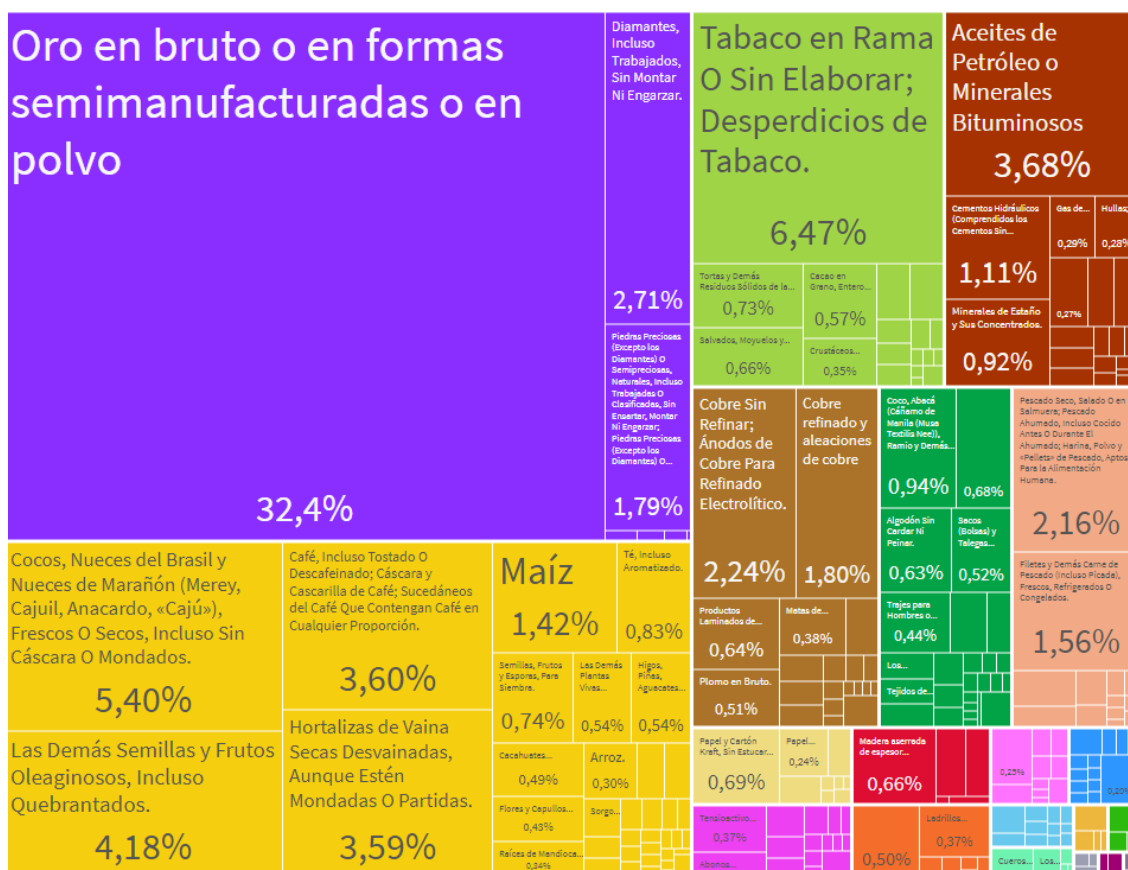


Figure 15. Percentage of main products exported in 2019. Available at: <https://oec.world/es/profile/country/tza>

South Africa (19.1%), Switzerland (14.3%) and the United Arab Emirates (12.4%) are the main destinations for Tanzanian exports; its main import markets are China (25.3%), India (12.8%) and the EU (12.1%)<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> ICEX Tanzania Factsheet. Available at: <https://www.icex.es/icex/es/navegacion-principal/todos-nuestros-servicios/informacion-de-mercados/estudios-de-mercados-y-otros-documentos-de-comercio-exterior/ficha-pais-tanzania-doc2021895299.html>





Figure 16. Dar es Salaam, seat of the Tanzanian government. Available at: <https://ip-cms-production.imgix.net/2019-06/93209493.jpg?fit=crop&q=40&sharp=10&vib=20&auto=format&ixlib=react-8.6.4>

## Rwanda and Botswana

Rwanda and Botswana, with 12.9 million and 2.4 million inhabitants respectively, are small countries, but with great exemplary power among their neighbours.

The 1994 Rwandan genocide saw the extermination of a large part of the Tutsi population by the Hutu ruling class. It is estimated that more than 800 000 people were killed and that 75 % of the Tutsi population was exterminated. Nine years later, in 2003, the country held its first presidential elections since the genocide. Eighty percent of the citizens participated in the elections and Paul Kagame won with 95% of the votes. Since then and until today, almost 20 years later, the president has been re-elected in every election, with overwhelmingly convincing results against his rivals. In this regard, there are frequent reports of obstacles to the free exercise of political activity by opposition parties, many of which cannot even register.

In recent years, Kagame has implemented his own development model focused on improving the education sector and promoting the private sector. Since 2017, the

government has been led by Prime Minister Edouard Ngirente, an economist who has been an advisor to the director of the World Bank in Washington, with a strong technical and independent profile. Like him, several young technocrats sit on the Council of Ministers where there are more female ministers than male. In addition, women make up 67% of the lower house and 4 of the 7 Supreme Court justices are women. With the help of women's civil society groups, legislatures have put in place some of the most women-friendly policies in the world<sup>24</sup>.



Figure 17. Rwandan Parliament. Available at: <https://allafrica.com/view/group/main/main/id/00063574.html>

In terms of foreign policy, President Kagame is very active in both the regional and international spheres. During 2018, he held the Presidency of the African Union, where he undertook important reforms and promoted the African Continental Free Trade Area. He has recently been elected director of the AU Development Agency, responsible for implementing Agenda 2063<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Available at: <https://www.nationalgeographic.es/historia/2019/10/mujeres-ruanda-reconstruyen-su-pais>  
<sup>25</sup> MAE Rwanda Factsheet. Available at: [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/documents/fichaspais/ruanda\\_ficha%20pais.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/documents/fichaspais/ruanda_ficha%20pais.pdf)





also copper and nickel. The government has also identified selective, high-end ecotourism as a major source of growth, given Botswana's enormous potential in terms of the diversity and abundance of wildlife and the existence of some unique parks such as Chobe National Park, home to the world's largest elephant population, and the game reserves of the central Kalahari.



Figure 19. Chobe National Park. Available at: <https://img.fotocommunity.com/elefantentreffen-am-chobe-fluss-botswana-43f55fa7-6adc-413a-ae7c-22116b53fe11.jpg?width=1000>

Due to their proximity, their higher level of development and economic diversification, and their membership of the Southern African Customs Union, the South African lion is their main trading partner<sup>27</sup>. Botswana spends the highest percentage of GDP on health, 4.64% in 2017, and 14.32% of total public expenditure<sup>28</sup>. The same applies to education: 6.91% of total GDP and 15.35% of total public expenditure in 2019<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> MAE Factsheet Botswana. Available at: [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/BOTSUANA\\_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Documents/FichasPais/BOTSUANA_FICHA%20PAIS.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> Available at: <https://datosmacro.expansion.com/estado/gasto/salud>

<sup>29</sup> Available at: <https://datosmacro.expansion.com/estado/gasto/educacion>

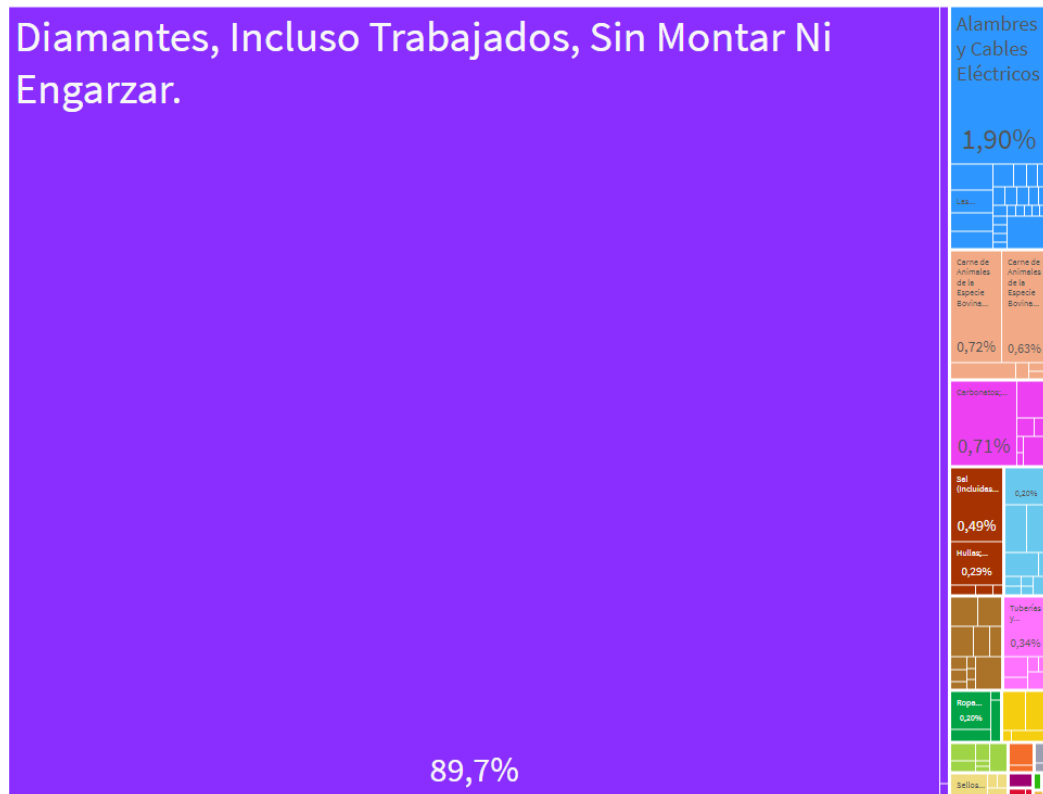


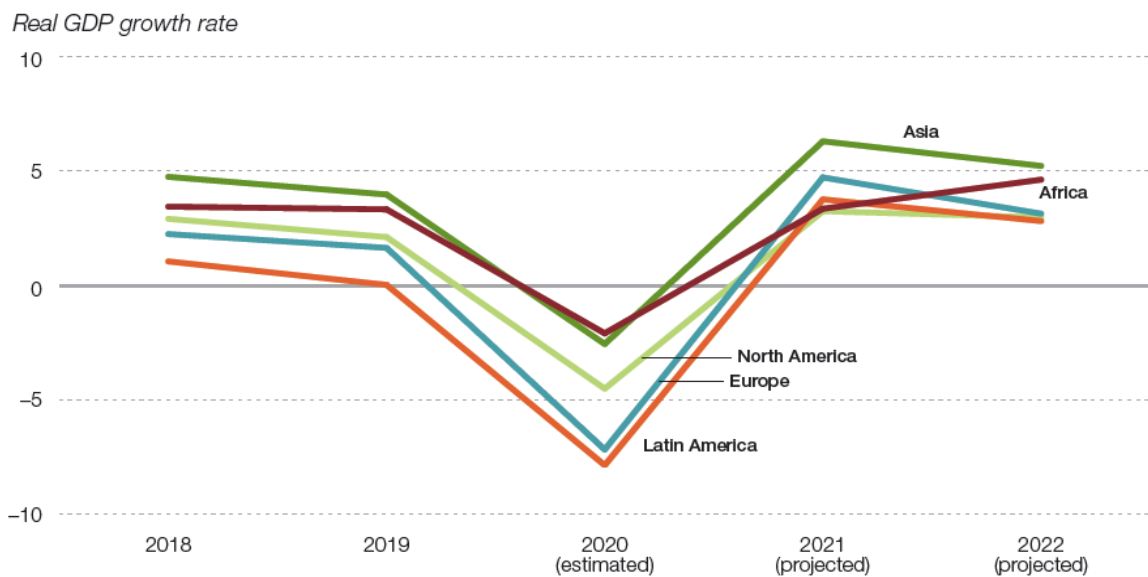
Figure 20. Percentage of main products exported in 2019. Available at: <https://oec.world/es/profile/country/bwa>

## Economic growth and COVID-19

Africa suffered its worst recession in more than 50 years in 2020 due to COVID-19. As a result of the pandemic, its GDP fell by 2.1%. However, this impact has turned out to be milder than initially expected and it has suffered less economic losses from the pandemic than other regions of the world. Moreover, GDP growth for the continent as a whole in 2021 is expected to have been positive at around 3.4%<sup>30</sup>. Driven by a combination of high commodity prices, the easing of blockades, good harvests and a recovery in world trade, Africa has had some success in overcoming the pandemic-induced recession<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> African Economic Outlook 2021, African Development Bank Group. Available at: <https://www.afdb.org/en/knowledge/publications/african-economic-outlook>

<sup>31</sup> Africa. Year in Review 2021, Oxford Business Group. Available at: <https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/africa-year-review-2021>



**Figure 21. Depth of recession, Africa and other regions (2018-2022).** Source. African Development Bank statistics and IMF World Economic Outlook database.

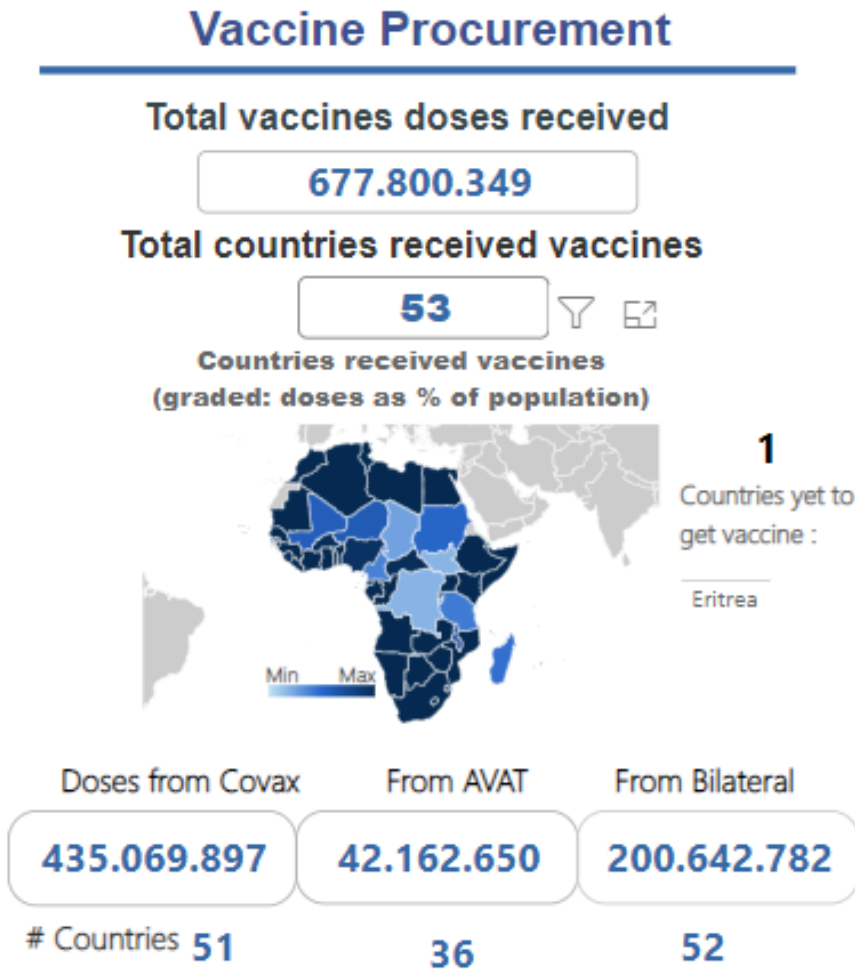
Nonetheless, the recovery on the continent is expected to be slower than in the more advanced economies. This divergence could persist in the medium term partly due to unequal access to vaccines. Moreover, on a global level this inequality has also been reflected within sub-Saharan Africa. The differences between the economies of the region again reflect, in part, differences in access to vaccination and the varying success of the authorities of the different states in formulating adequate policies to deal with the crisis. The outlook is uncertain and recovery will depend on the trajectory of the global pandemic and regional vaccination efforts<sup>32</sup>.

So far, 678 million doses of the vaccine have been delivered, many of which have come from multilateral initiatives such as COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access (COVAX) and the African Vaccine Acquisition Trust (AVAT), or bilateral country-to-country donations. About 880 million doses are needed to vaccinate 40% of the population in sub-Saharan Africa. The World Health Organisation's target was to fully vaccinate 40 % of the population by the end of 2021. This has only been achieved in Seychelles (80.5%), Mauritius (74.4%), Morocco (62.1%), Rwanda (56.7%), Tunisia (52.6%), Cape Verde (52%) and Botswana (46.9%). Aside from the shortage of doses in many cases, the main obstacles to vaccination are weak health systems, insufficient infrastructure to reach all populations

<sup>32</sup> Regional Economic Outlook. Sub-Saharan Africa. International Monetary Fund. October 2021. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/REO/SSA/Issues/2021/10/21/regional-economic-outlook-for-sub-saharan-africa-october-2021>



as required, limited capacities or deficiencies of civil registries, and hesitancy or scepticism towards vaccination among some population groups<sup>33</sup>.



**Figure 22. Total vaccines received as of 01/03/2022.** Source. World Health Organization. Regional Office for Africa. Available at:

<https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoieY2ViYzlyZjltYzhkMi00ZWVvLTgyM2ltZTk1ZTJmODRjMTkxliwidCI6ImY2MTBjMGI3LWJkMjQtNGIzOS04MTBiLTNkYzI4MGFmYjU5MCIslmMiOjh9>

<sup>33</sup> Africa Covid19 Dashboard, World Health Organization, Regional Office for Africa.

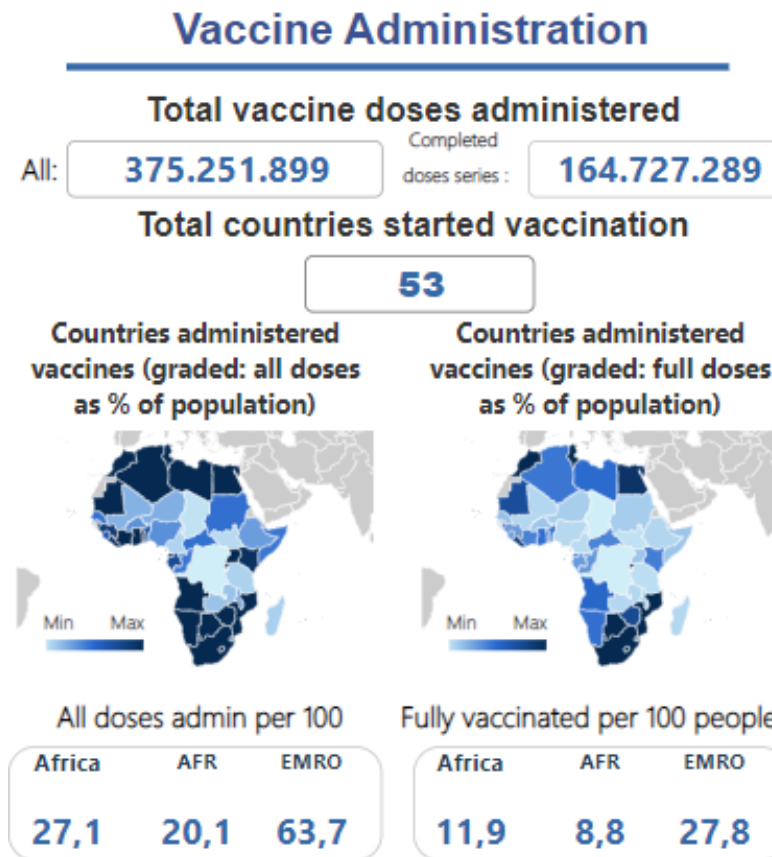


Figure 23. Total vaccines administered as of 01/03/2022. Source. World Health Organization.

Regional Office for Africa. Available at:

<https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoieY2ViYzlyZjltYzhkMi00ZWVkdTgyM2ItZTk1ZTJmODRjMTkxliwidC16ImY2MTBjMGI3LWJkMjQtNGIzOS04MTBiLTNkYzI4MGFmYjU5MCIslmMiOjh9>

	Doses received	Doses administered	Percentage doses administered
<b>Botswana</b>	2,854,400	1,376,754	48%
<b>Rwanda</b>	26,063,190	16,555,832	64%
<b>Kenya</b>	24,648,720	15,437,589	63%
<b>Ghana</b>	27,413,400	12,043,575	44%
<b>Senegal</b>	5,981,308	2,441,692	41%
<b>C. Ivory</b>	20,677,120	9,027,962	44%
<b>Tanzania</b>	8,022,380	2,431,769	30%
<b>Total Africa</b>	677,800,349	375,251,899	55%

Table 6. Doses received and administered as of 01/03/2022. Source. World Health Organization. Regional Office for Africa.

	Percentage population first dose	Percentage population both doses
<b>Botswana</b>	57%	46,9%
<b>Rwanda</b>	65%	56,7%
<b>Kenya</b>	15%	12,8%
<b>Ghana</b>	24%	14,4%
<b>Senegal</b>	8%	5,9%
<b>C. Ivory</b>	21%	12,4%
<b>Tanzania</b>	3%	2,7%

**Table 7. Percentage of population vaccinated as of 01/03/2022.** Source: World Health Organization. Regional Office for Africa.

South Africa is leading efforts to become a vaccine production hub for the region and several companies in the country are negotiating agreements with Western manufacturers of COVID-19 vaccines to produce them domestically. In addition, the German firm BioNTech has agreed to manufacture vaccines in the territory of two leopards: Rwanda and Senegal. This would, in the medium term, reduce dependence on donations and imports from outside Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>34</sup>. Besides, the World Health Organization has selected Kenya, Senegal, South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt and Tunisia to receive the necessary technology to be able to produce messenger RNA vaccines against COVID-19<sup>35</sup>.

### *Ghana*

Ghana has been strongly affected by COVID-19. The government's response helped contain the pandemic and support the economy, but at the cost of a record fiscal deficit. The economic outlook is improving, although risks remain. The pandemic has had a severe impact on economic activity. Growth decelerated to 0.4 % in 2020 from 6.5 % in 2019. Food prices soared and poverty increased. Economic recovery is underway and growth is expected to rebound to 4.7% in 2021, supported by a strong cocoa season and mining and services activity, and inflation is expected to remain within the Bank of

<sup>34</sup> The Power Atlas. Available at: <https://ecfr.eu/special/power-atlas/health/>

<sup>35</sup> Available at: <https://news.un.org/es/story/2022/02/1504232>

Ghana's target. However, this outlook is subject to uncertainties, including new waves of pandemics and the risks associated with large financing needs and rising public debt<sup>36</sup>.

### *Côte d'Ivoire*

Côte d'Ivoire has shown great resilience to the pandemic. While economic growth in 2020 fell compared to pre-COVID-19 forecasts, it is estimated to have been 2 % in 2020, placing it among the best performing economies in sub-Saharan Africa. This strong economic performance, despite the pandemic, has been underpinned by strong pre-crisis fundamentals, a rapid policy response, relatively less reliance on sectors that have generally been hardest hit, and support from the international community. The economy is expected to return to a strong positive trend with 6 % growth in 2021, driven by recovering exports and investment. The authorities have implemented economic and social support policies and intensified efforts to secure and administer vaccines<sup>37</sup>.

### *Senegal*

Although economic growth has fallen compared to the pre-COVID-19 forecast, like Côte d'Ivoire it is estimated at 1.5% for 2020. Senegal has achieved positive growth figures despite the pandemic thanks to strong industrial and service production and the government's political support for economic actors. In addition, the political authorities have made efforts to strengthen social safety nets and to expand the number of beneficiaries<sup>38</sup>.

### *Kenya*

Kenya has been hard hit by the impact of COVID-19. The disruption in global trade and tourism and the containment measures implemented to limit the spread of the virus meant

<sup>36</sup> IMF Country Report No. 21/165, July 2021. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2021/07/23/Ghana-2021-Article-IV-Consultation-Press-Release-Staff-Report-and-Statement-by-the-462570>

<sup>37</sup> IMF Country Report No. 21/170, August 2021. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2021/07/28/Cte-dIvoire-2021-Article-IV-Consultation-Press-Release-Staff-Report-Informational-Annex-462924>

<sup>38</sup> Available at: [Available at: https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2021/12/01/pr21353-senegal-imf-staff-completes-mission-for-the-2021-article-iv-consultation](https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2021/12/01/pr21353-senegal-imf-staff-completes-mission-for-the-2021-article-iv-consultation)

that economic activity contracted sharply in 2020, leading to near zero growth that year. Increasing poverty has slowed progress towards the development goals being pursued. However, Kenya is experiencing an economic recovery. Growth is estimated to have increased to 6.3% by 2021. However, uncertainty and pandemic-related pressures will persist until vaccines are widely available<sup>39</sup>.

### *Tanzania*

Due to the collapse of tourism and travel restrictions, the country's growth slowed to 4.8% in 2020 and economic growth is estimated to have remained subdued in 2021. The authorities have implemented a pandemic emergency response plan, the Tanzania COVID-19 Socio-Economic Response Plan (TCRP), which aims to mitigate the socio-economic and health effects. The prospects for Tanzania depend on the successful implementation of this response plan<sup>40</sup>.

### *Rwanda*

Economic activity contracted by 3.4% in 2020 with a considerable impact on the services sector. Poverty and unemployment increased, especially among women, undoing some of the gains that had been made in recent years. The economy is expected to recover strongly in 2021, helped by solid progress in the vaccination programme. With 57% of the population fully vaccinated as of 1 March 2022, Rwanda's vaccination campaign aims to raise this proportion to 70% by the end of 2022. In the capital, Kigali, almost 90 % of the adult population is already fully vaccinated. Political support for progress on structural reforms underpinned economic recovery in 2021, with growth forecast at 10. 2%<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2021/06/23/pr21195-kenya-imf-executive-board-completes-first-reviews-extended-arrangement-eff-ecf-arrangements>

<sup>40</sup> Country Report No. 2021/254, December 2021. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2021/12/02/United-Republic-of-Tanzania-Request-for-Disbursement-under-the-Rapid-Credit-Facility-Press-510749>

<sup>41</sup> Rwanda: Staff Concluding Statement of the 2021 Article IV Mission and Fifth Review of the Policy Coordination Instrument (PCI), November 2021. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2021/11/15/pr-rwanda-staff-concluding-statement-of-2021-article-iv-mission-of-policy-coordination-instrument>

*Botswana*

The pandemic led to a 7.9% contraction of GDP in 2020, due to heavy dependence on diamonds and personal contact services. In addition, the unemployment rate reached 24.5%, the highest in the last forty years. The authorities have intervened to limit the economic and health consequences of the pandemic, mainly through tax relief measures focused on helping vulnerable businesses and households. The economy is expected to have recovered by 2021 with a projected growth of 8.3%, driven by improvements in global diamond demand, the easing of mobility restrictions and a well-functioning vaccination process<sup>42</sup>.

**Committed to peace and security on the continent**

If we look at the number of troops African countries contribute to UN-led peacekeeping missions, we find that of the top five contributors four are Leopards.

	Number of staff
<i>Rwanda</i>	5,299
<i>Ethiopia</i>	4,846
<i>Ghana</i>	2,163
<i>Senegal</i>	2,115
<i>Tanzania</i>	1,482

**Table 8. Contribution of uniformed personnel (troops, police units, experts) to UN peacekeeping operations as of 30/11/2021.** Available at: [https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/02\\_country\\_ranking\\_44\\_nov\\_2021.pdf](https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/02_country_ranking_44_nov_2021.pdf)

Rwanda acts as a key regional player with the capacity to intervene beyond its area of influence, the Great Lakes. The country has a long history of military missions both within and outside the UN. With a reputation for being well-trained and disciplined, the Rwandan army has a presence in the UN missions in South Sudan (UNMISS) and the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). But perhaps most surprising is its successful mission to northern Mozambique in August 2021. Within a month, in a joint operation with the

<sup>42</sup> IMF Country Report No. 21/98, June 2021. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2021/06/02/Botswana-2021-Article-IV-Consultation-Press-Release-Staff-Report-and-Statement-by-the-50193>



Mozambique Army, 2,000 Rwandan regained control of the town of Mocimboa da Praia, held by jihadist rebels since August 2020. The Rwandan operation in Mozambique was surprising not only because of its effectiveness, but also because of the limited prior relationship between two countries that do not share a colonial power, common borders or membership of the same regional integration organisation<sup>43</sup>.



**Figure 24. Members of the Rwandan army stationed in Mozambique.** Source. Available at:

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-58079510>

Rwanda, a country of only 13 million people, outnumbers the sub-Saharan lions in terms of international military presence: Ethiopia (4846 troops), South Africa (980) and Nigeria (282). The cases of Ghana, Senegal and Tanzania, which also far outstrip South Africa and Nigeria in this area, are also noteworthy. Thus, the contribution of the seven leopards accounts for 42% of the total number of troops contributed by all the countries in the region. However, Kenya, with 333, and above all Botswana, with only 3, do not stand out in this area. For its part, Côte d'Ivoire provides 973 troops.

<sup>43</sup> Available at: <https://www.politicaexterior.com/ruanda-se-aventura-mas-alla-de-los-grandes-lagos/>

## «African Leopards»: small and medium-sized powers leading the continent

Óscar Garrido Guijarro

	UNMISS	MINUSCA	MINUSMA	MONUSCO	UNIFIL	UNISFA	MINURSO	UNDOF	UNSOM	BINUH	UNSOS	UNFICYP	UNMHA	Total
<i>Rwanda</i>	3,082	2201				15				1				5,299
<i>Ghana</i>	1,038	15	157	26	878	16	24	6	1		1	1		2,163
<i>Senegal</i>	8	354	1,306	447										2,115
<i>Tanzania</i>	34	453		867	125	3								1,482
<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>		51	887	32			2			1				973
<i>Kenya</i>	36	13	9	264	3	3	1		2		1		1	333
<i>Botswana</i>				3										3
					1,00									
<i>Total</i>	4,198	3,087	2,359	1,639	6	37	27	6	3	2	2	1	1	12368

UNMISS (South Sudan)  
 MINUSCA (Central African Republic)  
 MINUSCA (Central African Republic)  
 MONUSCO (Democratic Republic of Congo)  
 UNIFIL (Lebanon)

UNISFA (Abyei, Sudan)  
 MINURSO (Western Sahara)  
 UNDOF (Golan)  
 EUTM (Somalia)  
 BINUH (Haiti)

EUTM (Somalia)  
 UNFICYP (Cyprus)  
 UNMHA (Yemen)

**Table 9. Distribution of staff contribution to UN peacekeeping operations as of 30/11/2021.** Source. Available at:

[https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/04\\_mission\\_and\\_country\\_44\\_nov\\_2021.pdf](https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/04_mission_and_country_44_nov_2021.pdf)

## Leopards in the international rankings

In this part of the analysis, data or scores have been compiled from studies carried out by different institutions that analyse various aspects of an economic or socio-political nature in all or almost all countries of the world. The rankings below include data for countries in continental Sub-Saharan Africa, excluding the Seychelles, Cape Verde, Mauritius, Madagascar, Comoros, Sao Tome and Principe and countries in the north of the continent.

This compilation is intended to show how consistent the Leopards have been in terms of featuring in prominent positions. While it is true that every leopard is not at the top of every single ranking, as will be seen below, their presence at the top is quite frequent.

### Rankings of an economic nature

Where to invest in Africa 2021. Study prepared by Rand Merchant Bank.

	Ranking	Score (out of 10)
<i>South Africa</i>	1	5.63
<i>Rwanda</i>	2	5.62
<i>Botswana</i>	3	5.60
<i>Ghana</i>	4	5.54
<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>	5	5.40
<i>Kenya</i>	6	5.33
<i>Tanzania</i>	7	5.25
<i>Ethiopia</i>	8	5.21
<i>Senegal</i>	9	5.20

**Table 10. Where to invest in Africa 2021. Study prepared by Rand Merchant Bank.** Source. Prepared internally.

Available at: <https://assets.rmb.co.za/files/pdf/gm/rmb-where-to-invest-in-africa-2021.pdf>

Ease of doing business 2020. Study prepared by World Bank. This is an index published periodically by the aforementioned institution which includes parameters that indicate the ease or difficulty of doing business or entrepreneurship in each country. It is noteworthy

**NOTE:** The ideas contained in the *Analysis Papers* are the responsibility of their authors. They do not necessarily reflect the thinking of the IEEE or the Ministry of Defence.

that Rwanda ranks above EU countries such as the Netherlands, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

	Ranking Africa sub.	World ranking
<b>Rwanda</b>	1	38
<b>Kenya</b>	2	56
<i>South Africa</i>	3	84
<i>Zambia</i>	4	85
<b>Botswana</b>	5	87
<i>Togo</i>	6	97
<i>Namibia</i>	7	104
<i>Malawi</i>	8	109
<b>Côte d'Ivoire</b>	9	110
<i>Uganda</i>	10	116
<b>Ghana</b>	11	118

Table 11. "Ease of Doing Business 2020", a study prepared by the World Bank. Source. Prepared internally.

Available at: <https://www.doingbusiness.org/en/rankings>

Most competitive economies 2019. Study prepared by the World Economic Forum.

	Ranking Africa Sub.	World ranking	Score (out of 100)
<i>South Africa</i>	1	60	62.4
<b>Botswana</b>	2	91	55.5
<i>Namibia</i>	3	94	54.5
<b>Kenya</b>	4	96	54.1
<b>Rwanda</b>	5	100	52.8
<b>Ghana</b>	6	111	51.2
<b>Senegal</b>	7	114	49.7
<i>Uganda</i>	8	115	48.9
<i>Nigeria</i>	9	116	48.3
<b>Tanzania</b>	10	117	48.2
<b>Côte d'Ivoire</b>	11	118	48.1

Table 12. Most competitive economies 2019. Prepared by the World Economic Forum. Source. Prepared internally. Available at: [https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2019.pdf](https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2019.pdf)

Global Innovation Index 2021. Study prepared by The World Intellectual Property Organization. The index assesses the effort and performance of the innovation ecosystem of countries' economies. It includes 80 indicators such as the political environment, infrastructure, education and knowledge production.

	Ranking Africa sub.	World ranking	Score (out of 100)
<i>South Africa</i>	1	61	32.7
<b><i>Kenya</i></b>	2	85	27.5
<b><i>Tanzania</i></b>	3	90	25.6
<i>Namibia</i>	4	100	24.3
<b><i>Rwanda</i></b>	5	102	23.9
<b><i>Senegal</i></b>	6	105	23.3
<b><i>Botswana</i></b>	7	106	22.9
<i>Malawi</i>	8	107	22.9
<b><i>Ghana</i></b>	9	112	22.3
<i>Zimbabwe</i>	10	113	21.9
<b><i>Côte d'Ivoire</i></b>	11	114	21.0

Table 13. "Global Innovation Index 2021", a study by The World Intellectual Property Organization. Source.

Prepared internally. Available at: [https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/wipo\\_pub\\_gii\\_2021.pdf](https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/wipo_pub_gii_2021.pdf)

Economic Prosperity Index 2021. Study prepared by the Legatum Institute. The index assesses countries' efforts to facilitate trade, competition and productivity. Although Sub-Saharan Africa is the worst performing region, the economic openness index of countries in the region has increased steadily since 2009, with Rwanda improving the most since then.

	Ranking Africa sub.	World ranking
<b><i>Botswana</i></b>	1	82
<i>South Africa</i>	2	85
<i>Namibia</i>	3	92
<b><i>Ghana</i></b>	4	99
<b><i>Rwanda</i></b>	5	104
<b><i>Senegal</i></b>	6	105



<b>Kenya</b>	7	112
<i>Gambia</i>	8	116
<b>Tanzania</b>	9	117
<i>Benin</i>	10	119
<b>Côte d'Ivoire</b>	11	120

Table 14. "Economic Prosperity Index 2021", a study by the Legatum Institute. Source. Prepared internally.

Available at: <https://li.com/reports/2021-legatum-prosperity-index/>

Index of Economic Freedom 2019. Fraser Institute study.

	Ranking Africa Sub.	World ranking	Score (out of 10)
<b>Botswana</b>	1	45	7.62
<i>Uganda</i>	2	58	7.42
<b>Rwanda</b>	3	64	7.35
<i>Zambia</i>	4	80	7.09
<i>Gambia</i>	5	82	7.04
<i>Nigeria</i>	6	84	6.97
<i>South Africa</i>	7	84	6.97
<b>Kenya</b>	8	86	6.94
<i>Namibia</i>	9	95	6.76
<b>Tanzania</b>	10	97	6.75
<b>Ghana</b>	11	102	6.69

Table 15. Index of Economic Freedom 2019. Fraser Institute study. Source. Prepared internally. Available at:

<https://www.fraserinstitute.org/economic-freedom/map?geozone=world&year=2019&page=map>

Rankings of a socio-political nature

Global Peace Index 2021. Study prepared by the Institute for Economics and Peace. This index attempts to assess the level of "peacemaking" and risks to peace in each country using different parameters. Notably, but negatively, Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya do not appear in the top 15.

	Ranking Africa sub.	World ranking
<b>Ghana</b>	1	38
<b>Botswana</b>	2	41
<i>Sierra Leone</i>	3	46
<i>Gambia</i>	4	53
<b>Senegal</b>	5	54
<b>Tanzania</b>	6	58
<i>Malawi</i>	7	59
<i>Equatorial Guinea</i>	8	62
<i>Namibia</i>	9	65
<i>Eswatini</i>	10	69
<i>Madagascar</i>	11	70
<i>Zambia</i>	12	71
<i>Liberia</i>	13	76
<i>Angola</i>	14	80
<b>Rwanda</b>	15	83

Table 16. "Global Peace Index 2021", a study by the Institute for Economics and Peace. Source. Prepared internally. Available at: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/GPI-2021-web.pdf>

Good Governance Index 2021. Chandler Institute of Governance study. This index measures the capacities and effectiveness of country's governments. Côte d'Ivoire is not one of the countries studied.

	Ranking Africa sub.	World ranking	Score (out of 1)
<b>Rwanda</b>	1	53	0.508
<b>Botswana</b>	2	57	0.502

<i>South Africa</i>	3	70	0.444
<b><i>Senegal</i></b>	4	71	0.440
<b><i>Ghana</i></b>	5	72	0.431
<i>Namibia</i>	6	76	0.419
<b><i>Kenya</i></b>	7	81	0.407
<b><i>Tanzania</i></b>	8	83	0.400
<i>Uganda</i>	9	84	0.397
<i>Malawi</i>	10	90	0.359

Table 17. "Good Governance Index 2021", a study by the Chandler Institute of Governance. Source. Prepared internally. Available at: <https://chandlergovernmentindex.com/wp-content/uploads/CGGI-Report.pdf>

Corruption Perceptions Index 2021. Study prepared by Transparency International. Notably: Botswana and Rwanda score favourably above EU countries such as Greece, Slovakia and Croatia.

	Ranking Africa sub.	World ranking	Score (out of 100)
<b><i>Botswana</i></b>	1	45	55
<b><i>Rwanda</i></b>	2	52	53
<i>Namibia</i>	3	58	49
<i>South Africa</i>	4	70	44
<b><i>Ghana</i></b>	5	73	43
<b><i>Senegal</i></b>	6	73	43
<i>Benin</i>	7	78	42
<i>Burkina Faso</i>	8	78	42
<i>Ethiopia</i>	9	87	39
<b><i>Tanzania</i></b>	10	87	39
<i>Lesotho</i>	11	96	38
<i>Gambia</i>	12	102	37
<b><i>Côte d'Ivoire</i></b>	13	105	36

Table 18. "Corruption Perceptions Index 2021", a study by Transparency International. Source. Prepared internally. Available at: <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021>

Rule of Law Index 2021. Study prepared by The World Justice Project. The scores are calculated based on more than 130,000 general population surveys and 4,000 questionnaires to justice experts in 128 countries.

	Ranking Africa sub.	World ranking	Score (between 0 and 1)
<b>Rwanda</b>	1	42	0.62
<i>Namibia</i>	2	44	0.62
<b>Botswana</b>	3	51	0.59
<i>South Africa</i>	4	52	0.58
<b>Senegal</b>	5	57	0.55
<b>Ghana</b>	6	58	0.55
<i>Malawi</i>	7	67	0.52
<i>Burkina Faso</i>	8	75	0.50
<i>Gambia</i>	9	89	0.49
<i>Benin</i>	10	91	0.49
<b>Tanzania</b>	11	100	0.47
<i>Togo</i>	12	103	0.45
<b>Côte d'Ivoire</b>	13	105	0.45
<b>Kenya</b>	14	106	0.44

Table 19. "Rule of Law Index 2021", a study by The World Justice Project. Source. Available at:

<https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-INDEX-21.pdf>

Democracy Index 2021. Study prepared by The Economist. The study is highly critical of Rwanda, categorising the state as an authoritarian regime, ranking it 30th in sub-Saharan Africa and 127th in the world ranking with a score of 3.10.

	Ranking Africa sub.	World ranking	Score (out of 10)
<b>Botswana</b>	1	30	7.73
<i>South Africa</i>	2	44	7.05
<i>Namibia</i>	3	55	6.52
<b>Ghana</b>	4	56	6.50
<i>Lesotho</i>	5	64	6.30
<i>Malawi</i>	6	78	5.74

<i>Zambia</i>	7	79	5.72
<b><i>Senegal</i></b>	8	88	5.53
<i>Liberia</i>	9	90	5.43
<b><i>Tanzania</i></b>	10	92	5.10
<b><i>Kenya</i></b>	11	94	5.05
<i>Sierra Leone</i>	12	97	4.97
<i>Uganda</i>	13	100	4.48
<i>Gambia</i>	14	101	4.41
<b><i>Côte d'Ivoire</i></b>	15	105	4.22

Table 20. "Democracy Index 2021", a report by The Economist. Source. Available at:

<https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2021/>

## Conclusions

Sub-Saharan Africa is a heterogeneous region and the human groups within it are not uniform. To this effect, the temptation to reduce it to a homogeneous unit of analysis or to elevate it to a category that indiscriminately describes all its component parts must be avoided. However, from a methodological point of view when approaching the regions, their analysis is inevitably constructed using analogies and seeking similarities and constants, but always with the intellectual honesty of not losing sight of the continent's complexity and not aspiring to make judgements or assessments with categorical aspirations.

This analysis is based on the hypothesis that among the nearly fifty states that make up sub-Saharan Africa, there is diversity of size, different capacities to efficiently allocate factors of production, and heterogeneity of outcomes in the pursuit of the common good and of extending prosperity and well-being to a greater number of citizens. The article concludes that there are a number of countries in the region that are at the forefront of economic prosperity, social welfare and public freedoms, but they are not necessarily the largest or those with the most valuable natural resources, such as oil or gas. These countries, which we have labelled "African leopards", have much scope for further progress; and while they are well on their way to becoming "success stories" they all suffer from aspects of a political (especially Rwanda), economic or social nature that could be improved.



What is more, these countries have the potential to act as an example for their neighbouring states since they can become a model of African social and economic transformation. And although, as we have pointed out, each country in the region is its own reality and has its own social and cultural particularities, the "African leopards" may prove to be a more realistic and natural paradigm for the region than, for example, a Western or Chinese development model; an African path of economic development and social welfare.

Last, it is worth noting that, despite the harmful effects of the pandemic, African countries can seize this opportunity as a catalyst for reforms to lay the foundations for a future of inclusive growth.

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