

Annual Report

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# The Africa Programme in 2024





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# Foreword

2024 was historic for peaceful transfers of power following elections in Senegal, Botswana, Mauritius, Ghana and the self-declared republic of Somaliland.

In a momentous shift, South Africa's liberation party lost its majority, leading to the formation of a centrist coalition of 11 parties, while in neighbouring Namibia, Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah of the SWAPO Party became the country's first female president.

Provisional results for Mozambique's elections have been fiercely challenged by opposition parties, citing irregularities also recorded in preliminary observer assessments. The aftermath has been marred by violence, with all parties hoping for political compromise. Discontent over the rising cost of living and poor governance has been a common driver for electorates to punish incumbent parties – and could pressure African governments facing polls in 2025.

Under more restrictive political systems, election results were unsurprising. In Rwanda, President Kagame secured 99 per cent of the vote, President Assoumani of the Comoros was re-elected with 57 per cent, while Chad's President Déby transitioned to elected president with 61 per cent of the vote.

Scheduled elections were once again postponed in Burkina Faso, Mali and South Sudan. In May, Burkina Faso's military government announced an extension of junta rule until 2029. In contrast, Gabon's junta allowed for a credible referendum on a new constitution, paving the way for multiparty elections in August 2025.

The Sahel remains the epicentre for global terrorism and Sudan's civil war has escalated into the world's worst displacement crisis, with over 14 million people uprooted from

their homes. But there is cautious optimism in eastern Congo, where Angolan mediation with the DRC and Rwanda has raised hope of reducing violence in the region.

Reducing poverty and fostering job-creating economic growth remain critical priorities. In 2024 approximately 464 million people in sub-Saharan Africa continued to live in extreme poverty and high debt distress risks persisted. However, headline economic growth is on the rise, reaching around 3 per cent in 2024, with East Africa leading the way.

Africa's growing economic and political significance received international recognition. The African Union became a full member of the G20, China pledged \$50 billion in financial support over the next three years during FOCAC, South Korea and Indonesia held their own Africa summits, and Italy launched its Mattei Plan at its Africa summit in January.

In 2024, the Africa programme continued to analyse and produce policy-relevant research on these critical themes, and convene events with political figures, business leaders, faith groups' and civil society representatives to discuss issues pertinent to Africa's peace and security, inclusive growth and prosperity.

This work was made possible by the Africa Programme's valued supporters, and we were pleased to welcome Vodafone Group, BII and BHP in 2024.



**Dr Alex Vines OBE**

Director, Africa Programme, Chatham House

# 2024 in numbers



**70+**  
research outputs

The Africa Programme produced over 70 research outputs, including peer reviewed papers, book chapters, academic journal articles, expert comments, op-eds and multimedia outputs.



**70**  
events

A total of 70 events were hosted by the Africa Programme in 2024, including virtual and in-person roundtables, panel events, and international conferences.



**50+**  
policy briefings

The Programme conducted over 50 policy briefings in 2024, engaging senior representatives from government, the private sector, civil society, and multilateral institutions.



**2,000+**  
citations

Africa Programme staff were cited over 2,000 times in the global media.



**30,000+**  
dissemination

Research outputs are widely read, freely available and distributed to over 30,000 decision-makers and influencers globally.



**20**  
countries visited

Africa Programme representatives visited 20 countries over the course of 2024, including for events and conference convenings in Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique and Nigeria.

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# 2024 research highlights





PEACE & JUSTICE



NO  
WAR  
مجتمعنا باسم الثورة كاره للظلم

# Foreign relations and Africa's agency in the international system

As African states pursue their foreign policy goals in an increasingly multipolar world, the Africa Programme has examined the policy implications of these evolving international partnerships and the role of African multilateral leadership. Africa is now widely recognized as a strategic player on the global stage, drawing interest from both traditional and emerging powers. However, the continent remains underrepresented in global governance structures, and African states are advocating more assertively for fairer representation in global fora and multilateral institutions.

**The decision to grant the African Union full membership status of the G20 comes at a time when geopolitical tensions are putting the spotlight on Africa's potential to contribute to the solutions of numerous important developments looking forward – particularly, climate and demographics.**

**Professor Carlos Lopes**

In a significant milestone, the African Union (AU) joined the G20 in 2023. Ahead of its attendance as a full member at the 2024 G20 Summit in Rio de Janeiro under Brazil's presidency, Professor Carlos Lopes discussed on the Africa Aware podcast what this membership means for Africa's economic and geopolitical position. His analysis highlighted the continent's abundant resources, substantial population, and the unique challenges it faces, underscoring the importance of its new status in shaping global agendas.

## **Tanzania's foreign policy**

A new research paper by Fergus Kell, Ally Masabo and Tilmann Feltes assessed Tanzania's efforts to revive its regional and international foreign policy ambitions under the presidency of Samia Suluhu Hassan. The paper, *Reviving Tanzania's regional leadership and global engagement: Priorities for an effective foreign policy reset*, was part of a longer-term project and in-country research in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Tanzania Office. An event to mark the paper's launch featured speakers including Tanzania's former foreign affairs minister, Ambassador Liberata Mulamula, and was accompanied by external commentary pieces published in Tanzanian media in both English and Kiswahili.





**Image:** Our research paper in partnership with the Tanzania office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), “Reviving Tanzania’s regional leadership and global engagement” outlines key priorities for an effective foreign policy reset. (Photo by Ericky Boniphace/ AFP/Getty Images).

## South Africa’s foreign policy

Two major events focused on South Africa’s foreign policy. In the wake of South Africa’s election and the formation of a new coalition government, HE Ronald Lamola, South Africa’s Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, spoke at Chatham House in July, to reflect on the international agenda of the new administration.

A half-day conference in May, held in partnership with the British International Studies Association, reflected on thirty years of South Africa’s foreign policy and UK relations since the transition to democracy in 1994. The event featured two expert panels and a keynote address by South Africa’s High Commissioner to the UK, HE Jeremiah Kingsley Mamabolo.

## Global engagement with Africa

2024 saw a number of Africa-focused international summits and bilateral initiatives, reflecting the continent’s growing strategic importance on the international stage. Africa Programme analyses explored how these expanding partnerships are reshaping traditional alliances and positioning the continent as a major player in global diplomacy.

In a comment piece, Fergus Kell analysed Kenyan president William Ruto’s historic state visit to the US in May - the first by an African head of state for 15 years. In July, the Africa Programme published commentary on the UK general election, exploring

priorities for the new Labour government's relationship with Africa. Tighisti Amare joined a panel of senior Chatham House experts to discuss opportunities for the incoming foreign secretary in strengthening UK-Africa relations and provided interviews alongside Alex Vines to the BBC and other major media outlets, offering insights on the future of UK policy toward Africa.

Following the ninth Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in Beijing, a comment piece by Tighisti Amare and Alex Vines assessed China's evolving relations with Africa against the backdrop of African states' increasing assertiveness and broader strategy of diversifying international partnerships for mutual benefit.

### **Africa in the United Nations Security Council**

With Sierra Leone returning after 54 years as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (UNSC) for the 2024-25 term, a special episode of Africa Aware featured HE Timothy Musa Kabba, Sierra Leone's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. In this episode, Minister Kabba outlined Sierra Leone's key priorities during its tenure and how these align with broader objectives for the African continent; and reflected on the lessons learned from Sierra Leone's own post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

**Sierra Leone is exporting the experience we have garnered over the years in conflict resolution, peace consolidation and development to the Security Council to promote global peace, women and youth involvement in peace and security, and to advocate for the reform of the Security Council.**

#### **HE Timothy Musa Kabba**

The Africa Programme is also hosting two visiting fellows: Gervasia de Jesus Muchanga Ntauazi from the Center of Strategic and International Studies of Joaquim Chissano University, Mozambique; and Dr Robert Moikowa, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone. Supported by Open Society Foundations, the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and the UK FCDO, these fellowships contribute research to inform and guide Mozambique and Sierra Leone during their terms as non-permanent members of the UNSC.

In the context of Slovenia's non-permanent UNSC membership for 2024–2025, the Africa Programme partnered with Slovenia's Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs as it hosted its 13th Africa Day International Conference in Ljubljana. Alongside collaboration with the European Commission and the Bled Strategic

Forum, the conference underscored the critical links between green transition, sustainable development, security, and peace; bringing together decision-makers and experts from Europe and Africa to explore shared challenges and identify solutions.

In an expert comment, Ahmed Soliman, Africa Programme Senior Research Fellow, explored how the sesame supply chain has intersected with transnational conflict dynamics and exacerbated tensions between Ethiopia and Sudan. Sesame supply chains, land contestation and conflict were discussed further during an *Africa Aware* podcast as part of an XCEPT mini-series, where speakers focused on the regions of Wolkait/Western Tigray in northwest Ethiopia and Al Fashaga in eastern Sudan.

### **Africa and the Commonwealth**

In September, the Africa Programme hosted a high-profile debate on the future of the Commonwealth, featuring the three African candidates standing for the role of secretary-general of the Commonwealth Secretariat: Shirley Botchwey of Ghana, Joshua Setipa of Lesotho, and Mamadou Tangara of The Gambia.

The event drew a large in-person audience at Chatham House, including numerous High Commissioners from across the Commonwealth, and attracted over 10,000 viewers via a live online broadcast. This gathering provided a unique platform for the candidates to present their visions for the Commonwealth's future, addressing issues of inclusivity, sustainability, and Africa's role within the organization.

## Africa's economic prospects

While projections indicated that Africa would be the second fastest growing economic region in the world in 2024, many African countries continued to grapple with inflationary pressures, high debt burdens and soaring borrowing costs. Dr Akinwumi A. Adesina, President of the African Development Bank Group, spoke at Chatham House to offer insights on the continent's economic prospects and priorities for structural and economic transformation.

Catherine Pattillo, Deputy Director of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) African Department, presented key findings from the IMF report *A Tepid and Pricey Recovery* at a roundtable event attended by various stakeholders and policymakers. Additionally, Wenjie Chen, Deputy Division Chief of the IMF's African Department Regional Studies Division, was featured as a guest on an episode of the Africa Aware podcast. The discussion provided further context on the IMF's recommendations for unlocking Africa's economic growth potential while navigating inevitable economic shocks.

**We must ensure that the global financial system delivers more for Africa and avoid economic divergences that are coming about because of the continent's slow economic recovery from COVID. People have long COVID, but we have long fiscal COVID in Africa today.**

**Dr Akinwumi A. Adesina**

On the sidelines of the 37th African Union Summit in Addis Ababa, the Africa Programme partnered with the United Nations Development Programme's Regional Service Centre for Africa (RSCA) and the Institute for Peace and Security Studies to launch the inaugural edition of the RSCA policy dialogue series, *A Continent in Conversation*, under the theme 'Advancing Africa's Development Amid the Geopolitical Divide.'

Speakers included Former UN Under Secretary-General and Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa, HE Hanna Tetteh; AU Peace and Security Special Advisor, Ambassador William Awinador-Kanyirige; and the Africa Programme's Director, Alex Vines. The panel shared their perspectives on how Africa's engagement across global geopolitical divides can deliver maximum benefit for the continent's sustainable growth agenda.





**Image:** HE Thérèse Kayikwamba Wagner speaking at Chatham House on the DRC's foreign policy priorities on 29 October 2024.

### **Africa's critical minerals**

Africa holds vast reserves of critical minerals essential for the global green transition. As mineral-rich countries assert their positions, building resilient supply chains that can drive sustainable economic growth has become central to their economic and diplomatic agendas.

**When we engage with new partners, our interests must be safeguarded. We will not remain in the pattern of being the repository of natural resources that can be extracted in the absence of transparency, accountability and positive impact for the communities surrounding the mining sites.**

**HE Thérèse Kayikwamba Wagner**

At an Africa Programme event at Chatham House, HE Thérèse Kayikwamba Wagner, the DRC's Minister of Foreign Affairs, outlined her country's strategy in regional diplomacy and its role in global critical mineral supply chains. As part of a session

at the Chatham House London Conference, the former Permanent Secretary of Tanzania's Ministry of Minerals, Kheri Mahimbali, highlighted Tanzania's efforts to de-risk its mining sector and attract transparent private investment aligned with the nation's economic goals.

In a policy brief for the Africa Policy Research Institute, Christopher Vandome explored the potential impact of the EU Critical Raw Materials Act and the UK's Critical Minerals Strategy on African industrialization. The analysis raised key questions about the EU and UK's commitment to supporting Africa beyond resource extraction, particularly in advancing local processing, manufacturing, and industrialization – a shift essential for Africa to capture greater value within the global minerals market.

### **Reducing risks and improving resilience in supply chains**

As African nations seek to leverage their natural resource endowments, there is a critical need to build robust frameworks that align with human rights obligations and foster transparent, stable investor relations. Sustaining investor confidence requires a steadfast commitment to human rights, local content adherence, and security risk management – all persistent challenges for many resource-rich countries in Africa.

The Africa Programme is conducting two focused research initiatives in Mozambique and Tanzania examining the pivotal role of frameworks such as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights. Through research and convening, the Programme aims to promote dialogue and develop evidence-based policy recommendations, guiding efforts to create a resource sector that respects local communities, strengthens security, and builds long-term investor trust.

# Africa elections 2024

The high concentration of elections in Africa in 2024 has provided a snapshot of the current state of democracy across the continent. While some polls have offered promising signs of democratic progress, others have raised concerns about transparency and fairness.

In South Africa, the May 2024 elections resulted in the long-dominant African National Congress (ANC) losing its majority for the first time since 1994. Opposition parties achieved victories in Senegal, Botswana, and Mauritius, suggesting gains for political pluralism. Meanwhile, Mozambique's ruling party secured a landslide victory in a contentious election, sparking violent protests in several towns. Incumbents in Chad and Comoros were re-elected amid allegations of fraud, while Rwanda's President Paul Kagame was re-elected with 99 percent of the vote, raising questions about electoral competition.

The Africa Programme actively tracked these elections through a series of analyses and events. It also examined post-election developments from earlier elections, including through a panel discussion reflecting on Nigeria's 2023 elections one year later, reflecting on factors that contributed to low voter turnout, and areas for improvement when implementing technology. Alex Vines, Director of the Africa Programme, served as a Commonwealth election observer in Mozambique, and Christopher Vandome contributed to pre-election assessments by the Carter Centre in South Africa, Botswana, and Malawi – visiting Johannesburg, Gaborone, and Lilongwe.

**Image:** President Cyril Ramaphosa speaks to people attending his inauguration at the south lawns of the Union Buildings in Pretoria on June 19, 2024. (Photo by Phill Magakoe/AFP via Getty Images)



## South Africa

Ahead of South Africa's May 2024 elections, which drew international attention, the Africa Programme produced a series of expert comments exploring the country's new electoral process and the role of South African citizens. As pre-election predictions anticipated the African National Congress (ANC) would likely lose its majority, a comment piece and media commentary by Christopher Vandome looked ahead to the potential alliances and called for trust to be put behind electoral institutions and civil society observers.

Following the elections, Alex Vines examined the new coalition government – dubbed the government of national unity – which emerged between the ANC, the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), and looked back on the history of multiparty governments in the region. Media appearances and written outputs by Christopher Vandome focused on the coalition's political stability and the foreign policy priorities for the new government.

## Senegal

In an in-depth analysis of Senegal's election crisis in February, Paul Melly examined the events following President Macky Sall's attempt to delay the vote. Against a backdrop of years of political tension, Sall's sudden call to postpone the election was widely seen as an effort to salvage a government campaign facing potential defeat, triggering significant public anger.

The Constitutional Council's ruling that the election must proceed before the end of the presidential term marked a pivotal moment for West Africa. It underscored ongoing challenges faced by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in establishing a region-wide limit of two presidential terms.

With the election concluding in a victory for opposition candidate Bassirou Diomaye Faye, a subsequent roundtable discussion assessed the impact on Senegal's regional and international relationships and highlighted the urgent need for stronger regional frameworks to prevent democratic backsliding. This call for reform remained relevant as military-led governments in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger sidestep timelines for restoring democratic elections.

## The Democratic Republic of the Congo

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) held its presidential elections on 20 December 2023, which saw President Felix Tshisekedi elected for a second term. Following the polls, Africa Programme Associate Fellow Ben Shepherd produced an expert comment exploring the 'political theatre' that exists in the DRC, driven by the relationships among elite networks. The commentary discussed the chaotic electoral processes highlighted by election observers and examined political cynicism among the DRC's population.



# Peace, conflict and security

The African continent is contending with a new wave of complex security threats, compounded by the resurgence of long-standing challenges like inter-state tensions, military coups, and protracted internal conflicts. The Sahel has become a global epicentre of terrorism, with violence and instability threatening regional and international security. Sudan's war has escalated into one of the world's most severe humanitarian and displacement crises, with mounting civilian casualties and impending famine. Meanwhile, in eastern DRC, armed group violence continues to lead to severe insecurity that disrupts communities, curbs economic opportunities and stalls development.

At an Africa Programme event, HE Olivier J.P. Nduhungirehe, Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, presented his country's foreign policy vision, including their commitment to mutual support between African countries in peacekeeping to ensure lasting peace and stability on the continent.

## Insecurity in West Africa

A report by Alex Vines and Romane Dideberg, published in October by the Observatório da Paz project in collaboration with Instituto Marquês de Valle Flôr (IMVF) and Liga Guineense dos Direitos Humanos (LGDH), analysed the persistent governance failures that have fuelled the rise of coups and increasing security threats in the Sahel. The report highlights the risk of spillover into West Africa's coastal states and underscores the urgent need to address the crisis's regional and transnational dimensions.

**The inconsistency in regional and international response to Africa's juntas presents a complex problem. The international community must guarantee a focused transition timetable that avoids rewarding junta leaders.**

**Dr Alex Vines**

Alex Vines also contributed an article to the Georgetown Journal of International Affairs titled *Understanding Africa's Coups*, which examines Africa's nine coups since 2020 and argues for tailored policy responses. Earlier in the year, Gabon's Foreign Minister, H.E. Régis Onanga Ndiaye, visited Chatham House to outline the transitional government's strategy and roadmap for national elections set for August 2025.



**Image:** People rally in Wad Madani, Sudan (Photo by AFP via Getty Images)

A roundtable meeting with H.E. Leonardo Santos Simão, the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for West Africa and the Sahel, explored solutions for the region's core security and livelihood issues. The discussion focused on the UN's efforts to collaborate with local and regional actors, alongside international partners, to address cross-border crises and enhance human security in West Africa and the Sahel.

In February, the Africa Programme joined UNDP's Regional Service Centre for Africa in launching the *2023 Sahel Human Development Report* at an event hosted on the sidelines of the African Union Summit in Addis Ababa. The report sets out opportunities to align a sustainable energy transition with the Sahel's development goals.

### **Cross-border conflict**

Now in its fifth year, the Chatham House Africa Programme and Middle East and North Africa Programme's joint project on Cross-Border Conflict Evidence, Policy and Trends (XCEPT) continues to generate vital insights on cross-border conflict dynamics. Its research findings seek to improve policy dialogue and deepen understanding of the complex interconnections driving violence and instability across borders.

A research paper by Ahmed Soliman and Abel Abate Demissie examined sesame as a conflict commodity exacerbating tensions along the Sudan-Ethiopia border. The authors also published an expert comment highlighting the fragmentation

and informalization of Ethiopia's northern gold sector and how competition over natural resources, including illicit gold, is stoking instability within the region.

An interactive explainer by Ahmed Soliman and Elise Lannaud also illustrated the securitization of the Ethiopia-Sudan border using satellite imagery. This visual analysis revealed how the Sudanese Armed Forces have occupied the contested Al-Fashaga region, seized fertile land, and established new checkpoints along critical routes connecting Sudan and Ethiopia.

## War in Sudan

Sudan has remained a central focus of the Africa Programme's work this year, with a series of expert commentaries, podcasts, and events bringing attention to critical aspects of the conflict. This series has underscored the limited international pressure on the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), who remain entrenched in a struggle for outright military control despite the severe human toll. The Programme's research and analysis has highlighted how conflict commodities, notably gold, are fueling the war economy, sustaining both factions' efforts, and worsening the already dire humanitarian situation.

## **Sudan urgently needs an alternative to the warring parties and their supporters – a credible and broadly representative civilian body that articulates a vision for peace, presses for an end to the war and provides an alternative point of engagement for the international community.**

### **Dame Rosalind Marsden**

In a notable Chatham House event, Dr. Abdalla Hamdok, Chairperson of the Coordination of Civil Democratic Forces (Tagadom) and former Prime Minister of Sudan, examined possible pathways toward a ceasefire and a peaceful political settlement. Dr. Hamdok emphasized the pressing need for a coordinated international response to address what has now become the world's largest humanitarian crisis.

Additionally, the Africa Programme partnered with the Center for Advanced Defense Studies for a two-day workshop that gathered civil society participants, researchers, technical experts and policymakers to examine the political economy of Sudan's conflict. Participants analysed the transnational financial networks underpinning both sides, the movement of key commodities amid the conflict, and the economic actors who benefit from the status quo, providing insights into the challenges to sustainable peace.





**Image:** Delegates leave the plenary hall of the Africa Union headquarters in Addis Ababa. (Photo: Getty Images)

## African peace processes

The *African Peace Processes: Lessons Learned* project, a collaboration with the UNDP, is undertaking comparative case studies across Africa to identify factors that contribute to the durability of peace agreements. By examining diverse peacebuilding strategies and the reintegration of former combatants in different regions, the project aims to uncover insights into what sustains peace over the long term. In-country research trips across the continent are being conducted to support these analyses, and the outcome of the research will be discussed at an event in Addis Ababa in February 2025.

As part of this project, a public webinar addressed the ongoing challenges to peace negotiations in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. The session, featuring insights from Professor Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, Dr. Judith Verweijen and Dr. Vasu Gounden, highlighted lessons from past peace efforts, exploring the recurrent obstacles and identifying areas where peace processes could be strengthened to foster a more sustainable resolution.



# Social Norms and Accountable Governance

The Africa Programme continued to conduct research for its longstanding project, *Towards Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria*, supported by the MacArthur Foundation, as part of its stream of work on Social Norms and Accountable Governance (SNAG).

A new Chatham House research paper by SNAG lead researcher Leena Koni Hoffmann, *Tackling judicial bribery and procurement fraud in Nigeria: How harnessing public disapproval can enable collective action against corruption*, analysed data from the project's national household surveys and interviews with Nigerian anti-corruption practitioners. The paper explores how social expectations of behaviour in Nigeria's judicial and public procurement systems sustain collective action problems of corruption in these key sectors, but also indicates potential openings for evidence-based action to address harmful practices.

**Corruption is central to Nigeria's challenges with insecurity, injustice, inequality and poor public goods and services. This situation is worsened by a weak and compromised judicial system that allows elites to insulate themselves from accountability.**

**Dr Leena Koni Hoffmann**

The newest phase of the SNAG project has focused on understanding the role of individuals who take a committed stance against corruption, often at significant personal cost. As part of the process, the project team conducted a series of in-depth research interviews in Nigeria with identified key contacts. The Africa Programme also convened a half-day roundtable workshop in Abuja in October, titled *Integrity actors and building anti-corruption reform coalitions in Nigeria*, which brought together policymakers, experts from academia and civil society leaders to evaluate the success of behavioural change interventions in addressing corruption.

An episode of the Africa Aware podcast, recorded to mark the AU's African Anti-Corruption Day, shared key findings from SNAG research into the underlying social drivers of corrupt behaviour. Leena Koni Hoffmann, Raj Patel of the University of Pennsylvania, and Odeh Friday of Accountability Lab Nigeria joined the Africa Programme's Lisa Musumba on the podcast to discuss key anti-corruption insights for Nigeria arising from the SNAG project research.

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# Acknowledgments

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**Professor Nnenna Ifeanyi-Ajufo**



**Dame Rosalind Marsden**



**Dr Knox Chitiyo**



**Christina Katsouris**



**Paul Melly**



**Bob Dewar**



**Sheila Khama**



**Matthew T. Page**



**Dr Leena Koni Hoffman**



**Professor Carlos Lopes**



**Ben Shepherd**



**Stefan Cibian**

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