SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa is estimated to have decelerated to 1.5 percent in 2016, the lowest level in over two decades, as commodity exporters adjust to low commodity prices. Regional GDP per capita contracted by 1.1 percent. South Africa and oil exporters account for most of the slowdown, while activity in non-resource intensive countries—agricultural exporters and commodity importers—generally remained robust. Commodity prices are expected to stabilize, but stay well below their levels of 2011, and fiscal adjustment needs remain large. Growth in the region is forecast to rebound to 2.9 percent in 2017, and rise above 3.5 percent by 2018, as policies in oil exporters continue to adjust. Risks to the outlook are tilted to the downside. They include heightened policy uncertainty in the United States and Europe, slower improvements in commodity prices, and tighter global financing conditions. Domestically, policy makers may not enact the reforms needed to rebuild fiscal buffers. Addressing fiscal vulnerabilities, and bolstering per capita growth remain key policy challenges across the region.

Recent developments

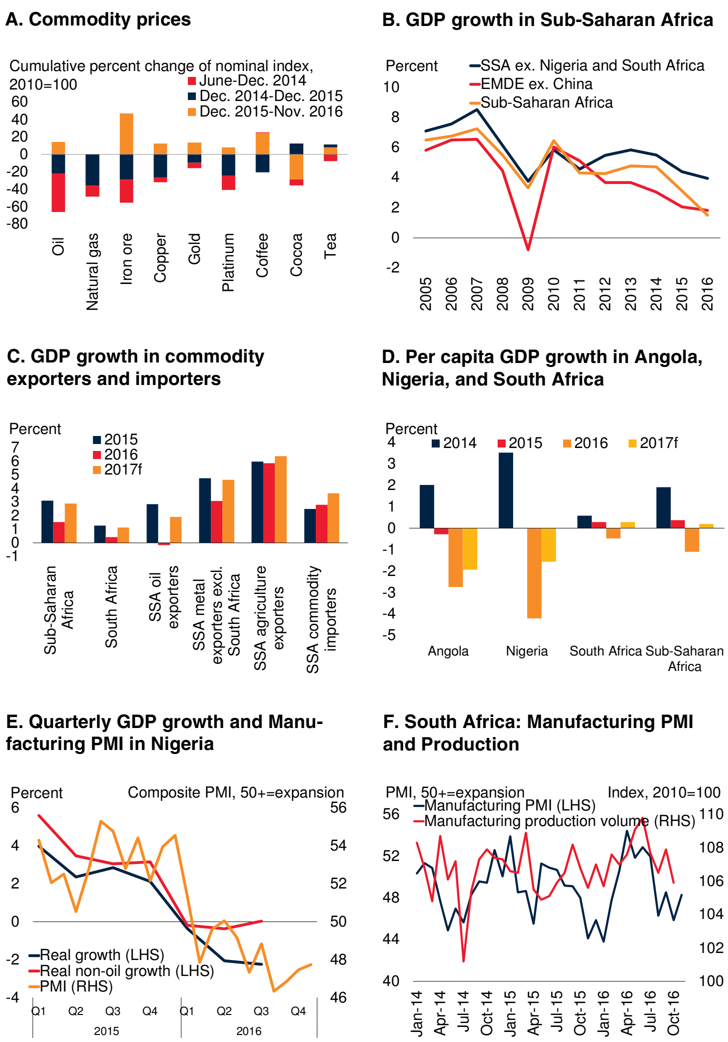
After falling to 3.1 percent in 2015, growth in Sub-Saharan Africa is estimated to have slowed further, to 1.5 percent in 2016 (Table 2.6.1), its worst performance since 1994. As a result, regional per capita GDP is estimated to have contracted by 1.1 percent in 2016, following growth of 0.4 percent in 2015. Low commodity prices, weak external demand, drought, and security problems continued to take a toll on activity in the region. Crude oil prices averaged $43 per barrel in 2016, down 15 percent from 2015. Metal prices rose, but were on average 11 percent lower than in 2015. Agricultural prices remained weak. In addition to the terms of trade deterioration, capital inflows fell. Compounding these adverse external developments, several countries were subject to negative domestic shocks. El Niño-related drought caused sharp falls in agricultural production in eastern and southern areas (Ethiopia, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda), and cutbacks in hydro-electricity generation (South Africa, Zambia). The security situation deteriorated notably in Nigeria, with militants' attacks on oil pipelines, and in South Sudan.

The weakness in activity was particularly marked in South Africa and oil exporters, which account for two-thirds of regional output (Figure 2.6.1). In South Africa, growth slowed to 0.4 percent in 2016, reflecting the effects of low commodity prices and heightened governance concerns. Growth among oil exporters fell sharply to -0.2 percent in 2016 from 2.9 percent in 2015, with Angola and Nigeria, the region's two largest oil exporters, continuing to face severe economic and financial strains. In both countries, the low oil price was compounded by a decline in oil production—due to pipeline attacks in Nigeria, and a fall in investment in Angola. Domestic demand weakened as low commodity revenues forced deep cuts in public spending. In Nigeria, salary arrears further constrained household spending. Foreign exchange shortages, coupled with intermittent power outages, weighed heavily on the manufacturing sector. Reflecting the broad weakness in its economy, Nigeria's GDP contracted by 1.7 percent in 2016. In Angola, growth slowed to 0.4 percent. In Angola, Nigeria, and South Africa, per capita growth was negative

Note: This section was prepared by Gerard Kambou, with contributions from Yirbehogre Some. Research assistance was provided by Xinghao Gong.

FIGURE 2.6.1 Growth

GDP growth in Sub-Saharan Africa slowed from 3.1 in 2015 to an estimated 1.5 percent in 2016, driven by low commodity prices and domestic shocks. The slowdown was particularly marked in South Africa and oil exporters; in contrast, growth in agricultural exporters and commodity importers remained solid.



Sources: Haver Analytics, Nigeria National Bureau of Statistics, Statistics South Africa, World Bank.
B. EMDE = emerging market and developing economies. E.F. PMI = Purchasing Managers' Index.
SSA = Sub-Saharan Africa.

in 2016. Other oil exporters were also severely affected by low oil prices, with Chad falling into recession. However, growth was robust in Cameroon and the Republic of Congo, as public investment and oil production remained high.

Other commodity exporters—particularly metals exporters—struggled to adjust to low commodity prices. Growth slowed appreciably in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mozambique. The discovery of undisclosed information on government debt led to a deterioration in investor sentiment in Mozambique. Post-Ebola recovery in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone was hampered by the low price for iron ore, their main export.

By contrast, many agricultural exporters—Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal in West Africa, Ethiopia and Rwanda in East Africa—continued to grow at a pace of 6 percent or more (Table 2.6.2). Growth in these countries reflected strong public infrastructure investment and buoyant private consumption as they continued to benefit from low oil prices. These trends were at play in the CFA franc zone[1], where growth has been resilient. Among other agricultural exporters, growth slowed in Malawi and Uganda partly due to drought, and was weak in politically fragile countries (Burundi, The Gambia).

Growth in commodity importers was steady. A rebound in Cabo Verde and steady growth in Mauritius offset a slowdown in the Seychelles and Swaziland. Growth increased in Cabo Verde on account of tourism, foreign investment, and improved domestic demand. A slowdown in construction weighed on growth in the Seychelles. Persistent electricity shortages and political instability constrained activity in the Comoros. Growth was low in Lesotho and negative in Swaziland, reflecting the effects of drought and spillovers from a slowdown in South Africa.

In countries where growth faltered, credit to the private sector slowed and employment fell. Activity in financial institutions contracted and non-performing loans rose. In South Africa, credit to households contracted in real terms. Credit to the corporate sector was more resilient, but below its recent peaks. Credit to the private sector also contracted in oil exporters such as Angola and Nigeria, as well as among other commodity exporters such as Mozambique. The unemployment rate increased from 25 percent in 2015 to 27 percent in 2016 in South Africa. In Nigeria, the unemployment rate reached 13.9

[1]The CFA franc zone is an umbrella agreement between France and two monetary unions: the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU). Both unions peg their currencies to the euro at the same level.

percent in the third quarter, up from 10.4 percent in the fourth quarter of 2015.

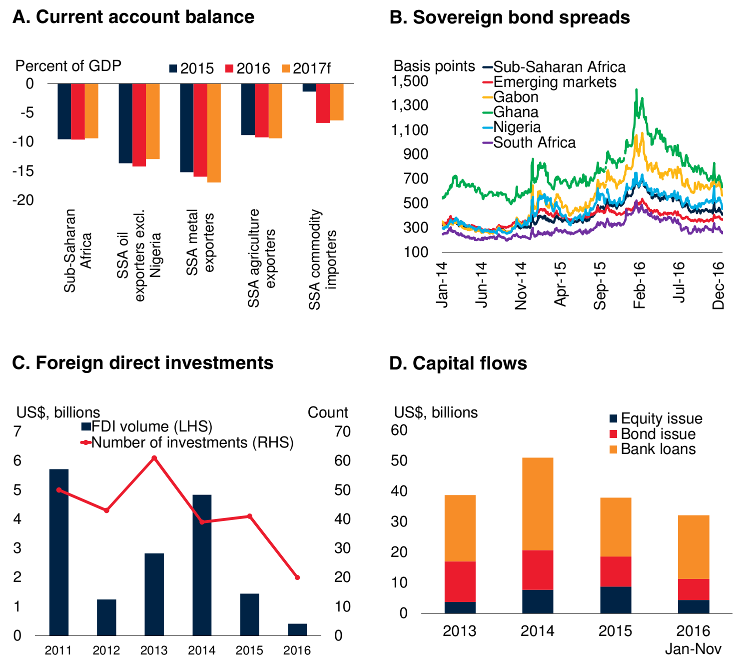
Current account deficits and financing

Current account deficits remained very high across much of the region in 2016 (Figure 2.6.2). In South Africa, the current account deficit stayed wide, at more than 3.5 percent of GDP, on account of a slowdown in export growth and a negative income balance. In oil exporters, the current account deficit edged higher. However, in a number of countries, including Angola, Chad, Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria, the growth slowdown led to a fall in imports that more than offset the decline in oil exports. Among metals exporters, the current account deficit remained high (Mozambique, Namibia) or even widened (Niger, Zambia), despite contractions in imports. In agricultural exporters, the current account deficit was stable as strong demand for capital goods imports was offset by the gains from low oil prices. Nonetheless, several countries (Malawi, Rwanda, and Togo) saw their current account deficits widen, as the trade balance deteriorated sharply. Current account deficits deteriorated markedly among commodity importers, reflecting a surge in capital goods imports in Cabo Verde and the Comoros as investment spending increased.

Capital flows to the region declined. FDI fell sharply, reflecting low commodity prices and, in some cases (Nigeria, Mozambique), weakening investor confidence. Equity inflows also decreased. The United Kingdom's vote to leave the European Union set off a bout of turbulence in South Africa's stock market. Cross-border bank lending moderated due to weak trade growth. Sovereign bond issuance slowed markedly, as weak investor demand led potential borrowers (Angola, Nigeria) to delay new issues. Only South Africa and Ghana tapped the international bond market in 2016. After a spike at the start of the year, sovereign bond spreads in the region fell, reflecting reduced financial market volatility. However, following the U.S. elections, sovereign spreads rose notably, suggesting a tightening of financing conditions. Remittance flows, an important source of financing for many countries (Nigeria, Liberia,

FIGURE 2.6.2 External developments

Current account deficits remain very high in most commodity exporters. They are relatively low in commodity importers despite strong capital goods imports. Sovereign bond spreads fell—in common with other EMDEs—but rose following the U.S. elections. Capital inflows, particularly FDI and bond issuances, decreased.



Sources: Haver Analytics, JP Morgan, World Bank.
A. Aggregates exclude Liberia and Sierra Leone due to data unavailability. SSA = Sub-Saharan Africa.
B. Last observation is December 15, 2016.

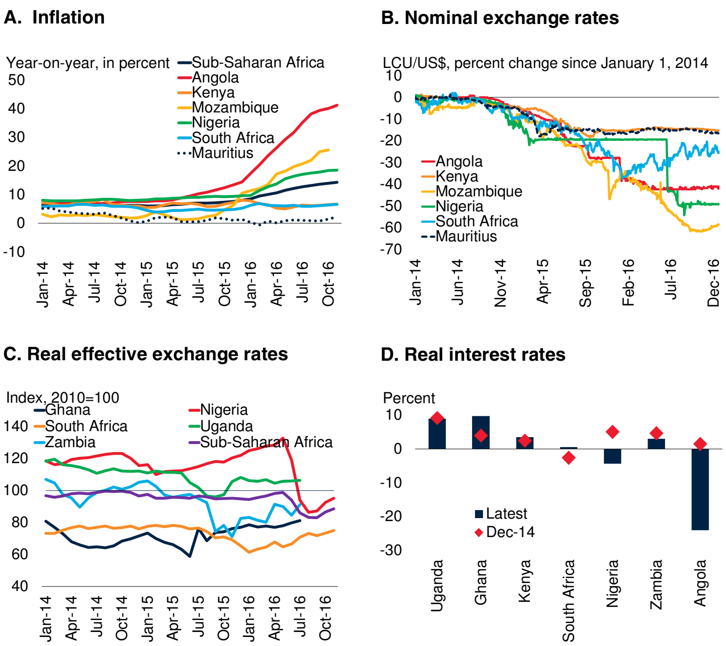
The Gambia, and the Comoros), declined as growth in source countries remained subdued.

Exchange rates, foreign reserves and inflation

The high current account deficits and falling capital inflows put pressure on exchange rates and reserves. Currencies in the region continued to exhibit a wide divergence in performance (Figure 2.6.3). The South African rand rebounded in the second quarter of 2016 on the back of an increase in commodity prices, but began to fall again on expectations of tightening U.S. monetary policy, and as political uncertainty increased. The rand strengthened in the fourth quarter, after S&P Global Ratings affirmed South Africa's investment grade credit rating. The currencies of Angola and Nigeria weakened substantially against the U.S. dollar. The Nigerian naira fell by 40 percent after

FIGURE 2.6.3 Inflation and exchange rates

Regional inflation rose to double-digit levels in 2016. A common factor was rising food prices due to drought. Currency depreciations were a factor in a number of large commodity exporters. While higher inflation often triggered tighter monetary policy, real interest rates remain negative in some countries. Although most currencies depreciated in real effective terms, inflation in commodity importers generally remained low.



Sources: Bloomberg, Haver Analytics, World Bank.
A. Last observation is November 2016.
B. Last observation is December 21, 2016.
C. Last observation is November 2016.
D. Real interest rates are calculated as policy interest rates minus year-on-year inflation. Latest indicates November 2016 data.

the Central Bank of Nigeria abandoned the peg in June 2016; and it continued to face downward pressures, reflected in the large wedge between the official and parallel market rates. In other commodity exporters, the Mozambican metical depreciated by more than 50 percent against the U.S. dollar, on account of falling capital inflows. Currency depreciation in real effective terms has been relatively muted, partly reflecting a recovery in commodity prices and a partial adjustment of the exchange rate in some countries. Among oil exporters in the CEMAC, the depreciation in effective terms has been limited, due to the peg to the euro (IMF 2016r). Pressures on exchange rates were partly met with reserve drawdowns, especially among oil-exporters. International reserves, in months of imports of goods and services, fell by more than 17 percent in Angola and Nigeria. Reserves also declined in metals exporters, including by over 30 percent in Mozambique and Namibia, compared to 2015. By contrast, the currencies of agricultural exporters and commodity importers were broadly stable.

Deep currency depreciations, coupled with rising food prices due to drought, pushed inflation into double digits (on average) in 2016. Headline inflation accelerated to 41.1 percent (y/y) in Angola, and was above 15 percent in Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique, and Nigeria. Inflation remained above the central bank target range in South Africa, at 6.6 percent (y/y). Higher food costs contributed to inflation in Malawi, Mozambique, and South Africa. The surge in inflation weighed on private consumption, and forced central banks to tighten policy. However, in several commodity exporters (Angola, Nigeria), real interest rates have remained negative, suggesting that further policy tightening may be necessary to anchor inflation expectations, and to relieve pressure on their currencies. Meanwhile, currency stability helped keep inflation within the central bank target range in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Inflation stayed low in CFA franc zone countries, reflecting the peg to the Euro, and among commodity importers owing to falling oil prices. In these countries, interest rates were cut (Kenya, Mauritius, and Uganda), or kept low (WAEMU).[2]

Fiscal positions

Government finances remained under pressure across the region in 2016 (Figure 2.6.4). Modest improvements in oil and metals exporters were offset by widening fiscal deficits in agricultural exporters and commodity importers. In South Africa, weaker-than-expected revenues and additional expenditure demands resulted in higher budget deficits than projected. The fiscal deficit rose in Nigeria; deficits in other oil exporters eased but stayed high. In many of these countries, the fiscal consolidation efforts that began in 2015 slowed in 2016. Expenditures rose in Cameroon and remained broadly unchanged in Gabon. Fiscal consolidation did, however, help to reduce the fiscal deficit in commodity exporters, such as

[2]WAEMU countries are: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

Ghana, where the government is implementing an economic stabilization program. Among agricultural exporters, deficits remained high (Kenya, Togo), or widened (Ethiopia, Uganda) as robust growth encouraged higher expenditures. Fiscal balances improved in some countries (Benin, Senegal), helped by a slowdown in government spending. In commodity importers, the fiscal deficit deteriorated in Lesotho on account of a decline in Southern African Customs Union transfers. The Seychelles' fiscal surplus narrowed significantly, despite an increase in revenue, as recurrent spending accelerated.

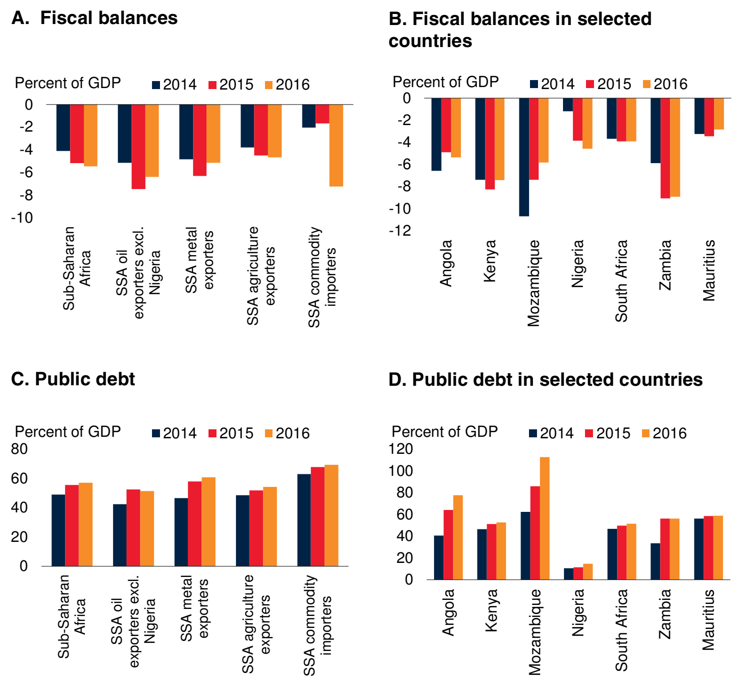
There are wide variations across countries in the level and growth of government debt. In South Africa, gross government debt continued to rise, exceeding 50 percent of GDP. Excluding Nigeria, where debt ratios are still low, government debt in oil exporters stabilized in 2016. In this group, the largest rise in government debt relative to GDP was in Angola, reflecting the slower pace of fiscal adjustment. Among metals exporters, the government debt/GDP ratio jumped to over 110 percent in Mozambique, reflecting larger government guarantees on state-owned-enterprise debt. Angola and Mozambique saw their sovereign credit ratings cut on concerns about debt sustainability. By contrast, in Ghana, government debt declined, owing to its fiscal consolidation efforts. Among agricultural exporters, government debt rose in Ethiopia, due to borrowing to finance an ambitious infrastructure program, and in some fragile countries (Burundi, The Gambia). The latter continued to resort to central bank advances and the issuance of treasury bills to finance persistently high fiscal deficits. Among commodity importers, government debt remained high in Cabo Verde at 119 percent of GDP, constraining fiscal options. Partly due to the appreciation in the U.S. dollar, high debt levels indicate greater debt risks.

Outlook

Real GDP in Sub-Saharan Africa is forecast to grow by 2.9 percent in 2017, barely above population growth, and by 3.6 percent in 2018 (Figure 2.6.5). The recovery is moderate because the region continues to adjust to lower commodity prices. Although rising through the medium term, commodity prices will remain well below their post-global-crisis averages. Growth rates will continue to vary widely across the region, with growth in South Africa and oil exporters weaker than in metals exporters, and growth in non-intensive resource countries remaining robust.

FIGURE 2.6.4 Fiscal developments

Fiscal deficits generally remained at elevated levels in 2016. While oil and metals exporters made modest improvements, agricultural exporters and commodity importers saw a deterioration, reflecting strong infrastructure spending and other expenditures. As a result, government debt continued to rise in the region as a whole, with particularly large increases in Angola, and Mozambique.

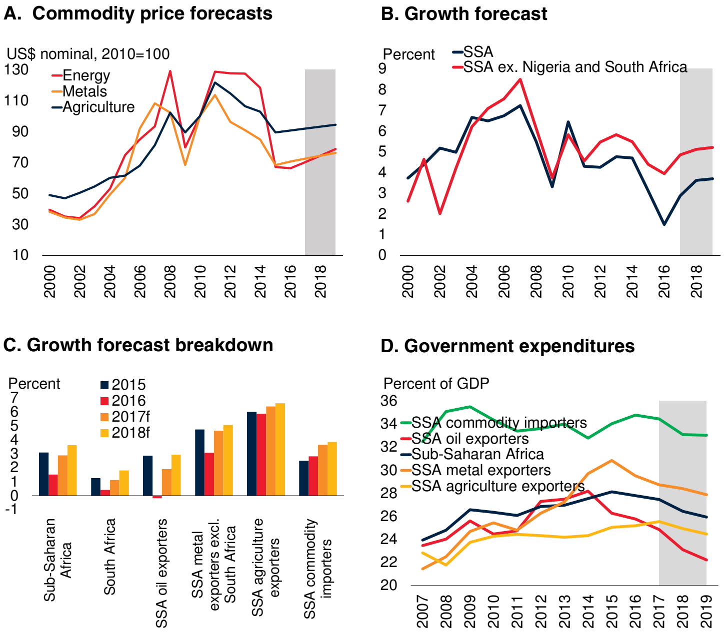


Sources: International Monetary Fund, World Bank.
A.C. Simple average of fiscal balance and public debt.

Private consumption growth in South Africa and oil exporters is expected to improve only gradually. In South Africa, inflationary pressures and high unemployment will weigh on consumer spending. In Nigeria, ongoing exchange rate adjustment, coupled with the gradual improvement in oil prices, will provide a modest boost to domestic revenues. This, in turn, should help the federal and state governments meet some of their financial obligations, including the clearance of salary arrears. Meanwhile, stable currencies, lower inflation, and improved agricultural production should support robust

FIGURE 2.6.5 Outlook for economic growth

Regional GDP growth is expected to pick up modestly to 2.9 percent in 2017 and 3.6 percent in 2018. The recovery in South Africa and commodity exporters will be constrained by continued adjustment to lower commodity prices. In contrast, growth in non-resource intensive countries is expected to remain robust, driven in part by public infrastructure investment.



Source: World Bank.
Notes: Non-resource intensive countries include agricultural exporters and commodity importers. The shaded area represents forecasts.

consumer spending in agricultural exporters and commodity importers.

Investment growth is expected to remain subdued (Box 2.6.1, Chapter 3). The move toward looser monetary policy in some advanced economies and improvements in commodity prices have helped bolster the trade-weighted exchange value of the South African rand. This has tempered import price pressures in South Africa, and led the Reserve Bank to hold interest rates steady. Meanwhile, investments in electricity generation capacity have reduced power outages. However, policy uncertainty and low business confidence continue to weigh on activity. In Nigeria, the gradual stabilization of oil prices and an increase in oil production will help support a modest recovery. Policy reforms are helping to improve the environment for private investment. Fuel shortages have eased following an increase in prices. Policy tightening should help stabilize the naira, and encourage a return of international investment. In Angola, high inflation and tight policy will continue to weigh on domestic demand.

In other mineral exporters, the outlook is broadly favorable. In Ghana, improving fiscal and external positions should help boost investor confidence. Post-Ebola recovery is expected to continue in Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, as rising commodity prices boost investment and exports. In Mozambique, recent progress in developing the nascent energy sector will help boost investment in gas production.

In agricultural exporters (Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Senegal, and Tanzania), large infrastructure development programs will continue to support robust growth. To finance these programs, their governments continue to draw on public-private partnerships (Côte d'Ivoire, Rwanda), donor aid (Rwanda), and Chinese entities (Ethiopia, Tanzania). However, political fragility will exert a drag on growth in countries such as Burundi and The Gambia.

Among commodity importers, Cabo Verde, Mauritius, and the Seychelles are expected to expand at a moderate pace, as heightened uncertainty in Europe, their main export market, weighs on tourism, investment, and trade flows. Regional trade and infrastructure investment will help support a gradual increase in growth in Lesotho and Swaziland. Electricity shortages and weak investment will continue to affect growth in the Comoros.

The outlook assumes that fiscal positions will gradually improve, as commodity exporters continue to adjust. In South Africa, the 2017/18 budget includes a mix of tax increases and spending curbs aimed at sustaining fiscal consolidation. However, weak growth and a difficult political environment may slow its pace. Nigeria's shift to a more flexible exchange rate is expected to boost government revenue, while the phasing out of fuel subsidies should help contain current expenditures. Nonetheless, the government's plans to ramp up public investment to support the economy, if passed, will weigh on fiscal balances. Similarly, election related-spending will likely keep fiscal deficits elevated in various countries (Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya).

Weak net exports and terms of trade will continue to exert a drag on the region. Demand from advanced economies is expected to remain subdued, given their moderate prospects for growth. Private consumption and infrastructure investment spending will keep imports high in countries across the region. By 2019, however, the drag on growth should ease gradually as commodity prices rise, and import growth slows on the back of maturing investment projects.

Risks

Risks to the outlook remain heavily tilted to the downside (Figure 2.6.6). On the external front:

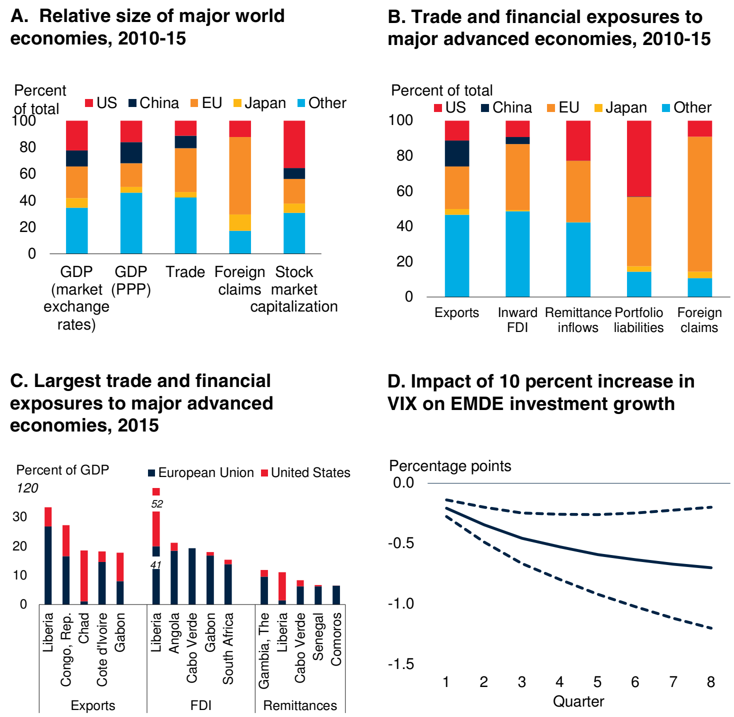
- Heightened policy uncertainty in the United States and Europe could lead to volatility in financial markets and higher borrowing costs, or even trigger a cut-off in capital flows to emerging and frontier markets. The environment of low yields in advanced economies has led to a surge of capital flows into Sub-Saharan Africa in recent years. This has created vulnerabilities for the region, in that a cut-off or reversal of such flows would likely hit hard the more heavily traded currencies, such as the South African rand. Many smaller economies are already unable to access international debt markets.

- A sharper-than-expected slowdown in China could weigh on demand for export commodities and undermine their prices. Slower-than-expected improvements in commodity prices would put more strain on fiscal and current account balances, forcing deeper expenditure cuts that could weaken the recovery and infrastructure investment that is vital for long-term growth.

On the domestic front, the main risk is that policy makers might fail to adjust to an environment with low commodity prices and weak global demand. With commodity prices remaining low, sustained measures are needed to contain fiscal deficits and rebuild buffers. In some countries, however, political pressures may prompt the adoption of haphazard populist policies, or lead to protracted legal and political stress, hampering fiscal adjustment. In others, a further deterioration of security conditions could put additional strains on public finances. In the absence of sound, forward-looking budget management, high growth of borrowing requirements will pose major risks of economic instability, and impair the long-run welfare of the population.

FIGURE 2.6.6 Risks of uncertainty in major advanced economies

Downside risks to the baseline forecasts have increased since June, reflecting heightened policy uncertainty in the United States and Europe, two major trading partners for countries in the region. A confidence shock in major advanced economies could further dent regional investment growth, which is already below the long-term average.



Sources: Bank for International Settlements (BIS), Haver Analytics, International Monetary Fund, World Bank.
A.B. Trade (A) includes both exports and imports. Exports (B) includes goods exports only. Foreign claims refer to total claims of BIS-reporting banks on foreign banks and nonbanks. Stock market capitalization is the market value of all publicly-traded shares. "US" stands for United States; "EU" stands for European Union. FDI data only available up to 2014.
C. Goods exports to the United States/Euro Area, remittances from the United States/Euro Area, and FDI from the United States/Euro Area (all in percent of GDP). Chart shows only the countries with the largest exposures to the United States and Euro Area.
D. Cumulative responses of EMDE investment to a 10 percent increase in the VIX. Solid lines indicate the median response and the dotted lines indicate 16-84 percent confidence intervals. Vector auto regressions are estimated with sample for 1998Q1-2016Q2. The model includes, in this order, the VIX, MSCI Emerging Markets Index (MXEM), J.P.Morgan Emerging Markets Bond Index (EMBIG), aggregate real output and investment growth in 18 EMDEs with G7 real GDP growth, U.S. 10-year bond yields, and MSCI World Index as exogenous regressors and estimated with two lags.

Policy challenges

The sustained decline in commodity prices has dealt a major setback to the region, threatening recent progress on poverty and revealing sizable macroeconomic imbalances in some countries. Regional per capita output contracted in 2016, with growth and employment slowing sharply in the large commodity exporters. A significant number of Sub-Saharan Africa's poor live in countries where per capita income growth was negative in 2016. Unless growth is restored, poverty rates will rise. This implies a dual challenge: developing new sources of growth while ensuring macroeconomic stability.

Improvements in agricultural sectors. About two-thirds of the poor in the region live in rural households, for which agriculture is the dominant source of income and food security. Expansion of smallholder agricultural output growth is therefore essential for balanced income growth (World Bank 2016y). For many countries in the region, raising productivity growth in smallholder agriculture, and making smallholder farmers competitive, are central to improving the lives of the people (de Janvry and Sadoulet 2012).

Although agricultural output growth in Sub-Saharan Africa has improved over the last two decades, it has largely been the result of expanding the area under cultivation rather than productivity gains, which have remained limited. Unleashing productivity improvements will require significant public investments in rural public goods to strengthen markets, and to develop and disseminate improved technologies. While progress has been made in these areas, investment in agriculture R&D remains insufficient. Governments will need international support to finance these investments. To make smallholder farmers more competitive, governments need to take steps to improve the business environment. Attention is particularly needed on upgrading power and trade logistics infrastructure, strengthening the skills base, and expanding markets through deeper regional integration (World Bank 2013b).

Countries in the region will also need to attract FDI to help develop agro-businesses with capital and skills that can be integrated into global value chains. Countries that have made the largest strides into global value chains – Ethiopia, Kenya, and South Africa – have benefitted from this integration (Allard et al. 2016).

Macroeconomic stability. Governments need to rebuild their policy buffers. Adjustment to low commodity revenues has started in some countries; however, it has relied on measures such as reserve drawdowns or deep cuts in capital expenditures. More sustainable sources of revenue are needed, including better tax collection. Tax collection has been held back by limited data on potential taxpayers, ineffective tracking tools, gaps in capabilities and resources, and complex tax processes. Appropriate measures to improve tax collection vary across countries. Oil exporters, such as Angola and Nigeria, need to diversify their tax sources, upgrade IT infrastructure, and ensure compliance. For smaller economies, standardizing and simplifying internal processes, and improving collection procedures, will help boost revenues (McKinsey Global Institute 2016).

Fiscal adjustment through reduced and more efficient government expenditure is also critical. This implies rationalizing current expenditures, and improving the quality of public investment through more effective financial management. Within a credible medium-term framework, expenditure should be maintained on health and education, to promote learning and build human capital (Romer 2016), and on investment in strategic infrastructure (Box 2.6.1, Chapter 3). Such a public expenditure program should form part of a broader strategy to make the most of the promising economic potential of the young and growing population in the region (Bloom et al. 2016).

TABLE 2.6.1 Sub-Saharan Africa forecast summary

(Real GDP growth at market prices in percent, unless indicated otherwise)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2015	2016	2017	2018
			Estimates	Projections			(percentage point difference from June 2016 projections)			
EMDE SSA, GDP[a]	**4.7**	**3.1**	**1.5**	**2.9**	**3.6**	**3.7**	**0.1**	**-1.0**	**-1.0**	**-0.7**
(Average including countries with full national accounts and balance of payments data only)[b]										
EMDE SSA, GDP[b]	4.7	3.1	1.5	2.9	3.6	3.7	0.1	-1.0	-1.0	-0.7
GDP per capita (U.S. dollars)	1.9	0.4	-1.1	0.2	1.0	1.1	0.1	-1.0	-1.0	-0.7
PPP GDP	5.0	3.3	1.7	3.1	3.9	4.0	0.1	-1.1	-1.1	-0.7
Private consumption[c]	2.9	2.4	1.5	2.9	3.4	3.4	-0.4	-1.0	-0.7	-0.5
Public consumption	2.2	1.7	2.1	2.7	3.0	3.0	-1.9	-0.9	-0.5	-0.6
Fixed investment	9.4	5.1	3.3	5.4	7.0	7.1	-0.8	-1.8	-1.4	0.1
Exports, GNFS[d]	6.3	2.2	1.5	2.0	2.6	2.6	0.7	-0.3	-0.3	-0.2
Imports, GNFS[d]	3.0	1.4	2.3	3.1	3.7	3.8	-1.9	-1.0	-0.3	0.2
Net exports, contribution to growth	0.9	0.2	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	0.8	0.2	0.0	-0.1
Memo items: GDP										
SSA excluding South Africa	5.8	3.7	1.8	3.5	4.2	4.3	0.1	-1.4	-1.3	-0.9
Oil exporters[e]	5.6	2.9	-0.2	1.9	2.9	3.0	0.2	-1.9	-1.9	-1.3
CFA countries[f]	5.7	4.3	4.3	4.8	5.3	5.5	0.3	-1.0	-0.5	-0.4
South Africa	1.6	1.3	0.4	1.1	1.8	1.8	0.0	-0.2	0.0	-0.2
Nigeria	6.3	2.7	-1.7	1.0	2.5	2.5	0.0	-2.5	-2.5	-1.5
Angola	5.4	3.0	0.4	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.2	-0.5	-1.9	-2.5

Source: World Bank.
World Bank forecasts are frequently updated based on new information and changing (global) circumstances. Consequently, projections presented here may differ from those contained in other Bank documents, even if basic assessments of countries' prospects do not differ at any given moment in time.
a. EMDE refers to emerging market and developing economy. GDP at market prices and expenditure components are measured in constant 2010 U.S. dollars. Excludes Central African Republic, São Tomé and Príncipe, Somalia, and South Sudan.
b. Sub-region aggregate excludes Central African Republic, São Tomé and Príncipe, Somalia, and South Sudan, for which data limitations prevent the forecasting of GDP components.
c. The sudden surge in private consumption in the region in 2013 is driven by the revised and rebased NIA data of Nigeria in 2014.
d. Exports and imports of goods and non-factor services (GNFS).
e. Includes Angola, Cameroon, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Nigeria, Republic of Congo, and Sudan.
f. Includes Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Mali, Niger, Republic of Congo, Senegal, and Togo.
For additional information, please see www.worldbank.org/gep.

TABLE 2.6.2 Sub-Saharan Africa country forecasts[a]

(Real GDP growth at market prices in percent, unless indicated otherwise)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2015	2016	2017	2018
			Estimates	Projections			(percentage point difference from June 2016 projections)			
Angola	5.4	3.0	0.4	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.2	-0.5	-1.9	-2.5
Benin	6.5	5.0	4.6	5.2	5.3	5.3	-0.2	-0.9	-0.6	-0.8
Botswana[b]	3.2	-0.3	3.1	4.0	4.3	4.3	0.0	-0.6	-0.3	-0.1
Burkina Faso	4.0	4.0	5.2	5.5	6.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Burundi	4.7	-3.9	-0.5	2.5	3.5	3.5	-1.4	-3.5	-1.0	-0.5
Cabo Verde	1.8	1.5	3.0	3.3	3.5	3.5	0.5	1.5	1.4	1.3
Cameroon	5.9	5.8	5.6	5.7	6.1	6.1	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.1
Chad	6.9	1.8	-3.5	-0.3	4.7	6.3	0.0	-3.1	-1.9	-0.5
Comoros	2.1	1.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	-1.3	-0.4	-0.5	-0.1
Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.5	6.9	2.7	4.7	5.0	5.0	-0.8	-3.6	-3.0	-3.5
Congo, Rep.	6.8	2.6	4.6	4.3	3.7	3.7	0.0	0.8	1.1	0.7
Côte d'Ivoire	8.5	8.4	7.8	8.0	8.1	8.1	0.0	-0.7	0.0	0.0
Equatorial Guinea	-0.7	-8.3	-5.7	-5.7	-6.6	-6.6	7.2	-7.2	-4.7	-5.0
Ethiopia[b]	10.3	9.6	8.4	8.9	8.6	8.6	0.0	1.3	-0.5	0.0
Gabon	4.3	3.9	3.2	3.8	4.6	4.6	-0.1	-0.7	-0.6	0.0
Gambia, The	0.9	4.7	0.5	0.8	2.6	2.6	7.2	4.5	-3.7	-2.9
Ghana	4.0	3.9	3.6	7.5	8.4	8.4	0.5	-1.6	-0.7	0.9
Guinea	1.1	0.1	5.2	4.6	4.6	4.6	0.0	1.2	-0.4	-1.4
Guinea-Bissau	2.5	4.9	4.9	5.1	5.1	5.1	-0.2	-0.8	-0.9	-0.9
Kenya	5.3	5.6	5.9	6.0	6.1	6.1	0.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.1
Lesotho	3.6	1.7	2.4	3.7	4.0	4.0	-1.0	-0.2	0.0	0.0
Liberia	0.7	0.0	2.5	5.8	5.3	5.3	-0.3	-1.3	0.5	-0.3
Madagascar	3.3	3.1	4.1	4.5	4.8	4.8	0.1	0.4	0.8	1.1
Malawi	5.7	2.8	2.5	4.2	4.5	4.5	0.0	-0.5	0.1	-0.9
Mali	7.0	6.0	5.6	5.1	5.0	5.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0
Mauritania	6.4	3.0	4.0	4.2	3.8	3.8	0.0	-0.2	-0.3	0.5
Mauritius	3.6	3.4	3.2	3.5	3.8	3.8	-0.2	-0.6	-0.5	-0.2
Mozambique	7.4	6.6	3.6	5.2	6.6	6.6	0.3	-2.2	-2.5	-1.7
Namibia	6.4	5.3	1.6	5.0	5.4	5.4	0.8	-2.6	-0.4	-0.1
Niger	6.9	3.5	5.0	5.3	6.0	6.0	-0.7	-0.4	-1.0	-1.0
Nigeria	6.3	2.7	-1.7	1.0	2.5	2.5	0.0	-2.5	-2.5	-1.5
Rwanda	7.0	6.9	6.0	6.0	7.0	7.0	-0.2	-0.8	-1.2	-0.1
Senegal	4.3	6.5	6.6	6.8	7.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Seychelles	3.2	4.3	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.5	0.0	0.1	-0.1	-0.1
Sierra Leone	4.6	-21.1	3.9	6.9	5.9	5.9	0.4	-2.6	1.6	0.5
South Africa	1.6	1.3	0.4	1.1	1.8	1.8	0.0	-0.2	0.0	-0.2
Sudan	3.1	4.2	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.7	1.0	0.2	-0.1	-0.3
Swaziland	2.7	1.7	-0.9	1.9	3.1	3.1	0.0	-2.2	0.5	1.5
Tanzania	7.0	7.0	6.9	7.1	7.1	7.1	0.0	-0.3	0.0	0.0
Togo	5.9	5.5	5.4	5.0	5.5	5.5	0.0	-0.2	0.0	0.0
Uganda[b]	4.8	5.0	4.6	5.6	6.0	6.0	0.0	-0.4	-0.3	-0.8
Zambia	5.0	2.8	2.9	4.0	4.2	4.2	-0.8	-0.5	-0.2	-0.8
Zimbabwe	3.8	1.1	0.4	3.8	3.4	3.4	0.0	-1.0	-1.8	-0.1

Source: World Bank.
World Bank forecasts are frequently updated based on new information and changing (global) circumstances. Consequently, projections presented here may differ from those contained in other Bank documents, even if basic assessments of countries' prospects do not significantly differ at any given moment in time.
a. GDP at market prices and expenditure components are measured in constant 2010 U.S. dollars. Excludes Central African Republic, São Tomé and Príncipe, Somalia, and South Sudan.
b. Fiscal-year based numbers.
For additional information, please see www.worldbank.org/gep.

BOX 2.6.1 Recent investment slowdown: Sub-Saharan Africa

Investment growth in Sub-Saharan Africa has fallen from nearly 8 percent in 2010 to 0.3 percent in 2015, reflecting a severe terms-of-trade deterioration and long-standing structural impediments, including infrastructure bottlenecks and weak business environments. Investment needs are sizable across a wide range of sectors. Policies to address the region's investment needs in infrastructure include sustaining public investment, encouraging private sector participation in infrastructure, and strengthening public financial management capacity.

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) accounted for a modest 2 percent of global investment, on average, during 2010-15. However, it suffered the sharpest investment growth slowdown among emerging market and developing economies (EMDE) regions despite large-scale public investment efforts until recently. Investment growth slowed from nearly 8 percent in 2010 to 0.3 percent in 2015, on average—well below the long-term (1990-2008) average of about 6 percent.

This box discusses the following questions.

- How has investment growth in the region evolved?
- What were the main sources of the investment growth slowdown?
- What are the remaining investment needs?
- Which policies can help address Sub-Saharan Africa's infrastructure investments needs?

The investment growth slowdown in Sub-Saharan Africa is concentrated in South Africa and oil exporters. It reflected domestic political tensions, a sharp terms of trade deterioration and, in some economies, domestic policy tightening. Investment needs remain sizable in agriculture, infrastructure, and health and education.

How has investment in the region evolved?

For Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, investment growth averaged about 5 percent in 2010-2015, less than half the average annual growth of 12 percent recorded prior the global financial crisis, despite rapid public investment growth until 2014. In more than two-thirds of SSA countries, investment growth was below its long-term average in 2015 and, in more than one-third, it was negative (Figure 2.6.1.1).

Investment growth was particularly weak in South Africa and a number of oil exporters, but was robust among metals exporters. Investment growth averaged just 2.5 percent per year in South Africa in 2010-15, compared with over 9 percent in 2000-08, reflecting deep structural constraints, including inefficiencies in state-owned enterprises.

Among oil exporters, investment growth slowed significantly in Angola, Chad, and Nigeria; and was negative in Equatorial Guinea. The sharp decline in oil prices was compounded by the introduction of foreign exchange controls or weak business environments that weighed on investors' sentiment. However, in Cameroon and Gabon, large infrastructure programs continued to raise investment growth, despite a decline in investment in the oil industry.

Investment growth in metals-exporting countries averaged 11.3 percent per year over the period 2010-15 (compared with 8.5 percent in 2000-08), with double-digit growth rates in Ghana, Mozambique, and Namibia. Investment growth in Ghana benefited from a more stable economic environment, while Mozambique's and Namibia's extractive industries continued to attract foreign investment. Some metals exporters were subject to domestic shocks that held back investment, including power shortages (Botswana, Zambia), deteriorating security conditions (Niger), the Ebola virus (Liberia, Sierra Leone), and political uncertainty (the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zambia).

Investment growth has been solid in the agricultural exporters, such as Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, and Senegal, supported by the implementation of infrastructure development projects. However, investment growth stagnated in commodity importers such as Cabo Verde and Mauritius, reflecting a slowdown in their main trading partners. It was highly volatile in a number of fragile or conflict affected countries.

What were the main sources of the investment slowdown?

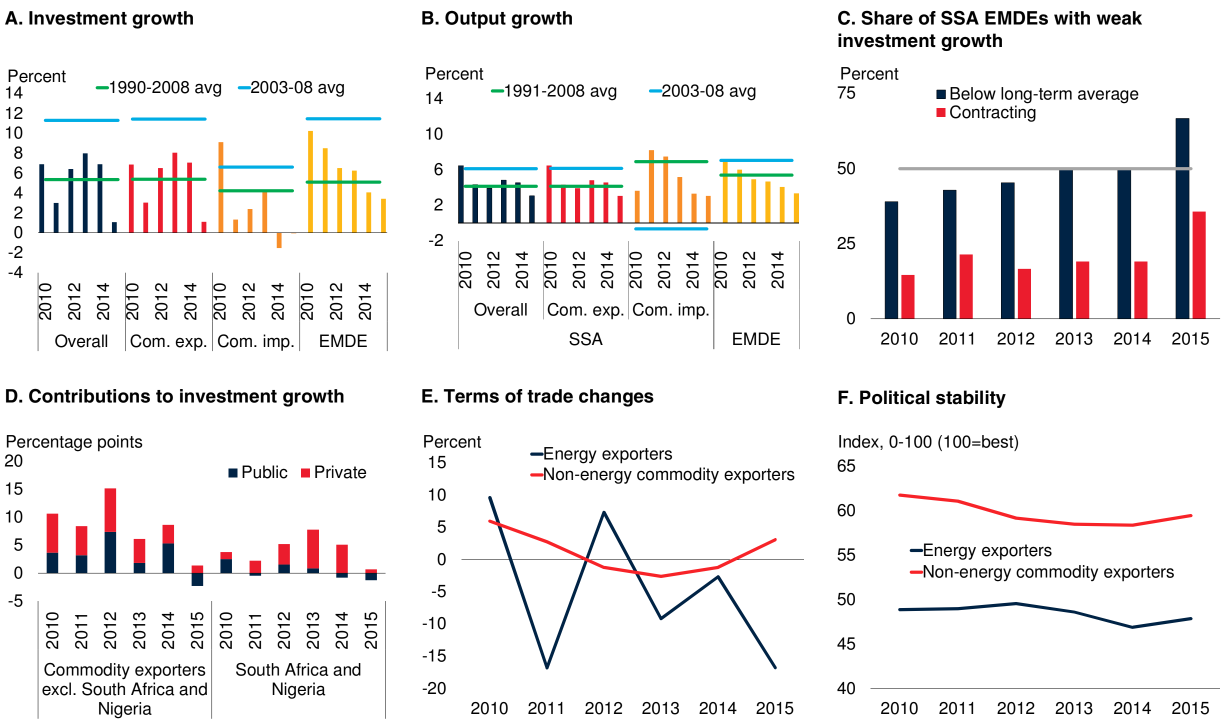
External shocks, including the end of the commodity super cycle, a marked slowdown in major trading partners, and rising domestic vulnerabilities contributed to the investment growth slowdown in the region. Prior to the global financial crisis, higher commodity prices, low global risk aversion and favorable domestic growth prospects prompted significant capital inflows in the region. Average

Note: This box was prepared by Gerard Kambou.

BOX 2.6.1 Recent investment slowdown: Sub-Saharan Africa *(continued)*

FIGURE 2.6.1.1 Investment growth slowdown

Investment growth has slowed sharply from about 8 percent in 2010 to near-zero in 2015, despite significant public investment until 2014. The slowdown has reflected a severe terms of trade deterioration in commodity exporters as well as long-standing structural bottlenecks and political tensions.



Sources: Haver Analytics; Oxford Economics; World Economic Outlook, International Monetary Fund; World Bank Development Indicators, World Bank; Political Risk Services International Country Risk Guide (ICRG).
A. Weighted averages.
C. Long-term averages are country-specific and refer to available data over 1990-2008.

net FDI inflows grew from 0.5 percent of GDP in 1974-1994 to 2.2 percent of GDP in 1995-2008 (Calderon and Boreux 2016). By contrast, over the period 2010-15, which saw a sharp decline in commodity prices, net FDI flows averaged 1.9 percent of GDP.

This period of investment growth slowdown in the region coincided with a weak growth recovery in the European Union, the slowdown of economic activity in China as it embarked on the rebalancing of its economy toward more domestic consumption, and the appreciation of the U.S. dollar. The European Union, the United States, and China are the region's main sources of foreign investment. The triple blow of weak growth in major export markets, lower commodity prices and a higher U.S. dollar hits the region's oil exporters particularly hard. During 2010-15, net FDI flows averaged just 0.4 percent of GDP in oil exporters, down from 2.5 percent of GDP in 2004-08. Net FDI flows were negative in Angola and Equatorial Guinea. In contrast, in oil importers, net FDI flows rose, averaging over 3 percent of GDP, as investors responded to growth opportunities in construction, light manufacturing and renewable energy.

In addition to the unfavorable external environment, the slowdown in investment growth reflected weak macroeconomic fundamentals and policies, and an uncertain institutional and legal framework in some countries. Fiscal and current account balances have deteriorated across the region over the past 5 years (World Bank 2015u). In 2014, 33 countries registered fiscal deficits greater than 5 percent of GDP (up from 25 in 2007), while 15 countries had a current account deficit that exceeded 5 percent of GDP (up from only 5 in 2007) (Calderon and Boreux 2016). This meant that, in some countries, policy makers lacked the ability to conduct

BOX 2.6.1 Recent investment slowdown: Sub-Saharan Africa *(continued)*

countercyclical policies to support economic activity, while rising vulnerabilities weighed on capital inflows. Large current account deficits and falling capital flows put pressures on real exchange rates. Rising inflation, reflecting deep currency depreciations, prompted central banks in a number of commodity exporters to tighten policy, making it costly for firms to invest.

In many countries, basic reforms to improve the business environment—including the rule of law—have been negligible, especially among resource–rich countries. Uncertainty about the enforcement of contracts, property rights and the direction of policy was compounded by weak investment planning and execution capacity. These factors played a significant role in slowing investment growth across the region.

What are Sub-Saharan Africa's remaining investment needs?

Sub-Saharan Africa's strategic priorities to reinvigorate growth and reduce poverty call for investments in agriculture, infrastructure, and health and education (World Bank 2016z).

In *agriculture*, which provides the livelihood for almost two -thirds of Sub-Saharan Africa's population, investments are needed to raise farm productivity. Increasing investments in agricultural R&D is not only essential for boosting growth in the region but also for accelerating its transformation. Infrastructure investments are needed to support agricultural productivity growth and potential export diversification. These include investments to build or improve irrigation, road, and storage infrastructure, and to develop higher value chains and markets.

Countries in the region have made progress in improving their *infrastructure*, although results vary. Improved infrastructure was partly responsible for the region's recent strong growth performance (Calderon and Serven 2008). That contribution reflected mostly advances in information communication technology (ICT). The region has experienced an unprecedented increase in mobile phone subscriptions. By contrast, progress in the power sector has been far more limited. Only a third of households have access to electricity (World Bank 2016z).

- The deterioration in the quantity and quality of *power infrastructure* has increased the need for investment in renewable energies. These have the potential to improve access to electricity while addressing climate change challenges.
- *Transport infrastructure* development has also been limited. In many countries, only a small proportion of the road network is paved. Railways development is inadequate.

Across the region, investments are needed to improve the quality of *education and skills*, the health status of the populations, and the coverage of infrastructure services, notably access to improved sanitation. Despite recent progress, Sub-Saharan Africa lags other regions (Figure 2.6.1.2).

The region's infrastructure investment needs are large, estimated at 15 percent of GDP, reflecting insufficient and inefficient spending on capital, operation, and maintenance expenditures (Foster and Briceno-Garmendia 2010). Financing to address these investment needs has increased. The external sources of financing for infrastructure have expanded. Official development finance (ODF)—led by the World Bank and the African Development Bank—has increased appreciably. ODF investments are supporting transport and water and sanitation investments in a number of countries. China emerged as a major bilateral source. Chinese investments have increasingly targeted the energy sector and hydropower in particular. Direct private sector involvement surged. Private participation in infrastructure (PPI) now accounts for more than half of total external finance, with a large share of the investments going to the telecom, energy and transport sectors (Gutman, Sy, and Chattopadhyay 2015).

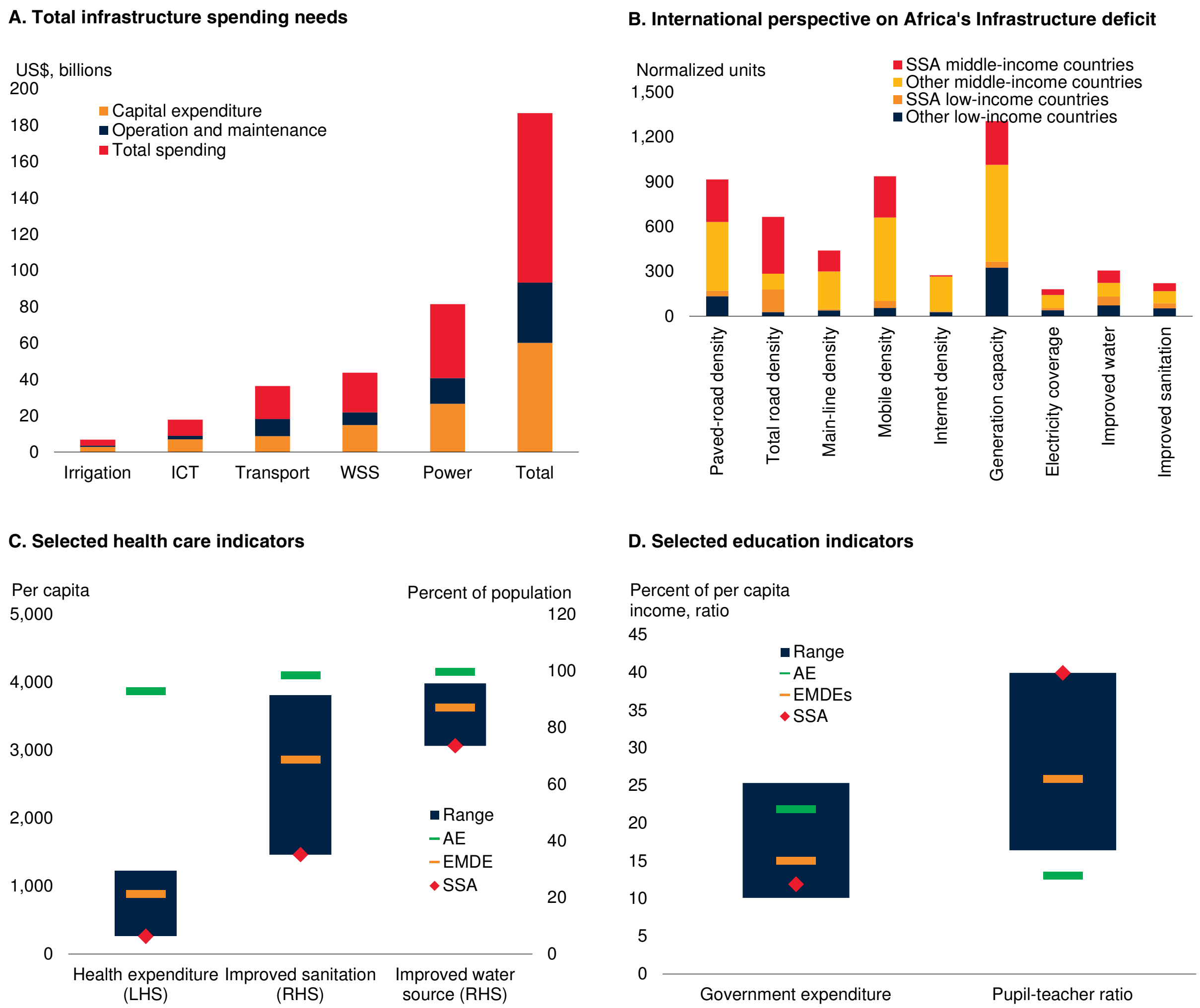
Which policies can help address the region's remaining infrastructure investment needs?

Financing from multilateral development banks, China, and the private sector tripled between 2004 and 2012 (Gutman, Sy, and Chattopadhyay 2015). External financing for infrastructure grew fastest in the energy sector, with Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa among the largest recipients. Untapped opportunities remain, including in renewable energy (EBRD 2016) as well as in other investments that can support private sector development. Innovative financing solutions for infrastructure investment that mitigate risk factors for investors have been developed. Tools such as blended finance, co-financing between private investors and development finance institutions, public-private partnerships and climate finance are being deployed in countries across the region (IFC 2016). Nevertheless, financing investment projects remain challenging. Although private investment has become significant and

BOX 2.6.1 Recent investment slowdown: Sub-Saharan Africa *(continued)*

FIGURE 2.6.1.2 Investment needs

Sub-Saharan Africa's investment needs are high across a wide range of sectors. There has been progress in improving infrastructure in the region, but progress has been slow, especially in energy and transport.



Source: Haver Analytics; Pierce, and Foster 2008; Regional Economic Outlook, International Monetary Fund; World Bank; Yepes.

A. ICT=information and communication technology; WSS=water supply and sanitation. Estimates by Foster and Briceno-Garmendia (2010).

B. Road density is measured in kilometers per 100 square kilometers of arable land; telephone density in lines per thousand population; generation capacity in megawatts per million population; electricity, water, and sanitation coverage in percentage of population. SSA stands for Sub-Saharan Africa.

C. Blue bars denote range of unweighted regional averages across EMDE regions. Health expenditure per capita in purchasing power parity terms, unweighted averages of 199 EMDEs, 34 AEs, and 47 SSA economies. Access to improved sanitation facilities (in percent of population), unweighted averages for 150 EMDEs, 33 AEs, and 47 SSA economies. Access to improved water sources (in percent of population), unweighted averages for 148 EMDEs, 34 AEs, and 47 SSA economies. AE stands for advanced economies; and EMDE for emerging market and developing economies. Latest available data available during 2011-15.

D. Blue bars denote range of unweighted regional averages across EMDE regions. Government expenditure per primary student (in percent of per capita income), unweighted averages of 87 EMDEs, 32 AEs, and 29 SSA economies. Pupil-teacher ratio in primary education (headcount basis), unweighted averages for 165 EMDEs, 31 AEs, and 44 SSA economies. Latest available data available during 2011-15.

covers a broad range of countries, it has focused more on ICT than other sectors.

Despite the rising importance of external finance, public sector budgets remain the primary source of funding for infrastructure investments in the region. Countries across the region finance about 65 percent of their infrastructure expenditures with domestic resources (IMF 2014b). In some countries, the fiscal space created by the heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) debt relief facilitated these

BOX 2.6.1 Recent investment slowdown: Sub-Saharan Africa *(continued)*

expenditures. Others took advantage of low interest rates to issue Eurobonds to finance infrastructure investments. Governments spend most of their resources on transport and energy. Nonetheless, the level of public finance remains insufficient to cover their infrastructure needs. Sub-Saharan African countries need to mobilize more domestic resources to finance infrastructure investment. Tax-to-GDP ratios are far below the EMDE average in a number of countries, reflecting a failure to reform weak tax systems, especially in oil exporters.

The capacity of countries in the region to effectively use resources for infrastructure investment remains a critical issue. The efficiency of public investment in Sub-Saharan Africa lags behind other EMDEs, reflecting poor project selection, weak enforcement of procurement procedures, and failure to complete projects (Dabla-Norris et al. 2012). These weaknesses point to a need to increase absorptive capacity in public infrastructure in the region.

Sub-Saharan Africa's infrastructure development faces major geographic and physical challenges, reflecting its low population density, low urbanization, and large number of landlocked countries. A sizable number of small countries makes it difficult for firms to exploit economies of scale. As a result, Sub-Saharan Africa's infrastructure services are more expensive than in other regions, suggesting that greater gains could be achieved through deeper forms of regional integration.

Four key areas of policy priorities to address investment needs and ensure sustainable financing are the following:

- *Sustaining public investments.* Domestic resources—tax and nontax revenue—are likely to remain the dominant source of financing for infrastructure. Increasing domestic revenue may provide the most sustainable way of financing infrastructure investment. This will require improving tax collection as well as cost recovery. In many countries, debt levels are still manageable, and borrowing to increase spending on infrastructure remains a viable option. However, debt sustainability should not be compromised.
- *Encouraging greater private sector participation in infrastructure.* Countries need to strengthen the pipeline of bankable projects that can meet the financial objectives of private investors. Innovative fund and deal structures, such as guarantees and risk sharing, should be developed. Blended finance instruments that can leverage private sector development financing should be promoted. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) are a tested strategy that can be applied to numerous sectors (IFC 2016). However, governments have to establish autonomous regulatory agencies to oversee the private agents. The terms of the partnerships have to be monitored carefully to ensure PPPs deliver a normal return and not a monopoly profit.
- *Strengthening public investment management systems.* An effective public financial management capacity is critical in scaling up infrastructure investment spending. Countries should seek to strengthen capacity for project selection and appraisal, and enhance monitoring of project execution to minimize leakages. Operation and maintenance expenditures for existing infrastructure should be fully integrated in a medium-term expenditure framework to ensure that they receive adequate budgetary resources.
- *Promoting regional integration of infrastructure.* A regional approach to the provision of infrastructure services is needed to overcome the region's geographic and physical challenges. This will require effective regional institutions, setting priorities for regional investments, harmonizing regulatory frameworks and administrative procedures, and facilitating cross-border infrastructure (Kessides and Benjamin 2012).

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