African
Union

GUIDE TO YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES IN AFRICA

ACRONYMS

ACDEG	African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance
ACYPL	American Council of Young Political Leaders
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AGA-YES	AGA Youth Engagement Strategy
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AYC	African Youth Charter
BVR	Biometric Voter Registration
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CORD	Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CUBLEF	Cultural blend festivals
CVE	Civic and Voter Education
DPA	Department of Political Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EFTP	National Policy on Education and Technical and Vocational Training
CPF	Conflict Prevention Framework
ELF	Emerging Leaders Foundation
EMB	Election Management Bodies
FGDs	Focus Group discussions
FPTP	First Past the Post
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
GENCED	Gender Centre for Empowering Development
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IPYF	Inter-Party Youth Forum
KYMCA	Kenya Young Members of County Assembly Association
MP	Member of Parliament
MNYC	Mozambique National Youth Council
MYP	Malawi Young Pioneers
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEWSETA	Network for Solidarity, Empowerment and Transformation for All NGOs Non-Governmental Organisations
NPE	National and Provincial Elections
NYC	National Youth Council
OYEBO	Organisation for Youth and elections in Botswana
PCs	Personal Computers

PR	Proportional Representation
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADC-CNGO	SADC Council of Non-Governmental Organisations
SAYoF	Southern African Youth Forum
SRCs	Student Representative Councils
TNA	The National Alliance
TORs	Terms of Reference
ToT	Training of Trainers
TYC	Tanzania Youth Coalition
VE	Violent Extremism
VPNs	Virtual Private Networks
VRO	Voter Registration Officer
YETT	Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust
YIAGA	Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement
YWPLS	Youth Women Political Leadership School
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union
UNMGCY	United Nations Major Group for Children and Youth
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

FOREWORD

The "Africa We Want" is a vision, a progressive stride towards a future whereby Africa is the best version of itself, with its citizens realizing their full potential and living in satisfaction and pride in their continent. This vision is embodied in Agenda 2063; a vision board for Africa's future. The African Union, in recognition of the role of youth in the continent, further encapsulates the "Africa We Want" through Aspiration 6 of Agenda 2063 as "an Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people especially its women and youth and caring for children."

In the grand scheme of Africa's vision, young people play a significant role, and with a high number of young people in the continent, that narrative is relevant now more than ever. More than 65% of Africa's population is currently under 24 years, making Africa one of the youngest continents in the world. Africa is therefore readying itself to experience a dividend from its dominant demography within a few decades.

Following a clarion call by the youth during the 2021 African Governance Architecture (AGA) Regional Youth Consultations, the AGA under the auspices of the AGA Youth Engagement Strategy spearheaded the development of a Comprehensive Guide and Facilitator and Participants Manuals on Youth Participation in Political and Electoral Processes in Africa. The Guide and accompanying Manuals were developed in collaboration with the Common Market for East and Southern Africa Secretariat (COMESA) with the support of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation- SDC. The manuals underwent a painstaking research, review and validation process with the full involvement of youth leaders and experts across the five regions of the continent.

Meaningfully engaging young people entails allowing youth to be part of formulating the political discourse to contribute in bringing in new priorities that are distinctive and also valuable. As a reflection of a functioning democracy, regular, credible and transparent elections are key. Electoral processes in Africa are intricate and have resulted in more bloodshed than peaceful transition of power. Undoubtedly, an effective way to Silence the Guns is to meaningfully engage youth in various democratic institutions. Youth have a stake in all components of the electoral cycle such as political parties, Electoral Management Bodies and Civil Society, including community and faith-based organizations, the government and media.

This manual has been launched as part of the commemoration of the 10th High-level Dialogue on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance conducted virtually from 9 – 10 December 2021 as the African Union Commission's significant contribution to all Member States, youth focused and Youth led organizations and most importantly youth in Africa. It is our hope that the Guide and Manuals will serve as a lever to jumpstart different pockets of capacity-building initiatives all over Africa. I encourage youths and all stakeholders to download and utilise the Guide and Manuals, and tag us online on our twitter platform @AGA_Platform and @AUC_PAPS so that we are informed on the strides you have made.

It is our sincere hope that this Guide and the Manuals will be vital in breaking barriers to youth participation in electoral processes and will encourage greater youth focused and youth-led action in ensuring the attainment of the Africa we all want.

Thank you.

H.E. Amb Bankole Adoye
Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

A look at political and electoral processes on the continent of Africa shows that the tradition of regular elections has been established albeit ambivalent, in terms of the elections' quality. There is no doubt that there is a mix ranging from competitive, semi-competitive to non-competitive polls across the continent. Evidence suggests that the increased competitiveness of elections has not necessarily led to an increase in citizen participation in electoral processes. Instead, cases of shrinking democratic space for citizen participation, infringement of fundamental freedoms and rights and declining voter turnout continue to bedevil most African countries. Even more worrying is a glaring void of youth participation in political and electoral processes. According to the African Youth Charter (AYC),youth are persons aged 15 to 35 years.[1] Therefore, with an estimated population of 1.3 billion, the youth demographic makes up an estimated 430 million of Africa's population.[2]

In 2019, the Mo Ibrahim Foundation estimated that "almost 60 per cent of Africa's population was under the age of 25, making Africa the world's youngest continent."[3] It stated the youth population group is under 35 years occupying 75 per cent of the total continental population.[4] In 2019, more than 1/3 of the population was aged between 15 and 34. By 2100, Africa's youth population could be equivalent to twice Europe's entire population.[5]

Although we look at the youth demographic within a specific age lens, it is necessary to acknowledge that the youth are not homogenous in their lived experiences and expectations. It is therefore important to qualify the different needs and perceptions that youth demographic may have in experiences while engaging with political and electoral processes. It is also equally important that the youth demographic recognizes at national, regional, and continental levels their differences while making efforts for engagement and participation in political and electoral processes. Although experiences may differ depending on region, access and resources, the youth demographic will need to galvanise efforts for more interaction, sharing of lessons and experiences to better inform constructive engagement and maintain momentum in engagement of the youth in political and electoral processes.

Their strength in demography notwithstanding, young people in Africa are still primarily marginalized, specifically in their participation in electoral processes. Participation in the electoral process is an underrated but crucial entry point for Africa's youth to participate in decision-making processes and systems meaningfully. Young people have tremendous roles to play throughout the electoral cycle, as voters, candidates, and electoral officials. Despite these roles, young people in Africa continue to be disenfranchised in electoral processes. In reality, the perception is that electoral processes are resulting in the frustration of young people. Traditional politics and representative democracy and their quest for power struggles through the ballot box had incredibly failed to attract younger cohorts' attention through genuine civic responsibility engagement perspective, which has birthed apathetic young people.

The African Governance Architecture (AGA) has used the AGA Youth Engagement Strategy (AGA-YES) to convene youth Regional Consultations enhancing young people's meaningful participation in electoral process in Africa. The consultations took place in Arusha, Tanzania for East and Southern Africa, Accra, Ghana for West and Central Africa and Tunis, Tunisia for North Africa. These consultations brought together over 300 young people within the context of the AU theme of the year: "Harnessing the Demographic Dividend Through Investments in Youth". The consultations' outcomes were clear in ascertaining the commitment and readiness of young people to engage despite the challenges. One of the main challenges identified across the board was the lack of capacity among young people to meaningfully engage in creating knowledge and understanding of the electoral systems as well as youth's entry points for youth engagement throughout the electoral cycle.

1.African Youth Charter, Definitions. "youth" https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7789-treaty-0033_-_african_youth_charter_e.pdf (Accessed 29 October 2020)

2. Ezeh, A., Feyissa, T G. The Conversation Whats driving Africa's population growth. And what can change it 2019. https://theconversation.com/whats-driving-africas-population-growth-and-what-can-change-it-1263362#:~:text=Population%20growth%20rates%20continue%20to,population%20of%201.3%20billion%20people. (Accessed 30 October 2020)

3. Mo Ibrahim foundation "Africa's first challenge: the youth bulge stuck in 'waithood'" https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/news/2019/africas-first-challenge-youth-bulge-stuck-waithood#:~:text=Almost%2060%25%20of%20Africa's%20population,to%20be%2019.8%20in%202020. (Accessed 29 October 2020)

4. African Union Policy brief 2019, Africa's future youth and the data defining their lives https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/37828-doc-soayr_policy_brief_ok.pdf (Accessed 30 October 2020)

5. See (https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/news/2019/africas-first-challenge-youth-bulge-stuck-waithood

It is against the foregoing that the AGA Secretariat and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) Secretariat have commissioned this Training of Trainers (ToT) Guide on Youth Engagement in Political and Electoral Processes in Africa.

Objectives of the guide:

This guide's overall objective is to develop the capacity of youth groups within and outside traditional political spaces. Specifically, the guide must:

a) Create youth's awareness and understanding of the nexus between elections and democracy and the dividend of their participation in electoral processes.

b) Enhance the young people's advocacy and lobbying skills for their engagement efforts with various electoral stakeholders, including election management bodies (EMBs), political parties and candidates, governments, legislative and other statutory bodies, civil society, media, communities, and development partners.

c) Provide a comparative perspective on lessons learned across the continent on the engagement of young people in democratic governance; and,

d) Increase and sustain youth participative value in electoral processes.

The guide provides lessons and best practices based on youth participation in political and electoral processes on the African continent. While this guide is a tool for all countries on the continent, the users should adopt the suggested planning and implementation strategies to the local situation because of the historical, political, cultural, and socio-economic peculiarities in each country that require tailor-made strategies. The guide consists of the following ten (10) chapters:

Chapter 1: Understanding Youth participation in political and electoral processes
Chapter 2: The Continental and Regional Architecture for the Promotion of Youth Participation in Africa
Chapter 3: Factors Inhibiting Youth Participation
Chapter 4: Forms of Youth Participation
Chapter 5: Youth Participation in Electoral Cycle
Chapter 6: Youth Access to Information in Political and Electoral Processes
Chapter 7: Breaking Barriers for Youth Participation
Chapter 8: Leadership
Chapter 9: Advocacy
Chapter 10: Communication and Engagement

Youth-Led Development of the Guide

The development of this guide entailed the direct contribution of youth organisations and representatives. A purposely sampled cohort of female and male youth leaders in the five African regions (East, West, Central, North and Southern Africa) was consulted through virtual interviews and focus group discussions. An interview guide was used to solicit youth views on (a) access and barriers, (b) leadership, (c) advocacy, (d) engagement and communication were developed and used to collect data. Respondents from Botswana, Cameroon, Gabon, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe shared their personal and organisational experiences in youth participation in political and electoral processes in their countries and regions.

PART 1

THE SETTING: BACKGROUND TO YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN AFRICA

CHAPTER 1: Understanding youth participation in political and electoral processes

a) Context

The Afrobarometer survey across 36 African countries noted that 78 per cent of the youth believe in the civic responsibility of voting. However, on Election Day, this number decreases to 65 per cent who cast their ballots.[6] For example, the South African Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) reported that "approximately 9.8 million eligible voters are still not registered. Out of these, approximately 6 million are under 30 years old." [7] Despite innovative voter registration drive and calls by the IEC and political parties in the build-up to Election Day during South Africa's 2019 National and Provincial Elections (NPE), some youth abstained as they regarded the exercise as futile. One youth is quoted saying "I'm not voting tomorrow because we have problems like when we apply for bursaries, looking for jobs, nothing is happening. I don't see the use of voting."[8]

Juxtaposed to the youth who choose not to participate politically based on their needs not being met are the youth who participate through violent means, recruited by political leaders. An example of such youth groups includes the mid-1960s Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP) founded by the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) as a paramilitary youth wing disguised as a national youth programme. The MYP operated under President Kamuzu Banda's direct control and guaranteed his political ambitions and tenure.[9] This type of youth instrumentation has become a common feature of African politics, mainly where there are high unemployment levels.

The Mungiki gangs of Kenya and Chipangano are both additional points of reference for this violent participation.[10] The Mungiki is an ethnic sect that was banned in 2003 but resurged in 2007 following the disputed election results.[11] Comprising large numbers of the Kikuyu tribe, this group was fingered in the deaths of over one thousand people in the aftermath of the 2007 elections and alleged to have the political leaders' financial backing. The Chipangano was a youth militia that ran amok in Zimbabwe in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Like the Mungiki, the group served political party interests—a matter later confirmed by its former leader, Jim Kunaka, in 2015.

Political marginalisation of the youth combined with economic factors such as unemployment has exposed the youth to violent extremism by participating in terrorist activities in countries such as Kenya (Al Shabaab) and Nigeria (Boko Haram). In Ghana, the youth vigilante groups are common where political parties recruit the youth to carry out violence against political opponents. This phenomenon started in the Northern Region of Tamale but has spread rapidly across other regions. In central parts of the country, the youth are also recruited as "macho men" (ballot box snatchers) to disrupt polling processes by snatching ballot boxes on polling day and engaging in violence after the elections.[12]

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6. https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Policy%20papers/ab_r6_policypaperno34_youth_political_engagement_in_africa_youth_day_release_eng2.pdf

7. Electoral commission of South Africa, Over 700 000 new voters added to the voters' roll ahead of elections https://www.elections.org.za/content/About-Us/News/Over-700-000-new-voters-added-to-the-voters--roll-ahead-of-elections/ (Accessed 1 November 2020)

8. Mumbure, D. 2019 What fueled voter apathy among young South Africans? Africanews.com https://www.africanews.com/2019/05/14/what-fueled-voter-apathy-among-young-south-africans/ (Accessed 1 November 2020)

9. Malawi young pioneers https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/africa/mw-myp.htm (Accessed 1 November 2020)

10. Bradfield, P. 2013 African Experiences of Youth in Political Violence—Reflections on Zimbabwe Beyond The Hague Thoughts on international justice from The Hague and beyond.

https://beyondthehague.com/2013/08/26/african-experiences-of-youth-in-political-violence-reflections-on-zimbabwe/ (Accessed 1 November 2020)

11. See Mail & Guardian Newspaper of 14 July 2016. On— line at: https://mg.co.za/article/2016-07-14-00-kenyans-fear-re-emergence-of-the-banned-mungiki-sect-and-its-deadly-reign-of-terror/

12. The 2017 Commonwealth Evaluation report on the Ghana National Peace Council. Commonwealth Secretariat.

Given the alienation in political and electoral participation that they face, the youth have pushed the envelope to claim their place in recent years. Through new ways of information exchange and generational and technological changes, young people have increased access to information that affects their present and future. As human rights violations continue to receive greater attention, governments, now more than ever, remain accountable to answer to the public's concerns.[13] Youth use digital platforms to express their views on national issues and to demand change. In this way, the youth have circumvented the hierarchical nature of political engagement and made political engagement possible in settings where it would otherwise not be physically possible. [14]

The 2016 Afrobarometer report shows that television, newspapers and radio still play an integral part as mediums of communication and information, noting that the 18–25 year generation is more likely to use digital media to source news as the 25-year generation appreciate the curatorship of newspapers.[15] In the same vein, an estimated 90 per cent of the population uses television as a primary (news) information source. Considering that these are statistics that far outweigh the continental averages, digital media's importance is paramount. For instance, since its inception in 2007, the Hashtag has enabled quick access and dissemination of news into targeted streams through following a hashtag on a given topic. From #BringBackOurGirls in Nigeria to #IVoted in South Africa, hashtags have been instrumental in spotlighting issues of concern as they happen within society and the world. [16]

A key advantage of the Hashtag is the ability to mobilise and broadcast messages rapidly. The South Africa #FeesMustFall movement of 2016 highlighted how a hashtag worked to build youthful momentum against a 10.5 per cent university fees increase that would have excluded the majority of poor students. This movement was branded as a rogue movement that merely sought to disturb those that wanted to learn. Still, focused and sustained pressure and mobilisation erased these assumptions.[17] In the Gambia, the 2016 pre-election #GambiaDecides hashtag propelled the new political leadership into office after 22-year rule by former president Yaya Jammeh in 2016. The following year, in January 2017, #GambiaHasDecided hashtag forced Jammeh to abandon his attempt to overturn the election outcome. The 2020 Nigerian #EndSARS movement is another success. Civil society activists and young people forced the Nigerian government to disband the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) police unit, accused of human rights abuses where citizens were harassed, robbed, tortured and also killed.

Music has also provided an avenue for political activism and mobilisation. The Senegalese civil society organisation (CSO) known as Y'en A Marre has used music at political rallies to mobilise youth against political repression.[18] During the 2017 Ugandan parliamentary by-elections, a young political activist, Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu, also known as "Bobi Wine", used music for mass mobilisation. He released music such as "Dembe, appealing to youth for a peaceful election process; and Situka, calling on all Ugandans to demand a better Uganda for future generations." [19] He won a parliamentary seat of Kyaddondo East with an estimated 80% of the vote as a first-time candidate proving music's useful contribution to political and electoral mobilisation.[20]

13. AGA 2016 Promoting Young People's Rights towards the attainment of Agenda 2063: West African Regional Youth Consultations on Project 2016 Year of Human Rights with a particular focus on the rights of women Windhoek, Namibia 8–9 September 2016

14. Ibid

15. Youth political engagement in South Africa: Beyond student protests Afrobarometer https://media.africaportal.org/documents/ab-dispatchno101-youth-engagement.pdf (Accessed 1 November 2020)

16. Mourdoukoutas, E. 2018 The hashtag revolution gaining ground: Africa's millennials are using technology to drive change Africa renewal https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/april-2018-july-2018/hashtag-revolution-gaining-ground (Accessed 1 November 2020)

17. https://wagingnonviolence.org/2017/06/south-africa-fees-must-fall/

18. "Y'En A Marre!" (We're Fed Up!): Senegal in the Season of Discontent: https://origins.osu.edu/article/yen-marre-were-fed-senegal-season-discontent

19. Lessons from Bobi Wine's Story for Youth REIGNITE Africa http://reigniteafrica.org/2017/07/02/lessons-from-bobi-wines-story-for-youth/

20. Mutyaba, M. 2017 Uganda: 3 lessons from the Ghetto President's by-election triumph. African Arguments https://africanarguments.org/2017/07/03/uganda-3-lessons-from-the-ghetto-presidents-by-election-triumph/ (Accessed 4 November 2020)

b) Why is youth participation important?

The sheer statistics on the total number of youths compared to the adult population on the continent befits their political and electoral inclusion. Therefore, youth participation, not only as voters but also as contestants and electoral officials, fulfils their civic role in governance processes. It cannot and should not be a tangential issue but a specific and obvious reality. Roger Hart (1992) offers one of the best explanations of the rationale for youth participation: youth participation is a fundamental right to citizenship.[21] Hart developed a tiered "rungs" model in which he defines the degrees of participation. This model which aptly captures the circumstances of the African youth described in the subsection above is depicted in diagram 1 and explained in table 1 below.

DEGREES OF PARTICIPATION

RUNG: 8 Young people and adults share decision making.

RUNG: 7 Young people initiate and lead action.

RUNG: 6 Adults initiated, shared decisions with young people.

RUNG: 5 Young people consulted and informed.

RUNG: 4 Young people assigned but informed.

NON-PARTICIPATION

RUNG: 3 Young people tokenised.

RUNG: 2 Young people as decoration.

RUNG: 1 Young people manipulated.

Source: Roger Hart 1992

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21. Hart, R. (1992). Children's Participation from Tokenism to Citizenship. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, as cited in Government of Australia's Better Together: A practical guide to effective engagement with young people Online at:
https://www.bettertogether.sa.gov.au/media/W1siZiIsIjIwMTgvMDQvMTgvODExbHkzMDlwaV9CZXR0ZXJfVG9nZXRoZXJfeW91dGhfZW5nYWdlbWVudF9ndWlkZV9zbS5wZGYiXV0/Better%20Together%20youth%20engagement%20guide_sm.pdf

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Table 1: Hart's degrees of participation definitions

8. Young people initiated shared decisions with adults

Descriptions   young people develop initiatives and invite adults to be involved in decision-making to share their skills and experience.

7. Young people initiated and directed

Descriptions   young people develop and implement an activity or initiative without adults taking a directive role.

6. Adult initiated shared decisions with young people

Descriptions   adults have the initial idea, but young people are involved in every step of the planning and implementation. Their views are not only considered but they are also involved in making decisions.

5. Consulted and informed

Descriptions   a project is designed and run by adults, but young people understand the process and their opinions are treated seriously.

4. Assigned but informed

Descriptions   young people understand the intentions of the project, know who made the decisions about their involvement and why, have a meaningful role and volunteer for the project after the scope and purpose of the project has been made clear to them.

3. Tokenism

Descriptions   young people are apparently given a voice but have little or no choice about the subject or the style of communicating it and little or no opportunity to formulate their own opinions.

2. Decoration

Descriptions   young people are used to "perform" at an adult event related to an issue that they have little or no idea about – it's different from manipulation because the adults don't pretend that the cause is inspired by young people.

1. Manipulation

Descriptions   young people do or say what adults suggest they do but have no real understanding of the issues. Or young people are asked what they think, and adults use some of the ideas but do not tell them what influence they have on the final decision.

Source: Roger Hart (1992)

Another useful model to consider is Harry Shier's Pathways to participation which builds on Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation and Roger Hart's Ladder of Children's Participation. [22]

This model draws heavily from Hart's model above but does not seek to replace it. Instead, it serves as an additional tool for practitioners, helping them to explore different aspects of the participation process. While Shier mentions that "many practitioners have found the [lower non-participatory levels] to be the most useful function" of Hart's Ladder of Children's Participation, because it helps them "recognise, and work to eliminate, these types of non-participation in their own practice," Shier's model excludes these levels of false 'pseudo-participation in favour of a "pathway" that illustrates the methods adults can utilize to support a developmental progression of authentic child and youth participation.

By eliminating the negative connotations typically associated with the lower rungs of ladder models, Shier's approach offers a participatory progression that effectively functions as a scaffolding guide for educators and other adults working with children and youth.

Diagram 2: Harry Shier's Pathways to participation
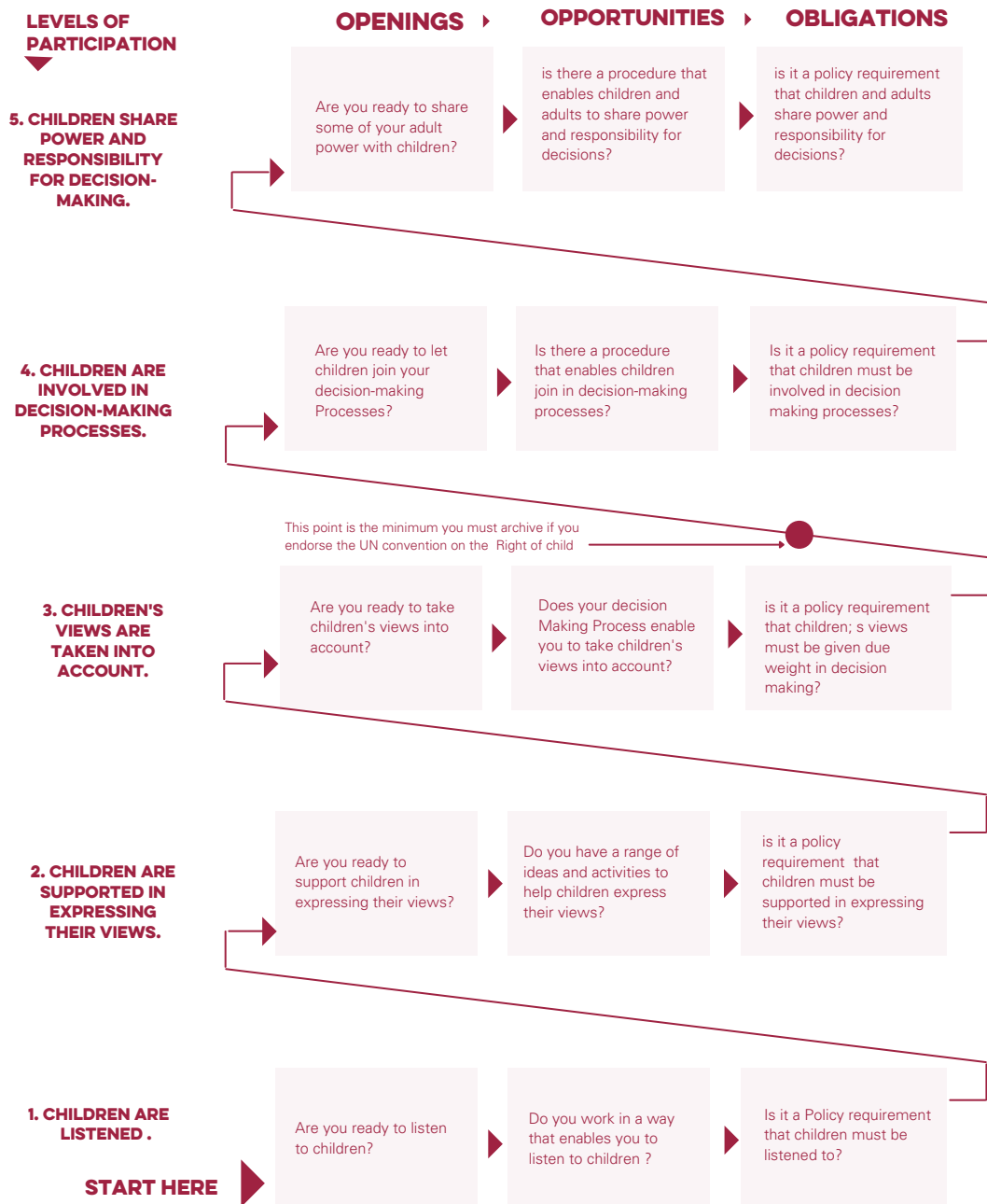
22. https://organizingengagement.org/models/pathways-to-participation/

CHAPTER 2: The Continental and Regional Architecture for the Promotion of Youth Participation in Africa

2.1 Continental normative and policy framework

(a) Agenda 2063

The AU growth and sustainable development framework, Agenda 2063, espouses youth empowerment. Aspiration 3 of Agenda 2063 envisages "an Africa of good governance, democracy, and respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law". Women are integrated into all decision-making structures and governance, and where the youth play a leadership role. In addition to this, Aspiration 6 envisions a continent "whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children". It aspires that by 2063, Africa will be a continent where all citizens will be actively involved in decision-making in all aspects of development, including social, economic, political, and environmental. Africa will be a continent where no child, woman or man will be left behind. In an endeavour to accelerate the implementation of Agenda 2063, the AU has devised several flagship programmes including the annual policy dialogue fora that brings together the African political leadership, the private sector, academia, civil society, women, youth, media as well as community and faith leaders to discuss developments and constraints as well as measures to be taken to realise Agenda 2063.

(b) African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG)

Besides the provisions of AYC, youth participation is enshrined in the 2007 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG). Article 31(1) and (2) of the ACDEG demands of Member States that they promote the participation of social groups with special needs, including the youths and persons with disabilities, in governance processes. State Parties are further urged to undertake systematic and comprehensive civic education to encourage social groups' full participation with special needs in democracy and development processes.

(c) African Youth Charter (AYC)

The 2006 African Youth Charter (AYC) is a blueprint for youth empowerment and development at continental, regional and national levels. Article 11.1 makes a provision for the youth to participate in the complete political spectrum as a right.[23] It provides that every young person shall have the right to participate in all spheres of society. Article 11.2b of the AYC commits the AU Member States to promote active youth participation and create platforms for youth involvement in decision-making processes.

(d) African Governance Architecture Youth Engagement Strategy (AGA-YES)

Based on the foregoing context in chapter 1 above, and conscious of a growing youth population that has great potential, dynamism, resourcefulness, resilience and aspirations, The African Governance Architecture (AGA) has developed with inputs from the youth all over the continent, a youth engagement strategy (YES). The AGA-YES is a guiding framework for AU Policy Organs and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to ensure sustainable engagement of youth in democratic governance processes within the AGA framework. Furthermore, AGA-YES aims at fostering peer learning, capacity building, knowledge generation and dissemination, as well as advocacy amongst AU Policy Organs, Member States, youth-led and oriented networks, and organisations for increased engagement of young men and women in democratic governance processes in Africa. The AGA-YES envisages meaningful youth engagement in democratic governance processes at three interrelated levels:

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23. African Youth Charter, Article 11.1 and 2b https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7789-treaty-0033_-_african_youth_charter_e.pdf

- Youth as today and tomorrow's leaders can create and lead innovative actions, programmes, and initiatives on the continent.
- Youth as partners playing specific roles in defining and implementing democratic governance initiatives as an integral part of the AGA overall objective; and
- Youth as beneficiaries of AU Organs and RECs actions, programmes, and initiatives.

The specific objectives of the AGA-YES are to:

(a) Provide a guiding framework for Africa's youth engagement in the AU Shared Values Agenda within the AGA processes.

(b) Facilitate mainstreaming of youth in the democratic governance initiatives of the African Governance Platform Members and the AU Member States.

(c) Enhance youth-led and oriented organisations' capacity and networks to facilitate meaningful engagement of youth in democratic governance initiatives at national, regional, and continental levels.

(d) Institutionalise intergenerational platforms for engagement of youths in democratic governance policy formulation and decision-making platforms at regional and continental levels; and

(e) Facilitate youth contributions to evidence-based research and policy development on democratic governance in Africa.

2.2 Regional normative and policy framework

Besides the ACDEC, the AYC and Agenda 2063, there are policy initiatives in the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) that enhance youth participation. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has included youth empowerment as a priority in its Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF). The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) mainstreamed youth into its Regional Strategy. The East African Community (EAC) launched a Youth Policy and instituted a Youth Ambassadors Program to promote youth engagement. The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) has also mainstreamed youth participation in policy, democracy and socio-economic development in its programming.

The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) has developed a regional program to strengthen the capacities of young people in the management of association, crisis and conflict prevention. The General Secretariat of the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA) has developed a Regional Strategy for Engagement, Participation, and Advocacy to amplify youth voices to promote peace, security and sustainable development. The Southern African Development Community's (SADC) has a programme focusing on mitigating youth participation in violence, youth empowerment and employment.[24]

Despite the continental and regional architecture for the promotion of youth participation, evidence shows that the Member States have not readily facilitated a meaningful inclusion of the youth in decision-making processes. The only contribution earmarked for the youth in Africa is political mobilisation and not formal leadership. Several factors militate against youth participation, including political, socio-economic, generational, and cultural factors, as elaborated in Chapter 3 below.

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24. See the African Union Commission Continental Framework for Youth, Peace and Security.

CHAPTER 3: Factors inhibiting youth participation (barriers)

There are several barriers to youth participation in political and electoral processes in Africa. Some of these barriers are invisible because they mainly manifest within the youth psyche. That is, they are self-rationalised limitations where the youth establish mental barriers and resolve not to participate. On the other hand, visible barriers make youth participation a distant mirage, leading to most youth ruling out any attempt to participate in any form. There are five barriers, namely, social, cultural, economic, political and other barriers:

1. Social barriers

(a) Poor civic education

Poor civic education is a contributing factor to the lack of youth participation. For example, a 2002 Youth Apathy study in Botswana that sought to understand why there was low youth interest in political participation revealed that the youth considered politics a preserve for the elderly. Besides, the youth also believed that politics is an arena where people without skills converge and quarrel over petty issues that have nothing to do with the people's daily needs.

(b) Illiteracy:

Low levels of literacy on the continent largely affect youth's capacity to make informed choices about political issues and decisions. This has resulted in the youth being subjected to manipulation by the political leaders, including during elections where the youth fail to scrutinise candidates' electoral promises.

2. Economic barriers

Poverty

Poverty carries a double effect of totally dissuading youth participation in political and electoral processes or encouraging participation that brings no benefits to the youth. As the resources theory of political participation posits, to fully engage within political activities, one should have adequate resources that allow full engagement. [25] Given that an estimated 3 million jobs are produced in Africa against an annual demand of between 10 and 12 million, the defence of not having money to vote or engage becomes justifiable. [26] When one is faced with a choice of engaging or saving, the outcome can be predicted.

It follows, therefore, that the effective impact of poverty can be seen in how it motivates negative political participation as a means of earning a living. In a 2011 political violence report from Kenya, Mercy Corps found that gainful employment was a key deterrent to political violence. [27] It was also noted that there was a linkage between the working class, poor youth and those with low incomes and participating in voting and traditional political activities. While the poor are prone to participating in elections, the middle class participates in political activism but less in elections than the poor majority population.

Poverty and income inequality also raise a key conundrum for political participation. The greater the economic inequalities in a society, the more difficult it becomes to have equal political participation, since accumulations of wealth can be used as a significant resource to determine political outcomes. In the most extreme cases, the wealthy will see the votes of the poor as a potential threat to their interests, which justifies them in manipulating or subverting the electoral process. Conversely, if the poor cannot see any prospect of improving their lot through democratic participation, they will not find participation worth supporting. Hence it is not just a question of the quality of participation in democracy, but of its sustainability in any form.

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25. Chang, W. 2014 Income, Electoral Turnout, and Partisan Voting in Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies , SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER, Vol. 14, No. 3 https://www.jstor.org/stable/26335152 (Accessed 1 November 2020)

26. Jobs for Youth in Africa: Catalyzing youth opportunity across Africa African Development Bank https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Images/high_5s/Job_youth_Africa_Job_youth_Africa.pdf (Accessed 1 November 2020).

27.

(b) Lack of employment and financial resources

Lack of employment and financial resources affect individuals and youth-led organisations' participation in political and electoral processes. For example, in Tunisia, information about new job openings is difficult to obtain and is rarely available without connections. In a labour market with widespread unemployment affecting most families, the few new jobs that become available are first reserved for relatives and friends before regular applicants are considered. Consequently, youth migrate especially from rural areas to urban areas in search of economic opportunities. Migration perpetuates social pressure in urban areas that cannot absorb the rapidly growing numbers of young unskilled workers. Young Tunisians migrate not only for work but also to exit from the social pressure in rural communities, delaying many life decisions and thereby creating additional frustrations among young men and women. Migration is seen as traumatic by many—an exile from family and community. Many young people depict leaving home and the emotional and material support of family, friends, neighbourhood, and the café for urban areas as a sacrifice rather than as an adventure (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 2014).

Participating in political and electoral processes in some countries entails many financial resources and constitutes a barrier. For instance, in Nigeria, aspirants for political office must have a lot of money to contest. They must also purchase the political interest form and a nomination form to be legible to vie for political office.

(c) Infrastructural Challenges:

In some countries, youth are apathetic because participating in electoral activities such as voter registration and voting requires the youth to travel vast distances between registration places and where they were residents. This is difficult, based on the general economic challenges experienced by young people. Even in cases where the youth are keen to participate in electoral processes, they are disenfranchised by the long distance between residency and polling stations and discrepancies in the voters' roll where they do not find their names in the voter register.

3. Cultural Barriers

Cultural impediments:

Attachment to traditional culture in most African societies defines the distinctiveness of these societies. Some patriarchal African traditions have prevented young people from participating in political and electoral processes. The political landscape is dominated by older men who have little regard for the youth's political ability. For instance, in Nigeria, the relationship between the elders (Big Boys Club) and young people is somewhat hostile. Youth feel that they are denied their rightful opportunity to express their social and political convictions freely. The experience of two young political aspirants, Garakilo and John, during the 2013 Kenyan general election substantiates this view.

Garakilo and John were hoping to represent their parties, the National Alliance (TNA) known as the Jubilee Alliance and the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD). Their hopes were dashed as they had to make way to elderly and politically connected politicians.[28] The retrogressive belief that youth should not at any point discuss anything with the elders because it is a sign of disrespect has prevented them from engaging in political and electoral processes. However, in rare cases, countries like Botswana have opened cultural spaces such as the Kgotla for youth empowerment. The youth have used the Kgotla for discussion on issues that affected them. Their engagement with the elders has paid dividends because the elders have become the champions of youth inclusivity.

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28. Ranta, E. 2018 Patronage and Ethnicity amongst Politically Active Young Kenyan in Youth and Political Engagement in Africa. BRILL https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctvbqs5zx.20 (Accessed 30 October 2020)

In addition, there is a persistent belief in most African cultures, that the women spaces are predominantly in domestic affairs (kitchen) as noted by one of the respondents. Such cultural beliefs have greatly hindered and discouraged young women's participation in political and electoral processes. Most importantly, these beliefs have somehow even made some young women to believe that its only men who are fit to contest for public office and deliver, as witnessed in a number of cases where women voters tend to vote for men candidates rather than women candidates.

4. Political Barriers

(a) Structural political hostility:

Structural political hostility where electoral periods are typically traumatic as they are associated with violence. Political hostility exposes constitutional constraints where the youth are persecuted and victimized with no recourse despite the constitutional provisions. This has often led to internal and external displacement of people including the youth.

(b) Political marginalisation

Political marginalisation has also hindered youth participation in political and electoral processes. This problem cuts across all the elements of the electoral cycle. This begins with the legal framework which tends to exclude participation of youth through the electoral system.

Electoral systems are meant to achieve direct or indirect political goals including the restriction of proliferation of parties, discouraging ethnic parties and inclusion of marginalised groups such as women, persons with disabilities and the youth. The inclusion of young people is more likely under the proportional representation system (PR) as opposed to the First Past The Post (FPTP) electoral system. Throughout the continent, the FPTP is often criticised for marginalisation of minorities and the youth in particular. On the other hand, the PR has been used in some countries to include the youth in party lists or through quotas.

Political marginalisation also takes place due to lack of intra-party democracy. Marginalisation is manifest during voter registration, and nomination of candidates where the youth candidatures in elections are stifled by the party hierarchy. Political parties create an environment that is not friendly to young people to contribute to decision-making and challenge for leadership. For most political parties, the youth are used as election campaign instruments where they are treated as "errand boys" and curtain raisers or morale boosters at political gatherings before the elders ascend to the podium. In cases where the youth make it to parliament, it is often a small percentage.

Political marginalisation among the youth should also be seen through the rural-urban divide as the continent of Africa is predominantly rural. Although youth representation in some countries is most evidently at local authority levels which are also predominantly rural, the youth are deprived of similar opportunity to play a proactive role at national level and in urban settings.

(c) Dominant party systems:

The dominance of the political landscape by one political party and in some cases one family leads to youth apathy. The suppression of dissenting voices and continued domination of electoral contest by force or fiat give the youth the impression that elections do not change anything and so participation in electoral processes is deemed as a waste of time.

(d) The lack of quotas for youth in Parliaments and in political parties

The lack of quotas for youth in Parliaments and in political parties is one of the prohibitive factors as well as an avenue for the exploitative participation of the youth. An observable trend is that even where the quota has been established such as in Tunisia after the Arab Spring, in Uganda where a quota for youth participation in parliament is in place or in Kenya where political parties are required to nominate youth representatives to the National Assembly, not all political parties readily embraced the quota provisions. In terms of quotas for youth in political parties' candidate lists, political parties in countries such as Gabon put youth candidates last on the party lists making it difficult for the youth to be elected in parliament. In addition, political parties impose overage members of the party in positions that should be occupied by the youth. Hence it is common to find people aged over 40 years being youth leaders and youth ministers.

(e) Lack of government-led funding or aid schemes to help attract youth to social investment:

Sometimes, the absence of funding from within weakens the policy and resource environment for participation. Organisations in Africa increasingly look for external partners/funding and tend to rise and fall based on the shifting priorities of these external donors. Sometimes this phenomenon triggers clampdown on the civic space on claims they are supporting foreign agendas and should be stopped. This therefore contributes to shrinking the civic space.

5. Other Barriers

(a) Digital Barriers:

Although there is ample evidence that the youth on the continent of Africa have embraced ICT to engage virtually through social media, there is equally a glaring digital divide where some youth have access while others do not have access to these ICT platforms. Besides access, there are also issues of capability and networks on the demand side, and knowledge and trust on the supply side.[29] As aptly stated by Helsper (2017) "whilst access to the internet in some form is near-universal, the quality of such access, digital skills levels, the availability and expertise of support networks, and, most importantly, outcomes of digital engagement differ radically for disadvantaged young people." [30]

(b) Legislative exclusions:

Youth participation is negatively impacted by legislative exclusions such as age limits. For example, the voting eligibility age in Cameroon is 20 years while the qualifying age for senatorial seat is 40 years. Article 2(3) of the 1996 constitution of Cameroon provides that elections shall be conducted on equal suffrage and secret by citizens who are 20 years old. Cameroon has a population of about 24 million people with a median age of about 18 years. "When the population is divided in two parts, half (i.e., 12 million people) are below the age of 18 and the other half above 18 years old. There are about 2 million people between the age of 18 and 20. When you add that to the population below 18, it makes 14 million people which is about 60 per cent of the population of Cameroon. Placing the voting age in Cameroon at 20 years therefore means that only 40 per cent of Cameroonians have the right to vote".[31] There is lack of uniformity across the continent regarding age limits. For example, in Nigeria, the constitutional provisions which set the age limit for presidential candidates at 40 years, Governor at 35 years and Member of the House of Representatives at 30 years respectively triggered a youth sponsored #NotTooYoungToRun bill (see case study in Chapter 6) because the youth felt legislatively excluded from contesting for political power.

29.

30. Helsper, E. 2016. Digital Inequality: Disadvantaged Young People Experience Higher Barriers to Digital Engagement. Online at: Https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/medialse/2016/12/07/digital-inequality-disadvantaged-young-people-experience-higher-barriers-to-digital-engagement/

31. Ateki Caxton 2019 Debunking the Skeptics: Why the Voting Age in Cameroon should be lowered from 20 to 18 https://www.newseta.org/debunking-the-skeptics-why-the-voting-age-in-cameroon-should-be-lowered-from-20-to-18/

(c) Administrative barriers:

The youth face several administrative barriers that obtain in political and electoral systems. Most African governments have local authority structures that are not empowered to make decisions. Failure to devolve power to subnational structures ushers in a bureaucratic muddle that becomes a disincentive to youth participation. Requirements for some of the electoral processes can also limit youth participation. For example, a proof of residence is required in Zimbabwe for one to register for voting. The following are some of the documents required.

    i. Title deeds or a certificate of occupation.

    ii. A lodger's permit issued by the relevant authority.

    iii. Rates, water, electricity, telephone, or credit store statements on which is shown the claimant's name and physical address.

    iv. A statement from the landlord, parent or friend of the claimant confirming that the claimant resides at the stated place of residence accompanied by any of the documents in a), b) or c) in the name of the landlord, parent or friend or such other person at whose residence the claimant resides.

    v. A statement confirming that the claimant resides at the sated place of residence made by the head of a school, hospital or other public institution where the claimant resides.

    vi. A statement confirming that the claimant resides at the stated place of residence made by the owner of a mine or on behalf of the mine owner registered in the area where the claimant resides; g) A statement by the claimant's employer confirming his or her address.

    vii. A confirmation letter by the relevant councillor, village head, headman or Chief confirming that the claimant resides in the ward he or she claims to reside in.

    viii. A confirmation letter by the farm owner or settlement officer confirming that the claimant resides in the ward he or she claims to reside in.

    ix. An offer letter proving that the claimant is in lawful occupation of the land to which the offer letter relates.

    x. A hospital bill or a clinic or hospital card or an envelope with post office markings reflecting the claimant's address.

    xi. A Voter Registration Officer (VRO) shall require a claimant to swear/affirm a residence affidavit if the residence document produced by the claimant is illegible or if there is any reasonable doubt as to the document's authenticity or validity.

    xii. A VRO shall, in the case of a claimant who says that they are unable to obtain any residence document, accept from the claimant a residence affidavit.

Most of the above required documents are not easy to obtain especially by poor and unemployed youth who have migrated to urban areas in search for economic opportunities. Administrative barriers may also involve a lack of funding for support to assist with the inclusion process.

(d) Lack of Role models/Mentorship for Youth:

The political space has limited number of good role model leaders and mentors and therefore this leads to demotivation for young people in participating in elections. A general trend is that the role and importance of youth organisations diminishes when it comes to supporting and mentoring young people in positions of leadership.

(e) Lack of effective communication skills:

Communication skills affect how young people express themselves to other political stakeholders or the electorate generally. Poor interpersonal communication skills affect young people in packaging and expressing their ideas or narratives to the rest of the society, therefore underscoring the need to build these skills.

(f) Lack of technical capacity:

One of the barriers to youth participation is their lack of capacity especially on how to interface with the electoral cycle. The youth in some countries do not only lack knowledge on how to participate in the elections as candidates but they also do not know how to engage with the election management bodies (EMBs). They have no adequate information regarding how to ensure that the EMBs are transparent, responsive, accountable, independent and professional. The youth also lack knowledge on technical aspects that could impact negatively on the election cycle. Key among them being the election reforms, voter registration, boundary delimitation, results management systems, election dispute management and public outreach processes.

(g) Access to information:

The youth do not have adequate access to credible information that gives them voice and participation. Whilst ICTs have helped increase youth connection, engagement, and agency in some parts of the continent, access to information through mobile devices and the Internet as well as through the traditional sources is still not sufficient to allow youth in rural, urban, townships and, informal settlements (slums) to connect with each other and organise.

> *A first access barrier for using ICTs is the lack of a mobile network or broadband Internet network. In many rural areas, the basic infrastructure for ICT access is not yet present... Even if there is basic access and connectivity, not everyone understands what a mobile phone or the Internet can do for them, how to use a mobile for something other than a phone call, the kinds of information and services that can be accessed or delivered through a mobile phone or over the Internet, or how this information can be used to improve lives and livelihoods…The combined cost of a handset, airtime, mobile data services, charging and electricity can be very high, especially for those living under $2 a day. Youth who are unemployed or relying on parents may be even less able to afford mobile access. For those living in remote areas, the cost of travelling to find a network and paying for time at an Internet café are high….*[32]

Language barrier

Language tends to be a barrier in countries with multiple official languages like Cameroon. Lack of competency in one of the languages limits the chances of participating in elections either as polling officers or observers, or even to lead other youth election-related initiatives. Secondly, at the continental level, observer missions are limited by language capabilities and may not be able to share their continental electoral experiences because of language barriers. Switching easily between Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Swahili, French, and English is not often easy for the ordinary African youth.

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32. See Raftree, L. ICT Opportunities and Barriers for Youth in Developing Countries. Online at: https://www.unicef-irc.org/article/1009-ict-opportunities-and-barriers-for-youth-in-developing-countries.html (Accessed on 29/01/2021)

CHAPTER 4: Forms of Youth Participation

Forms of youth participation vary from country to country. Predominant forms include and are not limited to, establishment of youth organisations, digital activism, music, petitions, graffiti and flash mobs.

1) Youth organisations:

The creation of youth organisations on the continent has been key to establishing a firm footing for real and in-depth youth participation. The different types and orientation of youth organisations determine their efficacy in promoting youth participation. Broad categories of these organisations include those that are community, organisational, economic, social, and cultural in outlook.

a) Community

Community focused organisations seek to enhance the youth capacity through leadership development, improving communication and setting up safety nets for mobilisation. The Emerging Leaders Foundation (ELF) in Kenya is an example. The ELF promotes value-based leadership taking a holistic approach to youth leadership development that blends political and economic capacity building with personal development trainings and mentorship.

b) Youth

Youth oriented organisations create a resource base for the youth. These include CSOs that promote youth empowerment, inclusivity of marginalised groups especially women and persons with disabilities (PWDs) and participation in political and electoral processes. Examples include the Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust (YETT) which is a youth membership network organisation promoting full youth participation in sustainable development through advocacy and capacity building in Zimbabwe. The Youth Lab in South Africa is another example of a youth organisation that provides platforms for youth and decision makers to interface, develop strategies and execute them.

c) Economic

Economic centred organisations provide innovative skills to the youth to generate income and enhance their livelihoods. The Southern African Youth Programme is one of the examples that deals with economic empowerment of the youth in the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

d) Social

Social oriented organisations deal with social inclusion, literacy and youth capacitation to be proactively engaged in community affairs. For example, in Burkina Faso, the "le balai citoyen" has, through its music, established "civic sweepers" (neighbourhood clubs for training and capacity building) across the country and beyond its borders . Among the programme activities of this group are, hosting press conferences and protests, conducting public cleaning campaigns, and championing blood donation drives.[33]

e) Cultural

Cultural focused organisations aim to recreate cultural practices and redefine cultural rules, spaces, and norms for youth participation. Although not entirely cultural based, The Youth Café in Kenya and the Organisation for Youth and elections in Botswana (OYEBO) have arts and culture programmes that enhance the youth capacity to partake in political, electoral and conflict management processes.

The foregoing types of organisations will also be addressed under the leadership chapter, where we look more in-depth at existing skills and the capacity needs for youth leadership for participation in electoral and political processes.

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33. Le balai citoyen. About us https://lebalaicitoyen.fr/qui-nous-sommes/

2) Digital activism:

Youth organisations have been recently augmented by emerging digital tools and creative arts as part of expression and participation. Digital activism is the use of the digital space and digital tools to impact the socio-political space. Smartphones, social media platforms or digital newspapers (blogging) are among the examples of tools used in this form of participation.

a) Blogging

blogging is the digital activism tool of publishing critical opinions on the internet to reach a wide audience in order to champion a cause or to educate in a critical format that mainstream newspapers may not allow. Blogging is not as big as it used to be when compared to the impact of social media platforms such as twitter, Facebook, etc. Examples of blogging platforms in Africa include:

1. South Africa—Thought leader, by the Mail and Guardian https://thoughtleader.co.za/category/politics/
2. Kenya— Ushahidi https://www.ushahidi.com and Elephant-https://www.theelephant.info/
3. Africa-Wide—Africa Blogging https://blogging.africa/

b) Digital platforms

Digital platforms have given the opportunity for a rise in communication for youth participation and for crafting youth narratives for political and electoral processes dependent on the access. Digital platforms come in various forms:

i. Twitter
ii. Instagram
iii. FaceBook
iv. Tiktok
v. WhatsApp
vi. Telegram
vii. LinkedIn

Social media and digital platforms have increased digital activism of the youth and in some cases replacing physical meetings. For example, an important aspect of social media is the use of hashtags as an avenue of organising. Examples include the #FeesMustFAll in South Africa, #BringBackOurGirls in Nigeria, #CongoIsBleeding in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), #ZimbabweanLivesMatter in Zimbabwe and #ShutItAllDown in Namibia.

A key advantage of the Hashtag is the ability to mobilise and broadcast messages rapidly. It also serves as a repository where one can return and search a specific cause, learn about the issues, and add their voice. The 2016 South Africa #FeesMustFall movement highlighted how a hashtag worked to build youthful momentum against a 10.5 per cent university fees increase that would have excluded the majority of poor students. At its inception, this movement was branded as a rogue entity with undertones suggesting that it sought to disturb lecturing. These assumptions were erased through focused sustained pressure and mobilisation. The clampdown on digital platforms through internet shutdown and protest actions in Africa during elections is indicative of the effectiveness of this medium. The shutdowns[5] have prompted the creative use of virtual private networks (VPNs) to circumvent the restrictions.

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34. https://wagingnonviolence.org/2017/06/south-africa-fees-must-fall/

35. Shutting down the internet to shut up critics Human Rights Watch https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/global-5 (Accessed 1 November 2020)

3. Music:

Music is a critical form of (youth) political participation that has led to mass action as has been witnessed in Uganda where a 38-year-old Ugandan Member of Parliament (MP), Bobi Wine has used music to mobilise a popular support for his presidential candidature for the oncoming 2021 General elections. His musical lyrics that address social issues and health sensitisation has created a large social clout and appeal about him which is key in his contest for political office. [36]

4. Protests and Petitions:

One of the effective forms of youth participation in political, social, and economic contexts is protests. From the early years of active student politics that saw the liberation of the continent to the post-independence era, protests have allowed the youth to express their voice and choice as well as pushing the envelope for accountability and change. The 2011 Arab Spring and protests in Togo in 2017–2018, Sudan in 2019 and Malawi in 2020 to mention a few, are cases in point. On the other hand, petitions which have their foundation in protest action have also been a useful tool in encouraging and soliciting mass youth participation.[37] They serve to increase engagement or channel grievances. With the evolution of the internet, petitions have evolved onto the online spaces through e-petitions especially because of their anonymity attribute due to security concerns. The common attribute of petitions and e-petitions is that they both serve to solicit support through signatures or physical appearance at a location.

5. Graffiti or Mural paintings:

Graffiti or mural paintings is an activity that is normally regarded as vandalism as this involves spraying messages or diagrams on sections of public property to communicate a cause. This form of expression routinely takes place at night, making a signature the only means of identifying the author/artist. Within the African setting, this is normally done with an artistic inspiration and not for political ends as in Europe and the Americas.

6. Impromptu demonstrations:

This entails public action that is not foreplaned usually in reaction to a political development, and it takes place fairly quickly. For example, in January 2011 a Tunisian street vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi set himself alight in protest against police harassment after the police attempted to shut down his business with no recourse. Bouazizi's suicide triggered an impromptu demonstration in Tunisia with a ripple effect to the rest of the Arab world. The demonstrations led to the overthrow of Tunisia's president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali. Hot on the heels of the Tunisian revolution were demonstrations in Bahrain, Jordan; Kuwait, Libya, and Yemen. [38]
 In these countries and elsewhere on the continent, conflict seems to have ushered in reforms that have given opportunities for youth inclusion albeit at varying degrees.

36. Mutyaba, M. 2017 Uganda: 3 lessons from the Ghetto President's by-election triumph. African Arguments
 https://africanarguments.org/2017/07/03/uganda-3-lessons-from-the-ghetto-presidents-by-election-triumph/ (Accessed 4 November 2020)

37. Youth Demonstrations and their Impact on Political Change and Development in Africa https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/youth-demonstrations-and-their-impact-on-political-change-and-development-in-africa/

38. See Erin Blakemore March 2019. What was the Arab Spring and how did it spread? On line at:
 https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/topics/reference/arab-spring-cause/

PART 2
STRATEGIES FOR
YOUTH PARTICIPATION

This part of the guide introduces strategies that will increase youth participation in all sectors of the community be they social, educational, cultural, economic, and political. It focuses on three broad objectives namely:

- **To increase youth participation in electoral and political processes.**
- **To empower the individual and youth organisations to gain knowledge.**
- **To enable further integration of the youth groups (18–35 years).**

It is important for the youth to note that every strategy for youth participation must be context specific. It has to be adjusted to the local social, geographical, cultural, and political circumstances, and there is no standard strategy or approach that can be replicated everywhere on the continent.

The following chapters have case studies from youth organisations in Africa to illustrate strategies undertaken for youth participation. Due to limited space, not all suggested strategies under the different sections and chapters have case studies.

CHAPTER 5: Youth participation in the electoral cycle

Objective:

To build youths' and youth organisations' capacities to explore creative ways to increase and sustain their participative value throughout the election cycle.

Elections are a process composed of three intertwined cyclical phases (pre-election, election, and post-election) and sub-components. Different actors including the youth must participate in shaping the different election cycle components. The over-focus of youth on election day activity has made them lose out of significant processes before and after elections that actually define the outcome of elections. To add value to the electoral process, the youth must understand and familiarise themselves with the election cycle to enable effective participation

Possible Strategies

1) Electoral reforms process:

By identifying gaps in the different election cycle components, engaging in dialogue with and making formal submissions to the Election Management Body (EMB) and other key actors such as parliament, youth ministry and political parties on possible interventions to ensure election integrity. The youth can also advocate for inclusion in election management and cycle by the EMB. The youth can also engage in legal reforms to address gaps such as quotas for youth participation.

2) Delimitation of boundaries:

By participating in stakeholder consultations on election boundary delimitation, the youth can:

(a) Conduct research on election boundaries and engage the EMB to ensure that delimitation is conducted using an objective criterion that ensures transparency, equity, impartiality, and integrity of the exercise.

(b) Partner with the EMB in public outreach programme especially focusing on the youth in different communities so that they understand how the proposed boundaries affect them in terms of service delivery.

(c) Conduct a mapping exercise on conflict hotspots regarding boundary delimitation and proactively conduct training targeting the youth in such areas to prevent possible community conflicts.

3) Civic and voter education (CVE):

By tackling the prevalent youth participation barrier through promoting knowledge and understanding of democracy and electoral democracy.

Designers of a CVE programme have to indicate whether it is a broad-based or targeted programme. A broad-based programme seeks to create democratic citizens, emphasises knowledge and values change, is more typical of democratic educational reform, general civic knowledge, and some issue-based programs. On the other hand, a targeted programme seeks to create democratic behaviours relating to specific issues, emphasises motivation and mobilisation, is more practical in orientation and typical of voter education [39] and the elections process.

Specific CVE Activities may include:

(a) Identifying areas where there is poor youth participation in elections and conducting CVE roadshows in such areas to motivate the youth to participate.

(b) Conducting training for youth to enable them to contest elective positions at local, regional and national levels. Such a training must include the roles and responsibilities of a Member of Parliament (MP) or a member of the provincial, county and local legislatures. The legal and institutional arrangements pertaining to elected public representatives at all the spheres of government.

(c) Forming partnerships with the EMB, CSOs and business to amplify the CVE message and maximise on limited resources.

(d) Developing CVE outreach materials and packaging these in innovative ways that are attractive to the target group. This may also include the use of digital platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

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39. See Franca Brilliant 2000. Civic Education Programming Since 1990—A Case Study Based Analysis. Washington: Center for Civic Education

4) Voter registration campaigns:

by engaging youth who are eligible voters to register to increase youth turnout and contribute to the overall voter turnout. Actions may include:

(a) conducting surveys to assess the barriers and inhibitors to youth participation in voter registration and engaging the EMB and relevant stakeholders to resolve the barriers.

(b) training the youth on voter registration processes and procedures and creating sufficient pool to be recruited as voter registration officers by the EMB.

(c) Developing voter registration campaign messages and using the traditional and modern media platforms to reach youth throughout the country.

(d) Partnering with the EMB and CSOs in voter registration drive initiatives to ensure youth appropriate messaging and approaches.

5) Conflict management:

By harnessing the youth potential in mitigation of election-related conflict. The youth are both the victims and perpetrators of violent conflict during election so the youth must:

(a) conduct a conflict mapping exercise on the election cycle to identify potential conflict triggers, actors.

(b) develop conflict management programme focusing on the youth for the pre-election, election, and post-election period.

(c) Organise peer learning exchange programme across provinces, and with the youth in other countries to draw best practices in election-related conflict management.

(d) Conduct a train-the-trainer conflict management training to build a reservoir of conflict managers across the country.

6) Polling and election observation:

By partaking in the management of the polling processes. Activities may include:

(a) Creating a pool of potential polling officers through training the youth on pre-polling, polling and post-polling processes and procedures and availing such a trained pool to the EMB for possible recruitment as temporary election staff.

(b) Training and deployment of the youth as domestic election observers to enhance accountability and integrity of the elections.

7) Post-election review:

By assessing the election cycle in terms of what worked, what did not work. Specifically, the youth must:

(a) assess whether the election process conformed to the country's legal framework and code of conduct, regional, continental, and international benchmarks for credible elections and suggest measures to be taken to address challenges.

(b) Conduct a comparative analysis of the domestic, regional, continental and international observation reports on the election and compile a set of key recommendations to be taken up with the EMB and key stakeholders.

(c)   Develop a scorecard tool to track progress on identified challenges and arrange constructive follow-up meetings with the EMB and other key stakeholders to ensure accountability.

Case study: Ballot Buddies Programme- Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust (YETT) (Zimbabwe)

Problem:

Low youth participation in the electoral process especially during the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) process which was introduced for the first time during the run up to the 2018 elections. The BVR was the country's first systematic voter registration system. However, the youth were sceptical about its credibility and generally ignorant about registration requirements and period. They were also not well informed about the electoral process including why they have to vote, the difference between ward-based and polling station-based voting and which of the two would be used for the 2018 elections.

Strategy:

Use of traditional and modern media platforms to enhance active positive and peaceful youth participation in the 2018 electoral process. This entailed several initiatives.
Conducting CVE on voter registration through the YETT network member organisations, partnerships with other election focused NGOs, collaboration with the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). Throughout the phased voter registration process, the youth were challenged to register to vote.

- Conceptualisation of the "Ballot Buddies" initiative that targeted eligible youth to vote in the 2018 elections. Activities included:

- use of radio slots especially on provincial radio stations outside Harare such as Hevoi FM (Masvingo), 98.4 FM Midlands, Patsaka-Nyami-Nyami FM (Kariba), Breeze FM (Victoria Falls) to discuss the BVR system and the electoral process as a whole.

- Hosting radio call in sessions where the youth were educated about the BVR system and encouraged to bring along their buddies to the ballot on election day.

- Radio Programme production of cartoon skits that played out different scenarios where a buddy can encourage another buddy to go to the ballot.

Results:

- Increased youth voter registration. There were 2,376,000 youth registered for the 2018 elections in part due to this intervention. This was out of a total 5,788,770 registered voters countrywide.

- enhanced youth agency in terms of the willingness and capacity of young people to act individually and collectively in exercising their democratic right to register as voters and to vote.

- Wider reach of the Ballot Buddies campaign where Radio Programme were reached through the Ballot Buddies Radio Programme and community radios.

Lessons:

◇ Using messaging methods and appropriate platforms that the youth can relate to increases the reception of the message leading to an increased participation. The overwhelming youth response to the Ballot Buddies initiative is a case in point.

◇ Increasing numbers for youth participation is just one part of the puzzle. The other ensuring high quality of their participation through capacity building. Otherwise, the youth become vulnerable to abuse by political elites.

◇ Supporting youth organisations through collaboration with networks organisations strengthens the youth voice and ensures efficient use of limited financial resources.

◇ Targeting youth organisations must entail working through community-based networks because those are closest to communities and therefore don't struggle with accessing the communities. Such networks are also critical for domestic election observation activities.

Key Considerations

◇ Citizen literacy is key to ensuring effective youth participation. The youth must understand electoral democracy, the rights of the citizens, the different aspects of the electoral process so that they know what is working, what is not working and what needs to be done.

◇ Elections comprise the interdependent electoral stakeholders and it is important to map out their different roles and responsibilities and whom to interface with during the election cycle.

◇ Mobilisation of the youth in large numbers must also include the equally important aspect of the quality of their participation.

◇ When using digital platforms strategy, be mindful of the rural-urban divide in terms the youth's economic conditions. Therefore, by design, the strategy must cater for the disadvantaged sectors of society in terms of affordability and access to digital platforms.

◇ Youth participation must be ongoing throughout the electoral cycle to ensure that the youth add maximum value to the election cycle. This will ensure that the youth are not vulnerable to manipulation by the political elite.

◇ The youth have competing responsibilities such as participating in electoral and political processes against everyday realities for livelihoods. For example, the rural youth have to partake in farming activities and are unable to join the planned CVE activities. Therefore, the timing of these activities must be mindful of this reality and factors of weather conditions such as rainy seasons and winter periods to maximise on participation. Failure to factor this in the planning may lead to increased costs and time frame because some events may be cancelled due to unavailability of participants.

CHAPTER 6: Youth Access to Information in Political and Electoral processes

Objective:

To enhance youth understanding of challenges related to (a) access to relevant knowledge, (b) spaces and platforms for political participation, (c) gender, disability, and culture to creatively navigate those challenges and increase participation in political and electoral processes.

To effectively participate in political and electoral processes, young people must be given the proper tools such as education and access to credible and requisite information that enables them to:

(a) understand their role in the socio-political national discourse.
(b) understand actions that can be meaningful for their participation.

Possible Strategies

These strategies are: use of digital platforms, use of traditional media, and use of community platforms. All these respond to (i) the need for information (ii) giving a voice to the youth and (iii) providing platforms for the youth to have a voice.

1) Use of digital platforms:

Digital platforms have provided access for youth voices and participation in political and electoral processes. The youth and other ordinarily marginalised individuals have leveraged on digital technology platforms to hold institutions accountable. They use tools such as smartphones, iPads, tablet PCs, laptop and desktop computers. For instance, to reach a wide youth audience in order to rally them for a particular objective, one of the most effective means of communication is sending a message on social media with a targeted hashtag. Use of digital platforms has increased youth civil society networking and solidarity.

In addition to giving a voice, the digital platforms strategy also ensures dissemination of vital information as was seen in Nigeria where the use of the hashtag #EndSars in 2020 led to rapid, real time mobilisation culminating into a successful public action in Nigeria. Nigerians, the diaspora, and the rest of the world followed the hashtag on social media and could find information on how the public protest began, what was happening at the epicentre of the protest and elsewhere in the country, and who were the role players involved in the protest. Furthermore, individuals could add their voice in support of the public protest or against it using the same hashtag.

Case study: #NotTooYoungToRun Campaign-YIAGA
Africa (Nigeria)

Problem:

Legislative exclusion of the youth in election contest for President, House of Representatives and State House of Assembly.

Strategy:

Utilisation of digital platforms and leveraging on the power of youth numbers to have exclusionary policies in the constitution redressed. The activities of the #NotTooYoungToRun campaign included:

(a) lobbying of parliament through physical and digital platforms.
(b) conducting civic education on voter registration as well as offering information on the importance of voting and how to register to vote.
(c) Using catchy hashtags to mobilise the youth to register to vote, check their registration status and vote on polling day.

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(c) Using catchy hashtags to mobilise the youth to register to vote, check their registration status and vote on polling day.

Results:

◇ #NotTooYoungToRun Act of parliament that was passed on 31 May 2018 to reduce the age barrier for youth to run and hold elective political office.

◇ Because of the enactment of the #NotTooYoungToRun Law, the youth were able to contest elective positions and there has since been an increase in the number of youth parliamentarians.

◇ Escalation of the #NotTooYoungToRun to a global level by the UN.

◇ Increased demand for youth inclusion in other spaces outside politics. The #NotTooYoungToRun Act is used as a reference in pushing for youth inclusion.

Lessons:

◇ Use of social media, messaging and campaigns can reach a broader audience allowing for stronger support for public action and coordination.

◇ The success of using the digital platforms strategy depends on how the religious, political, and other diversity issues are managed among the youth groupings. No effort must be spared in ensuring that everyone is rallied behind the cause.

◇ Identifying champions such as the Speaker of Parliament and collaborating with political parties and the executive gave credibility to the #NotTooYoungToRun campaign.

Key Considerations

◊ Initiatives calling for change are often viewed and interpreted as confrontation by some political elite. Therefore, there is a need to adopt non-threatening methods of engagement so that the value addition of the initiative is recognized.

◊ A prerequisite for the success of digital platforms strategy is digital literacy. Lack of digital literacy can jeopardise the digital platforms strategy.

◊ Issues of governance and elections comprise policy engagement aspects and solutions element. Therefore, hashtags are not necessarily a panacea for everything. There may be instances where they are not effective on their own.

◊ Mobile connectivity is essential for digital access. However, other innovations must be adopted where applications can function in both the online and offline modes to circumvent connectivity challenges.

2) Use of traditional media:

Traditional media has not lost it flair, especially in addressing access barriers. Television, newspapers, and radio remain important in enabling communities' access to information, to make informed decisions and participate in political and electoral processes. This is more so in communities where there is poor digital communications infrastructure, high illiteracy levels and rural demographic. During elections, traditional media especially radio and television broadcast the EMB outreach programmes and political parties' campaign messages through jingles and skits.

In a like manner, traditional media has been used by youth-led organisations to encourage voting and civic participation. For example, in Tanzania, the Youth Coalition (TYC) has used television and radio as an effective tool to reach out to different groups of young people in all the constituencies to encourage them to participate in electoral processes. The outreach programmes used pop up adverts on television and radio to convey the messages. The programme contributed to an increase in voter turnout during the 2020 general elections.

Key Considerations

◊ Although these traditional means of giving access are effective, there is a need to first explore what mediums the youth regard as effective or credible within that environment before implementing the strategy. Having an elaborate campaign on television or radio without the listeners or viewers would be ineffective.

◊ Support to youth participation through traditional media must entail constitutional literacy drive. This is because most of the youth are not aware of their constitutional rights and how they could create space for themselves to exercise those rights to demand accountability and services. Governance institutions are also struggling with separation of powers. This affects the citizens' interest and ability to use their agency.

◊ There is inadequate infrastructure support for participation of the youth living with disability. Therefore, issues of access must include among others, the provision of infrastructure in the form of transport for those not able to walk, election education materials in Braille, or in sign language for the deaf to register and vote.

3) Community platforms:

Intergenerational dialogue platforms have enabled the youth to gain access into spaces where they ordinarily would not have reached. The platforms facilitate interaction between the youth and elders and eliminate age-related prejudices. Through these platforms, young people have been able to display the value of their opinions and as a result gained access into platforms of leadership with the support of the elders. For example:

- The youth in Botswana have used traditional leadership platforms such as the Kgotla to highlight the challenges that the youth experience. The Kgotla is a traditional public space where a village or community gather to discuss community issues or to deal with traditional court proceedings. Government and political parties also use these spaces to address communities. This has led to more attention being paid to youth issues and some traditional leaders becoming champions of youth-related matters.

- In Cameroon, a youth-led organisation, the Network for Solidarity, Empowerment and Transformation for All (NEWSETA) has facilitated the "Echanges Honorables"—public consultations where the youth meet face-to-face with the Members of Parliament (MPs) to discuss questions like lowering the voting age in Cameroon from 20 to 18. Given the increase in disinformation through the media in Cameroon, similar public platforms sessions have been organised for the journalists to engage with the MPs so that the youth can consume accurate information. Cultural blend festivals (CUBLEF) have also been organised to promote peace by tapping into the cultural diversity to build social cohesion. Different local and international speakers were invited to share their experiences in peacebuilding.

- In Tunisia, the Youth Without Borders has conducted face-to-face campaigns in public spaces such as streets, markets, bus terminus and stadiums to engage with thousands of young people ahead of the elections. To extract maximum value out of this strategy, this intervention was undertaken during the time when there were many people in these spaces, especially on weekends. Besides getting feedback on the youth during the campaigns, the organisation also distributed the CVE materials to empower them through knowledge.

It is important to note that, the youth ordinarily do not have access into spaces of power based on preconceived notions that the youth are a destructive cohort. Intergenerational platforms have been important in identifying youth for leadership and mentorship. This has created an incentive for other youth to seek to gain access for participation in political and electoral processes.

Case study: Sharekna Community Platforms (Tunisia)

Problem:

◇ Lack of youth voices and perspectives on community and national issues.

◇ Prevalence of violent extremism (VE) in Tunisia.

Strategy:

Using the traditional community platforms to highlight youth challenges under the Sharekna civic and voter education (CVE) initiative. Sharekna is an Arabic word for "participate/work with us". Initiated in the aftermath of the 2011 revolution, the Sharekna project fosters social cohesion and community resilience to political and economic stress in communities. Activities included:

◇ Identifying community-level challenges, (community mapping, by the youth for the youth) including violent extremism through focus group discussions (FGDs) and formulates concrete responses to those challenges.

◇ Convening diverse sets of community youth and other stakeholders to build relationships and networks.

◇ Building civil society capacity to collaborate with the youth and community in dealing with challenges.

Results:

◇ Improved attention to youth-related problems as well as having community elders become champions for youth-related causes.

◇ Improved the resilience and political inclusion of the youth in Tunisian communities such as in Douar Hicher and Cité Ettadhamen.

◇ Continued collaboration among communities based on the developed sense of ownership of the programme activity given how they were an integral part of all the activities.

Lessons:

◇ Having the youth display the value of their opinions in a non-provocative manner on platforms where their voices are routinely absent enables access and reception for increased participation.

◇ Engagement at the community level on basic issues of livelihood can achieve greater support for other programme activities of a political nature because basic needs would have been met.

◇ Partnership with community platforms does not only ensure access but also local ownership and sustainability of the efforts to improve youth participation.

Key Considerations

◇ Strategies for access are reliant on collaborations with individuals and platforms. Therefore, there is need to have a collaborative strategy in place and a cohort of individuals or organisations that can attest to the youth's credibility instead of relying on them being youth as a justification for their access.

◇ Some public platforms are very traditional and dominated by old males and therefore exhibit certain patriarchal protocols in terms of rules of engagement, sitting arrangements and when to express an opinion. There may even be culturally based rules that are not gender sensitive such as prohibition of females to speak or prescription on the female dress code as a prerequisite for access to such public platforms. The youth must be prepared on how to overcome these even after gaining access to such platforms.

CHAPTER 7: Breaking Barriers to Youth Participation

Objective:

To build the capacity of youth to map barriers and create alternatives to participate in political and electoral processes as public representatives and as voters.

As articulated in Chapter 6, access is a key pillar in youth participation in political and electoral processes. However, youth face barriers that interfere with their access to their civil rights and they must therefore create innovative means to break the barriers.

Possible Strategies

1) Developing capacity building programmes for the youth

1.1 Introduction of formal programmes for youth

Capacity building is vital for breaking the barriers to youth participation in political and electoral processes. Actions may include the introduction of civic and political education curriculum in the formal education system. Such a curriculum is critical to ensuring that the youth appreciate what it means to be citizens and what their contribution must be in their communities and country

1.2 Introduction of non-formal programmes targeting politically active Youth

As noted in the introductory part of this guide, the youth are finding alternative ways of participating in political and electoral processes in informal spaces. However, political parties still hold political power and therefore, the youth must be integrated in political parties as a holistic approach to their participation. Targeted training for the youth in political parties must be developed to ensure that the youth understand their rights, democracy, politics and political processes, elections, and electoral processes and how they can participate as voters and candidates for elective positions.

Case study: Youth training- Organisation for Youth and Elections in Botswana (OYEBO) (Botswana)

Problem:

Poor youth participation and representation in positions of local and national leadership. Negative youth perception of politics in Botswana and general voter apathy.

Strategy:

OYEBO Capacity building through several initiatives where issues on positive leadership and the intricacies of constitutionalism are addressed.

a There is the "Future Leaders Training Programme" for young people (target: 13–15 years) in junior secondary schools in collaboration with the Ministry of Basic Education. The programme involves speaking to young people on leadership and leadership qualities.

b Training programme for political parties where party structures such as the youth wings and women wings are trained on leadership and election campaigns.

c Training workshops for student bodies on elections and electoral processes including election campaigns, voting, and counting procedures and processes. Implemented jointly with the Botswana Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), the workshops use simulation methodologies where mock elections are held to highlight critical components of the election process. These include, how to conduct campaigns, voting, and counting of results. The Student Representative Council (SRC) leadership elections are also used for training of the students as far as elections are concerned.

Results:

◇ There are future leaders programme alumni who have contested SRC elections in high schools and some of them have won.

◇ Other alumni have participated in other spheres of leadership including leadership in business.

◇ An increase of the election of young people in political offices and appointment of young people into government position.

Lessons:

◇ Leadership training should begin at the earliest stage.

◇ Simulation increases interest and ownership in the programme.

◇ The ability to strike a balance between the hard skills (how to partake in political and electoral processes) and the soft skills (commitment to acquiring knowledge, awareness, patience, and tolerance) is essential for the capacity-building strategy to work.
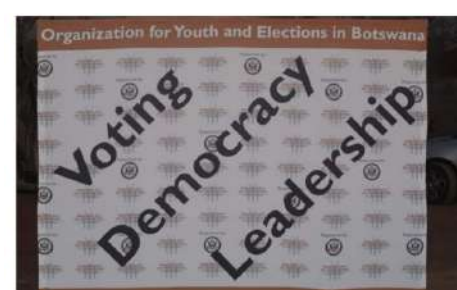
Key Considerations

Capacity building works well in environments where the political and legislative framework is accommodative.

- While employing the capacity-building strategy, be mindful of socio-political, cultural, and legal factors.

- There is inadequate infrastructure support for participation of youth living with disability. Therefore, issues of access must include among other things, the provision of infrastructure for people with disabilities such as election education material in Braille, or sign language for the deaf to register and vote.

- Gender representation, given that females comprise the bigger percentage of the youth bulge.

- Economic sensitivities between the haves and have-nots, formal and informal settlements.

- Literacy disparities between rural and urban youth in the country to ensure that language barriers are removed, and information is broken down and simplified for young people and the rural and illiterate.

Case study: Young Women Political Leadership School (YWPLS)— The Gender Centre for Empowering Development (GENCED) (Ghana)

Problem:

Lack of civic knowledge among women in general and young women in particular therefore limiting their prospects to participate in decision-making and governance processes.

Strategy:

GENCED has initiated the Young Women Political Leadership School (YWPLS) as a training programme to equip young women in political parties with skills in policy development, political systems, public engagement, membership recruitment, manifesto development and election campaigns. This agenda-setting multi-party programmes is for politically active young women who are card-carrying members of political parties. While the cohort of participants is card-carrying members, it has been adapted to the needs of the target country. For instance, in Liberia some of the 2021 intake participants are civic leaders.

GENCED's programmes cover the West African Region including Burkina Faso, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, and Nigeria and in partnership with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Results:

- Increased number of girls participating in political processes within political parties' structures in Ghana and the ECOWAS region. This is a key achievement as it means females now have the opportunity to grow within the political system and be nurtured in party leadership.

◇ In Ghana, the programme enjoys the support and cooperation of the two dominant political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC).

◇ Some of the girls trained by GENCED successfully contested political party primaries in Ghana and they are yet to win constituencies. For example, one of the girls from the NDC won the party primaries for a Member of Parliament (MP) seat but was unsuccessful during the elections.

◇ There is a noticeable number of girls who are also being given leadership responsibilities within political parties' structures besides the youth wings.

◇ Many trained youths have become civic trainers in different regions of the country.

Lessons:

◇ Working on a multi-party platform insulates youth training programmes such as the one run by GENCED from being politicised.

◇ Youth capacity building programmes yield more results when facilitators go-in country and work closely with locals using the fellow's strategy. This also significantly reduces costs of running the programme.

◇ Not all capacity-building tools for the youth are suitable for girls so it is important to develop the right tools for engaging females.

◇ Honesty and openness in dealing with political parties makes them supportive of youth development programmes, leads to the parties' increased policy formulation capacity on youth matters, makes them responsive to the needs of the youth, and fast-tracks youth policy implementation.

◇ Trust between political parties and an organisation offering capacity building for the youth ensures that the interventions are demand-driven as parties themselves identify youth capacity gaps and request for support.

◇ Establishing partnerships with regional bodies such ECOWAS ensures an effective regional approach to gender responsiveness.

Figure 2: GENCED YWPLS 2021 LIBERIA

Key Considerations

⟡ Running youth programmes is costly and therefore there is a need for a stable source of funding to ensure programme consistency in terms of content delivery. Stable funding will also help maintain the momentum to ensure that there are no interruptions of the curriculum and that the youth being trained get the full complement of the programme instead of abridged versions due to funding constraints.

⟡ Stable funding will also ensure that the training programme is held in between election periods and not close to the elections to ensure that parties can integrate gender issues in their policies and manifestos.

⟡ Political parties are in the business of campaigning for votes and therefore, working with them requires understanding of their priorities and guarding against them hijacking the programme for political ends.

2) Supporting the strengthening of youth representative bodies

2.1 Student representative bodies at tertiary institutions

Students' involvement in decision-making in tertiary institutions is vital because it may facilitate their introduction to democratic ideals and practices. [40] Therefore, student representative councils (SRCs) are a form of proactive, self-driven mechanism for students' participation in tertiary institutions and in social and political activities. They emerged from particular socio-economic circumstances, histories, and cultures and have influenced students political and ideological consciousness. The following activities may be undertaken to support SRCs to ensure youth participation.

a) For the SRCs to participate effectively in student governance, they should have access to information including information on the tertiary institution they belong to. Availability of information is the cornerstone for broad youth participation. Therefore, SRCs must be assisted to obtain policy documents from the institutional administration . This will ensure that the SRC is well equipped to deal with student welfare and policy issues affecting their constituency.

b) SRCs can help diffuse or escalate conflict situations on campuses. Therefore, there is a need to enhance their capacity to positively deal with potential or manifest conflict.

c) SRCs may also be supported through convening of dialogue fora on different public policy issues. Dialogue is an important tool to enhance legitimate solutions to challenges. Student representative bodies can be supported to have regular formal or informal exchange of views with stakeholders built on mutual interests and potentially shared objectives.

Case study: SRC Colloquiums-Independent Electoral Commission (South Africa)

Problem: lack of youth participation in public policy formulation

Strategy:

Supporting student representative bodies through dialogue. In line with its mandate contained in Sections 4 and 5 of the IEC Act, the Election Management body (EMB) in South Africa through its Gauteng Provincial Office convened annual SRC colloquiums attended by SRCs from all universities in Gauteng Province. These colloquiums were meant to equip the youth with public policy formulation skills and skills to identify stakeholders as well as engage them. The colloquiums covered different thematic issues including and not limited to corruption, mining energy, integrated development planning (IDP). Multi-sectoral experts were engaged as resource persons to dialogue with the youth.

Results:

◇ SRCs paradigm shift from a narrow student welfare focused agenda of organising demonstrations around food and transport to policy agenda setting role. The initiative contributed to shaping student critical thinking around the time of the emergence of the FeesMustFall Movement that altered the imbalance in university access between the rich and the poor students in South Africa.

◇ Revision of previously normalised undemocratic practices by student representative bodies. For example, some SRC constitutions barred first-year students from contesting SRC elections. These provisions were reviewed by some SRCs after the colloquiums.

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40. Oni, A and J. Adetoro 2015 The effectiveness of student involvement in decision-making and university leadership: A comparative analysis of 12 universities in South-west Nigeria. Journal of Student Affairs in Africa 3 (1), p. 65–81

Lessons:

◇ Capacitation of student representative bodies prepares the youth to engage directly with policy-makers.

◇ SRCs in most universities in South Africa serve as proxies for political parties. Therefore, support to SRCs may only work where political parties are mature and embrace an open democratic society.

◇ The programme only succeeds where there is maturity and nuance of EMB officials because of potential political sensitivities.

◇ Dialogue creates safe spaces for youth to engage with policy-makers.

Key Considerations

◇ Politics is about the ability to drive through policy using different institutions including the executive and parliament. Therefore, part of the support to youth representative bodies must be geared towards enhancing the youth understanding of the policy landscape required to address the country's needs.

◇ Youth come from different socio-economic backgrounds. The strategy to support student representative bodies must therefore be mindful of the differences in funding opportunities for students and their exposure levels.

◇ In countries that experience discrimination within the education system, the university culture may vary between public and private universities. The intervention must avoid widening the gap between students from previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged communities.

2.2 Supporting Youth parliaments, Youth councils, Youth forums and NGOs

Institutional and legal arrangements in most countries provide for the establishment of youth parliaments, youth councils or youth forums to deal with a gamut of political, socio-economic, and cultural issues affecting youth participation. For example, in 1997, Mozambique established the Mozambique National Youth Council (MNYC) through a presidential resolution to coordinate the different activities developed by youth organisations and serve as an intermediary between youth and government.[41] Support to youth parliaments, youth councils or youth forums may entail:

a) Organising discussions fora within rural, urban, formal, and informal spaces on social issues affecting the youth. These discussion fora will help strengthen the youth capacity to engage youth in quality civic activities. They will also help policy makers in formulating policies that are responsive to the needs and aspirations of the youth.

Youth must understand how democracy works, to contribute to shaping youth policies, promote transparency, accountability and accessibility and take part in decision-making and legislative processes. To achieve this, they must be connected with governance institutions and processes including local authorities and parliaments.

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41. See Educational Quality Improvement Program 3 2009. Youth Councils: An Effective Way to Promote Youth Participation Some Initial Findings from Africa. Online at: https://www.youthpower.org/sites/default/files/YouthPower/resources/Youth%20Councils-%20An%20Effective%20Way%20to%20Promote%20Youth%20Participation.pdf

b) Promotion of the youth-led and youth-serving NGOs involvement in the co-management of youth work and programme implementation. This may be an alternative option in countries where entities such as youth parliaments, forums and councils are perceived to be serving the political interests of the governing political parties.

c) Facilitating peer-to-peer platforms for youth parliaments, youth councils or youth forums for sharing best practices in youth participation at regional and continental levels on the continent.

Case study: Support to the National Youth Forum- Interpeace (Burkina Faso)

Problem: Lack of youth participation in decision-making and peace-building initiative.

Strategy:

Support to National Youth Forum. State and non-state, local and international actors have initiated support activities meant to create spaces for youth voices. The National Youth Forum has benefited from this support. For example,

(a) Given the escalation of violence witnessed in the country, initiatives meant to create space for the youth to engage with the country's challenges have been undertaken. These include the March 2020 national youth dialogue that was organised for young people under the auspices of Interpeace and the Foundation Hirondelle project entitled "Fostering Dialogue Among Young People in Burkina Faso". The dialogue created a safe space for the youth to engage in issues affecting peace in their communities and proffer solutions.

(b) The government and peace-building private sector have also contributed to supporting the National Youth Forum to hold annual dialogue platforms on different themes including rural electrification, entrepreneurship and access to credit, and training for young people. High-level officials including the President of Burkina Faso participated in the discussions.

Results:

◇ Youth involvement in initiatives.

◇ Establishment of the Ministry of Youth and Employment. This assured that the resolutions taken at various youth fora get attention by a dedicated ministry.

◇ Adoption of the National Policy on Education and Technical and Vocational Training (EFTP) supported by government, and financial technical and social partners.

Lessons:

◇ Direct and frequent interaction between the youth and high-level officials leads to formulation of policies that are responsive to the needs of the youth and fast-tracks policy implementation.

◇ Partnerships between state and non-state actors ensures a holistic approach to supporting youth representative bodies and initiatives.

The NGOs have also established entities that promote youth participation at national and regional level. In executing their functions, these entities interface with state and non-state institutions and organisations at different spheres of governance.

Case study: Support to youth forums-Southern African Youth Forum (SAYoF)- (SADC Region)

Problem:

Lack of youth participation in regional decision-making processes and peacebuilding initiatives by the SADC Heads of State, SADC organs and other regional and International stakeholders.

Strategy:

Coordination of national youth forums and NGOs in 16 SADC Member States. SAYoF is a regional coordinating body and a regional platform for youth and youth organisations in the SADC region. It is the primary convener of the SADC Youth Forum and the SADC Youth Parliament. It is also the Africa Focal Point in United Nations Major Group for Children and Youth (UNMGCY-Migration). The UNMGY is the UN General Assembly-mandated official, formal and self-organised space for children and youth (aged below 30) to contribute to and engage in certain intergovernmental and allied policy processes at the UN since 1992. Its mission is to bridge children and youth and the UN system in order to ensure that their right to meaningful participation is realised. It is also a member of the Africa Youth Front on Coronavirus (Covid-19), a high-level policy and advocacy framework set by the African Union (AU) for young people to co-lead Africa's response to Covid-19. The SAYoF collaborates with the SADC Secretariat, Southern African Development Community Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (SADC-CNGO). Its activities include but are not limited to:

- Training of youth forums on peace so that the youth become peace champions in their countries and localities.

- Training youth in the region on climate change negotiation so that they can embark on climate change policy advocacy work and partake in climate change negotiations and dialogue forums.

- Training youth on lobbying and election observation.

- Training youth on leadership and governance, transitional justice and peace building, climate change and environment, business and entrepreneurship, disability, effective development cooperation and regional integration.

Results:

- Use of the SAYoF resolutions by the SADC council of youth ministers and the SADC Secretariat

- Creation of youth peace advocates in the region.

- SAYoF nomination to and contribution in the Africa Youth Front on Coronavirus (Covid-19), a high-level policy and advocacy framework set by the AU for young people to co-lead Africa's response to Covid-19.

Lessons:

- Collaboration with other regional organisations and sharing of resources yields concrete results.

- Understanding of youth diversity leads to conceptualisation of interventions that are responsive to the divergent needs and aspirations.

- Productive use of social media can influence lives and push for policy changes.

- Whether they are youth parliaments, youth councils, youth forums or NGOs focusing on youth participation, these entities have the ability to come up with innovative ways to ensure youth participation in political and electoral processes.

Key Considerations

◇ Peace is a contextual pillar for youth participation in political and electoral processes.

◇ Consideration of mainstreaming of gender equality in all interventions geared to support entities that promote youth participation.

◇ Youths should understand how governments and regional bodies work to be able to engage with them. There is scepticism towards interventions by some NGOs especially those considered to be serving western political agenda.

◇ Youths must have general knowledge of regional bodies' policies to build partnerships with them. This will enhance their contribution to the strategies and trajectory of the regional bodies.

◇ Independent positions and pronouncements on violations of human rights and other issues must be issue based and care must be taken to avoid siding with political parties. A principled position must always be adopted.

◇ Trust building with governmental and regional entities takes time. There is a need to have networks and establish a reference pool for purposes of trust building by regional bodies.

2.3 Political parties' Youth wings

Political parties on the continent are typified by youth wings and leagues that are glaringly weak in ensuring meaningful youth participation. Under the conditions of political marginalisation, the trend is that where the youth are actively engaged, the youth wings tend to serve the interests of the party hierarchy than the youthful members who are their constituency. Instead of being used as a structure for improving youth skills and preparing them to be leaders, the youth leagues are mainly used as vehicles for youth activism, election campaigns and membership recruitment. According to the Ace Project, the youth wings are supposed to: [42]

- Provide a training ground for young members who wish to excel within party structures. Examples of training include skill-building workshops, mentoring programmes, and policy development activities.
- Influence party policy development and leadership selection.
- Extend outreach to young voters, in a bid to make parties more credible to young people.
- Create the appropriate language, platform, material, and tone in communicating political messages to younger voting bases during election and recruitment campaigns.

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42. See Ace project online at: Ace: https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/yt/yt30/youth-party-wings

In order for the youth wings to perform the above functions, they may be supported in the following ways:

(a) Establishment of an interparty youth platform:

This will ensure cross-party solidarity and create a safe space that is often non-existent within individual parties due to lack of intra-party democracy, for constructive youth engagement and dialogue. In addition, the interparty platform can be used for youth skills training including in policy development, leadership and leadership development, conflict management, resource mobilisation, campaign craft lobbying and advocacy.

(b) Creating space for youth wings to contribute to the election cycle:

To avoid the trend where the youth in political parties are instrumentalised to disrupt electoral processes, youth wings may be used by EMBs as consultative platforms for youth participation in electoral processes throughout the election cycle. For example, in the pre-election phase, the EMB can avail resources to the interparty youth platform to mobilise the youth within and outside of their parties to register as voters. The interparty youth platform can also be used to motivate the youth to vote on polling day. The collaboration between the EMB in the Kingdom of Lesotho and political parties during elections offers a good example in this regard.

During the 2011 local government elections and the 2012 and 2015 snap general elections, the Lesotho IEC adopted the strategy to collaborate with political parties through engagement of the political party youth wings to conduct voter education. Political parties were invited to nominate youth participants who were trained by IEC to conduct voter education on radio stations and television. Each youth participant was paid an allowance as an incentive but also as a way to address their financial needs.

(c) Strengthening youth wings capacity for lobbying:

Youth wings can use their constituency's strength in numbers to push the envelope for youth participation in decision-making within political parties. They can also use their collective mass at an inter-party platform to influence policy and reforms throughout relevant bodies including the legislative structures. It is therefore important that they are capacitated in lobbying skills so that they can engage different stakeholders including government, public servants, business, traditional leaders, CSOs, media, EMBs and parliaments for the removal of barriers for youth participation.

(d) Introducing a paradigm shift in orientation of youth wings through curriculum development:

capacity of the youth wings to focus on good governance and development. A meaningful youth empowerment must be one that bequeaths knowledge to them and make them understand how that acquired knowledge benefits society and the country. The empowerment of inter-party youth wings builds their resolve for cooperation and constructive engagement elements that are key for social cohesion.

Case Study: Support to youth in political parties- National Democratic Institute (NDI)-Kenya

Problem:

a Involvement of youth in the 2007 post-election-related violence.

b Lack of youth participation in decision-making and peacebuilding initiatives. Non-prioritisation of youth issues.

Strategy: **Support to political party youth wings through skills development training.**

Activities have included:

1) Support to the establishment of the Inter-Party Youth Forum (IPYF) in 2009: The IPYF is meant to provide a platform for constructive interaction of, and to strengthen the participation of youth within and across political parties in Kenya. Given the sheer number of political parties in Kenya, criteria that focused on parliamentary parties were developed. Each of the parties in the National Assembly was required to nominate two representatives to the IPYF. To date, about 1500 young people have participated in this structure. This innovation combined support for a coalition of youth wings with skills training on conflict resolution, negotiation, and advocacy as well as support to a broader network. Capacity development at the organisational level was facilitated through knowledge-sharing workshops, provision of technical advice and/or study tours. The IPYF value addition was that it carried out county-level initiatives including identification of key challenges facing the youth. The report that came out of this exercise was used to inform interventions at county and national levels.

2) The Establishment of the Kenya Young Members of County Assembly Association (KYMCA) in 2018. This is a platform to voice the needs of the youth and their representation in the 47 county assemblies as the medium for voicing the needs of the youth within counties and championing their development priorities at the national level. With the support of the IPYF and technically assisted by an expert engaged by NDI, the KYMCA produced a gap analysis report which was used to inform key advocacy activities targeting stakeholders. These stakeholders are broadly classified into government, private sector, CSOs and development partners. Issues covered include education sector development, unemployment, poor governance and corruption, poverty and economic challenges and ethnicity and ethnic politics.

Results:

- Successful mobilisation of the youth to partake in the electoral process. The IPYF structure contributed to youth mobilisation and voter registration drive.

- Enhanced youth skills through peer learning following the exchange programme with the youth from Norway
- and Sierra Leone.

- Trained youth wing members developed capacities for non-violent resolution of conflict. The IPYF issued a joint statement renouncing electoral violence.

- The youth's shift of focus from personality-based politics to issue based politics.

Improved political accountability because of increased awareness, capacity and voice of the youth represented by the IPYF and KYMCA structures.

Lessons from the IPYF and KYMC

- Introducing issue based focused politics works well with the youth because they are more receptive than adults.

- Carefully planned and executed inter-party youth initiative has the potential to be an effective tool for youth capacity building and constructive participation in political and electoral processes. The large number of youth legislators within county assemblies, currently 1027, gives the KYMCA a huge potential to actively influence programs and policies with great impact on the welfare of the Kenyan youth at county and national levels.

- There is need for stable financial and technical support to supporting youth wings.

- Young people do not respond as well to lectures as they do to activities. The design of interventions such as the support to political party youth wings must factor in practical experience. The KYMCA's involvement in the actual budget analysis and practical assessment of allocations and expenditure is a case in point. The NDI county-level support to the KYMC allowed the latter to learn by doing.

- Thoroughly researched and well-argued submissions are most likely to be accepted by targeted stakeholders. Therefore, capacity building in research and policy development are key.

Key Considerations

- The success of an intervention targeting youth wings is dependent on the context of the country and party systems. The intervention may not work well in fierce political competition and broken inter-party relations. It may also not work if it is introduced during an election time as parties are in a combative campaign mode.

- Most political parties' constitutions provide for the establishment of youth wings as integral organs of parties. Therefore, prior and expressed consent by political parties is required to ensure the success of the intervention. NDI worked with parties to nominate IPYF representatives.

- Political parties must be encouraged to ensure a gender balance representation and inclusion of people with disabilities (PWDs) in interparty structures akin to the IPYF.

- Organisations supporting youth leagues must maintain a non-partisan posture so that they can be accepted by all political parties and universally increase youth participation.

- Contrary to the dictates of the African Youth Charter, members of the youth wings in some countries are not necessarily aged 15 and 35 years. This means the intervention may only work if it is targeting the right beneficiary, not just anyone who happens to be in the youth wing.

- Poverty, political marginalisation, and other economic factors inhibiting youth participation on the continent may lead to a high turnover of youth wing membership either because they are disillusioned or looking for economic opportunities. This means that support to youth wings may not always yield the desired results if it is done in isolation. Other measures including attending to the socio-economic needs of the youth must be addressed.

3) Innovative programming for amplification of the youth voice:

The youth are not a homogenous group and therefore there is a need to support them develop innovative measures that ensure the youth voice and choice in breaking barriers. This can be achieved through:

(a) Developing innovative programmes that support the voice and choice of the youth. Given the barrier of lack or absence of role models for the youth, such initiative must stimulate their interest to partake in political and electoral process. Most importantly, the initiative must be practical and directly link participation in the political and electoral processes with development by addressing the real social and community problems that the youth experience daily.

(b) Developing youth specific information campaigns about democracy and democratic rights and values and which aims at encouraging youth to take part in electoral processes. In Cameroon, a hashtag campaign, #VOTE18 Campaign was introduced to increase youth participation in voter registration. A national day of action was hosted where flash mobs would display #VOTE18 banners in order to have high visibility for the initiative. The campaign led to an increased awareness on democracy and constitutionalism and the need to expand the space for youth political participation.

(c) Enhancing the capacity of youth organisations in conducting roadshows on electoral processes such as voter registration. For the youth to extract value in roadshows, they must understand the specific objectives of roadshows, be aware of the organising framework of a roadshow and the necessary planning steps, know how the different types of roadshows are implemented, have knowledge of the options for evaluating roadshow events and for organising follow-up events to increase their effectiveness and impact.

(d) Introducing elements that utilise modern media platforms to amplify the youth voice. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, text messages, promotional videos, podcasts, and blogs help youth to be the shapers of the political and electoral processes narrative.

When EMBs form partnerships with the youth in outreach processes, taking advantage of these innovations provides incentives for the youth to participate in electoral processes.

4) Creative arts:

The arts have and continue to be critical to breaking barriers, be it for issues related to health or the political arena. Arts are forms of expression that use various mediums to invoke imagination and action for an established cause or to inspire a different perspective of attitude. A key aspect that the arts address is the ability to cut across the static differences and provide a common escape which breaks barriers. Forms of art include:

(a) Spoken word (poetry, speech and lyrical content):

During the Tunisian revolution, Emel Mathlouthi music gave impetus to the revolution. Her lyrics were about freedom and resolve to die for the people's cause. One of her songs, "Tyrant," contains the lines, "Kill me, and I will write songs. Wound me, and I will sing stories. Give me more suffering. It will warm up my winter."[43] It follows therefore that the subtle messages that are encoded in the music lyrics have a compelling drive towards participation on a mass scale. As outlined by the 'Africa Report; which highlights that for the youth:

'*Pop culture is their outlet: Like most youth globally, they are influenced by movies, TV and particularly music as a way of articulating their identity and expressing their disgruntlement with socio-political issues.*[44]

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43. https://www.kqed.org/arts/93432/the_arab_singer_who_inspired_tunisians_in_revolution

44. https://www.theafricareport.com/49657/africas-youth-busting-myths-and-creating-change/

(b) Visual displays (painting, sculpting and images):

Although not commonly used on the continent, this form of visual expression has been used in places like Cairo, Egypt where the youth expressed their socio-political aspirations through wall art. [45] The youth used the Tahrir Square that was the epicentre of the Arab Spring to express their socio-cultural and political views through painting. Music album covers have also been used to express political statements. A case in point is the album design of the Nigerian Afrobeat singer, Fela Kuti.[46]

(c) Performing arts (satire drama, dance, acting)

Artists employ this form of creative expression in conveying political, cultural, health and social sensitisation messages. Examples include, Bustop TV (southern Africa) and FunFactory (East Africa).[47]

Case Study: Youth Voice and Choice mobilisation programme- Aji Souwet (come vote)- (Morocco)

Problem: High youth voter apathy

Strategy:

Using social media to mobilise the youth: The Aji Souwet initiative began in 2020 to encourage the youth to vote in the upcoming 2021 elections. The initiative seeks to address the 2011 elections problem where 47 per cent of eligible voters did not cast their ballots. Overall, only 16 million out of 24 million eligible citizens registered as voters in 2011. Out of these, only 7 million actually turned out to vote. Activities under this initiative include:

(a) producing voter registration messages and posting them on social media. Social media influencers have also been requested to post the registration messages on their personal social media channels.

(b) Producing statements that resonate with the youth, such as:
 "They are all the same,"
 "Nobody believes in change anymore,"
 "Is another Morocco possible?"

(c) Producing step by step French and Arabic voter registration videos on how to register to vote and all the required documentation. The use of both French and Arabic ensured wider reach of the population.

(d) Soliciting information videos from political parties. Because of the negative perception of politics among the youth, an approach by Aji Souwet is to solicit different parties to record short video clips encouraging the youth to participate in electoral processes as a civic responsibility instead of a partisan undertaking. NB:Although the results for this initiative have not yet been established, it is cited for its relevance to youth participation and potential to enhance social cohesion.)

Results:

◇ Because of its recent formation, the 2021 election represents the real test of the effectiveness of this initiative.

◇ Noticeable increase in youth political engagement on social media. Aji Souwet had 3 000 followers in the first 24 hours of its launch (increased hashtagivism).

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45. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/graffiti-new-form-of-expression-on-walls-of-cairo/

46. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-10-30-behind-the-cover-the-entwined-geniuses-of-fela-kuti-and-lemi-ghariokwu/

47. See: https://m.youtube.com/c/BUSTOPTV/about?disable_polymer=true (BUSTOP TV) and https://youtube.com/c/funfactoryug (FUN Factory)

Key Considerations

◇ Use of visual arts is effective for capturing the attention of an array of political and electoral stakeholders.

◇ Using virtual arts as a strategy enables the youth to tackle sensitive issues like sexual harassment.

◇ When employing the creative arts strategy, be mindful of the socio-political, cultural, and legal factors obtaining in the country.

◇ Messaging conveyed through this strategy shows how the messaging was seen as marginally acceptable as long as it did not have strong political messaging.

CHAPTER 8: Leadership

Objective:

To build capacities of youth leaders for participation in political and electoral processes.

Leadership is about mindset, skills, basic character, performance that can lead to change outcomes. The quality of leadership directly impacts the effectiveness of the youth in political and electoral processes. It also affects their motivation, vision and participation.

Possible Strategies

1) Capacity building:

Developing leadership skills requires practice, hence a need for a structured capacity-building programme with a series of training workshops. Participants must be assessed after every level of the training before they move to the next level. The six vital leadership skills required by the youth are:

(a) Critical thinking skills needed to analyse and rationalise information and make informed decisions.

(b) Problem solving skills essential for dealing with the endless social and services related problems confronting the youth on a daily basis.

(c) Basic relationship skills to manage relationships better. This skill enables them to deal with coexistence and social diversity.

(d) Basic organising skills in terms of resources, opportunities, people and activities. Participating in political and electoral processes is a costly endeavour. Therefore, the youth must have resource mobilisation skills including fundraising skills.

(e) Volunteerism or service skills to be able to render time for the good of communities and to learn how to relate, organise, and dialogue with the people.

(f) Communication skills to acquire basic analysis skills to clearly communicate their thoughts. The youth must distinguish between ability to talk and ability to communicate.

2) Adopting innovative approaches:

Youth leadership calls for innovation in approaches as youth are also individuals with differing skills. These approaches must be inclusive of the different youth voices. To ensure participation, youth leadership can also create a youth participation "brand" that distinguishes the positive and inclusive aspect of youth participation in political and electoral processes. Such a brand must resonate with the youth while at the same time delivering key messages to citizens in general.

3) Nurturing leadership and mentorship:

The positive aspect about youth is the opportunity to build and nurture. For example, the development of youth clusters in communities, schools and tertiary institutions provides for learning and enhancing leadership skills. Mentorship also plays a particularly important role in the development of youth leaders. It provides a platform for interrogation, learning from experience and skills building for well-rounded individual with capacity to hold position and diverse grouping. In the African context it is not about patriarchal roles of the elders but rather an imparting of knowledge that enables the younger generation a take-off platform for effective participation. One of the innovative ways of achieving this is organising of intergenerational dialogue series between the old (experience) and the young (new views). The intergenerational dialogue series could become a national platform for converging of opinions and lessons for older persons and the youth.

Case Study: Rwandan National Internships Programme and Youth Mainstreaming (Rwanda)

Problem:
Lack of mentorship for the youth.

Strategy:

Youth mainstreaming is a strategy for integrating the concerns, ambitions, and contributions of young people in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and governance in all political, economic, and societal spheres.

The Government of Rwanda employs a largely young workforce, with 44.5 per cent of public servants aged under 35 and 79 per cent under the age of 45. In particular, the Rwandan government has prioritised youth employment as a key indicator for youth mainstreaming across all sectors. Rwanda's National Strategy for Transformation sets a clear target for the creation of 1,5 million new jobs by 2024, whilst continuing to make investments to turn the nation into a Knowledge-Based Economy. As such, skills development and employment are important to the government of Rwanda.

The Internship program facilitates a successful exit from the professional internship program, and after placement services. Building on this, the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) has developed a 'skills and job portal' which will bridge information between employers and work seekers and generate a central skills database. These improvements greatly enhance government's access to the pool of skilled, young people who are willing to serve in the public sector, which is vital to building a formalised pipeline of capable public servants.

Results:

◇ Large number of youths mainstreamed across departments and sectors in the economy. A total of 7,954 graduates of which 48 per cent were women who were accommodated on the internship programme between 2017 and 2020.

◇ Creation of on-the-job training and improve youth skills and competitiveness for employment.

Lessons:

◇ Government leadership and political will are key to ensuring youth inclusion in political, economic, and societal spheres.

◇ Youth inclusion is not the domain of the youth ministry alone. It requires a multistakeholder approach, where all government Ministries adopt it as a public policy.

Source: The African Leadership Institute 2020

Key Considerations

◇ Youth Inclusion must be enshrined in the national strategic documents. In the case of Rwanda, the National Strategy for Transformation (2018–2024) and the National Skills Development and Employment Promotion Strategy (2019–2024) are key strategic documents.

◇ Inter-sectoral resources that include the private sector, CSO and government are important in facilitating effective youth mainstreaming and mentorship programmes.

4) Establishing resources that help in building capacity for youth leaders in Africa:

Considering the scarcity of resources for leadership development, youth organisations and youth leaders can establish resources for capacity development and mentorship through the use of digital platforms that assist with:

1. continuous learning and development of leaders.
2. ability to have the learning resources from fellow national, regional and continental youth leaders.
3. symposiums for young leaders in Africa.

Case Study: Leadership capacity building- Youngsters Foundation (Nigeria)

Problem:

Lack of leadership development platforms to prepare the next generation of leaders.

Strategy:

Capacity building through leadership development programme entitled "Young African leadership fellowship". Activities included:

⬦ Capacity building through leadership development programme entitled "Young African leadership fellowship". Activities included:

⬦ Hosting a national youth forum on political party manifestos during the 2007 elections.

⬦ Organising the young aspirant's leadership fellowship programme since 2012.

⬦ Organising intergenerational dialogues where panels comprising the elders and the youth discuss around nation building. Through the intergenerational dialogue model, the elders have been persuaded to look at issues from the youth perspective.

Facilitating internship programmes where the youth are attached to the National assembly and the State Assembly to interact with the parliamentarians to bridge the gap between the youth and the legislators.

⬦ Hosting the mixed leader's session (between young females and older women online]. There is also a mixed generation programme targeting schools where the young women are supported to visit schools as part of the leadership training and

⬦ civic education.

Results:

⬦ This has benefited the youth in that they follow policy discussions, get practical experience on what obtains in the legislatures and learn debating, presentation, and other skills.

⬦ Increased youth capacity and awareness on leadership skills

⬦ Increased number of youths contesting for the 2015 elections

⬦ There was an increase in youth participation during the 2019 general elections compared to the previous years, mostly due to the legislative amendment that reduced the age barrier for youth to contest elections. The campaign against the age barrier was spearheaded by YIAGA Africa.

⬦ A total of 23 out of the 380 young people trained through the programme from Northern Nigeria won seats during the 2019 elections in 6 State Assemblies. One female graduate of the programme won a seat in the Nigerian National Assembly.

Lessons:

⬦ Building and developing leadership is a long-term process because it entails changing the mindset. Leadership derives from things such as exposure, knowledge, information, and experiences that shape and form mindset. As such, when people attend a short training workshop the question is always how to package the content such that it touches on the many aspects that require years of preparation.

⬦ To effect leadership change a longer-term perspective must be adopted. Ideally, a leadership programme must last between 15 to 36 months to be impactful. It was observed that the first group of trainees did not perform well during the elections because the programme was funded for one-year, therefore making it difficult to sustain the momentum. The second group was supported under a two-year grant which provided enough time to support them from the party primaries until the elections. The last part of the programme focused on the youth who had won party primaries, and this increased their chances to win. In addition, it was noted that the participants in the second phase of the programme performed well because they had a manual while the those in the first

Key Considerations

◇ Availability of funding is a major factor in leadership development programme. The reality is that most donors are not prepared to finance long term leadership programmes. Funding is often availed for short term (few workshops on leadership). The leadership programme design has to seek to achieve more within the limited financial and time resources.

◇ Timing is a key consideration in leadership development training especially where the youth is being prepared to participate in electoral processes. Donor funding cycles may not always accommodate early preparation so other sources of funding must be considered.

◇ There is a need for commitment and consistency of the target youth group so that it can go through the programme manual and be monitored in terms of what is working and what is not working with the programme and the participants.

◇ Running a youth leadership programme requires workforce because the youth need to be technically supported and mentored beyond the training.

◇ Innovation comes with ability to negotiate and express clarity in articulation of position to build a critical mass of youth who participate in political and electoral processes and to avoid misconceptions regarding the objectives of the youth action.

CHAPTER 9: Advocacy and lobbying

Objective:

- To build skills and capacities for effective planning, voice, and access in political and electoral processes among youths and youth organisations .
- To clarify the meaning of lobbying and to identify opportunities where lobbying is most effective and strategic for youth organisations and groups with information and knowledge.

Advocacy is generally defined as arguing in favour of a cause or idea. There is no limit to the amount of advocacy a person or youth organisation can do. It can be used to persuade local authorities to provide better services for the community or a local clinic to stay open in the evenings for the public or to convince a school to introduce new extramural activities. On the other hand, lobbying is a form of advocacy with the intention of influencing decisions made by the government by individuals or more usually by lobby groups. It includes all attempts to influence legislators and officials, whether by other legislators, constituents, or organised groups (advocacy and communication solutions).

Possible Strategies: Advocacy

1) Developing advocacy strategy or assessing and or improving advocacy efforts for participation:

Advocacy plays an important role in giving people a voice about the issues that affect them; building evidence on what needs to change and how that change can happen; positive change in society towards greater social justice and equality; and influencing people with power and changing how they think and act.

2) Introducing a non-partisan public education for the youth:

Non-partisan public education for the youth is important in bridging difficult national political divides and political party lines. An example of non-partisan public education for the youth could be voter education and a voter mobilisation to encourage youth to exercise their constitutional right to vote and play a part in decision-making over the country's leadership and government. This emphasizes that no matter what political ideology each youth may align with, there are some issues and rights that are constant and form the basis of an informed youth for full participation in electoral.

3) Identifying drivers for youth participation in political and electoral processes:

Identification of the drivers for youth participation in political and electoral processes is of strategic importance for youth organisations and bodies. It is important for youth organisations or related institutions to be clear on what is meant by youth participation and how this is translated into action and on the advocacy level—change.

4) Adopting innovative actions for participation:

Youths' self-expression is growing at an exponential rate with the access to digital platforms and information, communication technologies and this has increased the voice and storytelling of the youth in electoral and political processes. For example, in Kenya, the Emerging Leaders Foundation (ELF) devised an innovative way of youth empowerment through organising high-level policy engagements with key decision makers including cabinet secretaries and other dignitaries with influence. The ELF also used digital platforms such as Tweet chat for policy engagements. The dividend of these engagements was that the Cabinet Secretary took up the policy issues from these engagements and ensured that youth voices were heard at the highest level of government.

Possible Strategies: Lobbying

1) Developing a lobbying strategy and activities:

The youth must develop a strategy and campaign for lobbying. Developing a lobbying strategy is one of the key aspects to institutionalising the role of lobbying and also maintaining a continued engagement of policy implementation. One of the key aspects of such strategy is the development of a lobbying campaign.

2) Building lobbying skills capacity:

Lobbying requires human soft skills, and its results may take time due to the legislative processes involved. Skills required include:

(a) Subject matter expertise. (b) Knowledge of the key "players" with which to interface. (c) Knowledge of legislative processes, procedures, rules, and calendars. (d) People skills. (e) Good judgment. (f) Political know-how. (g) Good communication skills.

Case Study: Advocacy, National Youth Council (Gabon)

Problem:

Political marginalisation and lack of quotas for youth in Parliaments and in political parties. Lack of leadership development platforms to prepare the next generation of leaders.

Strategy:

◇ Capacity building through a UNDP supported leadership development programme entitled "Young African leadership fellowship". Activities included:

◇ The National Youth Council (NYC) Hosting a national youth forum on political party manifestos during the 2007 elections.

◇ Organising the young aspirant's leadership fellowship programme since 2012.
Holding intergenerational dialogues where panels comprising the elders and the youth discuss nation building. Through the intergenerational dialogue model, the elders have been persuaded to look at issues from the youth perspective.

◇ Facilitating internship programmes where the youth are attached to the National Assembly and the State Assembly to interact with the parliamentarians to bridge the gap between the youth and the legislators.

◇ Hosting the mixed leader's session (between young females and older women online]. There is also a mixed generation programme targeting schools, during which the young women are supported to visit schools as part of the leadership training and civic education.

Results:

◇ Through advocacy, the National Youth Council successfully lobbied government for the ratification of the African Youth Charter in 2007 and development of a strategy for its implementation.

◇ Based on the African Youth Charter, the NYC successfully advocated for the adopted of youth quota in the electoral system. As a result, the 2015 constitutional amendment adopted in 2017 by parliament allowed for 30% youth quota.

◇ A successful advocacy campaign for the reduction of age from 40 to 18 years for candidates for various elective seats. The Constitution was amended in 2015 and adopted in 2017 by parliament.

◇ Bearing in mind the socio-economic vulnerability of the youth and how this affects political participation, the NYC successfully advocated for paid internship by the state for the youth working in various companies, both statutory and private companies.

◇ Establishment of youth councils in universities to support democracy within Universities.

◇ Political parties' establishment of youth wings as well as leadership structures with the support of the NYC.

◇ The NYC participates in the Youth Gold platform through which it has advanced youth agenda through annual awards and publicity of youth initiatives.

◇ Development of a code of conduct for young citizen election observers in Gabon.

Lessons:

◇ Manipulation of youth by exploiting their economic vulnerability remains persistent despite advocating for their economic inclusion.

◇ More sensitization of youth on their democratic rights, fight against corruption as this helps to strengthen youth consciousness about change.

◇ Having ratified the African Youth Charter, it has been noted that using this charter to advocate various issues affecting the youth has been successful such as the introduction of the quota system.

◇ Advocacy must be preceded by sound research on the subject matter.

Key considerations: Advocacy

◇ In developing an advocacy strategy, it is important align to the mission and vision of the organisations or collaboration. It is also important on the onset to evaluate or assess the strategic importance for advocacy efforts as a means of addressing the challenge of youth participation in political and electoral processes. How can advocacy play a larger role in the organisation and its effort to promote youth participation?

◇ Collaborative efforts for wider impact, more voices and influencing change: Youth organisations can use collaboration as a means of wider scope for reach and more voices for key messages of youth participation in political and electoral processes. This helps in identifying allies for advocacy efforts and brings together resources such as skills and finances to minimise risks of short-term advocacy efforts. Collaboration also galvanises more impactful advocacy approach for identified key messages for participation of youth.

◇ Advocacy activities, strategies and key messages that embody youth representative of the country's demographics and gender must be identified to achieve full participation. This is important as youth are both rural, semi-urban and urban and advocacy efforts must resonate youth voices that are representative.

On public education

◇ Youth are not a homogenous group but come from different socio-economic backgrounds and individual realities are defined differently. Youth participation is both individual and collective and participation is based on access to information, community influence and general public information. Therefore, as part of advocacy, public education ensures access to relevant information for participation.

◇ Public education entails adapting and using different methods. Some key pillars include peer-to-peer learning (youth enabling learning and mentoring each other), learning at an individual level to impart at community and national levels, enabling access to information to build capacities for participation by youth; and enabling understanding that participation in political and electoral processes is ensuring that voices of the youth are integrated into those processes

On drivers

◇ As mentioned repeatedly in this guide, youth are not a homogenous group, and drivers for participation vary and may include socio-economic environments that present varying challenges especially in addressing the rural and urban divide. Issues of shrinking political and individual spaces, forms of expression and lack of access to information for learning present negative drivers for youth participation.

◇ State repression versus self-expression in forms of civil disobedience and student unrest and protests.

◇ Addressing the disconnect between individual realities (day-to-day lives) to process of representation and participation need to be bridged effectively

On innovative actions

◇ Internet and online media have become platforms for decision-making for the youth, and a key challenge for the effective participation by youth in political and electoral processes is disinformation. Youth organisations may need to consider strategies for addressing both the high potential for reach and high potential for risk of using digital platforms.

◇ It is important for youth organisations to consider a balance in use of digital platforms and traditional platforms for advocacy. Traditional platforms remain important especially for access by all youth. Good strategies usually blend both especially when influencing decision makers. Access to digital platforms is possible for very few African youths on the continent.

Lobbying

◇ It is important for organisations to know when to lobby for a policy influence or change

◇ There must be clarity, understanding and focus on the particular policy lobbying issue and what the lobbying seeks to change.

◇ It is necessary to take into consideration factors on engaging in lobbying.

◇ Knowing when to shift between a range of activities in a variety of areas, often with different partner organisations, is the most effective way of influencing policy—from public pressure and one-on-one talks with decision makers, to analysis and the right intervention at the right time.

CHAPTER 10: Communication and Engagement

Objective:

To build the capacity of youth and youth organisations and skills for communication and engagement.

Communication strategies for youth organisations and related partners is important in ensuring that considerations for engaging stakeholders is a strategic approach. Very often, communication and or advocacy strategies are developed later in panning processes while they should be considered as one of the prime deliverables for any organisation. Engagement is about active listening to all voices to ensure full participation.

1. Developing communication strategies: This may entail:

    (a) developing a clear framework for engaging audiences

    (b) developing key messages of the organisation linked to its mission and vision.

    (c) Articulating a two-way communication stream for feedback mechanism.

    (d) Identifying media channels for engagement and dissemination of key messages.

    (e) Determining the risk that could arise with the strategy and articulating mitigation activities.

2. Engaging youth as active citizens for political and electoral processes:

Youth are not passive participants in political and electoral processes. Actions may include

(a) collaboration between the youth and CSOs to create a platform that enables youth voices.

(b) Youth or youth organisations simultaneously building a niche for youth participation in processes and key events that are related.

(c) Engaging in shaping cohesive narrative to ensure same messaging and action.

3. Understanding communication as an accountability method for feedback and engagement:

Communication is a tool for accountability and a feedback mechanism that further increases voices to participation and engagement. Communication paves the way for clear strategic intent for participation. To achieve this, it is important that the youth harmonise communication, lobbying and advocacy strategies and their activities to mitigate risk of mismanagement of information and disinformation.

4. Adopting innovative and new communication tools and traditional methods:

Innovative and new communication tools as mentioned in Chapter 4, have the capability for real-time communication bringing challenges for multi-views on any given topic of discussion. At the same time, they also bring great opportunity for wider reach. Digital platforms have enabled citizens to be journalists, spokespeople, or advocates. It is important for the youth and youth-led organisations to:

(a) Develop strong social media strategies and risks plan for digital platforms.

(b) Develop media plans: traditional methods such as radio and newspaper still play a major role for robust communication.

Case Study: Public engagement and Communication – Togolese Civil League (Togo)

Problem:
legislative exclusion, structural political hostility, political marginalisation of the youth and limited economic opportunities.

Strategy:

Using innovative approaches to public engagement and communication. One of the challenges the youth faced in Togo was repression of their voice including shutting down of the internet during times of political activity. This meant that the youth could no longer mobilise each other and the general public through Whatsapp and Facebook which were widely used by the youth in Togo.

A major engagement and communication approach was the adoption of Bluetooth as an alternative connectivity tool for mobilisation and communication. Bluetooth had been used over a decade before the other digital platforms became popular and it was comparatively cheaper. The youth encouraged the use of Bluetooth to share messages that had been downloaded thereby greatly lessening the cost given how only a few would need to download and share freely to the masses over Bluetooth.

Whenever the messages were sent, they were accompanied by a note "'Mimè Tcha Tcha Tcha" (share fast fast fast) to ensure that the messages reached wider public within a short time. The 'Mimè Tcha Tcha Tcha' concept was further popularised through composition of songs thereby serving a double effect of entertaining and also creating public awareness.
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5e6gJvkU6nA).

Through research, the youth were able to develop innovative ways of extending the Bluetooth range and content sharing without the internet. A Bluetooth range extender device which had the capability to extend the Bluetooth range to up to 135 kms was adopted. This means that everyone within that range from the originator of the message could pass the message in real time to the public as long as they had a telephone identifier of the sender.

This approach to public engagement and communication was:

◇ Successfully used by the youth to express their opinions regarding poor governance, human rights abuses, lack of jobs and opportunities, overcrowding of universities, poor health care facilities, and access to health care by young people.

◇ Vital during the 'bring back the 1992 Constitution' campaign from August 2017-June 2018: Through this campaign the youth were advocating for reforms including the reintroduction of the presidential term limits. Togo was the only West African Country with no term limits. The campaign was supported by citizens from all social classes and generations including opposition political parties whose coming together also led to a national slogan 'Faure Must Go' as a response to government threat to planned public protests in demand for the 1992 constitution.

Results:

Use of Bluetooth led to government abandoning internet shut down because it realised that people continued to mobilise. Instead, the impact of the shutdown was that it was hurting the government and business in terms of loss of revenue.

◇ Public engagement and communication through Bluetooth contributed to high public turnout to planned public protests.

◇ Mass support of the 'Faure Must go movement' in addition to the 'bring back the 1992 Constitution' led to government concessions including the re-introduction of the 1992 Constitution that paved way to:

◇ The re-introduction of the presidential term limits. However, the President did not step down as he claimed the term limits provision could not be applied retrospectively.

◇ The holding of the 2019 local authority elections. The last time these were held was in 1986. This led to opposition parties winning in some local authorities and controlling some cities.

◇ This has benefited the youth in that they follow policy discussions, get practical experience on what obtains in the legislatures and learn debating, presentation, and other skills.

◇ First local election held in 2019 since 1986 with opposition parties managing to win in some localities

Lessons:

◇ Having a free platform option is critical when conducting mobilisation or education exercises in a politically constrained environment.

◇ The youth are not politically apathetic. They respond well when there is a coordinated effort towards an objective that they can rally around.

Key considerations

◇ Some authorities regard protests as a personal attack on them and their administrations and this leads to use of force to quell the protests instead of engagement. Therefore, there is a need for creative messaging, engagement and investment in social capital to counter the use of force by the authorities.

On Communication strategies

◇ Barriers that hinder youth from engaging with issues of importance to them: Understanding the barriers that hinder youth from full participation in political and electoral processes is an important pillar that contributes to targeted and effective communication strategy. Understanding the barriers enables the development of key messages that resonate to specific audiences and measuring and monitoring communication activities becomes an integral part of the strategy.

◇ Engaging marginalized youth in action: The marginalised youth need special attention in communication due to the multiple challenges they face on the socio-economic level and the encouragement and will required for them to effectively participate in political and electoral processes. It is important to identify the realities of marginalised youth and how participation is part of the change in overcoming and addressing their socio-economic challenges.

◇ Efficient resources for implementation of communication activities: Effective communication strategies requires resources that support activities which ultimately feed into increasing participation of the youth in political and electoral processes.

On engaging youth as active citizens

◇ Shaping the youth narrative for participation in political and electoral processes: the shaping of youth narrative for participation addresses participation through clear key messaging and shared understanding. This entails collaborative efforts between youth organisations and youth leaders.

◇ Addressing barriers to youth participation: Key to addressing barriers could include lack of mechanisms for effective communication to amplify the youths' voices and socio-economic factors.

◇ Engaging and representation at all level of political and electoral processes

On understanding communication

◇ Communication strategies should have a monitoring and evaluation as assessment (and competence) to measure impact and gauge reach for youth organisations.

◇ Communication strategies should reflect the diversity of ways in which young people engage with their communities. These locations of communication include schools and universities, youth groups, neighbourhoods, sports and other leisure clubs, voluntary associations, and religious groups.

On innovative and new communication tools

◇ Youth organisations should have the appropriate technical competence for digital platforms that ensure broad reach, affordability, and accuracy of information.

◇ Learning to use appropriate media channels and tools that ensure access to information appropriate for youth participation

◇ Risk communication plans to mitigate disinformation and misinformation especially on digital platforms.

◇ Individual expression versus the community expression on digital platformsYouth, as they represent themselves as collaborative and synergetic in their efforts for increasing participation, should ensure that forms of expression of individual and the community are not clashing as this causes the risk for fragmentation of messaging and also could be viewed as coercive.

◇ In some countries the use of conventional tools like pamphlets, posters and flyers is not as effective as the use of audio clips because of the literacy levels and time pressures.

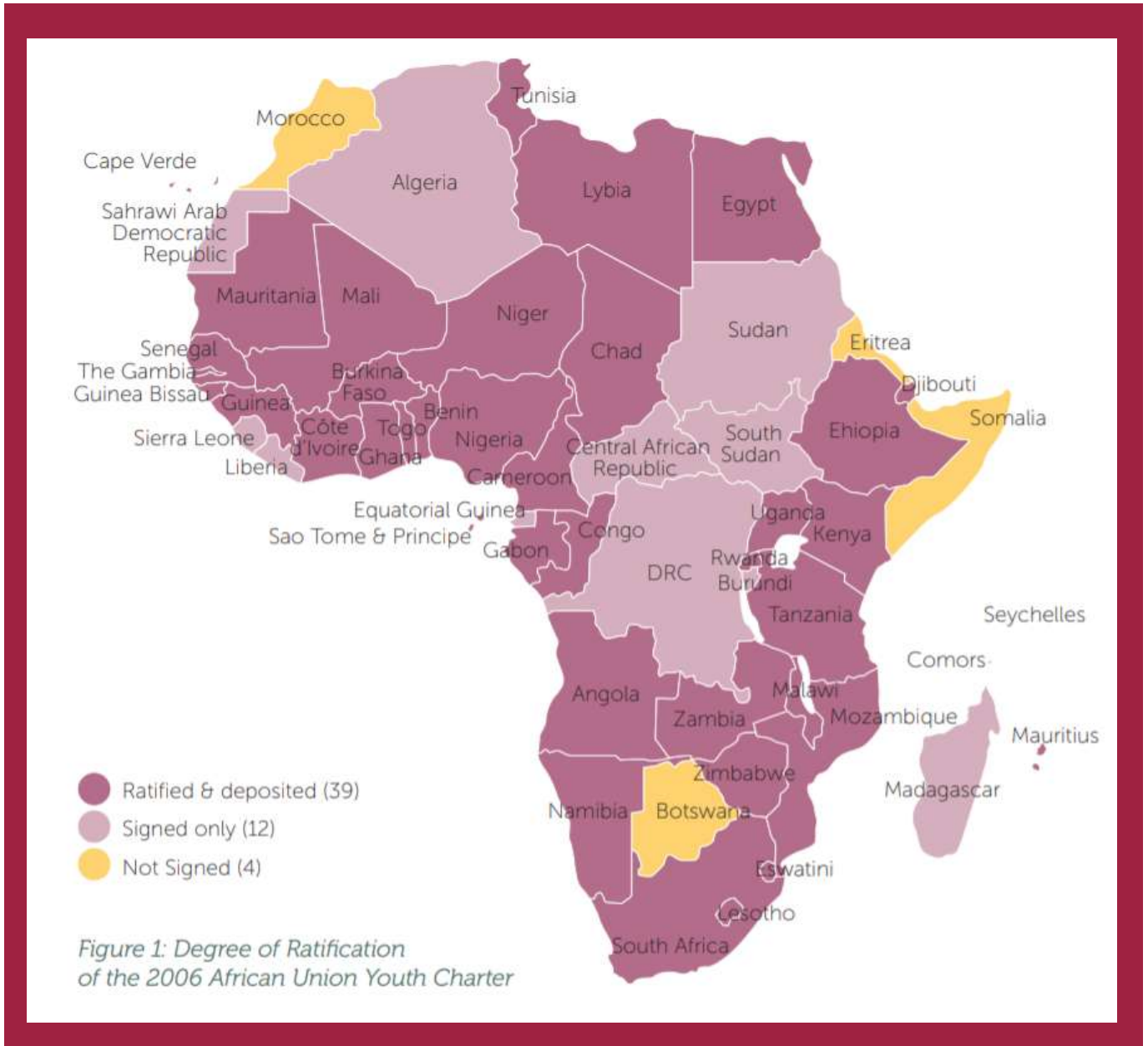# PART 3
ANNEXURES

PART 3: ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Degree of ratification of the African Youth Charter as at June 2020

Figure 1: Degree of Ratification
of the 2006 African Union Youth Charter

Source: African Leadership Institute (AFLI) 2020

	Country	Organisation	Name	Gender	Contacts
1	Botswana	Organisation for Youth and Elections in Botswana (OYEBO)	Rebaone Mmereki	M	mmerekirjd@gmail.com
2	Cameroon	Network for Solidarity, Empowerment and Transformation for All	Ateki Seta Caxton	M	atekiseta@yahoo.com
3	Gabon	National Youth Council (NYC)	Andy Roland Nziengui Nziengui	M	andynziengui@gmail.com
4	Ghana	Gender Centre for Empowering Development (GENCED)	Esther Taiwah		esther.tawiah@genced.org
5	Kenya	Emerging Leaders Foundation	Caren Wakoli	F	cwakoli@yahoo.com
		National Democratic Institute (NDI)	Benedictus Rono	F	brono@ndi.org
6	Nigeria	Youngstars Foundation	Kingsley Bangwell	M	kntb12@yahoo.com
		YIAGA	Ibrahim Faruk	M	fibrahim@yiaga.org
7	Tanzania	Tanzania Youth Coalition (TYC)	Lenin		info@tzyc.org
8	Togo	The Togolese Civil League	Farida Bemba	F	faridabemba@gmail.com
9	Tunisia	Tun'Act	Zied Touzani	M	zied.touzani@gmail.com
		Youth Without Borders	Mouldi AYARI		mouldi.ayari@jsf.tn
		Youth Without Borders	Ahmed ALLOUCH		ahmed.allouch@jsf.tn
10	Zambia	Southern African Youth Forum (SAYoF)	Misheck Gondo	M	info@sayof.org
11	Zimbabwe	Gov Enhance	Zuwa Madondo	M	zuwa.matondo@yahoo.com zmatondo@govenhanceafrica.org
		Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust (YETT)	Tafadzwa Macheka		tafazwa@yetzw.net
12	South Africa	Independent Electoral Commission	Moses Pitso	M	PitsoMo@elections.org.za
			Masego Shiburi	M	

CASE STUDY COUNTRIES COMPILED FROM THE LITERATURE

	Country	Organisation	Name	Gender	Contacts
13	Burkina Faso				
14	Morocco				
15	Rwanda				

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