2021 ANNUAL REVIEW
African societies thrive when African voices count in public policy and development.
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From the Board Chair

If we hoped, a year ago, to have left COVID-19 behind us by now, then 2021 was a bitter disappointment. Like the rest of the world, we adjusted our lives and mourned our losses, including the devastating loss of our friend Désiré Razafindrazaka, our partner in Madagascar.

But while the pandemic shaped our year, and affected our work in countless ways, it couldn’t block us from our path forward. Our intrepid National Partners conducted 11 more Round 8 surveys in 2021, completing the round with a total of 34 countries. Moving quickly, we launched Round 9, surveying the first four countries by year’s end. We also tested our evolving rapid-response protocols with telephone surveys in Namibia, Benin, and the Gambia.

We improved our financial standing with stalwart support from our longtime funders as well as new project funding. All of our teams – surveys, data, analysis, communications, resource mobilization, management – and our National and Core Partners proved both consistent and innovative in pursuing our objective of providing high-quality data for policy making.

Amid the uncertainties of a continuing pandemic, they stand ready to reach for new heights in 2022 with greater survey coverage than ever, expanding capacity building efforts, and exciting new collaborations. Like any proud co-father, I’m deeply gratified to see A3 continue to develop and thrive. Many of you have already encountered our fantastic new CEO, so you know we’re in very good hands. The team he’s building keeps growing stronger, with additions and promotions in 2021 including our director of capacity building, deputy director of surveys, assistant project managers, knowledge translation manager, digital portfolio manager, communications coordinators, finance officer, monitoring/evaluation and learning specialist, and talented new research assistants in the Analysis Unit.

I’m also proud to report that Larry Diamond, one of the world’s great scholars and defenders of democracy, joined our International Advisory Council – a feather in anyone’s cap.

On a personal note, my first year in “retirement” (as executive director) was as busy as it was satisfying. But I would expect nothing less from Afrobarometer.

I’m particularly struck by the growing number and caliber of requests and invitations we’ve been receiving for presentations, panel discussions, interviews, classes, and written contributions. While many of these encounters had to be online, we also managed trips to share our work and our aspirations with political and thought leaders in Accra, Bonn, Berlin, Brussels, London, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. The demand has been almost overwhelming, a testament to the interest in – the need for – the kind of data and analysis that Afrobarometer provides.

To those who believe in the need for the voice of ordinary Africans to be heard in the halls of power, and are willing to invest in making sure that need is met, my deepest gratitude. On behalf of the Afrobarometer network, I thank our funders, advocates, and friends for providing us the moral and financial support that makes our work possible. May the new year bring you joy and fulfillment.
While the pandemic shaped our year, and affected our work in countless ways, it couldn’t block us from our path forward.
2021 at a Glance

Surveys

15 countries surveyed in 2021
23,248 interviews in 2021

4 countries surveyed so far in Round 9
6,000 interviews so far in Round 9

Training

497 survey fieldworkers trained
10 other workshops and seminars

Fundraising

US $6.68 million in fundraising income for 2021*

*Includes carryover funds from 2020
Results Dissemination

92 papers (dispatches, policy papers, working papers) — 94% authored by Africans
72 presentations and webinars

158 news releases
3,200 media stories

Website

203,602 visitors
841,424 page views
68,051 downloads

53,521 users of online data analysis tool

Twitter

23,904 followers
54,072 engagements

2,345,268 impressions

Facebook

14,847 followers
227 posts

258,183 impressions
We adapted very well to the new realities, and I know that some of the new ways of working will become permanent as we have found them to be more efficient and equally effective.
Taking on a new role, especially leadership of a continental organization like Afrobrometer at a time when the world is almost at a standstill because of a health pandemic, is no easy task. It was hard enough to navigate and manage the network and relationships across the continent before COVID-19, and I honestly did not know what to expect under the circumstances.

The silent anxiety that greeted my arrival in April 2021 took a stronger hold when I learned that we still had 16 countries outstanding for the Round 8 surveys and yet the widespread imposition of pandemic-related restrictions meant that we could not proceed until further notice. At the same time, we had to start planning for the Round 9 surveys; it felt like things were spinning out of control, at least in my head.

Nine months down the line, I realize that my fears and anxiety were just figments of my imagination. Thanks to the Board and management team, I came to meet a truly committed and high-performing team that stood ready to defy all the odds and keep the work going. We did not only successfully complete the Round 8 surveys, we were able to develop and administer a COVID-19 module in the remaining countries, which has generated useful insights on ordinary Africans’ views and experiences of the health pandemic and their evaluations of government performance.

We also successfully convened Round 8 debrief and Round 9 planning meetings remotely, thanks to new and more powerful technology platforms for holding large online meetings. Overall, we adapted very well to the new realities, and I know that some of the new ways of working will become permanent as we have found them to be more efficient and equally effective. But it was not all glowing success; we had some struggles. Some staff members and/or their loved ones came down with COVID-19, and sadly, we lost our national investigator for Madagascar to the virus. My heart goes out to all who have been directly or indirectly impacted by the pandemic.

We are not out of the woods yet, and it is not clear that we will be anytime soon. Our best defense is to get the vaccine if/when it is available and to continue practicing the basic health protocols.

We have an ambitious agenda for 2022: We hope to undertake Round 9 surveys in up to 40 countries, complete a long-term organizational strategy, expand engagements with regional policy and development actors, pilot and refine our phone-based survey methodology to facilitate the rapid-response workstream, work more closely with African universities to bring AB data to faculty and staff, deepen our capacity-strengthening program, and expand our flexible pool of funding.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Board, the International Advisory Council, our funding partners, and our Core and National Partners and Support Units. Your trust and unflinching support have kept us going and growing strong, and I know that we can count on you in the coming year and beyond.

Finally, a big hat tip to the committed and hard-working AB management and staff. Your personal investment in the vision and mission of AB makes my work so much easier – and fun.

Onward to 2022 with renewed energy.
Afrobarometer’s first Board of Directors links the network’s co-founders with dynamic and diverse leadership from across the continent to oversee AB’s mission, review performance, and ensure accountability and integrity. Additional board members are being recruited with an eye to valuable skill sets and geographic representation.

**Amal Mustafa Medani**

As a development practitioner with more than 25 years’ experience, Amal Mustafa Medani has led technical and socio-economic development programs spanning Southern and Eastern Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, and Eastern Europe, as well as global-level initiatives for UNDP and the United Nations.

Her previous positions have also included oversight of a U.S. $4 billion program as director for the Southern Africa Division of the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDs, TB and Malaria (GFTAM); associate director of the Governance Department at the United Nations Institute of Training and Research (UNITAR); and senior strategic policy adviser to the CEO of the Global RBM Partnership to End Malaria. She also has extensive experience with partnership-building collaborations and resource mobilization with UN agencies, bilateral and multilateral funder organizations, and international financial institutions.

**Michael Bratton**

Michael Bratton, who retired as University Distinguished Professor of Political Science and African Studies at Michigan State University in 2018, has worked with Afrobarometer since 1999 as a co-founder, former executive director, and then senior adviser.

He previously served on the program staffs of the Rockefeller and Ford foundations and as a visiting scholar at Oxford University, Uppsala University, and the United States Institute of Peace. He is the co-author of the widely cited *Democratic Experiments in Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 1995) and the author of five other books, including *Voting and Democratic Citizenship in Africa* (Rienner, 2013) and *Power Politics in Zimbabwe* (Rienner, 2014).

"The African continent is brimming with the political transformation and the beating heart of renewed democracy and hope – driven by the energized voice of our youthful population. Afrobarometer’s vision resonates with this and understands that there will be no sustainable progress ... without the voice of the African citizen to mobilize and effect real change through accountable and democratic governance practices."
Professor Gyimah-Boadi is a co-founder of Afrobarometer and has served as its chief executive since 2008. He is also founder and former executive director of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana).

A former professor at the University of Ghana, Legon, he has held faculty positions and fellowships at the School of International Service of the American University; the Center for Democracy, Rule of Law and Development; the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; the U.S. Institute of Peace; and the International Forum for Democratic Development. His myriad awards include the 2017 Martin Luther King, Jr. Award for Peace and Social Justice. In 2021, New African named him one of its “100 Most Influential Africans.”

Amina Oyagbola is an independent director, a business leader, and a former human resources and corporate services executive at MTN Nigeria Communications Ltd. With more than 30 years’ experience, her career spans legal consulting, banking and finance, energy, and telecommunications.

She is the managing consultant of AKMS Consulting Ltd. (business advisory and management consultants), senior partner of Oyagbola Chambers, and a Chevening Scholar. She is a fellow and chair of the Africa Leadership Initiative – West Africa, a fellow of the Aspen Global Leadership Network, and founder and chairperson of WISCAR (Women in Successful Careers), a not-for-profit gender empowerment and strategic mentoring and leadership initiative for professional career women.

AB co-founder and senior adviser Robert Mattes is professor of politics at Strathclyde University in Glasgow, Scotland.

Originally from the United States, he spent 25 years researching and teaching in South Africa, and is honorary professor of political studies and former director of the Democracy in Africa Research Unit in the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town. He was principal investigator in major research projects such as the African Legislatures Project and the South African National Election Study and is the co-author of Public Opinion, Democracy, and Markets in Africa (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Lara Taylor-Pearce is auditor general of Sierra Leone and a fellow of the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants of the UK with more than 30 years of experience in public- and private-sector financial and administrative management and oversight.

As the government’s chief external auditor since 2011, she has won praise for helping change Sierra Leone’s public-sector accountability landscape, including her work in developing its 2016 Public Financial Management Act and other public-sector oversight acts. She is the current chair of the Governing Board of the African Region of Supreme Audit Institutions (English Speaking) and vice chair of the INTOSAI Development initiative.

By its groundbreaking work of unearthing insights, knowledge, and understanding of African cultures, philosophies, governance, and practices, Afrobarometer is transforming the thinking about Africa, of Africans, and the way Africans engage with the world. This is such significant work that I am privileged to advocate for AB and be part of its work.

The role of Afrobarometer in driving positive change within African nations’ governance structures due to citizens’ engagement makes it an institution worth emulating.
The International Advisory Council, inaugurated in November 2020, consists of global high-level political and thought leaders committed to providing strategic intelligence, foresight, and advocacy to support and promote Afrobarometer internationally. The council's role is to inspire and energize policy makers, funders, other key audiences, as well as network staff, by advocating for our shared mission to make African voices count in public policy and development.

**Johnnie Carson, chair**
Former U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs and former ambassador to Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Uganda

"The caliber of experience, leadership, and engagement represented on this council, from all across Africa and beyond, speaks volumes about the seriousness with which the global community takes Afrobarometer's contribution to data-driven development. We're excited to help build the future of this pan-African institution."

**Ellen Johnson Sirleaf**
Former president of Liberia (2006-2018) and 2011 Nobel Peace Prize laureate

"Afrobarometer empowers those who want to see more transparency, more accountability, and more free, open, and inclusive societies. ... In this age of fake news, Afrobarometer is a credible, reliable, and authentic purveyor of the ordinary African voice. This is where Afrobarometer plays a very important role in enriching democracy."

**Zeinab Badawi**
International broadcaster and education leader

"Afrobarometer provides a unique service on behalf of the African people: It takes the pulse of African opinion on key issues and delivers it to leaders, policy makers, and opinion formers. It is the voice of the African citizen."

**Larry Diamond**
Senior fellow, Hoover Institution and Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University

"Afrobarometer is one of the greatest success stories of social science research and analytical capacity building on the African continent."
Lord Browne of Ladyton
Member of the UK House of Lords

Margot Wallström
Former minister of foreign affairs of Sweden, EU commissioner

Professor Larabi Jaïdi
Senior fellow at the Policy Center for the New South

Professor Attahiru Muhammadu Jega
Former chairman of Nigeria’s Independent National Electoral Commission

K. Riva Levinson
President and CEO of KRL International, author and columnist

Dr. Monde Muyangwa
Director of the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center

Dr. Willy Mutunga
Former chief justice and president of the Supreme Court of Kenya

Professor Nic Cheeseman
Professor of democracy at the University of Birmingham, author and newspaper columnist

Abdoulie Janneh
Former UN under-secretary general

Peter Kellner
Political analyst and scholar

Dr. Bhekinkosi Moyo
Adjunct professor and director of the Centre on African Philanthropy and Social Investment, Wits Business School, University of the Witwatersrand

Dr. Gerard Salole
Social anthropologist and independent consultant

Thomas P. Sheehy
Distinguished fellow, Africa Center of the United States Institute of Peace

Dr. Vera Songwe
Executive secretary, UN Economic Commission for Africa (Special guest)
The Network

National Partners

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These organizations are responsible for conducting all in-country survey activities.

- 1. Angola
  Ovilingwa Consulting
- 2. Benin
  Innovante Recherche en Economie et Gouvernance (IREG)
- 3. Botswana
  Star Awards
- 4. Burkina Faso
  Centre pour la Gouvernance Démocratique (CGD)
- 5. Cabo Verde
  Afrosondagem
- 6. Cameroon
  Groupe Cible
- 7. Côte d'Ivoire
  Centre de Recherche et de Formation sur le Développement Intégré (CREFDI)
- 8. Eswatini
  ActivQuest Research & Analytics
- 9. Ethiopia
  ABCON – Research & Consulting
- 10. Gabon
  Centre d’Etudes et de Recherche en Géosciences Politiques et Prospective (CERGEP)
- 11. Gambia
  Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies (CPRS)
- 12. Ghana
  Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)
- 13. Guinea
  StatView International
- 14. Kenya
  Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi
- 15. Lesotho
  Advision Lesotho
- 16. Liberia
  Center for Democratic Governance
- 17. Madagascar
  COEF Ressources
- 18. Malawi
  Centre for Social Research (CSR), University of Malawi
- 19. Mali
  Groupe de Recherche en Economie Appliquée et Théorique (GREAT)
- 20. Mauritius
  StraConsult
- 21. Morocco
  Gobel for Survey and Consulting (GSC)
- 22. Mozambique
  Ipsos Mozambique
- 23. Namibia
  Survey Warehouse
- 24. Niger
  Laboratoire d’Etudes et de Recherches sur les Dynamiques Sociales et le Développement Local (LASDEL)
- 25. Nigeria
  NOIPolls
- 26. Senegal
  Consortium pour la Recherche en Économie Sociale (CRES)
- 27. Sierra Leone
  Institute for Governance Reform (IGR)
- 28. South Africa
  Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Plus 94 Research
- 29. Sudan
  Sudan Polling Survey Center
- 30. Tanzania
  REPOA
- 31. Togo
  Center for Research and Opinion Polls (CROP)
- 32. Tunisia
  One-to-One Research and Polling (121)
- 33. Uganda
  Hatchlie Consult
- 34. Zambia
  Institute for Economic and Social Research (INESOR), University of Zambia
- 35. Zimbabwe
  Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI)

Afrobarometer National Partners as of 31 December 2021. Additional National Partners are being identified for countries that will be new or returning in Round 9.
Core Partners
These institutions manage and provide assistance to our National Partners in their region.

- CDD-Ghana – West, Central, and North Africa
  Center for Democratic Development

- IDS – East Africa
  Institute for Development Studies

- IJR – Southern Africa
  Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

Support Units
These university-based teams provide technical support to our core partners.

- IDCPPA, University of Cape Town
- Michigan State University
National Partners

Taking the people’s voices to the top in Guinea

For most Guineans, the days after the Sept. 5 military coup were a time of uncertainty.

For Afrobarometer’s national investigator, Aliou Barry, they were a whirlwind of news releases, publications in the Washington Post Monkey Cage and the Continent, and interviews with domestic and international media. Even the junta that ousted President Alpha Condé showed interest in Afrobarometer data.

As executive director of National Partner Stat View International, Barry has always steered clear of partisan political activity. But he has found countless opportunities to represent the voices of the people at high levels, including stints as a member of the Guinean Presidency’s National Anti-Corruption Agency (2007-2014), as co-moderator of the Globethics Forum in Geneva (2012), as coordinator of the Francophone CSO Coalition for Integrity and Development (2009-2012), and as a member of the Audit Committee of the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption based in Toronto (2010-2014).

Since we are part of this valuable network, the credibility of Stat View has significantly increased. We have also gained several points on trust and visibility.

– Aliou Barry
In Guinea’s 2010-2014 transitional parliament, established after a military junta took power following the death of President Lansana Conte, Barry served as one of 20 civil society representatives. He was the youngest person elected as president of a commission — charged with overseeing electoral processes, among other things — and a member of the Executive Board.


A few months later, the fledgling organization borrowed money to conduct its first survey in the wake of Guinea’s hotly disputed first round of presidential elections. The findings, which contradicted candidates’ claims of clear victory, were published and made a splash — and a small profit — and Stat View was on its way.

Starting in 2013 (Round 5), Stat View has conducted four Afrobarometer surveys in Guinea. Its staff of 24 includes seven who work on AB data — six of whom have attended AB’s Summer School. It also works with about 600 external collaborators with different academic and linguistic profiles. Among its partners and funding sources, it counts the World Bank, UN Agencies, USAID, the European Union, AFD (France), GIZ (Germany), the African Development Bank, the Netherlands Royal Tropical Institute, and several international NGOs.

Even before the recent coup shone the world’s spotlight on Guinea, Barry and Stat View were working tirelessly to disseminate their Afrobarometer Round 8 findings. In addition to news releases and dispatches, they conducted three public dissemination events (including appearances on national television) and presentations to high-ranking officials, including at the Cabinet of the Prime Minister and the Presidency (during which they alerted President Alpha Condé’s staff that 77% of Guineans support a two-term limit for presidents). They shared data and documents with administrative and local authorities as they visited the regions outside Conakry.

In his personal travels to the United States, Barry introduced Afrobarometer’s work to colleagues and partners at John Snow Inc. and the University of Georgia. Back in Guinea, he served as a special guest speaker on national television for the observance of International Anti-Corruption Day and moderated the World Bank vice president’s conference on strategic priorities 2021-2025 for West and Central Africa.

“We are very proud of our collaboration with the Afrobarometer, and Afrobarometer has added value to our work,” Barry says, citing rigor, on-time delivery, stronger financial management, and improved data presentation for decision-making among the benefits of the collaboration. “Since we are part of this valuable network, the credibility of Stat View has significantly increased. We have also gained several points on trust and visibility.”
National Partners

Beyond the ballot box

IGR works to bridge the gap between citizens and policy in **Sierra Leone**

The Institute for Governance Reform (IGR) may be a newcomer to the Afrobarometer family, but it’s a veteran at shaking things up in Sierra Leone.

Founded just eight years ago, IGR has rapidly gained a remarkably high profile in Sierra Leone’s policy community by implementing a 2018 Citizens’ Manifesto and a recent 2020 Service Delivery Index (SDI) that sparked national debates on institutional reform and citizen priorities as well as corruption.

In April, the government of Sierra Leone honored IGR’s founding executive director, Andrew Laval, with its prestigious Order of the Rokel award for his work in “bringing high-quality citizen-driven evidence into national decision-making.”

The presidential citation highlighted Laval’s “innovative and non-combative state-citizen engagement model” for jointly addressing

“To conduct AB surveys means there will be potential for friction with state agencies.”

- Andrew Laval
the country's challenges and his tireless efforts to improve "citizens' monitoring of public sector performance, which has helped Sierra Leone to push democratic accountability beyond the ballot box."

If these accolades sound very "AB," that's hardly a coincidence. Lavali says IGR's work as the AB National Partner in Sierra Leone goes hand in hand with its overall mission.

"Afrobarometer is an excellent fit for IGR's overall goal of bridging the gap between knowledge and policy in Sierra Leone," Lavali says. "The collaboration with AB provides a unique learning and experience-sharing opportunity for IGR, especially in the area of developing sound data collection strategies and for dissemination of results."

With Seton Hall University Associate Professor Fredline M'Cormack-Hale as co-principal investigator and three full-time staff members, IGR launched its AB activities in Round 8. A few weeks into fieldwork in early 2020, Sierra Leone confirmed its first COVID-19 case. While IGR was able to complete data collection in a timely manner, work progressed virtually for the next several months.

"We had to look beyond the challenges of lockdowns and no in-person interactions and strive to achieve our results by adapting to new realities," Lavali says, including working from home and disseminating survey findings via Zoom.

In addition to disseminating AB findings, IGR uses AB data extensively in its own advocacy and policy-influencing work. A recent example was IGR's dispatch on Round 8 corruption findings, which Lavali says "sparked a huge national debate on corruption in Sierra Leone's Parliament [and] also offered a unique opportunity for learning on how civil society and state actors can foster meaningful engagements even on controversial issues."

The controversy has led to "a healthy partnership with Parliament built on openness, trust, and dialogue," Lavali says, as well as an electronic data dashboard that provides timely constituency-level information to members of Parliament, allowing for direct citizen input into bills and parliamentary debates.

Among IGR's other successes — rarely achieved without some spirited debate — is the Citizens' Manifesto.

As part of a DFID (FCDO)-funded consortium in 2018, IGR mobilized 720 grassroots and community organizations to develop a non-partisan document highlighting the priorities and expectations of ordinary citizens for inclusion in the manifestos of political parties. The Citizens' Manifesto succeeded in getting political party candidates to acknowledge seven key demands of citizens, including a public declaration of assets; increased representation for women, youth, and persons with disability; and transparency in mining and agricultural investments.

Another recent accomplishment is the SDI, which benchmarks the state of health and education services in all constituencies and local government units across the country. Launched in 2015 with support from the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), the SDI is expanding into an ambitious project, supported by the World Bank, that seeks to strengthen the government's delivery of health and education services, especially within a COVID-19 health-emergency context.

If its survey and policy work comes with both love and loathing from all sides of the political divide, the IGR team takes that in stride.

"To conduct AB surveys means there will be potential for friction with state agencies," Lavali says. "But we are unfazed and hopeful that our papers will continue to stimulate debates and policy reforms in Sierra Leone in the years ahead."

Among IGR's other successes — rarely achieved without some spirited debate — is the Citizens' Manifesto.
Surveys

Despite COVID-19 adding to the challenges of far-flung survey research, 2021 was a busy and successful year in which Afrobarometer completed Round 8, launched Round 9, and piloted telephone surveys.

Completion of Round 8 surveys

Eleven national surveys in 2021 brought Afrobarometer’s Round 8 to a successful close. The last country to field a R8 survey was Mozambique, where data collection was completed on 19 July.

R8 surveys, which were launched in 2019, were originally meant to cover 36 countries by end 2020. However, the COVID-19 pandemic forced us to suspend fieldwork in April 2020, when only 18 countries had been surveyed.

R8 fieldwork resumed in October 2020 in countries that met Afrobarometer’s stringent new COVID-19 protocols. As of mid-2021, the COVID-19 pandemic remained severe in Madagascar, requiring us to drop the country from our R8 list.

Difficulties in identifying a National Partner research organization for São Tomé and Príncipe led to the exclusion of the country from R8. This left 34 countries surveyed in R8 (see survey map).

Our field teams interviewed a total of 48,084 respondents, comprising 24,036 women and 24,048 men. The average age of respondents was 37, and the average interview duration was 78 minutes. The five top survey languages were English, French, Kiswahili, Portuguese, and Arabic.

R8 surveys were formally closed with an online debriefing workshop in June at which results of a National Partner R8 debrief survey were presented and discussed.

At the workshop, National Partners reported on how the COVID-19 pandemic had affected their operations.

Telephone surveys

During the year, the Network experimented with telephone surveys in Namibia, Benin, and the Gambia. The Namibia survey used a random digit dialing sample, while Benin and the Gambia used telephone numbers collected from willing respondents in the regular R8 surveys.

Launch of Round 9 surveys

After extensive consultations with stakeholders, the Questionnaire Committee developed the R9 questionnaire between April and September. It continues the tradition of maintaining the core of Afrobarometer’s tracking questions on governance, livelihoods, and civic life while dedicating about one-third of its space to new question modules.

In R9, new modules focus on responsive and transparent government, environmental governance and climate change, COVID-19, gender equality and gender-based violence, child welfare, police professionalism, social services provision, and social cohesion.

These new modules were piloted in Benin (telephone survey, n=150) and Malawi (face-to-face survey, n=200). Analysis of the pilot data showed that all new modules worked well.
An online R9 Planning Meeting gave Afrobometer staff, Core Partners, Support Units, and National Partners a chance to discuss the new question modules, other R9 innovations, and a draft R9 survey schedule.

Namibia had the honor of launching R9 data collection in October. Three more countries completed or started fieldwork by the end of the year: Gabon, Kenya, and Côte d’Ivoire.

We expect to expand the Afrobometer footprint to new countries in R9, including Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, and Seychelles. We will also conduct assessments in Algeria, Burundi, and São Tomé and Principe to determine whether these countries can be brought back into the AB family. Altogether, we plan to cover up to 40 countries in R9.

We plan to complete R9 data collection during the third quarter of 2022 and to launch preparations for R10 surveys in the last quarter of 2022.

We will also continue to experiment with telephone surveys during 2022.

Special projects

As part of R9, the Survey Unit will spearhead and monitor data collection for the following special project grants:


iii. GIZ: on police professionalism and security (R8 and R9).

iv. Global Centre for Pluralism: focusing on social cohesion (R9 surveys).

v. EMERGE: focusing on gender equality (R9 surveys).

AB’s new R9 modules address the data needs of all these funders.

Completed R8 surveys before COVID-19:

Angola, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Uganda

Completed R8 surveys in 2020 after onset of COVID-19 pandemic:

Benin, Liberia, Mauritius, Niger, Zambia

Completed R8 surveys in 2021:

Cameroon, Eswatini, the Gambia, Morocco, Mozambique, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Zimbabwe

Completed R9 surveys in 2021:

Côte d’Ivoire, Gabon, Kenya, Namibia
AFRObarometer Analysis Unit objectives are focused on increasing analytical outputs to reach new audiences while expanding the pool of authors through mentoring, creating new signature analytic products and meeting demand from funders, stakeholders, and others for analysis of AFRObarometer data.

Our continuing series of analytical pieces in the Washington Post Monkey Cage blog, widely circulated outlet for policy-relevant research, was biweekly or the first part of the year with posts linked to the release of the Africa-wide findings in the 13th Round of the Afrobarometer survey, particularly concerning quality and availability of schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa. The series was 8 finds on the first part of the year, with posts linked to 13th round findings on 8 core aspects of democracy.

Other key outputs included:
- Round 8 Round 12 finds on 8 core aspects of democracy.
- The network completed its series of articles topics: Poverty data on youth, corruption, and the role of sub-national data in poverty analysis.
- A special series for Democracy Digest, which was biweekly or the first part of the year with posts linked to the release of the Africa-wide findings in the 13th Round of the Afrobarometer survey, particularly concerning the role of sub-national data in poverty analysis.
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The series will continue through at least the first half of 2022.

- The Analysis Unit launched an “Infographic of the Week” series in November to disseminate timely topical findings to social media audiences.

- The unit continues to expand its “rapid response” outputs, identifying current events that AB data can speak to and developing news releases and/or infographics in collaboration with National Partners for quick release. Topics covered in rapid-response releases in 2021 include the decriminalization of same-sex relationships in Angola; kidnappings in Nigeria; gender-based violence in Ghana; Internet and social media restrictions in Nigeria; ECOMIG’s mandate in the Gambia; the coups in Mali, Guinea, and Sudan; Africans’ experiences of food shortages (as G20 ministers pledged to fight hunger); views on imprisoned former South African President Jacob Zuma; views on taxation in Kenya and Ghana (as the governments modified tax laws); Uganda’s elections; Gambians’ support for public access to government-held information; Zimbabweans’ support for a national dialogue and a coalition government; and climate change (ahead of a climate-change summit).

- The unit led production of several special articles, analyses, and blog posts, including a piece that launched the European Union Institute for Security Studies’ “Imagine Africa” series, an overview of democracy in Africa for the Journal of Democracy, and a paper on voluntary civic engagement published in the UN Volunteers Innovation Challenge anthology Measuring the Economic and Social Contributions of Volunteering.

Other 2021 highlights for the Analysis Unit included:

- Producing extensive initial analysis of AB Round 8 findings to support a busy schedule of invited presentations.

- Collaborating with the Surveys Unit and the Questionnaire Committee to develop the Round 9 questionnaire.

- Collaborating with the Surveys Unit on planning, questionnaire development, and analysis for telephone surveys in Namibia (AB’s first phone survey, a pilot), Benin (a supplemental survey on civic engagement, for United Nations Volunteers), and the Gambia (on policing, for GIZ).

- Coordinating the #VoicesAfrica webinar series, in collaboration with the Communications Team, on self-reliant development and free trade, youth, and China.
Capacity Building

Afrobarometer’s organizational structure formalizes capacity building as a pillar of the network’s mission with a separate Capacity Building Unit headed by a senior-level director.

In 2021, AB capacity building took important steps forward, including approval of a new capacity building strategy and funding agreements with the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and the Mastercard Foundation that contain significant capacity building components for 2022 and beyond. Gates Foundation funding will support capacity building to conduct AB surveys by phone, in addition to its standard face-to-face method, and to promote data use. MasterCard Foundation funding will help AB explore youth issues and priorities and strengthen capacities in quantitative analysis, survey methods, and other areas among young Africans.

One consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic is that we could not host in-person capacity-building activities in 2021, including our traditional English and French summer schools. Fellows were also provided with methodological training and guidance.

A three-week thematic seminar on “COVID-19, well-being, and democratic governance” provided eight early-career researchers from Africa with methodological training and exposure to Afrobarometer data. Distinguished guest speakers included Prof. Larry Diamond and Prof. George Ellison. Resulting manuscripts are currently under review.

A thematic seminar on “Conflict, violence, and democratic governance” introduced eight participants from across Africa to critical themes and research methods. Guest speakers included Prof. Joe Siegle and Prof. Freedom Onuha. Resulting manuscripts are currently under review.

AB continued its collaborative capstone project with the London School of Economics and Political Science. In 2021, AB published a working paper by four students analyzing sensitivity bias in AB surveys. The next group is examining the age and education profiles in Afrobarometer samples compared to official profiles, identifying discrepancies, identifying patterns across countries (if any), and exploring causes and possible solutions.

AB Hackathons at the University of California, Riverside, and Pepperdine University and a master class at Kent University on “Using Afrobarometer for

Still, we continued to register a number of successes in strengthening skills across the network and beyond, including:

Two intensive three-day seminars introduced 2021 World Bank Africa Fellows to Afrobarometer’s survey work and data and trained them in social survey research methods and survey design.

A follow-up workshop mentored a select group of 2021 World Bank Africa Fellows in how to generate advanced-stage manuscripts to address original research questions using Afrobarometer data.
research and teaching introduced students to two decades’ worth of data on what Africans think—all accessible via AB’s free online data analysis tool.

The Capacity Building Unit supported the Analysis Unit to train new team members in AB approaches to analysis and communications.

In collaboration with its National Partners, AB trained 322 fieldworkers for Round 8 (for a total of 1,226 for the round) and 175 fieldworkers for Round 9.

AB staff members participated in a virtual workshop designed to help them build their leadership and team-management capacities.

Throughout the year, AB staff continued to provide remote technical assistance and mentorship to national partners in survey design and implementation, data management and analysis, and communications.
Engagement

Yet it remains an abiding narrative of the year captured in this Annual Review. As in 2020, we’ve had to be quick, agile, and creative to not only survive but thrive. It’s a testament to my colleagues on the resource mobilization and communications teams and the leadership across Afrobarometer that we have made an uncertain year successful. In addition, I pay homage to the faith invested in us by our stakeholders and funders in continuing to see the value of our outputs and impact through their advocacy and philanthropy.

The unprecedented context in which we found ourselves did much to consolidate our fledgling team, forcing us to grow up fast to retain our competitiveness as organizations throughout the world scrambled to reinvent themselves.

We have been fortunate to have had the assumption in office of our new CEO during the year, as he understands both the grant-making and grant-seeking worlds, and instinctively knew what to do during these strange times. While as fundraisers we have not had the freedom to travel to meet funders, a series of meetings were arranged for the CEO and the board chair with funders and other stakeholders in the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere in Europe.

These face-to-face encounters not only allowed us to share our latest survey findings and analyses, but also helped advance the essential task – made difficult by the pandemic – of building relationships of trust.

Our fundraising office augmented these activities in a targeted way by concentrating on stewardship and donor relations. In addition, we responded to calls for proposals and prepared and submitted funding applications.

The results have vindicated this approach as we have exceeded targets for the year. We believe that the groundwork laid in 2021 will also bear significant fundraising dividends in the future.

My colleagues on the communications team also redoubled their efforts, concentrating all of their strategic communications activities into the electronic space. Our robust digital offering increased uptake of our many and varied collateral, both in printed and webinar format.

The new year will undoubtedly continue to be complicated by COVID-related challenges. Given the year that was, however, we believe that we have the experience and resilience to expand our resource mobilization and communications activities for the benefit of Africa’s people.
We are privileged to be working together with our funders and stakeholders to realize Afrobarometer’s vision: African societies thrive when African voices count in public policy and development. It is a noble pursuit, full of purpose and resonance, and one to which we deeply subscribe.
Collaborations and Partnerships

Building strategic partnerships with stakeholders and like-minded organizations is critical to Afrobarometer’s sustainability as well as its mission of making African voices heard.

While the COVID-19 pandemic hampered some outreach opportunities, the network continued to establish and deepen collaborative partnerships. The Global Go To Think Tank Index ranked Afrobarometer No. 5 Best Institutional Collaboration Involving Two or More Think Tanks.

AB signed a memorandum of understanding with the University of Pretoria to co-host the Afrobarometer Summer School, introduce Afrobarometer data and analysis to university faculties and other stakeholders, and co-develop training materials and tools to introduce students to the collection, analysis, and communication of public opinion data.

Through the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (an AB Core Partner), the network is partnering with Good Governance Africa on research to identify key insights and trends in inclusive economic growth, democratic development, security and stability, and other issues affecting the continent. The research draws on AB data as well as data housed within GGA’s Africa Digital Databank (ADD) and Conflict in Africa Monitor (CAM). Findings will be disseminated via public seminars, conferences, and related platforms.

AB participated in the European Union’s Policy Forum on Development to help inform the 2022-2027 EU Strategy with Africa ahead of the African Union-EU Summit in early 2022. The EU Strategy with Africa will be built on five partnerships, focusing on green transition and energy access, digital transformation, sustainable growth and jobs, peace and governance, and migration and mobility.

AB is partnering with the Continent, a newspaper written by journalists across Africa in partnership with the Mail & Guardian and distributed largely via WhatsApp, to provide a weekly “Data” series on topical issues affecting Africa.

AB is working with four African partner organizations to implement a four-year project funded by the European Union Delegation to the African Union (AU) to strengthen implementation of the African Governance Architecture (AGA) agenda for democracy, good governance, and human rights.
In partnership with the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Nairobi, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in South Africa, the Center for Democratic Development in Ghana, and the Democratic Governance and Rights Unit at the University of Cape Town (through its non-profit arm, Laws.Africa), Afrobarometer will collect and disseminate public opinion data on human rights and democratic governance, create an information clearinghouse, train civil society networks for effective advocacy, facilitate consultation and coalition-building, and conduct innovative campaigns to raise awareness about various AU normative acts and promote their implementation across Africa.

Collaboration with the Mo Ibrahim Foundation focused on expert analysis of COVID-19’s impact on health systems and the preparedness of African governments for such pandemics. The analyses were published in the foundation’s 2021 Forum Report “COVID-19 in Africa: One year on: Impact and prospects.”

AB’s collaboration with the London School of Economics and Political Science culminated in the publication of an AB working paper by four students analyzing sensitivity bias in AB surveys. The collaboration is continuing in 2022.

AB’s #VoicesAfrica webinar series continued to collaborate with experts from a wide variety of organizations, including the African Continental Free Trade Area (AICFTA), the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM), TechHer Nigeria, the Emerging Leaders Foundation, and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

Webinars to launch Afrobarometer SDG Scorecards for 31 countries featured participants from the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the African Centre for Statistics of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the Ghana Statistical Services, Education as a Vaccine in Nigeria, the Center for the Study of African Economies, the Afrifem Economics Collective, the Open Institute, Twaweza, Niyel, STATAFRIC, the Lesotho Council of NGOs, the University of Botswana, and other entities.

AB also continued its collaborations with:

- **Africa Portal**, a policy and research digital library that curates our publications. The portal is an initiative of the South African Institute of International Affairs and Wits University.

- **Code for Africa**, the continent’s largest civic technology, open data, and data journalism initiative, whose Hurumap is updated with AB data.

- **AU Commission’s Department of Political Affairs** and APRM by providing data and support for data analysis and collaborating on conferences and workshops.

- **Institute for Security Studies (ISS)** for data sharing on security issues.

- **Columbia University Press**, in a publishing partnership allowing AB work to be featured by Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO).

- **Center for Evaluation and Development (C4ED)**, in a strategic collaboration to provide scientific evidence to inform policy and development interventions in Africa.
Impact and Visibility

Afrobarometer data and analysis are used and showcased in the work of scores of government agencies, civil-society organizations, development partners, think tanks, media outlets, and academics across Africa and around the world.

Examples from 2021 include:

Global indicators

- Ibrahim Index of African Governance, highlighting Afrobarometer data in its new “Citizens’ Voices” section
- Economist Intelligence Unit’s Democracy Index
- World Bank Worldwide Governance Indicators
- Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) indicators on control of corruption, government effectiveness, and rule of law for its 2022 country scorecards
- AB indicators measuring progress toward 12 of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals are featured in new country-level Afrobarometer SDG Scorecards and will be integrated into the UNECA system of measurement.

Government response

- After AB reported that a majority of South Africans perceive corruption as increasing, President Cyril Ramaphosa’s office issued a press statement in which he acknowledged citizens’ “lived experiences,” cited his anti-corruption efforts, and pledged to pursue the fight.
- Namibian President Hage G. Geingob referenced AB findings in urging the country to intensify the fight against corruption.
- China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson discussed AB findings on China’s influence in Africa during a media briefing at the Eighth Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.
- The U.S. State Department cited AB in announcing Francis Ben Kaifala, head of Sierra Leone’s Anti-Corruption Commission, which has repeatedly highlighted AB findings on corruption, as one of its International Anticorruption Champions.
- Sierra Leone awarded Andrew Lavali of the Institute for Governance Reform, AB’s National Partner, its highest civilian honor, the Order of the Rokel, in recognition of his work “bringing high-quality citizen-driven evidence into national decision making” (also see story on Page 20).
- Public officials in Ghana frequently cite AB findings, including:
  - The Speaker of Parliament, in urging public education on the role of members of Parliament
  - The Minister of Sanitation and Water Resources, on improving access to water and toilets, during a minister’s press briefing
  - The Environmental and Sanitation Service Deputy Director, during a “Keep Ghana Clean” sanitation-awareness campaign event
  - The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, urging African governments to use AB data in policy making.
- Supreme Court Justice Gertrude Torkoroo, advocating a more robust national conversation on corruption.

**High-visibility outlets regularly feature AB’s work**

- AB’s policy brief on “The future Africans want” inaugurated the “Imagine Africa” series of the EU Institute for Security Studies.

- Our paper on voluntary civic engagement was published in a UN Volunteers Innovation Challenge anthology titled *Measuring the Economic and Social Contributions of Volunteering.*

- AB board chair E. Gyimah-Boadi’s “Institutional resources for overcoming Africa’s COVID-19 crisis and enhancing prospects for post-pandemic reconstruction” leads the “Good governance” section of the Brookings Africa Growth Initiative’s *Foresight Africa 2021.*

- The *Journal of Democracy* published AB’s article on “Africans’ durable demand for democracy.”

- Interviews, blog posts, panel discussions, etc., for:  
  - U.S. Institute of Peace  
  - African Studies Association  
  - Institut Montaigne  
  - MakersAfrica  
  - Task Force on U.S. Strategy to Support Democracy and Counter Authoritarianism  
  - Africa Europe Foundation  
  - Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI)  
  - UN-WIDER

- AB continued its series of analytic articles in the Washington Post Monkey Cage blog, as well as its series of “Data” pages in the Continent.

- 72 presentations to government, development, academic, and private-sector thought leaders throughout the world. A few examples: South Africa’s Presidency and Department of Health, the Lesotho Senate, the All Party Parliamentary Group in the UK, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (see photo), and staff of the U.S. National Security Council, the U.S. State Department, USAID, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

- New African named AB co-founder and Board Chair E. Gyimah-Boadi one of its “100 Most Influential Africans,” describing him as one of the continent’s “pre-eminent scholars of democracy and governance” whose “most lasting contribution will be his work to empower coming generations of African researchers and policymakers to make decisions based on data, not hunches, and to give African citizens a voice in public discourse.”

**External experts frequently highlight AB data**

- European Commission’s Joint Research Centre report on “Population exposure and migrations linked to climate change in Africa”

- European Parliament briefing paper on “State of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa: Democratic progress at risk”

- Former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright’s “The coming democratic revival” in *Foreign Affairs*

- *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* entry on “Political culture in Africa”

- Larry Diamond, a leading scholar in the field of democracy studies, joined AB’s International Advisory Council (see details on Page 14).

**Media and social media**

- 3,200 articles in news media outlets throughout the world, ranging from the Economist, the New York Times, CNN, Africa Report, and Jeune Afrique to local newspapers all across Africa.

- 2.67 million impressions, 70,785 engagements, and 7,205 post-link clicks on social media. Our audience on social media totals 41,434 (Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, and Instagram).
Financials

In 2021, Afrobarometer continued to enjoy consistent support, as we have for the past 22 years, from funders who find our work a worthwhile investment in Africa’s future.

Building on our successful migration in 2020 of all partner/funder agreements and cash balances from CDD-Ghana to the new Afrobarometer legal entity, AB aims to be a resilient and responsive organization with robust corporate governance and risk-management arrangements. As Afrobarometer grows in continental coverage and impact, effective stewardship of the resources entrusted to us will remain a top priority.

While fundraising activities are significantly curtailed because of the COVID-19 pandemic, we have kept in close contact with our benefactors and managed to receive all planned inflows. Our major partners – Sweden, the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, and the U.S. Institute of Peace/U.S. Agency for International Development – remained constant in their support. We also received new grants, including US$500,000 in Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) funding for work focusing on human security, a US$1.5 million grant from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to develop AB’s capacity in rapid-response phone surveys, and a Mastercard Foundation grant of US$2.9 million over three years to cover youth capacity strengthening in core research and quantitative analysis.

Many of AB’s supporters have been with us from the start and have remained steadfast through exhilarating and challenging years of rapid growth. AB’s bedrock has been a core set of funders who have provided resources that support the entire budget of the institution, covering data collection and analysis, capacity building, engagement and communication, and general administration and governance. Historically, such funding has come primarily from multilateral and bilateral sources, including Sweden via the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), USIP/USAID, the UK’s Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office (previously the Department for International Development), the World Bank Group, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). These core funders have enabled AB to build a sustainable organization with the ability to strengthen capacities in a network of partners and individuals across the continent.

Foundations such as the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Open Society Foundations with its various regional offices in Africa (OSIWA, OSIEA, OSISA, and Africa Regional Office), the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation have generously provided support when it was most needed.

AB is expanding and diversifying our sources of funding, adding support from JICA, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the European Union Delegation to the African Union, the Mastercard Foundation, and GIZ. This trend of increasing project funding extends the impact of our work in specific thematic areas. The evidence that AB generates is of keen interest to many stakeholders, sustaining collaborations to carry out further research and analysis during targeted engagement.

The growth in project funding is a welcome phenomenon, and we encourage collaborations that promote shared values and objectives.

### 6-year budget performance

(in millions U.S.$)

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<th>Year</th>
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WITH THANKS

Afrobarometer expresses its sincere gratitude to all of its friends, partners, benefactors, and funders for their support.