

**Africa needs context-relevant evidence to shape its clean energy future.**

MULUGETTA, Yacob <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3191-8896>>, SOKONA, Youba <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6981-6401>>, TROTTER, Philipp A <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0590-4546>>, FANKHAUSER, Samuel <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2100-7888>>, OMUKUTI, Jessica <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3094-8647>>, SOMAVILLA CROXATTO, Lucas <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3995-0241>>, STEFFEN, Bjarne <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2219-1402>>, TESHAMICHAEL, Meron, ABRAHAM, Edo <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0989-5456>>, ADAM, Jean-Paul, AGBEMABIESE, Lawrence, AGUTU, Churchill <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3511-9960>>, AKLILU, Mekalia Paulos, ALAO, Olakunle, BATIDZIRAI, Bothwell <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8570-3287>>, BEKELE, Getachew, DAGNACHEW, Anteneh G <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6217-9726>>, DAVIDSON, Ogunlade, DENTON, Fatima, DIEMUODEKE, E Ogheneruona <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0133-485X>>, EGLI, Florian <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8617-5175>>, GEBRESILASSIE, Eshetu Gebrekidan <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8834-2766>>, GEBRESLASSIE, Mulualem <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5509-5866>>, GOUNDIAM, Mamadou, GUJBA, Haruna Kachalla, HAILU, Yohannes, HAWKES, Adam D <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9720-332X>>, HIRMER, Stephanie, HOKA, Helen <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8697-5471>>, HOWELLS, Mark <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6419-4957>>, ISAH, Abdulrasheed <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1356-5548>>, KAMMEN, Daniel <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2984-7777>>, KEMAUSUOR, Francis <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5507-8399>>, KHENNAS, Ismail, KRUGER, Wikus, MALO, Ifeoma, MOFOR, Linus, NAGO, Minette, NOCK, Destenie <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1739-7027>>, OKEREKE, Chukwumerije, OUEDRAOGO, S Nadia, PROBST, Benedict <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1149-8938>>, SCHMIDT, Maria <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0098-5420>>, SCHMIDT, Tobias S <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7971-2187>>, SHENGA, Carlos, SOKONA, Mohamed, STECKEL, Jan Christoph <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5325-9214>>, STERL, Sebastian <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1078-5561>>, TEMBO, Bernard <<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3219-8173>>, TOMEI, Julia <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2156-1603>>, TWESIGYE, Peter <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9802-7938>>, WATSON, Jim <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8464-1718>>, WINKLER, Harald <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5826-4071>> and YUSSUFF, Abdulmutalib <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9565-305X>>

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# Africa needs context-relevant evidence to shape its clean energy future

Yacob Mulugetta<sup>1,\*</sup>, Youba Sokona<sup>2,\*\*</sup>, Philipp A. Trotter<sup>3,4,\*\*\*</sup>, Samuel Fankhauser<sup>4</sup>, Jessica Omukuti<sup>5</sup>, Lucas Somavilla Croxatto<sup>6,1</sup>, Bjarne Steffen<sup>7</sup>, Meron Tesfamichael<sup>1</sup>, Edo Abraham<sup>8</sup>, Jean-Paul Adam<sup>9</sup>, Lawrence Agbemabiese<sup>10</sup>, Churchill Agutu<sup>11,12</sup>, Mekalia Paulos Aklilu<sup>9</sup>, Olakunle Alao<sup>13</sup>, Bothwell Batidzirai<sup>14</sup>, Getachew Bekele<sup>15</sup>, Anteneh G. Dagnachew<sup>16,17</sup>, Ogunlade Davidson<sup>18</sup>, Fatima Denton<sup>19</sup>, E. Ogheneruona Diemuodeke<sup>20</sup>, Florian Egli<sup>11,21</sup>, Eshetu Gebrekidan Gebresilassie<sup>22</sup>, Mulualet Gebreselassie<sup>23</sup>, Mamadou Goundiam<sup>24</sup>, Haruna Kachalla Gujba<sup>25</sup>, Yohannes Hailu<sup>9</sup>, Adam D. Hawkes<sup>26</sup>, Stephanie Hirmer<sup>27</sup>, Helen Hoka<sup>28</sup>, Mark Howells<sup>29</sup>, Abdulrasheed Isah<sup>11</sup>, Daniel Kammen<sup>30,31</sup>, Francis Kemausuor<sup>32</sup>, Ismail Khennas<sup>33</sup>, Wikus Kruger<sup>13</sup>, Ifeoma Malo<sup>34</sup>, Linus Mofor<sup>9</sup>, Minette Nago<sup>35</sup>, Destenie Nock<sup>36,37</sup>, Chukwumerije Okereke<sup>38</sup>, S. Nadia Ouedraogo<sup>9</sup>, Benedict Probst<sup>39,40</sup>, Maria Schmidt<sup>41</sup>, Tobias S. Schmidt<sup>11,42</sup>, Carlos Shenga<sup>43</sup>, Mohamed Sokona<sup>44</sup>, Jan Christoph Steckel<sup>45,46</sup>, Sebastian Sterl<sup>47,48</sup>, Bernard Tembo<sup>49</sup>, Julia Tomei<sup>50</sup>, Peter Twesigye<sup>13</sup>, Jim Watson<sup>50</sup>, Harald Winkler<sup>51</sup>, Abdulmutalib Yussuff<sup>1</sup>

1 Department of Science Technology, Engineering & Public Policy, University College London, UK.

2 Groupe de Reflection et d'Initiatives Novatrices, Bamako, Mali.

3 Schumpeter School of Business and Economics, University of Wuppertal, Wuppertal, Germany.

4 Smith School of Enterprise and the Environment, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.

5 Institute for Science, Innovation and Society (INSIS), University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.

6 Responsible Technology Institute, Department of Computer Science, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.

7 Climate Finance and Policy Group, ETH Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland.

8 Department of Water Management, Delft University of Technology, Delft, The Netherlands.

9 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

10 Center for Energy & Environmental Policy, Newark, DE, University of Delaware, USA.

11 Energy and Technology Policy Group, ETH Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland.

12 Kigali Collaborative Research Centre, Kigali, Rwanda.

13 Power Futures Lab, Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.

14 African Union Development Agency (AUDA-NEPAD), Midrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

15 School of Electrical and Computer Engineering, Addis Ababa Institute of Technology, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

16 PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, the Hague, The Netherlands.

17 Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

18 University of Sierra Leone, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

19 United Nations University - Institute for Natural Resources in Africa (UNU-INRA), Accra, Ghana.

20 Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Port Harcourt, Choba, Nigeria.

21 IIPP Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose, University College London, UK.

22 Institute for Power Electronics and Electrical Drives, RWTH Aachen University, Aachen, Germany.

23 Mekelle University, Mekelle, Ethiopia.

24 Institute of Engineering, University Grenoble Alpes, Grenoble, France.

25 GIZ - Africa-EU Energy Partnership (AEEP), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

26 Department of Chemical Engineering, Imperial College London, London, UK.

27 Energy and Power Group, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.

28 Institute of Mathematical Science, Strathmore University, Nairobi, Kenya.

29 STEER Centre, Department of Geography & Environment, Loughborough University, Loughborough, UK.

30 Energy and Resources Group, Goldman School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, USA.

31 Senior Advisor for Energy & Innovation, US Agency for International Development (USAID), Washington D.C., USA.

32 The Brew-Hammond Energy Centre, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana.

33 Independent consultant, Rugby, UK.

34 Clean Technology Hub - Energy Innovation Center, Abuja, Nigeria.

35 Chair of Forest and Nature Conservation Policy, Georg-August-University Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany.

- 55 36 Civil and Environmental Engineering Department, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.  
 56 37 Engineering & Public Policy Department, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, USA.  
 57 38 Alex Ekwueme Federal University Ndufu-Alike, Abakaliki, Nigeria.  
 58 39 Group for Sustainability and Technology, ETH Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland.  
 59 40 Cambridge Centre for Environmental, Energy and Natural Resource Governance, University of Cambridge,  
 60 Cambridge, UK.  
 61 41 Institute for Technology and Innovation Management, RWTH Aachen University, Aachen, Germany.  
 62 42 Institute of Science, Technology, and Policy, ETH Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland.  
 63 43 Centre for Research on Governance and Development (CPGD), Maputo, Zimbabwe.  
 64 44 African Development Bank - Infrastructure, Cities and Urban Development Department, Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire.  
 65 45 Mercator Research Institute on Global Commons and Climate Change, Berlin, Germany.  
 66 46 Chair of Climate- and Development Economics, Brandenburg University of Cottbus-Senftenberg, Cottbus,  
 67 Germany.  
 68 47 International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), Bonn, Germany.  
 69 48 Faculty of Engineering, Department HYDR, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Brussels, Belgium.  
 70 49 Zambia Institute for Policy Analysis Research (ZIPAR), Lusaka, Zambia.  
 71 50 Institute for Sustainable Resources, University College London, London, UK.  
 72 51 Policy Research in International Services and Manufacturing, School of Economics, University of Cape Town,  
 73 Cape Town, South Africa.  
 74  
 75 \* Corresponding author. Email: yacob.mulugetta@ucl.ac.uk  
 76 \*\* Corresponding author. Email: ysokona@gmail.com  
 77 \*\*\* Corresponding author. Email: philipp.trotter@smithschool.ox.ac.uk  
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**Abstract** Aligning development and climate goals means Africa's energy systems will be based on clean energy technologies in the long-term, but pathways to get there are uncertain and variable across countries. While current debates about natural gas and renewables in Africa have been heated, they have largely ignored the significant context-specificity of the starting points, development objectives and uncertainties of each African country's energy system trajectory. Here we – an interdisciplinary and majority African group of authors – highlight that each country faces a distinct solution space and set of uncertainties for using renewables or fossil fuels to meet its development objectives. For example, while Ethiopia is headed for an accelerated green growth pathway, Mozambique is at a crossroads of natural gas expansion with implicit large-scale technological, economic, financial and social risks and uncertainties. We provide geopolitical, policy, finance and research recommendations to create firm country-specific evidence for identifying adequate energy system pathways for development and enabling their implementation.

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## 80 Main

81 Achieving both development and climate goals requires that clean energy technologies serve  
 82 as the foundation of African energy systems. Recent research suggests that high renewable  
 83 energy shares in African energy systems are technically and economically feasible<sup>1–4</sup>, offer  
 84 high growth and job creation potential<sup>2,5</sup>, improve climate change resilience<sup>5</sup> and minimise  
 85 environmental and adverse health impacts<sup>1–5</sup>. However, the pathways to get there in terms of  
 86 transition speed, cost and technology mix, are both diverse and uncertain for individual African  
 87 countries<sup>4,6</sup>. What is unequivocal is that African countries desperately need more energy  
 88 supply to unlock social and financial opportunities for national development<sup>7</sup>. The African  
 89 continent is endowed with a rich variety of energy resources, yet, most countries suffer from  
 90 large energy generation<sup>8</sup>, equity<sup>9</sup> and access gaps<sup>5</sup>. Given the energy system transformation  
 91 inertia<sup>8</sup> caused by long energy infrastructure lifespans, energy system decisions made by  
 92 policymakers today will have long-term implications for sustainable development across  
 93 African countries.  
 94 Recent debates about Africa's energy future have been heated, often shaped by geopolitical  
 95 interests, but detached from the context-specific climate and development realities that

96 countries face on the ground. The Global North has dominated African energy conversations  
97 for decades, directly influencing the configuration of countries' techno-economic rationale and  
98 policy choices<sup>10-13</sup>. In recent years, African countries have been placed under increased  
99 pressure to make a rapid transition to renewables, in some cases nudged on by technology-  
100 specific access to finance.

101 However, more recent actions from several Western countries, sharpened by response to the  
102 war in Ukraine<sup>14</sup>, have highlighted contradictions between Northern policy and practice. Some  
103 European countries are adopting ambitious decarbonisation strategies while rushing to invest  
104 in new natural gas infrastructure to meet short-term domestic fossil fuel demands. Several of  
105 these current and planned projects are in Africa. This has prompted many African stakeholders  
106 to draw attention to the double standards of the Global North, and patterns of deprioritising  
107 international climate commitments, reneging on global finance pledges or implementing loss  
108 and damage compensations. However, it is also important to recognise that the current  
109 repositioning by European countries may be a short-term reaction to new political emergencies  
110 rather than a departure from the core agenda of decarbonisation as there already appears to  
111 be a policy inertia towards renewable energy in Europe.

112 This fragmentation of global climate change efforts has consequences. Several African  
113 countries are now doubling down on their plans to develop new natural gas fields for domestic  
114 and export purposes, leading to policy tensions due to inherent long-term economic and social  
115 risks and African countries' net-zero aspirations. Furthermore, there is limited deliberation on  
116 the fact that natural gas resources have had little positive impact on increasing energy access  
117 rates in sub-Saharan Africa in the last three decades<sup>15,16</sup>.

118 Here, we argue for a more informed and granular debate that recognises the context-specificity  
119 of energy pathways in African countries in terms of their starting points, objectives, and  
120 underlying evidence base.

121 First, narratives of Africa as a single entity have dominated both sides of the natural gas versus  
122 renewables argument<sup>1,17-19</sup>. Yet, there are significant variations in terms of extant energy  
123 systems and energy poverty levels<sup>7</sup>, resource endowments<sup>5</sup>, and costs of capital<sup>20</sup>, as well as  
124 skills and capabilities<sup>21</sup>. This can have significant implications for the cost, feasibility and  
125 development impact of different generation technologies.

126 Second, the recent debate about Africa's energy future has largely failed to acknowledge that  
127 the energy-enabled development objectives of African countries are highly context-specific.  
128 Calls for one-size-fits-all solutions -- fossil or renewable -- undermine the critical local  
129 ownership of development objectives. Independent and strong national leadership is key for  
130 implementing green growth pathways<sup>22</sup>. Circumstances where external sources dominate  
131 energy infrastructure finance are particularly prone to local development agendas being  
132 peripheral<sup>10-12</sup>, and to higher risks of projects being dropped if donors lose interest<sup>8</sup>. Current  
133 global geopolitical tensions have exacerbated these issues, leading to pressing energy and  
134 food security concerns<sup>5</sup>.

135 Third, there is a dearth of integrated country-specific evidence regarding favourable energy  
136 system pathways for African countries' different development objectives<sup>23,24</sup>, markedly  
137 exacerbating existing uncertainties. Research institutions in the 48 African countries outside of  
138 North Africa have combined to produce only six published peer-reviewed integrated energy  
139 planning studies considering multiple development objectives without co-authors from  
140 institutions outside of Africa in the last 15 years<sup>24</sup>. While some continental-level studies exist  
141 which largely favour a focus on renewables for development outcomes<sup>1-4</sup>, the literature does  
142 not feature a single such integrated multi-objective study for 40 African countries, among them  
143 natural gas-rich countries like Mozambique, the Republic of Congo, Mauritania or Angola.

144 Instead, two different types of thought pieces have been published which claim that poverty  
145 will be entrenched if fossil fuels are continued<sup>25</sup> and if fossil fuels are stopped<sup>26</sup> in African  
146 contexts.

147 To address these three shortcomings, we first combine country-specific evidence to illustrate  
148 the diversity of African countries' starting points on their energy pathways. Second, we use the  
149 African Union's Agenda 2063 vision<sup>27</sup> as a framework for African-owned economic, social,  
150 institutional, and environmental objectives to suggest risks and opportunities of energy system  
151 pathways for equitable and sustainable development. Third, we apply this framework to  
152 demonstrate large country-specific differences regarding the types and uncertainties of African  
153 countries' potential energy system pathways. We conclude with recommendations regarding  
154 geopolitics, policy, finance and research uptake to enable evidence-based identification and  
155 implementation of suitable context-specific energy system pathways for development.  
156

### 157 **Diverse starting points**

158 The status quo of national-level energy systems in Africa is highly country-specific when  
159 considering renewable energy potentials and reliance on fossil fuels, cost of capital (CoC),  
160 electricity access and existing generation mixes (Figure 1). Focusing on utility-scale solar  
161 energy, different solar insolation levels<sup>28</sup> and investment risk profiles<sup>29</sup> imply that the levelised  
162 costs of electricity (LCOE) from solar photovoltaics (PV) are 2.5 times higher in Liberia, Sudan  
163 and Sierra Leone than in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Morocco. Similarly,  
164 electrification rates in North African countries, South Africa, Ghana and several island states  
165 are five times higher than in most Sahel countries, Burundi and Malawi. There is a moderately  
166 negative correlation of -0.4 between solar LCOE and high levels of electricity access. In  
167 countries with limited energy infrastructure, energy system investments may be deemed  
168 riskier, whereas strong institutions in countries with advanced energy systems may lead to  
169 lower CoC<sup>30</sup>. Furthermore, no clear pattern emerges between past reliance on or future  
170 potential of fossil fuels and electrification status, supporting previous econometric results<sup>16</sup>.

171 While this is only an illustration of the very different starting points, understanding and  
172 considering these patterns is critical for defining adequate energy systems pathways capable  
173 of delivering on African economic and social development goals.

174  
175 [Insert Figure 1 here]  
176

### 177 **Context-specific development objectives**

178 Acknowledging the specific development objectives of different countries is critical when  
179 making decisions on fossil fuel and renewable energy expansions. The African Union's Agenda  
180 2063<sup>27</sup> serves as a pan-African vision of sustainable development in this regard. We find ten  
181 of the 20 specific objectives comprising Agenda 2063 to be directly linked to electricity  
182 generation and upstream energy technology choices. They include a broad set of economic,  
183 social, institutional and environmental objectives, with a notable and repeated focus on African  
184 self-determination and self-sufficiency. This linking of energy system outcomes with Agenda  
185 2063 objectives ensures African ownership, and builds on the fact that while country-specific  
186 pathways are key, African countries have repeatedly voiced their desire to unite under a  
187 common broader development vision<sup>5</sup>.

188 Table 1 introduces an assessment framework for achieving energy-enabled development in  
189 accordance with Agenda 2063. For each relevant objective, short-term and long-term  
190 opportunities and risks are listed, the manifestations of which are highly context-specific and

should be considered when African countries analyse different energy system technology choices and pathways (see next section).

[Insert Table 1 here]

### **A stronger evidence base**

Explicitly designing energy systems to achieve the economic, social, institutional and environmental objectives, as indicated in Table 1, requires analysis of a broad spectrum of case-specific energy system design pathways. All African development visions have clean and sustainable energy systems with universal access as their end goal<sup>27</sup>. Critically, however, differences in their starting points and available resources (Figure 1) greatly influence the variety of pathways countries can potentially go through while meeting development objectives.

In Figure 2, we illustrate the associated uncertainties (indicated by the size of the shaded areas) in four country cases as examples which broadly represent four types of energy system with different starting points. These uncertainties underline the urgent need for a stronger evidence base to make informed path-defining decisions. In increasing order of the different kinds of uncertainties these countries face, we discuss: Ethiopia as a country with a high hydropower share where new renewables are low-cost (Figure 1) and easily integratable into the power system<sup>29</sup> to accelerate extant green growth<sup>22</sup>, with little variety in reasonable pathways (see also Kenya, Namibia); South Africa as a country with low-cost renewables but with entrenched fossil fuel interests, implying a contested transition with uncertainties about adequate social and economic compensations for fossil fuel-dependent businesses and workers<sup>30</sup> (see also Botswana, North African countries); Burkina Faso as a country seeking to modularly increase energy access and generation capacity with uncertainties regarding the adequate electricity mix to meet unserved demand<sup>31</sup> (see also most of the Sahel countries, Madagascar); and Mozambique as a country at a crossroads between exploiting its substantial natural gas reserves or focusing on its large renewable resources, with associated large-scale technological, economic, financial and social risks and uncertainties<sup>6,8,14</sup> (see also Rep. Congo, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal). These four examples, albeit only indicatively, hint at high domestic natural gas resources, high current reliance on fossil fuels and challenging policy and finance conditions for implementing renewables at scale going forward; all of which increase energy pathway uncertainties towards a clean energy future for African countries, *ceteris paribus* (thus increasing the shaded area in Figure 2).

[Insert Figure 2 here]

**Ethiopia's green growth strategy through low-cost renewables.** Ethiopia registered fast economic growth between 2005 and 2020, powered by over 90% hydropower. Ethiopia has been pursuing holistic green economic growth since as early as the mid-2000<sup>22</sup>, leading to its ambitious Climate Resilient Green Economy Strategy (CRGE) in 2011. The policy is anchored in inter-ministerial governance structures with a clear national policy focus on renewable energy to power short-term and long-term development (see goal *Econ1* in Table 1). Given comparably low CoC, high solar potential and absent large fossil fuel resources, renewables in Ethiopia are set to be the cheapest generation technologies in the short and long-term. Under its Scaling Solar initiative, Ethiopia has attracted winning bids for utility-scale solar PV

of 0.025 USD/kWh, one of the cheapest such bids in Africa<sup>32</sup>. Its Public-Private Partnership Board has awarded 19 solar, wind and hydropower projects.

However, while these initiatives indicate the potential for low-cost renewable energy at scale, progress on all of these projects has stalled due to significant institutional and regulatory issues, underlying the importance of adequate sector-specific governance to deliver on national development strategies (*Inst1*). Crucially, recent research shows that the existing Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam can be operated flexibly to balance eventual intermittencies of up to 12.9 GW of solar and wind capacity within Ethiopia and for neighbouring countries<sup>29</sup>. This makes low-cost renewable energy dispatchable at scale with large electricity cost-reduction potential for Ethiopia, and associated export opportunities of dispatchable low-carbon electricity into the Eastern Africa Power Pool (*Econ3*). This option similarly exists for countries such as Guinea and Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In terms of energy access, Ethiopia is subject to continued reliance on biomass and great discrepancies in urban versus rural electrification<sup>33</sup> (*Soc1*). Although the government has started to implement off-grid solar solutions to partly address this issue, rapid scale-up is required to reach full electrification by 2030. This would also go some way to building associated technical capacities, diversify supply options to mitigate climate variability risks of hydropower and deliver on economic and environmental co-benefits (*Env1*). One important caveat here is it is not yet clear what knock-on effect the recent conflict in Ethiopia will have on investor confidence, and by extension on CoC.

**South Africa's just transition to low-cost renewables.** Carbon-intensive economies with high electrification levels like South Africa face the challenge of transitioning towards clean energy systems while meeting economic and social development objectives. Rapidly accelerating wind and solar additions -- started under South Africa's Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REI4P)<sup>8,34</sup> -- appear to be technically and economically sensible to help achieve energy security and drive short-term and long-term economic development (*Econ1*). South Africa and other carbon-intensive economies in North Africa have some of the world's lowest solar and wind LCOEs; REI4P's last round attracted winning solar bids of under 0.03 USD/kWh. Recent analyses suggest that combining solar and wind with batteries provides cheaper and quicker new dispatchable electricity in South Africa at scale than building up large domestic gas-to-power infrastructure from scratch<sup>35</sup>. As South Africa's first utility-scale combined solar and battery projects totalling 540 MW are currently being constructed in the Northern Cape with an estimated construction time of 15 months, its large-scale fossil fuel plants Medupi and Kusile are still not fully commissioned 15 years after construction began in 2007. The current load-shedding crisis costs South Africa's economy 50 – 100 million USD every day<sup>36</sup>.

Long-term, adding renewables furthermore avoids exacerbating South Africa's asset stranding risks, and fosters competitiveness in global markets: The EU's recently introduced Carbon Border Adjust Mechanism (CBAM) imposes taxes on carbon-intensive imports<sup>37</sup>. Due to its carbon-intensive energy mix, South Africa's exports have high carbon footprints and will thus become more expensive. This creates pressure to decarbonise, as exports account for over 30% of South Africa's GDP and the EU is its largest trade partner.

In addition, renewable energy expansion can help South Africa advance social, institutional and environmental objectives<sup>2,34</sup>: REI4P and surrounding policies have set international renewable energy policy standards (*Inst1*, *Inst2*), funnelled almost 50% of investments to local businesses (*Econ2*), created over 60,000 South African job-years (*Soc2*), and are helping to realise environmental goals (*Env1*). While there could similarly be medium-term economic spillover effects of new natural gas infrastructure<sup>38</sup>, the most critical challenges will be to



overcome domestic political economy transition barriers<sup>11</sup>, and ensure that businesses and workers dependent on fossil fuel incomes are supported adequately and justly through compensation and skill-diversification schemes<sup>39</sup> (*Soc1, Inst1*).

**Burkina Faso's modular energy access transition.** Rapidly increasing energy access is a key objective in Burkina Faso and other African least developed countries (LDCs) to boost energy-enabled development. Electricity access in Burkina Faso is below 20% overall and below 5% in rural areas. As a landlocked country relying on imported fossil fuels, electricity generation costs of over 0.20 USD/kWh are among the most expensive in Africa<sup>40</sup>. These issues -- combined with the country's low population density, its poor transmission and distribution infrastructure and its limited access to finance -- suggest the necessity of a modular and more strongly decentralised pathway to electrification alongside diversified grid-connected generation expansion<sup>31</sup> (*Econ1*).

Balancing different economic and social needs may require combining different energy resources. Burkina Faso plans to expand grid-connected solar PV and other renewables to 50% in the generation mix in 2025. Despite comparably high solar cost (Figure 1), the winning bid of 0.079 USD/kWh in Burkina Faso's first private sector solar PV auction scheme in 2019 significantly undercut current generation costs<sup>32</sup> (*Econ1, Econ 2*). To increase dispatchable power, Burkina Faso furthermore is planning to install additional diesel oil-based generation and ramp-up recent interconnectivity efforts with Ghana and Benin to secure electricity imports from the West African Power Pool, with Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria as potential suppliers (*Econ3*). Such stronger regional interconnectedness offers accelerated pathways for Burkina Faso to overcome electricity supply deficits.

In terms of rural electrification (*Soc1*), previous research has found that combinations of stand-alone, mini-grid, grid connected, and hybrid solar-PV/diesel systems offer a cost-efficient avenue for initiating and supporting the required social and economic transformation in Burkina Faso<sup>41</sup> (*Soc1*). Integrated off-grid systems with asset finance for productive use of electricity are able to reduce electricity tariffs for rural households and increase agricultural productivity<sup>2</sup> (*Econ4*). Burkina Faso's renewable energy readiness is still low<sup>21</sup>, but it has started to implement the institutional structures required for a modular approach to expand renewables. Realising this goal will require building additional and critical skills in planning and managing intermittent and decentralised systems (*Inst1, Inst2*).

**Mozambique's natural gas and renewables crossroads.** To overcome significant energy and finance shortages which threaten the realisation of its economic transformation agenda, Mozambique (also an LDC) is increasing extraction, use and export of its significant natural gas reserves, estimated to be over 150 trillion cubic feet<sup>27</sup> (*Econ1 – Econ3*). Other gas-rich countries such as Nigeria, Rep. Congo, Mauritania and Senegal are considering similar actions.

This opens up a wide variety of energy system pathways with different short-term and long-term opportunities and risks (Figure 2). Developing natural gas infrastructure, if managed by strong multi-stakeholder institutions mandated by society-wide co-benefits<sup>42</sup>, has the potential to yield significant short to medium-term economic and financial returns. In Mozambique's case, this is largely driven by their export potential to Europe, China and potentially several Southern African countries, albeit with domestic industry spillovers such as the production of domestic nitrogen-based fertiliser to boost agricultural productivity (*Econ4*). For domestic usage, natural gas power plants are comparably less capital-intensive upfront, which matters given Mozambique's high CoC due to its high risk profile. Independent power producers (IPPs) have had comparably short lead times in countries with existing gas infrastructure<sup>32</sup>, potentially

enabling a comparably quick route to increase dispatchable electricity on the grid, which can complement renewables<sup>5</sup>.

At the same time, however, large-scale expansion of natural gas infrastructure, especially where it is primarily used for export, incurs significant risks and development impact uncertainties for Mozambique which are not yet well understood in the academic literature or the wider debate. As Europe's current short-term gas rush will eventually slow and global gas demand will decrease due to a progressed global clean energy transition in the medium-term, Mozambique's export-oriented strategy implies significant asset stranding risks<sup>5,6</sup> which are often owned by local governments in Africa<sup>43</sup>. Recent research has shown that comparably new fossil fuel exporters with high CoC (see also Mozambique, Rep. Congo or Mauritania) are likely to be the first to have their assets stranded as low-cost producers could flood the market and take over market shares<sup>6</sup>. Depending on investment values, this can imply considerable financial risks for indebted countries. In terms of domestic usage, decreasing solar, wind and battery costs and emerging green energy carriers imply substantial risks of asset stranding or locking-in high electricity prices for consumers when decade-long high-cost natural gas power purchase agreements (PPAs) are in place (*Econ1*, *Soc1*). Furthermore, increasing fossil fuel-intensity increases Mozambique's risk of losing additional export profits due to CBAM-induced price increases, already estimated to be over 1% of GDP for its carbon-intensive aluminium exports alone<sup>37</sup>.

Mozambique's strategy of adding renewables can help lower some of these risks, although further mitigation strategies would likely be required (*Econ2*). In terms of electrification, Mozambique created separate agencies for grid expansion and for off-grid rural electrification to deliver on its ambitious access strategy, which includes a 30% off-grid connection target mainly focused on solar<sup>33</sup> (*Inst1*). Environmentally, there is a trade-off between natural gas development and long-term emission reduction plans, especially if methane leakages are considered<sup>14</sup> (*Env1*).

## Enabling informed and African-led energy transitions

Delivering energy systems that respond to Africa's development needs means acknowledging the diversity of socio-economic contexts and the different types of uncertainties discussed above. To identify optimal country-specific pathways, and to create an enabling environment and capacity to implementing them at scale, Africa requires urgent action across energy geopolitics, public policy, finance, and research and local capacity building.

**A geopolitical narrative recognising diverse energy needs.** A global debate characterised by generalisations must give way to a nuanced, analytical assessment of the synergies and trade-offs between climate and development objectives.

The Ethiopian and South African cases demonstrate that firm control over one's own energy-enabled national development agenda can lead to significant geopolitical synergies<sup>11</sup>. For example, South Africa's willingness to decarbonise its carbon-intensive power sector through its own just energy transition strategy<sup>39</sup> has aligned with global decarbonisation interests, resulting with South Africa securing international financial backing of 8.5 billion USD in 2021 for its transition and green growth efforts. In this case, the global climate change agenda enabled financial support for scaling renewables, while South Africa managed to fund its green growth objectives. Setting its own integrated energy, climate and development agenda, Ethiopia managed to position itself early on as a regional leader for climate-compatible development.

By contrast, the energy debates in countries like Mozambique, Tanzania, Nigeria and Senegal, which face critical decisions about their fossil fuel reserves, risk being driven by short-term considerations and transient geopolitical interests that might lock in long-term economic and environmental risks. Europe's renewed short-term interest in natural gas, in particular, creates new uncertainties in Africa by temporarily opening up pathways with high long-term risks that seemed closed a year ago<sup>14</sup>.

International actors have often overlooked the role of Africa in shaping international systems in ways that serve the continent's long-term interests. This will need to change if African countries are to achieve their long-term development objectives. Equally, African leadership will need to be proactive in transforming the geopolitical space through genuine partnerships that advance the interest of citizens rather than narrow political interests<sup>11</sup>.

**Policies to support country-specific pathways.** There is a critical role for public policy in enabling Africa's energy transitions. First, consistent and reliable long-term energy and development strategies (such as Ethiopia's CRGE) are critical to clearly define the solution space, lower country-specific uncertainties and build confidence across stakeholders<sup>44</sup>. Policy strategy development should focus on the areas with the largest transition uncertainties. For South Africa and similar carbon-intensive upper-middle income countries, this might be economy-wide green growth strategies along with long-term support schemes for businesses and workers in the fossil fuel industry<sup>2,39</sup>. For countries like Burkina Faso, robust and stepwise energy access plans are key to guide electrification efforts and ensure long-term investor confidence. Countries at natural gas crossroads must define evidence-based energy system strategies based on multi-faceted risk and return assessments, explicitly considering value-added economic growth, trade, job and skills development and social wellbeing<sup>2,27,39</sup>, as well as the differences in benefits to alternative investments with lower long-term risks (Table 1). Where natural gas development is supported, strong institutions are required with strong checks and balances, rule of law, and accountability of governments to ensure re-distribution and diversification of wealth<sup>11,42</sup>. Furthermore, policies must cater for long-term economic risks and manage potential lock-in<sup>6</sup>, providing a pathway consistent with achieving Paris Agreement mitigation targets.

Second, policy instruments are key to implementing these policy strategies and include adequate regulations as well as demand pull and technology push measures to create markets in national focal industries<sup>45</sup>. Crucially, while types of energy transitions differ between African countries, renewables and the importance of securing local and regional benefits play a key role in all of them. This underlines the importance of ensuring market openness, attractiveness and readiness for utility scale and decentralised on-grid and off-grid renewables, and intensifying coordinated local and regional planning for development benefits.

It is key to note that governance, institutional quality and understanding of the interplay of different political actors' interests will shape the country-specific energy and climate policy direction. Research in identifying the key societal and political actors most relevant for the formulation policies, as well as map out the political trade-offs to guide energy transition, will be crucial.

**Low-cost finance for country-specific needs.** Africa's diverse energy pathways require both more and more tailor-made finance. International financiers must provide suitable transition-specific financial instruments for various country choices concerning power generation. Due to the upfront capital intensity of renewables and the size of the challenge, the speed of the transition will depend on the mobilisation of capital, including public and private sector investments<sup>46</sup>, as well as which countries manage to substantially benefit from these funds. Current and future international climate finance commitments must be kept and substantially

increased with stronger collaboration between public and private institutions. Greater involvement of domestic financial institutions and private capital in African countries is a key and underutilised source of investments<sup>39</sup>. Additional sources are multilateral transition funds (e.g. South Africa's case), the growing global sustainable finance market (e.g. green bonds), and alternative sources (e.g. crowdfunding); such sources should include a loss and damage finance facility, which still needs to be established<sup>5</sup>.

In addition to access to it, the cost of finance must urgently be reduced to enable affordable power supply<sup>44</sup>, especially in LDCs with high CoC like Burkina Faso and Mozambique. Thus, it is crucial to understand the reason for high costs of capital (e.g., institutional quality and macroeconomic challenges, the depth of the financial sector, energy regulation, or corporate finance issues of utilities<sup>47</sup>) and to leverage developed-country public and blended financing vehicles to reduce it. For example, building a technology track record in a specific country can help lower investment risks for private actors just as blended finance vehicles or guarantee mechanisms can reduce overall investment risks (e.g. country risk), thereby reducing CoC<sup>48</sup>.

**Local research capacity for a better evidence base.** Several African countries are on the brink of making long-term natural gas commitments with significant economic, social, institutional and environmental implications. While South Africa has built its transition on strong and robust modelling efforts<sup>36,39</sup>, it is highly concerning that decision makers in countries such as Mozambique, Mauritania and Senegal currently can only base these decisions on anecdotal evidence due to a lack of country-specific integrated energy system planning research<sup>23,24</sup>.

There is a need to create a scientifically sound, in-depth and all-encompassing evidence base featuring country-specific pathways for all African countries, with priority for those countries with the largest pathway uncertainty (see Figure 2). National and international research funding organisations are needed to facilitate this.

An associated research agenda could feature three components. First, a firm baseline for each African country should be established, featuring quantitative and qualitative energy, economic, socio-demographic and policy data to account for context-specific structures, challenges and objectives. Second, extant integrated energy planning models and qualitative analyses should be carried out to yield actionable energy system pathways targeted at country-specific development priorities. Third, context-specific research in all African countries is needed to understand how best to implement the resulting pathways. While this agenda would benefit from collaboration between African and international research institutions, it requires investment in local knowledge, skills, and institutions that enable African policy makers, the private sector, NGOs and scientists to organise<sup>13</sup>. Scaling local research and innovation systems with the capacities required for clean energy transitions takes time and effort but this process needs to begin urgently and in all African countries in a way that leverages in-country expertise and builds trust<sup>12,39,49</sup>.

#### **Competing interests**

The authors declare no competing interests.

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471 **Table 1: Risks and opportunities for reaching Agenda 2063 objectives to consider for African**  
472 **policy makers when choosing energy technologies**  
473

Type of objectives	Specific objectives of AU Agenda 2063	Short-term risks / opportunities	Long-term risks / opportunities
<b>Economic</b>	(Econ1) Transformed economies for sustainable and inclusive economic growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sufficient supply of energy to meet all agro-industrial, manufacturing, industrial and services needs</li> <li>• Price of modern forms of energy</li> <li>• Potential for export revenue and enhanced regional trade</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Energy-enabled economic diversification through green growth opportunities and climate resilience</li> <li>• Impact on international trade given cross-border carbon tax; moving away from resource export-oriented economy to more value-added products</li> <li>• Degree of flexibility / system inertia</li> </ul>
	(Econ2) Functioning finance systems / Africa taking full responsibility for financing her development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability to cover required upfront investments / attract foreign capital</li> <li>• Financing conditions</li> <li>• Availability and flow of low-cost climate finance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asset stranding risks</li> <li>• Financial debt / default risks</li> </ul>
	(Econ3) World-class infrastructure crisscrosses Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fostering better Pan-African interconnection</li> <li>• Strengthened regional power pools and cross-border energy trade taking advantage of geographical spread of energy resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Long-term security of energy supply</li> <li>• Lock-in risks of high electricity cost and prices</li> <li>• Asset and system-level reliability</li> </ul>
	(Econ4) Modern agriculture for increased productivity and production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensuring short-term food security/sovereignty</li> <li>• Increase in food production and productivity in smallholder farms and large-scale agribusinesses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensuring adequate energy systems to help guarantee long-term food security/sovereignty for growing populations</li> <li>• Domestic fertiliser production and use</li> </ul>
<b>Social</b>	(Soc1) High standard of living and well-being for all citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability to meet energy needs of households and small-scale productive sectors</li> <li>• Pace with which the household electrification rate can increase</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sustained ability to meet growing demand for modern forms of energy</li> <li>• Increased individual and community resilience</li> <li>• Pollution-related health risks</li> </ul>
	(Soc2) Skills revolution underpinned by Science, Technology and Innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creation of jobs in the energy sector</li> <li>• Capacity building and real technology transfer to set up local industry in renewable energy value chain</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• African science, technology and innovation hubs</li> <li>• Long-term job growth prospects for small and large-scale businesses</li> </ul>
<b>Institutional / political</b>	(Inst1) Capable institutions and transformative leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capacity of current policies and regulations to accommodate new generation options</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability to democratise the energy system towards making it more needs-centric and demand-driven</li> </ul>
	(Inst2) Africa as a major partner in global affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fostering independence and sovereignty in Africa</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability to be a strong and influential global player and partner</li> <li>• Ability to meet NDC commitments under the Paris Agreement and mobilize finance</li> </ul>
<b>Environmental</b>	(Env1) Environmentally sustainable and resilient economies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Carbon emissions</li> <li>• Physical climate risks</li> <li>• Deforestation</li> <li>• Other environmental pressures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lock-in of adverse local environmental impacts from polluting plants</li> <li>• Long-term climate resilience</li> </ul>

474 Notes: The African Union defines 20 objectives in its Pan-African Agenda 2063 roadmap<sup>27</sup>. Ten of these form the  
475 rows in this table here, as they exhibit direct links to decisions related to energy systems and generation technology  
476 mixes. Economic objectives relate to direct effects on different sectors of the economy, including energy, finance,  
477 agriculture, industry and services. Social objectives include energy access as a key component of high standards  
478 of living, as well as building the required skills for locally driven development. Two objectives relating to finance  
479 have been merged into one row. The opportunities and risks are sourced from the literature<sup>1,2,6,7,12,38,39,45,49</sup> as well  
480 as the authors' analyses.

## Figure notes and captions

Notes: Levelised costs of electricity (LCOE) are calculated as a function of cost, electricity yield and interest rates<sup>41</sup>. We used average cost data from 2021<sup>2</sup>, and derived country-specific solar electricity yields from the Global Solar Atlas solar insolation dataset<sup>28</sup>. An insolation value was used in the LCOE calculation which is matched or exceeded on at least 10,000 km<sup>2</sup> of area in each country. We used country-specific cost of capital for private sector finance (reported as “mainstream financing with a premium”) from Agutu et al. (2022)<sup>20</sup>. Taking public sector finance sources would avoid the premium and lowers LCOE by roughly 0.005 USD/kWh for all countries. Electrification rates were taken from the World Bank World Development Indicators and show values from 2020<sup>50</sup>. Countries are coloured in black if they have at least 5 trillion cubic feet of proven natural gas reserves, in blue if they have low or no natural gas reserves but a current share of fossil fuel generation capacity of more than 50%, and in green if neither of these two characteristics apply. CAR stands for Central African Republic; DRC stands for Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**Figure 1:** Country-specific differences of current energy systems and relative generation technology favourability in Africa

Notes: The figure illustrates stylized country-specific solution spaces of the set of different meaningful energy system pathways to meet development goals. It assumes the long-term vision of African countries to achieve clean and sustainable energy systems with universal electricity access. Larger solution space areas indicate larger degrees of uncertainty of which energy system pathways optimise development outcomes. In Ethiopia, the short-term and long-term favourability of focusing on renewable energy limits these uncertainties, while Mozambique has a much wider range of potential pathway options with salient short-term versus long-term development opportunity and risk trade-offs. Pathways are illustrative only.

**Figure 2:** Schematic illustration of meaningful generation technology pathways for different countries discussed in this paper

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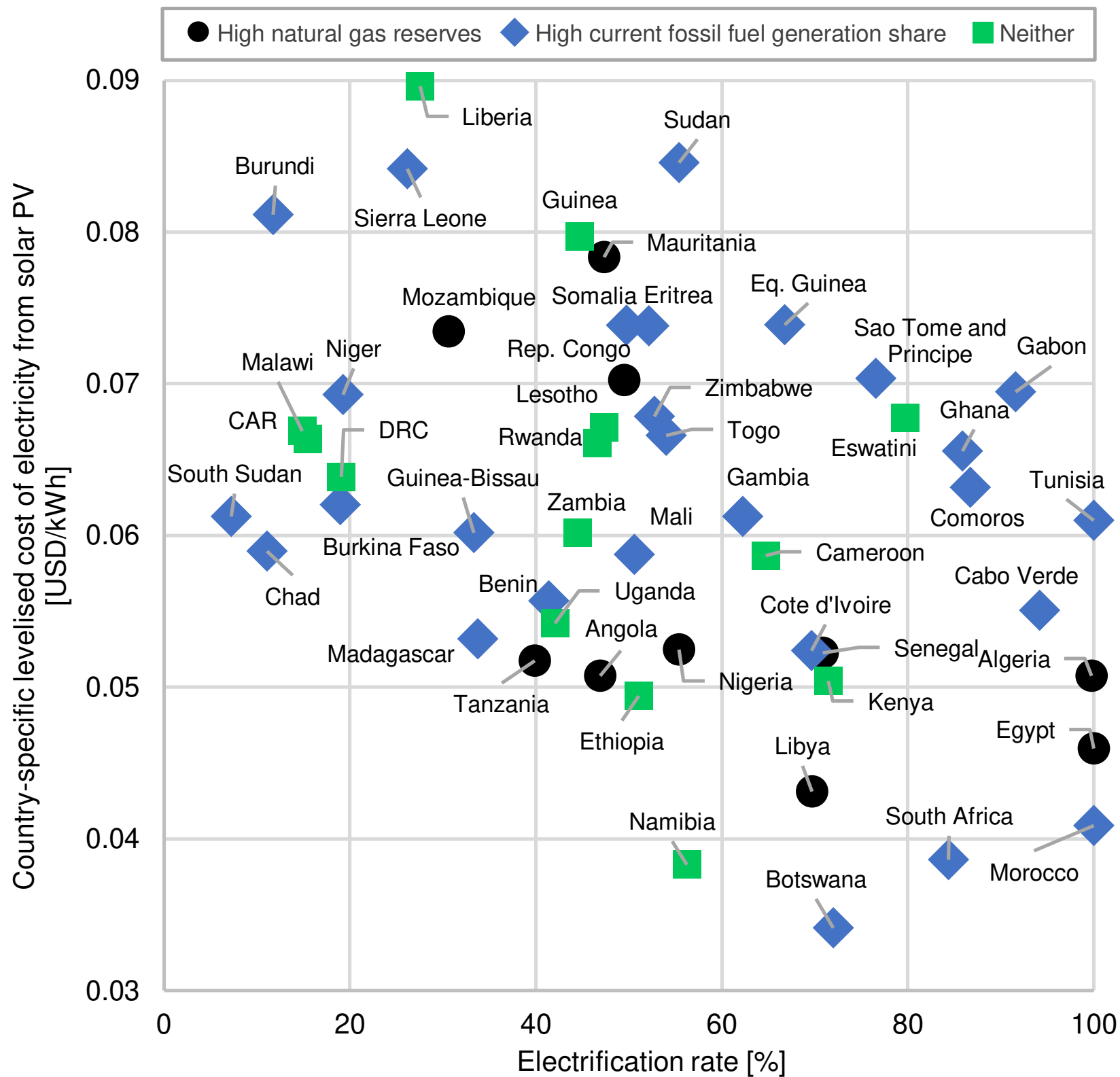
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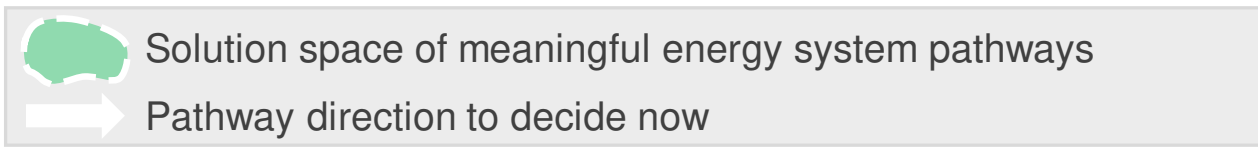
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Generation technology choices for development

