

2016

**Youth
participation
in elections
in Africa**

An eight-country study



MINDS

MANDELA INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

FOREWORD

The demographics of the African continent demonstrate clearly that the future of the continent will fundamentally depend on how young people are treated and what role, in the different facets of African life, they in turn choose to be involved.

Different claims are made on the role that youth already play or do not play, but these claims are more often than not based on very scant if any information at all. Given how important it is to develop appropriate strategies for integrating the youth into current and future plans, it is imperative that the planning process be based on facts on the ground as opposed to being based on untested speculation about young people.

On that basis, the Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS), a pan African think tank, has commissioned this research to contribute to the body of knowledge about the current plight and attitudes of young people on the continent. This body of knowledge, we hope, will not only inform the formulation of appropriate strategies by current administrations, but will also help young people themselves figure out how to more proactively take on the role of agent in laying the path to creating a future that will serve their interests.

At MINDS we hold a view that young people should be challenged to take advantage of their numbers and make both their current and future needs better known and taken into account in how things are done. This should include in particular, how they use their numbers to influence who is elected to lead their countries.

Unsurprisingly, the research finds that young people are very frustrated with how the African continent is performing. Frustrated by lack of economic opportunities, young people have lost faith in political structures and processes. They have also lost faith in electoral processes in particular. Needless to say this last element could spell disaster as it implies that young people might, in their frustration, seek other ways of attempting to get the system to respond to their needs.

If elections have lost their bite in so far as the youth do not believe that a non-performing government can be removed through the electoral process, it would follow that the superiority of their numbers cannot serve them through this channel. In some ways, this is what we have witnessed in South Africa with respect to the very disruptive and destructive behavior of students in the #feesmustfall movement.

What should be clear to young people is that this kind of knowledge can be used to either facilitate for their productive participation in creating a more equitable and inclusive future, or to frustrate and exclude them. Knowledge is a neutral asset. The user's agenda determines the end to which objective information or knowledge is employed.

We hope there will be more parties that mean well and, therefore, choose to put this information to good use for the benefit of both society at large and the African youth in particular.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5	Burkina Faso	52
Youth sample and country comparisons	5	7.1 National political context	52
ACRONYMS	8	7.2 Civic engagement	53
Introduction	10	7.3 Political engagement	54
1.1 Purpose of the study	10	7.4 Influences on youth participation	55
1.2 Selection of countries	10	7.5 Encouraging future participation	56
1.3 Methodology	10	7.6 Key findings	56
1.4 MINDS definition of youth	11	Nigeria	58
1.5 Measuring youth voter turnout	11	8.1 National political context	58
1.6 Key measures of participation	11	8.2 Civic engagement	59
1.7 Report structure	11	8.3 Political engagement	60
Youth sample and country comparison	13	8.4 Influences on youth participation	62
2.1 Youth population	13	8.5 Encouraging future participation	63
2.2 Afrobarometer youth sub-sample	13	8.6 Key findings	64
2.3 Youth quality of life	14	Zambia	66
2.4 Youth political and civic engagement	17	9.1 National political context	66
2.5 Key factors influencing youth participation	21	9.2 Civic engagement	67
Tunisia	23	9.3 Political engagement	68
3.1 National political context	23	9.4 Influences on youth participation	70
3.2 Civic engagement	24	9.5 Encouraging future participation	71
3.3 Political engagement	25	9.6 Key findings	72
3.4 Influences on youth participation	28	Malawi	74
3.5 Encouraging future participation	28	10.1 National political context	74
3.6 Key findings	29	10.2 Civic engagement	74
Egypt	31	10.3 Political engagement	76
4.1 National political context	31	10.4 Influences on youth participation	79
4.2 Civic engagement	32	10.5 Encouraging future participation	80
4.3 Political engagement	33	10.6 Key findings	80
4.4 Influences on youth participation	35	Key findings and strategies to	
4.5 Encouraging future participation	36	increase participation	82
4.6 Key findings	36	11.1 Key findings	82
Kenya	38	11.2 Strategies to increase participation in the future	83
5.1 National political context	38	APPENDIX A:	
5.2 Civic engagement	39	OVERVIEW OF RECENT ELECTIONS IN AFRICA	85
5.3 Political engagement	40	North Africa	85
5.4 Influences on youth participation	43	Central Africa	87
5.5 Encouraging future participation	44	West Africa	88
5.6 Key findings	44	Southern Africa	90
Tanzania	46	APPENDIX B:	
6.1 National political context	46	EXPERT INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS	92
6.2 Civic engagement	47		
6.3 Political engagement	47		
6.4 Influences on youth participation	50		
6.5 Encouraging future participation	50		
6.6 Key findings	50		

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Africa is a continent of the young. In 2015, an estimated 458 million people (39.5% of the population of the continent) were between the ages of 18 and 45. Despite the size and diversity of this population, African youth have often been depicted in binary terms, either as a source of political and social instability or as a “demographic dividend” carrying hopes for future growth and development.

The Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS) is an African institute that envisages the role of youth on the continent differently. Through the Youth Programme on Elections and Governance (YPE&G), MINDS recognises that young people on the African continent have the capacity, talents and numbers to positively shape key political processes, particularly as many countries strengthen and consolidate their democratic processes.

Nuanced research has been limited to date. The purpose of this study was to explore youth civic and political engagement in Africa, analyse electoral behaviour and choices, and encourage youth to participate more fully in future. In addition to providing an overview of recent elections across Africa, eight countries were selected for detailed, in-depth analysis: Tunisia; Egypt; Kenya; Tanzania; Burkina Faso; Nigeria; Zambia; and Malawi. Research for this study was conducted using a multi-method approach, which incorporated a desktop review, analysis of public opinion data from the Afrobarometer survey, and qualitative interviews with in-country experts. The MINDS definition of youth – people from 18 to 45 – was used in the analysis.

Youth sample and country comparisons

There was significant diversity among the countries selected for inclusion in the study. All the countries except Egypt and Tunisia had national populations in which more than 30% were between the ages of 18 and 45. Egypt, Tunisia and Nigeria were the most affluent countries, as measured by total and per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP). On average, both males and females spent the longest time in education in Tunisia, Egypt and Zambia, and the least time in Burkina Faso and Tanzania. Self-reported youth employment levels were highest in Tanzania and Kenya. Levels of deprivation from lack of access to basic necessities were highest in Zambia, Burkina Faso, Malawi and Tanzania.

Research found that the youth were at the forefront of political change in many countries, often because of their frustration with high levels of unemployment, marginalisation, and feeling under-represented both by and in governments and leadership. With the exception of respondents in Egypt and Burkina Faso, most felt their countries were going in the “wrong direction” overall. Nonetheless, despite these levels of pessimism, youth were very interested in public affairs and politics in their countries.

Analysis of youth civic engagement, as measured by participation in a range of collective actions and events, showed such engagement to be highest in Malawi, Tanzania and Burkina Faso. Participation in protest type actions was highest in Egypt, Tunisia and Burkina Faso, all of which have undergone revolutions in recent years, as well as in Nigeria. More than eight in ten (80%) of youth in Burkina Faso, Tunisia, Kenya and Tanzania supported the use of regular, open and honest elections to choose leaders while more than 60% of youth in Kenya, Egypt, Tanzania, and Malawi indicated that they had voted in the last round of national elections.

Despite the diversity of the countries included in the study, the youth shared a number of key concerns and issues they felt their respective governments should prioritise. Most of these related to the economy and the provision of basic necessities, including clean water, food, health care and education. In six out of the eight countries surveyed, unemployment was identified as a major problem that governments needed to address.

Across the eight countries, research identified a range of factors that broadly influenced youth participation. Unemployment was a source of dissatisfaction and frustration among many youth. Gender was an issue raised in many countries, with young women less likely to participate in civic and political life than young men. It is clear that social media has significantly increased youth engagement, enabled monitoring and citizen journalism, and supported networking and the formation of coalitions.

Factors identified as impacting negatively on political participation specifically included distrust of politicians and political parties, which were often seen as self-interested, corrupt and linked to old, undemocratic regimes. Across many countries, youth felt they were “used” by political parties to gain votes, but after elections were excluded from government and decision-making processes. In a number of countries, the integrity of the electoral processes and institutions was brought into question as a result of problems with the tallying and reporting of voting results.

Several factors, in addition to a general aversion to politics, were identified as influencing the willingness of young people to stand as candidates in elections. In a number of countries, youth described patronage networks linked to affluent candidates and parties, through which politicians were able to build support with offers of cash, motorbikes and other rewards. This was a serious obstacle to young, often under-resourced, candidates attempting to win elections on platforms that focused on values or policy proposals. In addition, some countries have laws imposing minimum age requirements for candidates running for elected office, effectively excluding younger candidates even though they constituted a demographic majority within national populations. Finally, in several countries a number of inter-generational issues were identified, including the belief that youth are not entitled to lead older people, and pressure on the young to support the same political parties as their parents and family members.

The research identified a number of strategies for increasing youth participation in future. Education was critical, including increased voter education during and outside of election times, with a focus on reaching women and rural populations. Further, data analysis in a number of countries showed that educational achievement was a strong predictor of support for using elections to choose leaders. This suggested the importance of working towards universal school enrolment, and of encouraging youth to complete their secondary education, as potential ways to increase voter turnout. There is a need to challenge perceptions about the inability of youth and women to occupy leadership positions if their representation and participation in politics is to increase. Independent electoral commissions must operate independently, and systems for tallying votes and reporting on results need to be streamlined. Further, the research found that a change in the age limits for candidates running for elected office could increase participation by young people, thus, creating platforms for sustained youth engagement in the political life of the country and for building networks between youth movements across Africa.

Tunisia

Youth played a central role in the Jasmine Revolution of 2011, which inspired the Arab Spring movement across the Middle East and North Africa. The Revolution ended Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's presidency, which lasted more than two decades, and led to the holding of multiparty elections and the drafting of a new constitution. Tunisian youth formed broad coalitions during the revolution and, in an increasingly open political climate, have continued to engage in civic life through, among other things, the formation of civil society organisations (CSOs) and activities such as citizen journalism. However, after two rounds of national elections, youth voter turnout appears to have declined. Tunisian youth now distrust politicians and political parties, which they feel have largely excluded youth from decision-making and the work of the new government. Despite this cynicism, some research participants suggested that youth participation could be increased in future with more voter education, more young candidates contesting elections and greater transparency, as well as through learning from youth movements in other African countries.

Egypt

Following on the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia, Egyptian youth were leaders of the Arab Spring movement in their own country, which brought an end to the 30-year regime of President Hosni Mubarak. Elections were held in 2012, but President Mohammed Morsi's term lasted only one year before he was removed from office. In early 2014, a new constitution was adopted, and former army chief Abdul Fattah al-Sisi was elected president. Egyptian youth were heavily involved in political activity during the revolution, but this has declined since then. In the lead-up to the 2015 parliamentary elections, party support was diffuse and many youth were not even sure if they would vote at all, citing as reasons a lack of confidence in electoral processes, the exclusion of youth from the work of the government, and a perception that the political environment had become increasingly closed.

Kenya

Kenya's historical political landscape has been one in which party support is deeply divided along ethnic lines; leaders have worked to consolidate power within the office of the presidency. Highly contested election results in 2007 were followed by more than two months of violence in 2007 and 2008, in which over a thousand people were killed, while many others were injured or displaced. A commission of inquiry found evidence that political parties and business leaders had co-opted young people to orchestrate the post-election violence. A new constitution was adopted and a system of devolution introduced, in order to decentralise political authority. Elections were held again in 2013 and, although highly competitive, were largely peaceful. The next round of polls is due in 2017 and according to research participants, campaigning has already reached "fever pitch". Kenyan youth were actively engaged in both the civic and political life of the country, although young men tended to be more politically active than young women. Many youth were sceptical about the electoral commission, and questioned whether or not the past polls had been free and fair. Concern over electoral violence was identified as a deterrent to youth participation, as were perceptions that many political promises made to young Kenyans remained unfilled. Youth also felt that they were excluded from government and thus from the decision-making processes. Future participation could be improved through voter education, focusing on peaceful and positive electoral participation, and ensuring that the tallying and reporting of votes is conducted smoothly and transparently.

Tanzania

Tanzania was governed by the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in the years following independence in 1961. However, this looked set to change for the first time in 2015 when CCM defector Edward Ngoyai Lowassa contested highly competitive elections, representing a coalition of opposition parties in addition to his own Party for Democracy and

Progress (CHADEMA). Although the CCM candidate, John Pombe Magufuli, was ultimately elected president, and the party retained a majority within the National Assembly (NA), research participants described 2015 as "one of the hottest elections ever" in Tanzania, and one in which youth played an active role. Young Tanzanians were relatively active within civil society, although participation was generally higher among men than women. Many youth indicated that they had voted in the past and, at the time the Afrobarometer survey was conducted, were likely to vote in the 2015 polls. Similarly, political participation was higher among young men than young women. Some youth were inevitably disappointed by the election results, although the polls were regarded as free and fair. Factors identified as having influenced youth participation in the 2015 elections included dissatisfaction with the government's management of the economy, gender barriers to women's participation, and pressure to support the same political parties as older generations. More effective systems for voter registration and results tallying, increased voter education, and more focus on youth priority issues from government and elected leadership were identified as factors that might well encourage greater youth participation in future elections.

Burkina Faso

President Blaise Compaoré's attempts to amend the constitution and extend his time in office in 2014 triggered Burkina Faso's Third Term Revolution, which ultimately brought about the country's first openly-contested elections since independence in 1960. After decades of political instability and successive *coups*, peaceful polls were held in 2015 and former prime minister Roch Marc Christian Kaboré was elected president. Burkina Faso had a highly active civil society, and young people played a leading role in the Third Term Revolution – including through initiatives such as the *Balai Citoyen* (Citizens' Broom) movement, which aimed to "sweep out" bad governance. Civic engagement was, however, higher among young men than young women. Young Burkinabés strongly supported the use of elections to choose political leaders, although at the time the Afrobarometer survey was conducted, many were unsure about whether or not the 2015 polls would be completely free and fair. Many were also unsure which candidates they would vote for, but indicated that they would participate in elections. Particularly in the post-election period, issues identified as likely to influence participation included the limited engagement of youth by the government, and gendered obstacles to women's participation. Strategies identified for increasing youth participation in future included more voter education, greater transparency, and ensuring that youth priorities and concerns were taken into account by government and elected leaders. Further, it was suggested that a justice and reconciliation initiative could contribute to increased social cohesion in Burkina Faso.

Nigeria

Nigeria last held national elections in 2015, and despite only a moderate voter turnout, the polls were described as among the most successful in the country's history. Incumbent president, Goodluck Jonathan, accused of leading a very negative campaign, was defeated by Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC) which also won a majority of seats in the House of Representatives (HR). Young Nigerians, and particularly young men, were found to be actively engaged in civic activities, and more likely to have participated in protests than young people in many other countries included in the study. Most young Nigerians supported the use of elections to choose leaders, although they believed past polls had not been entirely free and fair. As with the older population, youth voter turnout had been moderate in previous elections. In the lead-up to 2015, youth support was almost evenly split between the APC and the outgoing People's Democratic Party (PDP). Although accounts of youth turnout at the 2015 polls varied, some suggested that youth were actively involved as voters, election monitors, campaign leaders and candidates although in some cases results were nullified when it was found that those elected did not meet the age requirements for holding office. Following the

elections, there was some criticism that youth were not sufficiently represented in government notwithstanding the active role they had played in the elections. A number of positive factors were identified as having achieved increased youth participation in 2015, including a growing awareness of the importance of elections, the active role taken by the electoral commission, a dedicated focus on youth issues and concerns, youth in leadership within political campaigns, and a more optimistic outlook on politics overall. Recommendations for increasing youth participation in future included more voter education, changing age restrictions for elected offices, building additional platforms for effective engagement between youth and the government, and focusing on female voters.

Zambia

In Zambia the ban on opposition political parties was lifted in 1990, resulting in the defeat of the liberation United National Independence Party (UNIP). The victorious Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) held power from 1990 until 2011 when the incumbent president was defeated by Patriotic Front (PF) candidate Michael Chilufya Sata. However, Sata died in 2014 while still in office. His successor, Edgar Lungu, narrowly defeated Hakainde Hichilema of the United Party for National Development (UPND) in by-elections held in 2015. Lungu was re-elected in August 2016, although a bid to challenge the election results in the constitutional court led to a delay in his inauguration until 13 September, met with protests and unrest among some opposition supporters. Many Zambian youth were active within religious organisations but only marginally involved in other civic, political and election activities. Although most youth supported elections to choose leaders, only about half indicated that they had voted in the previous national elections in 2011 and 2008. Generally, participation was higher among young men than young women. Factors identified as influencing the reluctance to participate included high levels of economic and social exclusion, gendered barriers to women's participation, an aversion to politics, and the belief that youth should not lead older people. Further, the tendency of candidates to switch political party allegiances was found to be confusing and a source of political doubt. Youth were generally under-represented both in the government and in political parties. Strategies for increasing youth participation in future included increasing voter education, broadening youth consultation and more youth representation at political party and government level.

Malawi

Malawi was governed by a single leader and political party for three decades after independence, and the first openly-contested multiparty elections were held in 1994. Like Zambia, the country's recent political landscape has been characterised by significant fluidity between political parties. The most recent national polls were held in 2014, and national voter turnout was high at around 70%. Of all the countries included in this study, Malawi had the highest number of young people engaged in civic organisations. Large numbers belonged to religious organisations, and had attended community meetings and joined others to raise issues. One explanation given for these levels of civic engagement was that trust in religious and traditional leaders was high, while trust in elected leaders and political parties was low. Malawian youth were also very interested in public affairs, though most believed the country was going in the "wrong direction". Support for using elections to choose leaders has declined in recent years. Youth voter participation in past polls was moderate, and participation in election and campaign activities was higher among young men than young women. Among the leading factors identified as influencing youth participation were poverty and unemployment. Malawi is one of the most impoverished countries in the world and, taking into consideration both food shortages and a lack of jobs, expert research participants described the country as a "time bomb". As in many other countries, it was felt that government and political parties did not engage enough with youth. Political scepticism was increased because of some challenges with the reporting of election results.

Further, voting patterns were largely along ethnic and regional lines. Strategies for increasing youth participation in future included involving youth more effectively in the work of government, increasing the registration of young voters, providing voter education in rural areas in particular, addressing gendered obstacles to the participation of women, and reserving seats in the National Assembly (NA) for youth representatives.

Key findings and recommendations

Key findings that emerged from the research included the following.

- Youth represented a formidable and powerful force in bringing about political change.
- Youth demonstrated high degrees of pessimism in many of the countries included in the study.
- Across a diversity of countries, young people shared common concerns about economic opportunities and access to basic necessities.
- Civic and political engagement was lower among women.
- Education level was a statistical predictor of support for elections.
- Social media assisted youth to network, mobilise and engage in debate.
- Youth were distrustful of politics, politicians and political parties.
- Youth were vulnerable to being co-opted by political parties.
- Problems with vote counting and results announcements deepened political doubt.
- Youth candidates lacked the resources to run for elected office.
- Youth are not adequately represented in decision-making processes.

Key strategies for increasing youth engagement in future included the following.

- Increasing voter education, particularly in countries with a history of closed, non-competitive elections, where youth voter turnout was influenced by a lack of understanding of electoral processes.
- Challenging perceptions about the inability of youth and women to occupy leadership positions.
- Supporting effective, independent electoral commissions.
- Changing age limits for candidates running for elected office.
- Creating platforms for sustained youth engagement.
- Building networks between youth movements across Africa.

ACRONYMS

AC	Advisory Council (Egypt)	MP	Member of Parliament
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)	MPP	People's Movement for Progress (Burkina Faso)
APC	All Progressives Congress (Nigeria)	NA	National Assembly
AU	African Union	NARC	National Rainbow Coalition (Kenya)
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Tanzania)	NCA	National Constituent Assembly (Tunisia)
CDP	Congress for Democracy and Progress (Burkina Faso)	NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
CEMOT	Coalition on Election Monitoring and Observation in Tanzania	NWC	National Working Committee (Nigeria)
CHADEMA	Party for Democracy and Progress (Tanzania)	NYM	Nigerian Youth Movement
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency	NYS	National Youth Service (Kenya)
CIEV	Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (Kenya)	ODM	Orange Democratic Movement (Kenya)
CPR	Congress for the Republic Party (Tunisia)	PA	People's Assembly (Egypt)
CSO	Civil Society Organisation	PDP	Peoples Democratic Party (Nigeria)
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party (Malawi)	PF	Patriotic Front (Zambia)
ERC	Electoral Reform Committee	PNU	Party of National Unity (Kenya)
FORD	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Kenya)	PP	People's Party (Malawi)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
GNU	Government of National Unity (Egypt)	SADC	Southern African Development Community
HR	House of Representatives	SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
ICC	International Criminal Court	SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation (Namibia)
IMF	International Monetary Fund	TANU	Tanganyikan African National Union (Tanzania)
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission (Nigeria)	TEMCO	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee
KANU	Kenyan African National Union	TNA	The National Alliance (Kenya)
KPU	Kenya People's Union	UDF	United Democratic Front (Malawi)
NA	National Assembly	UN	United Nations
NP	National Party (Zambia)	UNIP	United National Independence Party (Zambia)
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition (Kenya)	UPC	Union for Progress and Change (Burkina Faso)
MCP	Malawi Congress Party	UPND	United Party for National Development (Zambia)
MINDS	Mandela Institute for Development Studies	URP	United Republican Party (Kenya)
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy (Zambia)	YIAGA	Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth & Advancement (Nigeria)
		YPE&G	Youth Programme on Elections and Governance



1/ Introduction

Introduction

Africa is a continent of the young. In 2015, of a total population of close to 1.2 billion people, an estimated 541 million (46.7%) were under the age of 18. A further 458 million (39.5%) were between the ages of 18 and 45.¹

Despite their numbers and diversity, African youth have often been depicted in binary terms. From one perspective, accelerated population growth and a large young labour force has been characterised as the continent's "demographic dividend", carrying the hopes that productive economic participation can drive growth and future development.² From another, young people in a country are often portrayed as a latent threat, a liability and a force for political and social instability. Youth unemployment in particular has been depicted as a "ticking time bomb" and associated with violence, conflict and extremism.³

The Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS) is an African institute that envisages the role of youth on the continent in a different way. Through the Youth Programme on Elections and Governance (YPE&G), MINDS recognises that young people on the African continent have the capacity, talents and numbers to shape positively key political processes, particularly at a time when many countries are strengthening and consolidating their democratic processes. MINDS has challenged African youth to shape positively the future of their countries and the continent as a whole, through becoming active citizens, choosing effective representatives through elections, and becoming leaders themselves. On the African continent, youth are the most critical constituency in the population of any country.

However, to date there is limited nuanced research that explores youth civic and political engagement within and across African countries, analyses electoral behaviour and choices, and explores the ways in which young people can be encouraged to participate more fully in political life.

1.1 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to explore, analyse and provide a deeper understanding of youth participation in civic and political life in eight different African countries. It aimed to determine youth attitudes and perceptions about recent elections, explore the nature of their participation in various phases of the electoral process, and gauge ownership and perceived ability to influence political outcomes.

The study was designed using the following key questions:

- How engaged are young people in political and civic life, and why?
- To what extent have youth participated in electoral politics, both during and outside of election times, and why?
- How much confidence do youth have in the electoral process?
- What factors influence electoral participation?
- How can youth participation in elections and political life be increased in future?

1.2 Selection of countries

MINDS is a continental institute that works across Africa. Eight countries were selected for inclusion in this study using the following criteria:

- Recent experiences of national elections;
- Diversity reflecting different regions of the African continent; and
- Strong relationships and past participation in programmes of the YPE&G.

The eight countries selected for inclusion were Tunisia, Egypt, Kenya, Tanzania, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Zambia and Malawi.

A succinct description of recent elections in all the other African countries is included in Appendix A.

1.3 Methodology

Research for this study was conducted using a multi-method approach.

First, a desktop review was conducted focusing on the political history of each country – all of them being former colonies – as well as the recent electoral context. Although there was no intention to diminish the complexity or significance of independence liberation movements, the focus of the study was on the post-independence period in each country. A summary overview of recent political history is provided in each country analysis, particularly to show the influence, longevity – and in many cases, changing fortunes – of liberation political parties. The main sources used included academic analyses, popular media, election monitoring and observer reports, and publications produced by civil society organisations (CSOs) and governments.

1 United States Census Bureau, International Database, <http://www.census.gov/population/international/data/idb/informationGateway.php>

2 See for example, Drummond, P, Thakoor, V & Yu, S 2014, "Africa Rising: Harnessing the Demographic Dividend", International Monetary Fund Working Paper, no. WP/14/143, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2014/wp14143.pdf>; Ahmed, SA 2015, "How significant could Africa's demographic dividend be for growth and poverty reduction?", The World Bank Africa Can End Poverty Blog, <http://blogs.worldbank.org/africacan/how-significant-could-africas-demographic-dividend-be-for-growth-and-poverty-reduction>; Population Reference Bureau 2013, Africa and the Challenge of Realising the Demographic Dividend, <http://www.prb.org/pdf13/africa-demographicdividend-challenges.pdf>.

3 See for example, Atta-Asamoah, A n.d., Youth of Africa: Unemployment, Social Cohesion and Political Instability, <https://www.unicef-irc.org/article/1060/>; Ighobor, K 2013, "Africa's youth: a 'ticking time bomb' or an opportunity?", Africa Renewal, <http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/may-2013/africa%E2%80%99s-youth-%E2%80%9Cticking-time-bomb%E2%80%9D-or-opportunity>; Azeng, TF & Yogo, TU 2013, "Youth Unemployment and Political Instability in Selected Developing Countries", African Development Bank Group Working Paper Series, no. 171, http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/Working_Paper_171_-_Youth_Unemployment_and_Political_Instability_in_Selected_Developing_Countries.pdf.

Second, the study incorporated analysis of public opinion data from the Afrobarometer survey. This is a series of national public attitude surveys on democracy and governance conducted in 37 countries across the continent. In addition to key demographic variables, these surveys have captured key public opinion data on a range of issues including perceptions about elections, political participation and support for democracy. In most cases, data analyses used the results of Round 6 of the survey, conducted between 2014 and 2015. However, in select cases older data from Rounds 4 and 5 was also used to demonstrate changing attitudes over time. The analysis included in this report used weighted survey results unless otherwise stated, allowing responses from each country to be projected onto the national population.⁴

Finally, a series of in-depth, qualitative interviews was conducted with experts between June and August 2016 to further interrogate issues and challenges related to youth electoral participation in each of the eight countries. These experts included youth participants in previous YPE&G programmes, many of whom are active leaders within the civil society and governance sectors in their respective countries. They also included academics, researchers, and representatives of civil society and other independent institutions. A full list of expert interview participants is included in Appendix B.

This report integrates the findings of the desktop research, survey data analysis, and texts from expert interviews.

1.4 MINDS definition of youth

It is important to note that MINDS has defined youth as persons between the ages of 18 and 45. This range differs from definitions used, for example, in the African Union (AU) Youth Charter (15-35 years old)⁵ and by the United Nations (UN) (15-24 years old)⁶. Analysis of youth in this report refers to persons between the ages of 18 and 45.

1.5 Measuring youth voter turnout

Youth voter turnout at elections was a critical variable for this study but this data was not available in most countries because ballots are anonymous. Reports of youth voter turnout were therefore generally anecdotal and based on the observations of election and polling station monitors.

It is important to note that the study focused on national presidential and legislative elections, rather than local elections.

1.6 Key measures of participation

In each of the eight countries included in this study, analysis was conducted to determine levels of civic and political participation. In addition to data derived from desktop research and expert interviews, these analyses incorporated the results of key Afrobarometer measures used across all countries. Civic participation was measured through self-reported involvement during the previous year in the following types of activities: membership in a community group (including inactive members, active members and leaders); membership in a religious group that met outside of normal worship services (including inactive members, active members and leaders); attending community meetings (often, several times, or once or twice); joining others to raise an issue (often, several times, or once or twice); refusing to pay a tax or government fee (often, several times, or once or twice); and attending a demonstration or protest march (often, several times, or once or twice). Many experts also discussed civic participation in terms of involvement in civil society, including through non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other types of associations.

Political participation was measured through self-reported involvement (by giving yes/no responses) in the following activities, during the past year: voting in the last election; attending campaign rallies; attending campaign meetings; persuading others to vote for a party or candidate; or working for a party or candidate.

1.7 Report structure

The structure of the report is as follows:

- Section 2 analyses key findings across the eight countries selected for inclusion in the study;
- Sections 3 to 10 provide in-depth analyses of youth civic, political and electoral participation in Tunisia (3), Egypt (4), Kenya (5), Tanzania (6), Burkina Faso (7), Nigeria (8), Zambia (9) and Malawi (10); and,
- Section 11 details key findings and strategies to increase youth participation in future.

4 Additional information is available at www.afrobarometer.org.

5 African Union Commission. "African Youth Charter," available at: http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/african_youth_charter_2006.pdf.

6 United Nations, Economic and Social Affairs. "Fact Sheet: Definition of Youth," available at: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf>.



2/ Youth Sample and Country Comparison

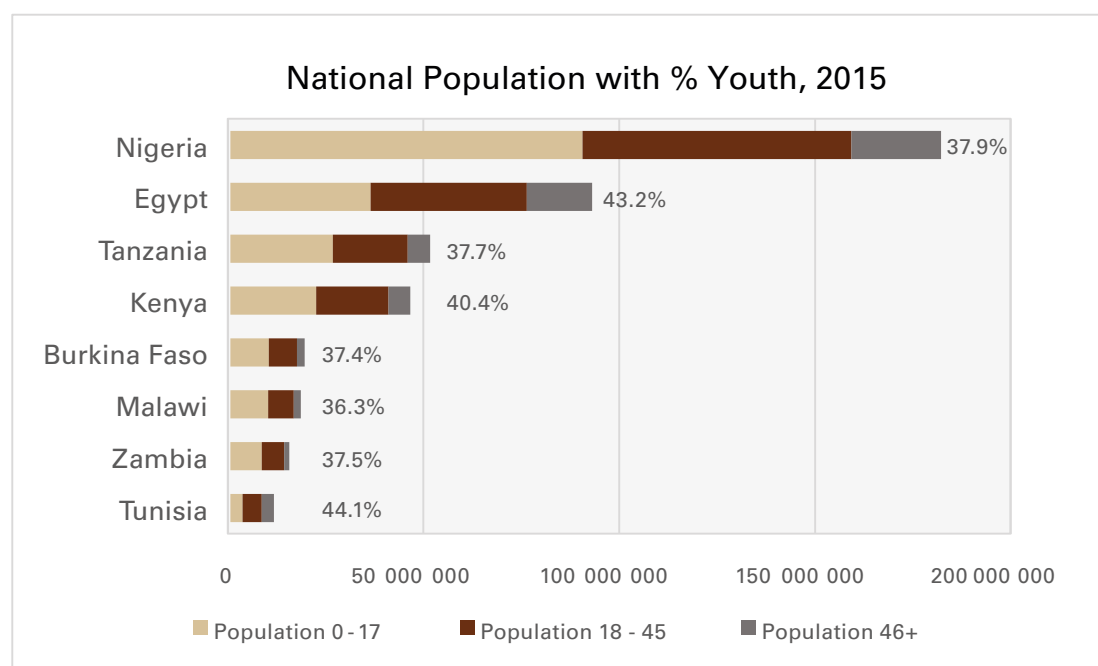
Youth sample and country comparison

This section of the report provides an overview of the youth population in the countries selected for inclusion in the study, as well as the Afrobarometer sub-sample of respondents aged 18 to 45. It details quality of life as well as key priority issues, and provides an overview of the main findings emerging from the country studies included in subsequent sections of the report.

2.1 Youth population

As discussed in Section I, Africa is an extremely young continent. This is true of all of the countries featured in this study. Young people between the ages of 18 and 45 make up over a third of the national population in all eight countries (36-44%), as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: National population by age and country showing % youth, 2015



Source: United States Census Bureau, 2015

2.2 Afrobarometer youth sub-sample

The Afrobarometer survey selects nationally representative samples in all countries, so that results can be projected onto the entire population. For the purposes of this research, a sub-sample was selected for each country using the MINDS definition of youth, which included all respondents between the ages of 18 and 45. Table 1 shows the sub-sample for each country by gender for Afrobarometer Round 6. For each country it also shows the dates of fieldwork which took place between 2014 and 2015.

Table 1: Research sub-sample* (18 – 45) by country and gender

ROUND 6 SUB-SAMPLE	Male Youth	Female Youth	Total Youth	Total Sample (#)	%
Tunisia (April–May 2015)	378	315	693	1,200	57.8%
Egypt (June–July 2015)	429	391	820	1,200	68.3%
Kenya (November–December 2014)	912	986	1,898	2,397	79.1%
Tanzania (August–October 2014)	823	911	1,734	2,386	72.7%
Burkina Faso (April–May 2015)	363	481	844	1,200	70.3%
Nigeria (December 2014 – January 2015)	1,035	1,097	2,132	2,400	88.8%
Zambia (October 2014)	446	496	942	1,200	78.5%
Malawi (March – April 2014)	905	1,014	1,919	2,400	80.0%

*Unweighted survey data. Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 6, 2014/2015

2.3 Youth quality of life

Understanding civic and political participation required some analysis of the quality of life in each country, in addition to public opinion data. Table 2 shows the economic diversity of the countries selected for inclusion in the study. Nigeria and Egypt were the largest economies in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2015, but GDP per capita was highest in Egypt (\$11,800) and Tunisia (\$11,400). Comparatively, per capita GDP was very low in Malawi (\$1,100) and Burkina Faso (\$1,700).

Table 2 also shows that levels of youth unemployment were particularly high in the North African countries of Egypt (42.0%) and Tunisia (31.8%), although lower unemployment rates in countries such as Burkina Faso (5.0%) and Tanzania (5.5%) were not necessarily indicative of the quality of employment. The average number of years spent in education from primary to tertiary levels was also highest in Tunisia (14 years for males, 15 years for females), Egypt (14 years for males, 13 years for females), and Zambia (14 years for males, 13 years for females). Comparatively, males in Burkina Faso only spent 8 years in education, and women 7 years. Women spent fewer years in education on average than men in Egypt, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Zambia.

Table 2: Economic, unemployment and education indicators by country

Country	GDP (PPP) ⁱ	GDP per capita (PPP) ⁱⁱ	Unemployment (18-25)	Years in Education	
				M	F
Tunisia	\$127 billion	\$11,400	31.8%	14	15
Egypt	\$1.048 trillion	\$11,800	42.0%	14	13
Kenya	\$141.9 billion	\$3,200	17.4%	11	11
Tanzania	\$138.5 billion	\$2,900	5.5%	9	9
Burkina Faso	\$30.88 billion	\$1,700	5.0%	8	7
Nigeria	\$1.092 trillion	\$6,100	13.6%	10	8
Zambia	\$62.71 billion	\$3,900	25.1%	14	13
Malawi	\$20.36 billion	\$1,100	13.8%	11	11

Source: CIA World Factbook, 2015; The World Bank, 2014

i “GDP at purchasing power parity (PPP) exchange rates is the sum value of all goods and services produced in the country valued at prices prevailing in the United States in the year noted.” Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook,

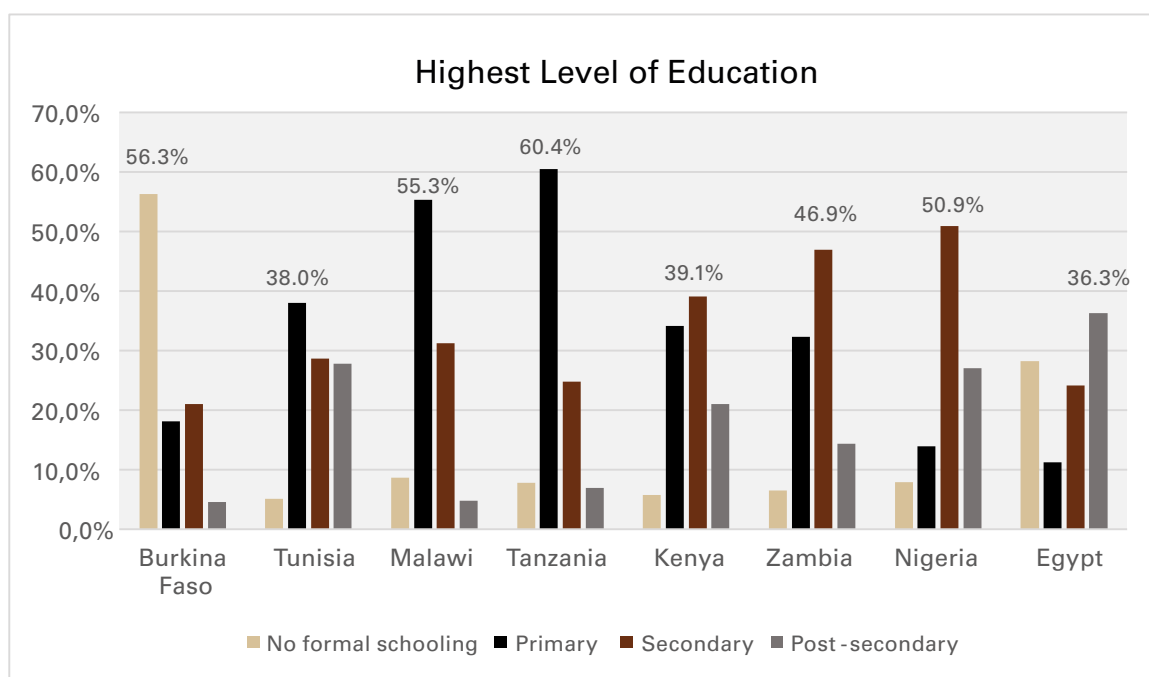
[https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/docs/notesanddefs.html?fieldkey=2195&term=GDP%20\(official%20exchange%20rate\)](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/docs/notesanddefs.html?fieldkey=2195&term=GDP%20(official%20exchange%20rate)).

ii GDP PPP divided by population as of 1 July for the same year. Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook,

[https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/docs/notesanddefs.html?fieldkey=2195&term=GDP%20\(official%20exchange%20rate\)](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/docs/notesanddefs.html?fieldkey=2195&term=GDP%20(official%20exchange%20rate)).

These data from international sources are largely consistent with Afrobarometer survey results. In Burkina Faso, the majority of youth had no formal schooling (56.3%), as shown in Figure 2. In Tunisia (38.0%), Tanzania (60.4%) and Malawi (55.3%), the largest percentage of youth had only a primary level of education. While most youth in Kenya (39.1%), Nigeria (50.9%) and Zambia (46.9%) had at least some secondary education. Data from Egypt shows that the largest percentage of young people (36.3%) had post-secondary education but, on the other hand, that 28.2% had no formal education at all.

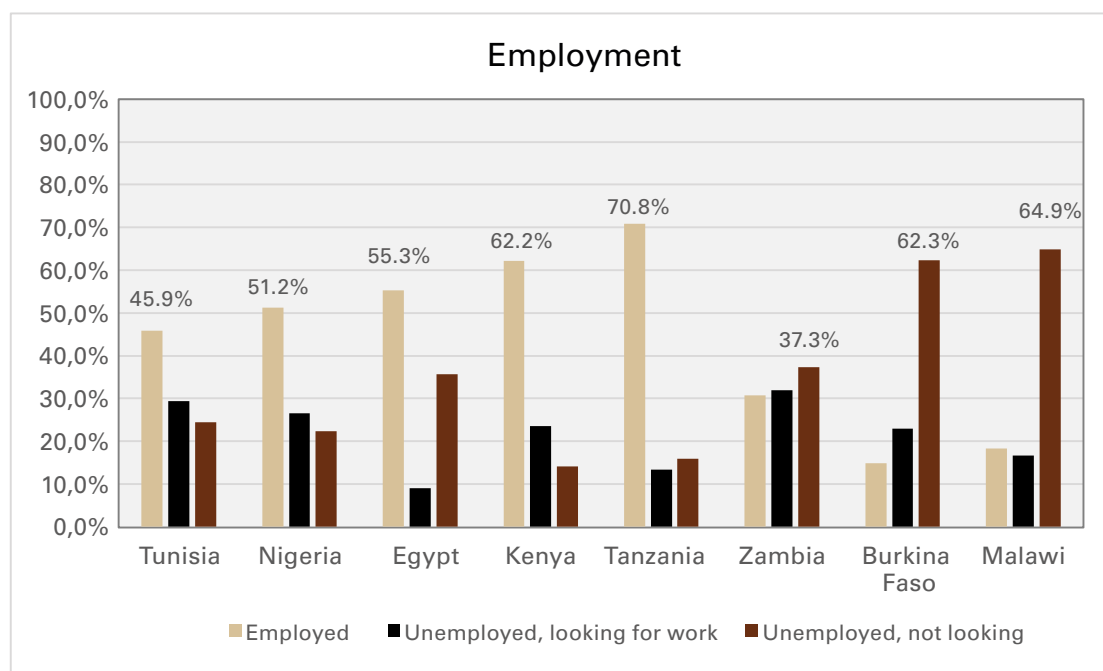
Figure 2: Youth highest level of education by country, 2014/15



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014/15

Youth employment levels also varied considerably between countries included in the study, as shown in Figure 3. In Kenya (62.2%) and Tanzania (70.8%), the majority were in full-time or part-time employment. Employment levels were moderate in Tunisia (45.9%), Nigeria (51.2%) and Egypt (55.3%) but in both Tunisia and Nigeria, more than one in four youth (> 25%) were unemployed and looking for work. By contrast, the majority in Zambia (37.3%), Burkina Faso (62.3%) and Malawi (64.9%) were unemployed but were not looking for work. These results may reflect the large proportion of youth engaged in subsistence agriculture in these countries.

Figure 3: Youth employment* status by country, 2014/15



*As measured by asking if respondents "have a job that pays a cash income", on either a part - time or full - time basis.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014/2015

Table 3 shows that in every country, the majority of youth worked for themselves, and self-employment levels were highest in Nigeria (77.8%) and Tanzania (62.6%). In Kenya (18.5%), Tanzania (46.8%), Nigeria (50.1%) and Malawi (42.2%) the largest percentage worked in the agricultural/farming/fishing/forestry sector while in Tunisia (23.7%) and Zambia (23.7%), the largest percentage were artisans or skilled manual workers. Notably, in Egypt more than one in four youth (26.4%) described their occupation as housewife/homemaker, and in Burkina Faso, one in five (20.1%) were students.

Table 3: Employer and occupation by country, 2014/15

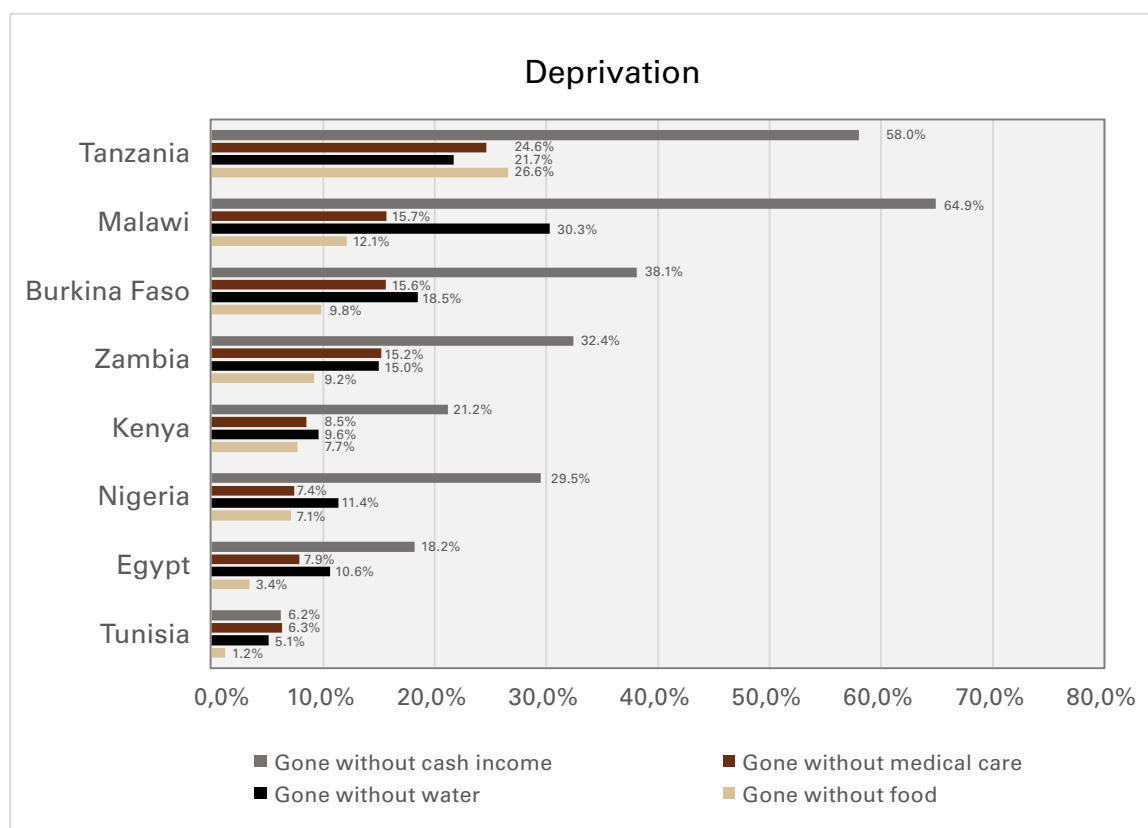
EMPLOYER AND OCCUPATION	TUN	EGY	KEN	TAN	BUR	NIG	ZAM	MAL
Employer								
Self-employed	36.2%	46.6%	45.9%	62.6%	51.1%	77.8%	36.2%	42.2%
Private sector	34.3%	24.5%	20.0%	10.4%	11.1%	6.2%	34.3%	13.6%
NGO/civil society sector	.4%	1.8%	2.4%	1.7%	2.7%	1.1%	.4%	1.3%
Government	12.8%	13.4%	5.4%	3.2%	4.1%	3.2%	12.8%	8.9%
Not applicable	13.5%	12.4%	26.1%	22.0%	29.7%	11.7%	13.5%	33.2%
Occupation								
Never had a job	5.7%	3.9%	8.0%	9.3%	8.1%	7.9%	5.7%	16.5%
Student	7.8%	8.5%	8.2%	8.9%	20.1%	4.6%	7.8%	13.0%
Housewife / homemaker	16.7%	26.4%	7.3%	7.1%	10.4%	6.0%	16.7%	11.3%
Agriculture / farming / fishing / forestry	4.6%	6.2%	18.5%	46.8%	8.3%	50.1%	4.6%	21.3%
Trader / hawker / vendor	4.3%	12.1%	13.8%	8.3%	12.8%	8.1%	4.3%	5.6%
Retail / Shop	5.5%	6.4%	8.0%	1.7%	7.1%	10.2%	5.5%	2.6%
Unskilled manual worker	11.6%	4.9%	13.2%	7.6%	6.7%	2.6%	11.6%	11.1%
Artisan or skilled manual worker	23.7%	10.8%	8.5%	3.2%	14.4%	4.7%	23.7%	3.1%
Clerical or secretarial	1.6%	4.6%	2.1%	.2%	1.6%	.3%	1.6%	.9%
Supervisor / Foreman / Senior Manager	2.2%	1.4%	1.3%	.5%	.6%	.1%	2.2%	1.1%
Security services	.9%	.2%	1.4%	.9%	.5%	.6%	.9%	.9%
Mid-level professional	8.8%	8.4%	6.3%	2.7%	3.7%	2.6%	8.8%	7.1%
Upper-level professional	4.0%	6.0%	1.7%	.2%	1.3%	.8%	4.0%	1.3%
Other	2.3%	.1%	1.7%	2.6%	3.5%	1.4%	2.3%	3.7%

*Unweighted survey data

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 6, 2014/2015

Comparison of survey results also showed variation in terms of quality of life. As shown in Table 2, Egypt, Tunisia and Nigeria were the most affluent countries included in the study. Figure 4 shows, by country, the experiences of youth going without food, clean water, medical treatment and a cash income over the past year. In Tunisia, Egypt, Nigeria and Kenya, less than 12% of youth frequently experienced a lack of food, clean water or medical care, but percentages of those who experienced cash insecurity ranged between 18 and 29% in Egypt, Nigeria and Kenya. Levels of deprivation were higher in Zambia, Burkina Faso, Malawi and Tanzania, where between 15% and 30% frequently went without clean water or medical care. More than half of all youth in Malawi (64.9%) and Tanzania (58%) often went without any cash income.

Figure 4: Experiences of deprivation by country, 2014/15



*Combined responses for “always” or “many times” in the past year.

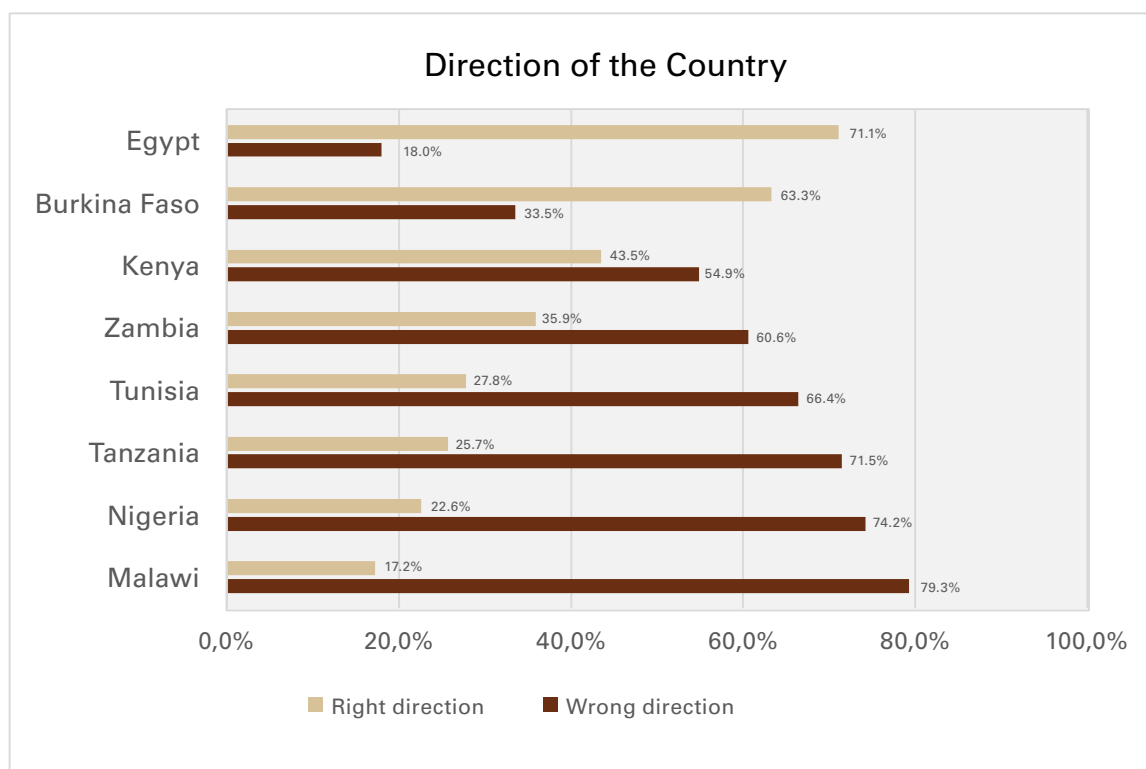
Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014/2015

2.4 Youth political and civic engagement

As discussed in greater detail in the following sections of this report, many of the countries included in this study have undergone significant political changes in recent years. These include revolutions in Egypt, Tunisia and Burkina Faso, as well as highly competitive elections in Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Malawi and Zambia. Research found that in many countries, youth were at the centre of political change, from orchestrating protests and demonstrations to debating on social media, educating voters, monitoring polls and rallying behind candidates.

However, it was also evident that youth engagement often resulted from frustration and dissatisfaction, particularly over issues such as unemployment, marginalisation, and feelings of being under-represented by governments and elected leaders. This frustration and pessimism is evident in Afrobarometer survey results. As shown in Figure 5, more than half of all youth in six countries believed that their country was going in the “wrong direction.” The only exceptions were Egypt (71.1%) and Burkina Faso (63.3%), where a majority of youth felt their country was going in the right direction.

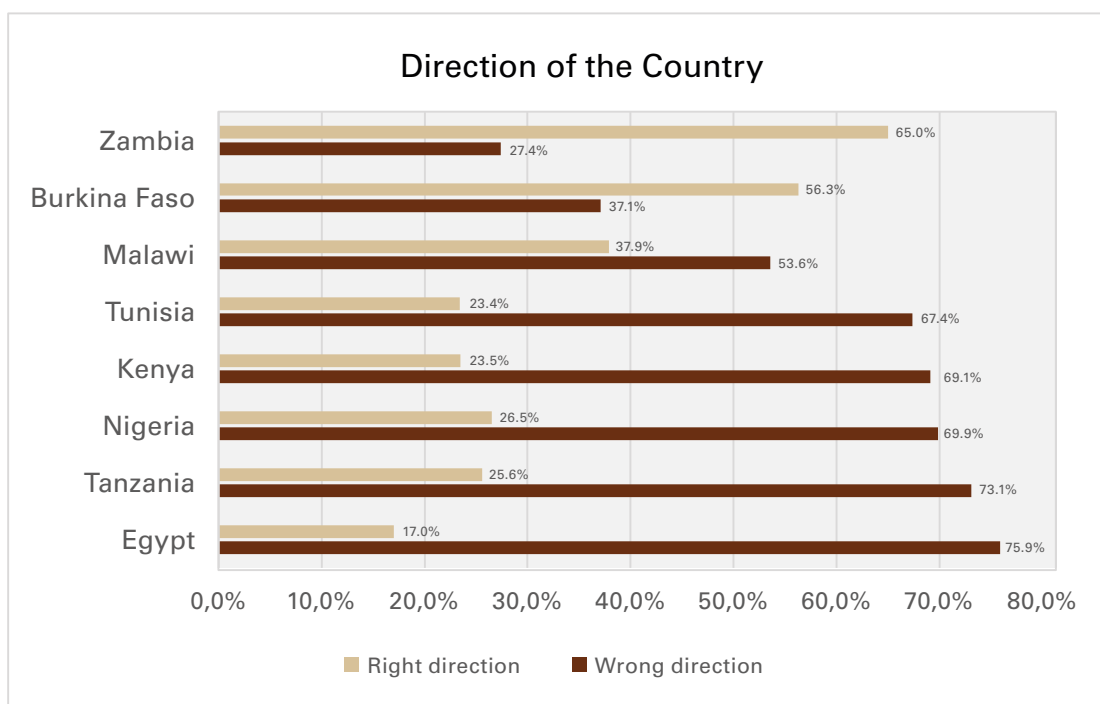
Figure 5: Evaluations of the overall direction of the country, by country 2014/15



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014/2015

This pessimism was also evident in previous survey rounds: in Round 5, conducted between 2011 and 2013, a majority of youth felt their countries were going in the wrong direction, with the exceptions only of Burkina Faso (56.3%) and Zambia (65.0%), as shown in Figure 6. Round 6 results showed increasing positivity in Burkina Faso and a dramatically more optimistic outlook in Egypt. The converse was true in Zambia, where the percentage of youth who viewed the country as going in the wrong direction increased from 27.4% to 60.6%.

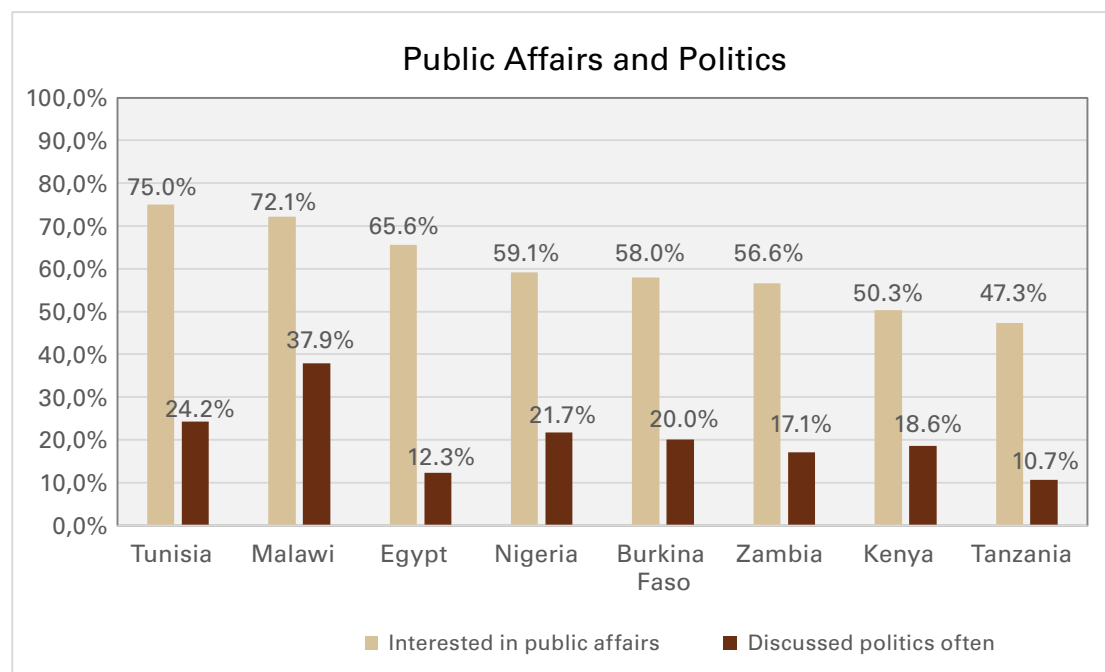
Figure 6: Evaluations of the overall direction of the country, by country 2011/13



Source: Afrobarometer Round 5, 2011/2013

Nonetheless, despite high levels of pessimism, most youth were interested in public affairs within their countries. These levels of interest were particularly high in Tunisia (75.0%) and Malawi (72.1%). Malawian youth (37.9%) were also most likely to discuss politics frequently. By comparison, those in Egypt (12.3%) and Tanzania (10.7%) were least likely to discuss politics regularly, as shown in Figure 7.

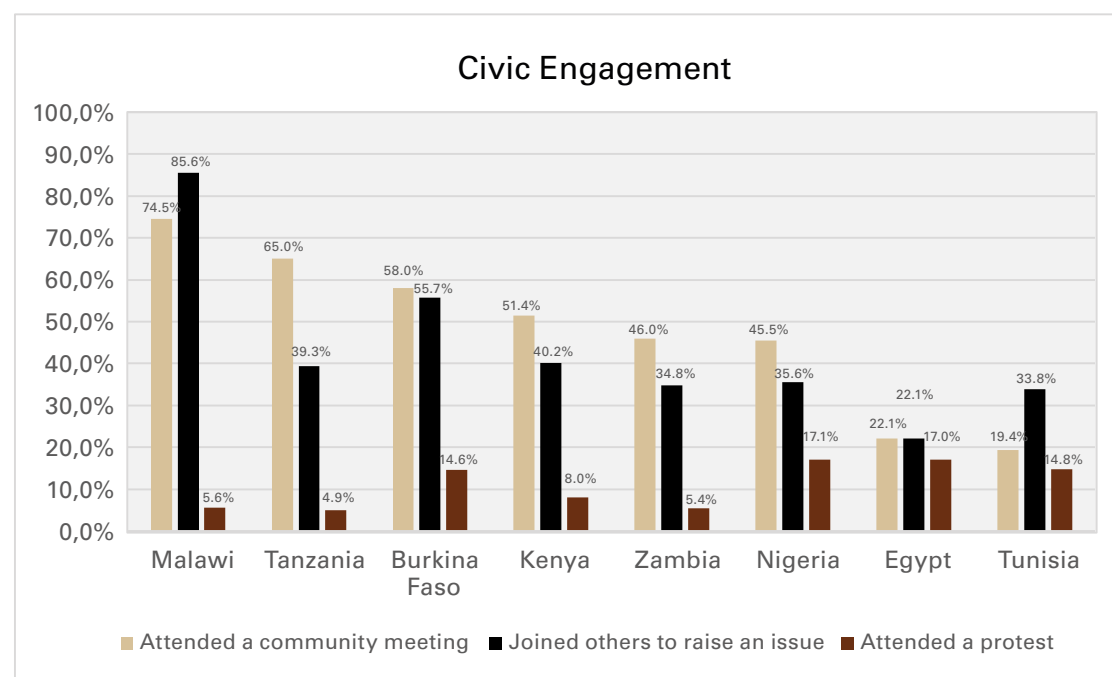
Figure 7: Interest in public affairs and politics by country, 2014/15



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014/2015

Research also found that young people in most countries were actively engaged in civic and community life, often to a greater degree than in politics. As shown in Figure 8, more than half of all youth in Malawi, Tanzania, Burkina Faso and Kenya had attended community meetings during the past year. Self-reported participation in demonstrations and protests ranged between 14% and 17% in Burkina Faso, Tunisia and Egypt – countries that have undergone major revolutions – as well as in Nigeria.

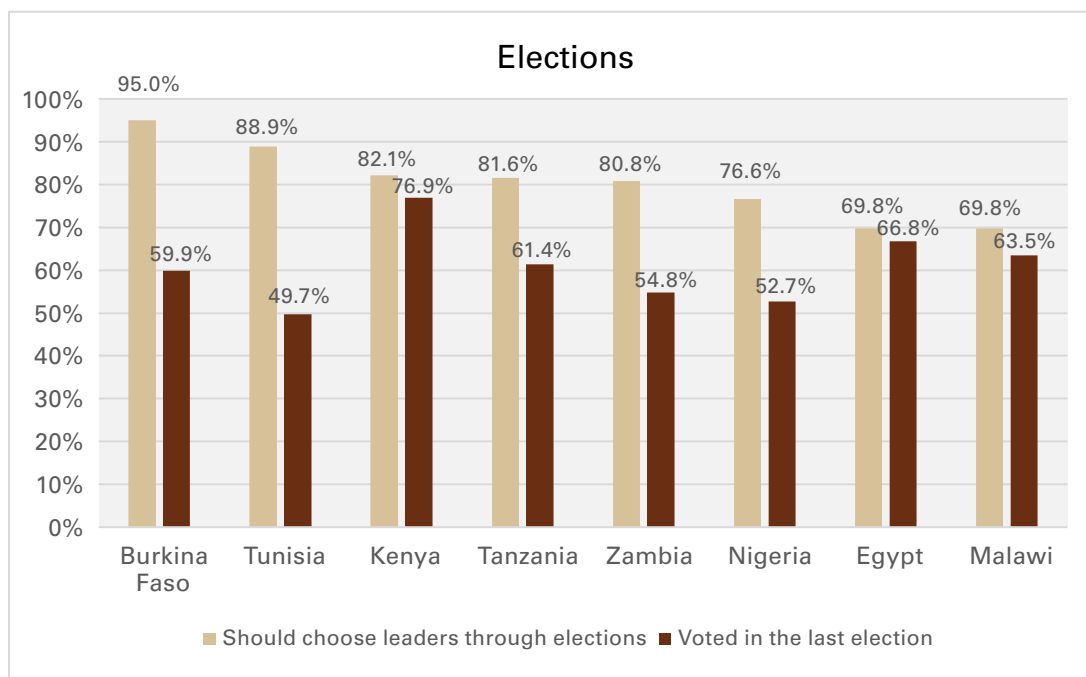
Figure 8: Civic engagement by country, 2014/15



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014/2015

In most countries, there was also a great deal of support for the practice of using regular, open and honest elections to choose leaders, with particularly high levels of approval in Burkina Faso, where competitive polls are a recent political development. However, as shown in Figure 9, levels of self-reported voter turnout at the last national elections were more moderate, ranging from 49.7% in Tunisia to 76.9% in Kenya.

Figure 9: Support for and participation in elections, 2014/15



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014/2015

Youth were also asked about the top three problems facing their countries that they felt the government should address. Even in some countries with comparatively high employment rates unemployment was cited as the most pressing problem, as shown in Table 4. Other problems related to poverty alleviation, crime and security concerns, and addressing basic needs such as food, water and healthcare.

Table 4: Youth evaluations of the biggest problems facing the country, by country

MAIN ISSUES	Problem 1	Problem 2	Problem 3
Tunisia	Unemployment	Crime/security	Managing economy
	27.3%	17.9%	16.3%
Egypt	Unemployment	Poverty/destitution	Wages/salaries
	32.7%	13.8%	13.6%
Zambia	Unemployment	Water supply	Health
	17.9%	9.9%	8.6%
Nigeria	Unemployment	Poverty/destitution	Crime/security
	30.5%	12.7%	9.7%
Burkina Faso	Water supply	Health	Food shortage
	34.6%	11.8%	8.6%
Tanzania	Health	Water supply	Education
	15.7%	12.7%	9.3%
Kenya	Crime/security	Unemployment	Managing economy
	19.1%	13.6%	9.9%
Malawi	Food shortages	Managing economy	Health
	25.4%	17.2%	10.5%

*Respondents were asked to name the three most important problems facing the country that the government should address. For each country, these results show the three most common problems identified first.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, 2014/2015

2.5 Key factors influencing youth participation

Across the eight countries, a number of common factors were identified as influencing youth engagement and participation in civic and political life.

- **Concerns about unemployment.** Unemployment and the lack of job opportunities, even for well-educated graduates, were leading concerns for youth across the eight countries. Unemployment was the cause of dissatisfaction with government and political leadership, an election priority issue, a cause around which youth were organising themselves. In some cases, unemployment was also seen as a cause of instability and conflict.
- **Gender.** In many countries included in this study, young women were less likely to participate in political life than young men.
- **Social media.** Social media was described having provided a positive platform for youth to engage in online debates, organise, build networks, and voice their opinions, outside of traditional forms of media and political dialogue.

Factors specifically influencing political participation included the following:

- **Distrust of politics and political parties.** In many countries, youth associated politics and politicians with corruption, dishonesty and unfulfilled promises. Many youth avoided politics, and preferred to become active within civil society.
- **Distrust of electoral processes and institutions.** Countries such as Burkina Faso, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia experienced disputed election results and in some cases, discrepant vote-tallying systems used by candidates and by electoral institutions. Perceptions of problems with the reporting of results led to scepticism about electoral processes, and raised questions of transparency and the independence of institutions.
- **Under-representation within government and political parties.** In many countries, youth felt they had been targeted by politicians seeking votes during election campaigns. However, once elections were over, they were not adequately represented in political parties or in government. Even where young candidates were elected, they often felt they had no political power, and were excluded from the decision-making processes. Many felt their peers would be more likely to turn out at the polls if more young candidates were appointed to meaningful, influential and prominent positions.

Factors hindering young candidates running for elected office included:

- **Patronage and resources.** Young candidates saw patronage networks and a lack of financial resources as obstacles if they were interested in running for elected office. Well-resourced candidates and political parties in a number of countries were described as buying support through giving away cash and gifts, such as motorbikes.
- **Age limits in electoral law.** A number of countries had age limits in their electoral laws, which prevented candidates under the age of 35 or 40 from contesting national elections.
- **Inter-generational differences.** In some countries, youth were discouraged from running for elected office because of perceptions that leadership should be reserved for older people.

Strategies identified to increase youth participation in future included:

- Increasing voter education, particularly in countries with a history of closed, non-competitive elections.
- Challenging perceptions about the inability of youth and women to occupy leadership positions.
- Supporting effective, independent electoral commissions.
- Changing age limits for candidates running for electing office.
- Creating platforms for sustained youth engagement.
- Building networks between youth movements across Africa.

These issues are addressed further in Section 11.



3/TUNISIA

Tunisia

Tunisian youth were among the leaders of the Jasmine Revolution, which started in late 2010 and inspired the start of the Arab Spring movement across North Africa and the Middle East. In the years that followed, young Tunisians became increasingly engaged in civil society, including through cyber-activism and citizen journalism, voter education and monitoring the work of the government. Expert interview participant Imen Zaouem (2016) likened Tunisian youth to “a ball of energy, charisma, of everything. They really put themselves in everything without waiting to be rewarded or paid for anything.”¹

However, even after openly contested elections were held in 2014, many Tunisian youth felt disillusioned and believed the country was still going in the wrong direction (see Figure 5). Youth were distrustful of political parties, felt under-represented by leaders and decision-makers, and were wary of voting in elections or standing for political office.

3.1 National political context

History

On 17 December 2010, 26-year-old Tunisian street vendor, Mohammed Bouazizi, set himself alight in protest when his stock was confiscated by police. The event took place in the larger context of growing concern over corruption, poverty and an unresponsive local government and police service. This act of self-immolation was the catalyst for a series of mass protests across Tunisia that triggered the Jasmine Revolution, and ultimately inspired the wave of political change across North Africa and the Middle East that became known as the Arab Spring.² Tunisian youth, like Mohammed Bouazizi himself, were credited with playing a central role in the revolution.

The Jasmine Revolution brought an end to decades of one-party rule in Tunisia. Formerly a French protectorate, Tunisia was granted independence in 1956. The Neo-Dustour Party led the independence movement, and Habib Bourguiba became president in 1957.³ Bourguiba remained in office for 30 years, and when his health declined in 1987 he was replaced by then-prime minister Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Through changes to the constitution, Ben Ali was re-elected in four successive presidential polls.⁴

Political transition and the 2011 elections

The Jasmine Revolution began one year into President Ben Ali's fourth term in office. Although his initial response was to threaten protestors, the president faced mounting public discontent and on 13 January 2011 he and his family fled the country to seek exile in Saudi Arabia. The following day, Prime Minister Mohamed Ghannouchi announced that an interim government would be formed, and Ben Ali resigned shortly thereafter in response to public demands for a clean break from his administration.⁵

In October 2011, elections were held for the National Constituent Assembly (NCA), which was tasked with drafting a new constitution.⁶ Persons who had previously held responsibilities in the former government and ruling party were prohibited from running, as were those who had signed a petition calling for Ben Ali to again run for president in 2014.⁷ Voter turnout at the elections was moderate at 49%. The majority of seats in the NCA were won by the Islamist Ennahda Movement (89 seats, 37.04%), followed by the Congress for the Republic (CPR, 29 seats, 8.71%).⁸ The CPR candidate, Moncef Marzouki, was elected interim president, and the Ennahda party leader, Hamadi Jebali, was sworn in as prime minister.⁹

Expert interview participants described the 2011 elections as both exhilarating and confusing. According to Zaouem (2016), the polls represented “a historical day that every Tunisian knows” and were the “most talked-about topic” in the country. However, she added that many people were confused by the rapid emergence of new political parties and the large number of candidates on the ballot.¹⁰ Professor Alcinda Honwana, an anthropologist who interviewed Tunisian youth around the country at the time, concurred that many people found the “sheer number of political parties running in the elections” confusing, as well as the fact that many parties “didn’t have very clear political programmes ... but they just wanted to be in government somehow.”¹¹

1 Interview with Imen Zaouem, MINDS Alumni, 19 June 2016

2 Global Network for Rights and Development (GNRD) & International Institute for Peace, Justice and Human Rights (IIPJHR) 2014, Joint Observation Mission to Tunisian Parliamentary Elections 2014: Report, 21 November, p. 5,

<http://gnrd.net/GNRD%20%26%20IIPJHR%20JOINT%20MISSION%20TO%20TUNISIAN%20PARLIAMENTARY%20ELECTIONS%202014%20REPORT.pdf>

GNRD & IIPJHR 2014; Beaumont, P 2011, “Mohammed Bouazizi: the dutiful son whose death changed Tunisia’s fate”, The Guardian, 20 January,

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/20/tunisian-fruit-seller-mohammed-bouazizi>.

3 BBC 2015, “Tunisia profile – timeline”, BBC, 13 October, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14107720>; South African History Online 2012, “Tunisia gains independence from France”, South African History Online, 13 March, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/tunisia-gains-independence-france>.

4 GNRD & IIPJHR 2014.

5 BBC 2015, “Tunisia profile – timeline”, BBC, 13 October, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14107720>; South African History Online 2012, “Tunisia gains independence from France”, South African History Online, 13 March, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/tunisia-gains-independence-france>.

6 BBC 2015, “Tunisia profile – timeline”, BBC, 13 October, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14107720>

7 The Carter Center 2011, National Constituent Assembly Elections in Tunisia, October 23, 2011: Final Report, p. 18, https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/tunisia-final-oct2011.pdf.

8 Election Guide, Tunisian Republic – 23 October 2011, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1608/>.

9 BBC 2015, “Tunisia profile – timeline”, BBC, 13 October, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14107720>.

10 Zaouem 2016.

11 Interview with professor Alcinda Honwana, 12 July 2016.

Interim government and the 2014 elections

Tunisia continued to experience a number of challenges after the 2011 elections. Conflict ensued between the Islamist and secular political movements over various issues, including the treatment of women in the new constitution and the sale of alcohol. Tensions increased after the assassination of leftist leaders Chokri Belaid and Mohamed Brahmi in 2013. Mass demonstrations were mounted once again, and ultimately Ennahda relinquished power and a new interim government was appointed.¹² A new constitution was adopted in early 2014, as well as a new electoral law which mandated the holding of elections by the end of the year.¹³

National elections were held over a three-month period from October to December 2014. Voter turnout in the October parliamentary elections reached 66%, and in this round the majority of seats was won by the secular Nidaa Tounes party (86 seats, 37.56%), followed by Ennahda (69 seats, 27.79%). The balance of seats was won by the Free Patriotic Union (16 seats), the Popular Front (15 seats), Afek Tounes (18 seats) and CPR (4 seats).¹⁴ The first round of presidential elections was held in November, but with no clear majority winner, a run-off was held in December. The Nidaa Tounes candidate, Beji Caid Essebsi, was elected president with just over 55% of votes.¹⁵

3.2 Civic engagement

Tunisian youth were largely credited for the impact that the Jasmine Revolution had both regionally and nationally. As described by Sélim Kharrat, executive director of youth organisation al-Bawsala, the revolution was “made by youth. It was the youth who came to the streets and faced the police and who lost their lives in some regions.”¹⁶

Prior to 2011, civic engagement and participation were constrained by the closed political climate in the country. Many who joined in the mass demonstrations were “un-politicised youth” who, according to Rama Haleseh, “took to the streets in protest against the non-representative Ben Ali administration.”¹⁷ The result was a “broad coalition of young people” which built diverse and strong alliances between youth in urban and rural areas and across socioeconomic lines.¹⁸ After the Jasmine Revolution, these coalitions produced three main types of organisations: youth-focused political parties, CSOs and “unstructured youth groups working together, reporting and informing the public on developments and violations” in the form of citizen journalism.¹⁹

Round 6 of the Afrobarometer survey was conducted in Tunisia between April and May, 2015 (see Table 1). When compared with other countries included in this study, youth civic engagement in Tunisia was relatively low (see Figure 8), but continued to increase in the post-revolution period. Figure 10 shows youth participation in a variety of organisations and collective actions in 2013 and 2015. Membership in community/voluntary organisations increased from 4.2% to 9.3%, alongside increases in attendance at community meetings and joining others to raise an issue. Notably, participation in protest actions, such as refusing to pay a government tax or fee or attending a demonstration, had declined by 2015.

12 GNRD & IIPJHR 2014; BBC 2015, “Tunisia: Ennahda and opposition agree on power transfer,” BBC, 3 October, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24413127>.

13 Foreign and Commonwealth Office UK 2015, Human Rights and Democracy Report 2014, 12 March, <https://www.gov.uk/government/case-studies/elections-in-tunisia>.

14 Election Guide online, Tunisian Republic – Election for Parliament, 26 October 2014, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2746/>.

15 Byrne E 2014, “Tunisia elections: veteran politician Beji Caid Essebsi wins run-off vote,” The Guardian, 22 December, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/22/tunisia-elections-veteran-politician-beji-caid-essebsi-wins-vote>.

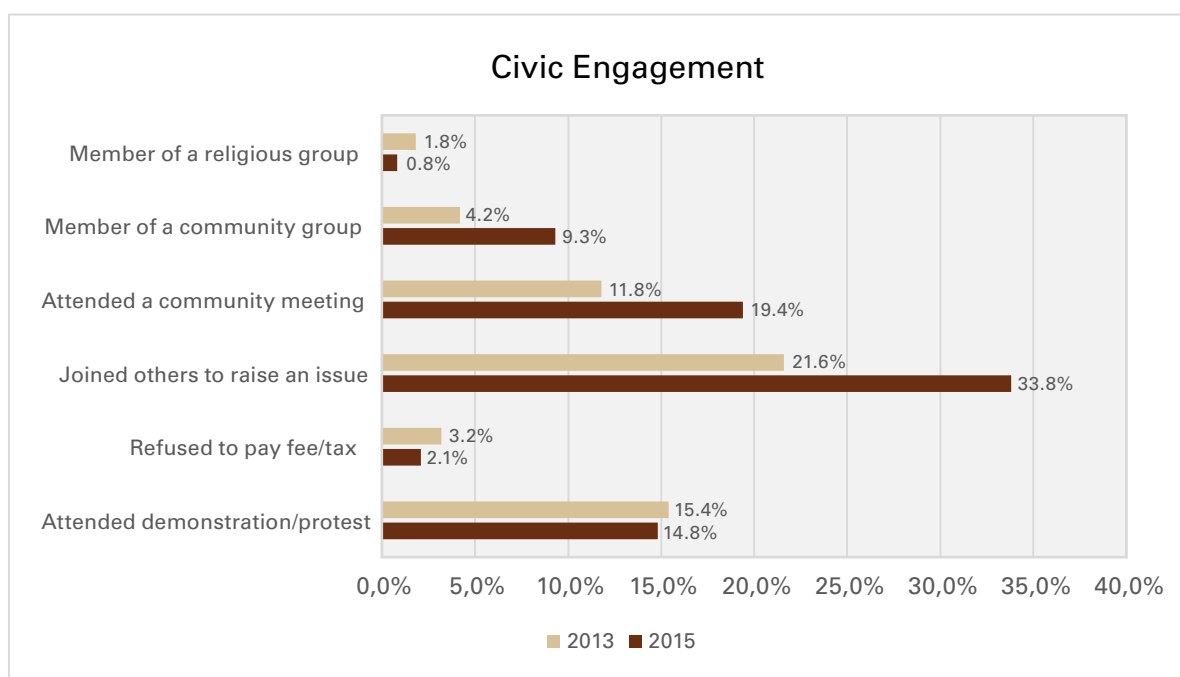
16 Parker, E 2013, “Tunisian Youth: Between Political Exclusion and Civic Engagement,” Tunisia Live, 14 June, <http://www.tunisiaalive.net/2013/06/14/tunisian-youth-between-political-exclusion-and-civic-engagement/#sthash.8tWklcpl.dpuf>.

17 Haleseh, R 2012, “Civil Society, Youth and the Arab Spring,” in S Calleya, S & M Wohlfeld (eds), Change and Opportunities in the Emerging Mediterranean, Malta, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, https://www.um.edu.mt/_data/assets/pdf_file/0012/150411/Chapter_13_-_Rama_Halaseh.pdf.

18 Honwana 2016.

19 Haleseh 2012.

Figure 10: Civic engagement, Tunisia 2013, 2015



Source: Afrobarometer Round 5 (2013) and Round 6 (2015)

3.3 Political engagement

Given the extent of youth involvement in the Jasmine Revolution and the growth of the civil society sector, there appeared to be significant momentum for high levels of participation in political life, and elections in particular. After 2011, many youth organisations received increased international support for skills development, particularly related to monitoring the work of government and electoral processes.²⁰ Young Tunisians were involved in voter education initiatives, including a “citizenship bus” that travelled throughout the country raising awareness and disseminating information.²¹ However, while interest in public affairs was high (see Figure 7), research findings suggest that political participation was moderate and in decline.

Perceptions of elections

As described by Zaouem (2016), the 2011 NCA elections represented a historic moment in Tunisia, and generated an enormous amount of interest.²² However, expert interview participants also observed that after 2011 many youth were disappointed in the electoral processes and outcomes. According to Honwana (2016), young Tunisians felt that the election process was “hijacked by the older generation” and as a result, many who “were engaged in the revolution suddenly withdrew from the process in the transition period.”²³ Asma Abidi, a MINDS alumni and journalist, explained that the elections were unable to “absorb all of the energy from the field,” and that many Tunisians thought their interests were not represented by either of the two leading political parties.²⁴

Afrobarometer survey results confirmed that there was still robust support among youth for the use of elections to select leaders in 2015, as shown in Table 5. This was despite a marginal increase in the percentage who agreed that leaders should be chosen through “other methods,” from 5.1% to 10.5%. However, in the post-revolution period, there was considerably less confidence that elections had continued to be free and fair. While 47.2% of young Tunisians evaluated the 2011 NCA polls as completely free and fair, the same was true of only 34.8% with regard to the 2014 presidential elections.

²⁰ Zaouem 2016.

²¹ Interview with professor Alcinda Honwana, 16 July 2016. See also The U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative 2011. “‘Citizenship Bus’ Brings voter education to quarter-million Tunisians across the country,” available at: <http://mepi.state.gov/mh122111b.html>.

²² Zaouem 2016.

²³ Honwana 2016.

²⁴ Interview with Asma Abidi, MINDS Alumni, 4 July 2016.

Table 5: Youth perceptions of elections, Tunisia 2013, 2015

ELECTIONS	2011 Elections (Round 5, 2013)			2014 Elections (Round 6, 2015)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
How leaders should be chosen						
Regular, open elections	94.2%	93.0%	93.6%	89.0%	88.6%	88.8%
Other methods	5.0%	5.1%	5.1%	10.5%	10.4%	10.5%
Neither	.3%	.3%	.3%	.5%	.3%	.4%
Freeness and fairness of last election						
Completely free and fair	52.4%	42.1%	47.2%	38.4%	30.5%	34.8%
Free and fair, minor problems	16.3%	18.8%	17.6%	30.8%	31.7%	31.2%
Free and fair, major problems	12.7%	13.9%	13.3%	16.8%	20.0%	18.3%
Not free and fair	11.1%	12.8%	11.9%	11.3%	11.7%	11.5%

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2013) and 6 (2015), Tunisia

Voter turnout and campaign participation

Alongside worsening evaluations of elections, youth political participation also declined. A study conducted in the run-up to the 2011 NCA elections found that only 17% of Tunisians aged 18 to 25 had registered to vote²⁵, although some election observers reported seeing large numbers of youth and women at polling stations.²⁶ A mass voter reregistration campaign was launched in 2014, which employed more than 2,500 volunteers – most of whom were under the age of 30. Forty percent of first-time voters who registered during the campaign were between the ages of 18 and 30.²⁷ However, election observers described the actual turnout of young voters as “visibly low.”²⁸

Successive rounds of the Afrobarometer survey explored self-reported voter behaviour in both the 2011 NCA elections and the presidential run-off in December of 2014. Survey results show that 63.1% of youth reported that they had voted in 2011, a higher percentage than the national turnout of 49%.²⁹ This percentage fell substantially in 2014, when only 49.8% indicated that they had voted in the presidential run-off, compared with a reported national turnout of 59%.³⁰ Furthermore, young women were less likely than young men to have voted in either election, with 19.4% indicating that they were not registered at the time of the 2014 polls.

However, while voter participation declined, involvement in some campaign activities increased over the same period. One in four youth (25.4%) indicated that they had persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party in the 2014 presidential run-off, compared with only 10.4% in 2011. Young men were also much more involved in activities such as attending campaign rallies (26.4%) and meetings (21.3%) than young women (see Table 6).

25 Parker 2013; British Council & John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement, American University in Cairo 2013, The Revolutionary Promise: Youth Perceptions in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia, https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/revolutionary-promise-summary_0.pdf.

26 National Democratic Institute (NDI) 2011, Final Report on the Tunisian National Constituent Elections, 23 October 2011, pp. 16 – 17, https://www.ndi.org/files/tunisia-final-election-report-021712_v2.pdf.

27 Alvi, K 2014, “Will Tunisia’s youth head to the ballots?,” Al Jazeera, 26 September, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/09/will-tunisia-youth-head-ballots-20149231189278322.html>.

28 NDI 2014, p 65.

29 Election Guide online, “Tunisian Republic – 23 October 2011.” Available at: <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1608/>.

30 Election Guide online, “Tunisian Republic – Election for President, 21 December 2014.” Available at: <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1608/>.

Table 6: Youth political participation, Tunisia 2013, 2015

VOTING AND CAMPAIGNING	2011 Elections (Round 5, 2013)			2014 Elections (Round 6, 2015)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Voter behaviour in last election						
Voted in the elections	65.7%	60.4%	63.1%	53.9%	44.8%	49.8%
Was not registered to vote	3.9%	8.1%	6.0%	15.3%	24.4%	19.4%
Was too young to vote	5.2%	3.3%	4.2%	1.3%	0.3%	0.9%
Decided not to vote	7.7%	9.5%	8.6%	12.9%	11.4%	12.2%
Did not vote for another reason	16.0%	17.9%	17.0%	16.6%	18.7%	17.6%
Participation in campaigning						
Attended campaign rally*	13.6%	7.0%	10.3%	26.4%	7.9%	18.0%
Attended campaign meeting*				21.3%	4.1%	13.5%
Persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party	11.9%	8.9%	10.4%	25.5%	25.3%	25.4%
Worked for a candidate or party	3.6%	3.0%	3.3%	5.3%	0.9%	3.3%

* In Round 5, these two items were asked as a single question ("attended a campaign meeting or rally") and were separated in Round 6.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2013) and 6 (2015), Tunisia

Likelihood of voting in future

Tunisian youth were asked about which political party they would vote for if an election were "held tomorrow," bearing in mind that the Afrobarometer survey was conducted only a few months after the December 2014 presidential polls. As shown in Table 7, about one in five (19.6%) answered that they would not vote. In keeping with patterns of popular support overall, a majority (26.8%) indicated that they would probably vote for Nidaa Tounes (26.8%). Some gender differences were evident in survey responses: young women demonstrated greatly increased support for the secular Nidaa Tounes party, from 10.8% who were likely to vote for the party in 2013 to 32.6% in 2015. Young men showed less support for the Islamist Ennahda Movement in 2015, while more young men than women indicated that they would not vote at all if elections were to be "held tomorrow." Further data analysis also showed significant correlations between likelihood of voting, gender and level of urbanisation.³¹

Table 7: Future youth voting behaviour, Tunisia 2013, 2015

Campaign activity	2013			2015		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Party*						
Ennahda	15.5%	13.8%	14.7%	8.2%	6.3%	7.3%
Nidaa Tounes	15.0%	10.8%	12.9%	21.9%	32.6%	26.8%
Congress for the Republic	3.9%	4.9%	4.4%	3.7%	2.2%	3.0%
Popular Front	1.9%	2.2%	2.1%	7.4%	6.3%	6.9%
Tunisian Worker's Party	1.9%	3.3%	2.6%	-	-	-
Democratic Forum for Labour and Liberties (FDTL)	.8%	1.4%	1.1%	-	-	-
The Free Patriotic Union	-	-	-	1.3%	2.8%	2.0%
Afek Tounes	-	-	-	2.6%	1.3%	2.0%
Would not vote	17.5%	16.5%	17.0%	22.7%	15.8%	19.6%
Refused to answer	7.5%	6.0%	6.7%	6.1%	3.8%	5.0%
Don't know	32.4%	39.6%	36.0%	23.0%	25.3%	24.0%

* Includes all parties selected by >1% of survey respondents.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2013) and 6 (2015), Tunisia

31 A Pearson's correlation test of the relationship between gender and likelihood of voting was significant at the .05 level. A correlation between level of urbanisation and likelihood of voting was also significant at the .05 level.

3.4 Influences on youth participation

The research identified a number of factors that have influenced the extent of youth political participation in post-revolution Tunisia.

- **Distrust of politics and political parties.** The research found a widespread distrust of politicians and political parties among young Tunisians. Honwana (2016) recalled youth who stated they “despised” politics, and considered it synonymous with “corruption, bad government, personal interest, and such.”³² Abidi (2016) similarly described the commonly-held belief that “there is always corruption and money involved in elections.” Politicians, she suggested, were generally seen as corrupt, untrustworthy, and with ties to the old regime. She added that political parties had “used” youth as a “tool” to win the elections, and that many were now looking for more “healthy politics.”³³ This analysis was borne out in Afrobarometer survey findings: in 2015, more than half of all youth (53.7%) reported little or no trust for the ruling Nidaa Tounes party, and two-thirds (66.5%) did not trust opposition political parties.
- **Failure to address youth concerns and priorities effectively.** Several expert interview participants remarked on this aspect. Abidi (2016) commented that politicians were unable to “speak the language of the youth”³⁴, while Honwana (2016) commented on empty and irrelevant campaign messages: “One political party had a slogan that was like, ‘vote for Tunisia because you love her’, and that meant nothing for young people who wanted jobs, who wanted social justice, who wanted better regional economic balance.”³⁵ Similarly, Zaouem (2016) spoke about the distance between youth and political parties, and lack of genuine engagement: “How would you know about my aspirations, my dreams... if you prefer to just do words in front of the camera and TV?”³⁶
- **Exclusion from decision-making processes.** A further and critical issue was that young Tunisians had not been sufficiently involved in decision-making. In general, they felt that there was not enough consultation on the part of political parties, government or elected leaders. According to Zaouem (2016), a key priority for Tunisian youth is “to be heard, to be present at the decision-making table.” However, she felt government efforts had just been “embellishing, not really practical things,” and that even young parliamentarians are “just pictures there” whose opinions “aren’t really implemented or considered.”³⁷
- **Lack of youth candidates.** Another aspect of this challenge was that not enough youth actually stood as candidates, or were elected to office. As described by Kharrat following the 2011 polls, ultimately it seemed that a “youth revolution has produced an assembly with very old people.”³⁸ The new electoral law introduced provisions requiring that youth who were 35 years or younger be included on party candidate lists. However in 2014, only 28 candidates in this age group were elected to parliament, occupying about 13% of the available 217 seats – despite the fact that persons 35 years and younger represent around 60% of the national population. In addition, presidential candidates had to be above the age of 35.³⁹ Abidi (2016) explained that because of distrust of politicians and parties, few youth are interested in actually “practising politics.”⁴⁰

3.5 Encouraging future participation

The research also identified a number of strategies to increase youth participation in future.

- **Increasing consultation and engagement.** Research findings suggested that political parties, elected leaders and government should engage with youth more consistently and should regularly involve them in decision-making processes, not just during election times. Zaouem (2016) suggested that “the more concrete, the more realistic” these engagements, the more likely youth would be to identify with political leaders and participate in elections.⁴¹
- **Encouraging candidates for political office.** Participants suggested that youth would be more likely to participate in elections and politics if they could “see young leaders in Parliament and that their voices are being heard” and also feel represented in government institutions.⁴² This might prove challenging, however, given the high levels of distrust of political parties.
- **Increasing voter education.** Only a few years into democracy, participants suggested that there was still a need for widespread voter education. Abidi (2016) explained that many Tunisians still did not know even the “very basics of elections,” including how decisions are made, what constitutes a “free and fair process” and what happens once elections are over.⁴³ Given gender differences in levels of political participation, greater efforts to target young women could potentially increase youth engagement and voter turnout.
- **Ensuring greater transparency and accountability.** Given perceptions that “there is always corruption and money involved in elections,” youth political participation and voter turnout might improve if there were greater accountability and transparency.⁴⁴
- **Learning from other youth movements in Africa.** Abidi (2016) observed that most models and examples of youth participation that Tunisians are exposed to come from Europe, and it would be useful to learn more from movements in other African countries.⁴⁵

32 Honwana 2016.

33 Abidi 2016.

34 Abidi 2016.

35 Honwana 2016.

36 Zaouem 2016.

37 Zaouem 2016.

38 Parker 2013.

39 NDI 2014, Final Report on the 2014 Legislative and Presidential Elections in Tunisia, [https://www.ndi.org/files/Tunisia%20Election%20Report%202014_EN_SOFT%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.ndi.org/files/Tunisia%20Election%20Report%202014_EN_SOFT%20(1).pdf).

40 Abidi 2016.

41 Zaouem 2016.

42 Zaouem 2016; Abidi 2016.

43 Abidi 2016.

44 Abidi 2016.

45 Abidi 2016.

3.6 Key findings

The following were the key findings on youth participation and engagement in Tunisia.

- Beginning with the self-immolation of Mohammed Bouazizi in December of 2010, Tunisian youth led the Jasmine Revolution and ultimately inspired the Arab Spring movement, which spread across North Africa and the Middle East.
- In the post-Revolution period, Tunisian youth became increasingly active in civil society. Broad coalitions of un-politicised youth ultimately gave rise to new political parties, CSOs and citizen journalism initiatives. Although civic engagement was still lower among Tunisian youth than in other countries included in this study, participation continued to increase, as evidenced by successive Afrobarometer survey results.
- Increased levels of youth civil society engagement have not been matched in the political sphere. Youth evaluations of elections worsened between the 2011 and 2014 polls, and self-reported voter participation declined.
- In the months following the 2014 elections, many youth were uncertain about which party they would be likely to vote for in future, or whether they would vote at all. Young men and youth in rural areas were less likely than young women and those living in urban areas to vote in future.
- A range of factors has influenced youth civic and political participation, including distrust of politics, the belief that political parties have not adequately taken youth concerns and priorities into account, and the exclusion of young Tunisians from decision-making processes.
- Suggested changes to increase youth participation in future included the following: increasing consultation and engagement; encouraging young candidates to run for office; improving voter education, focusing on young women in particular; ensuring greater transparency; and learning from models of youth engagement in other African countries.



4/EGYPT

Egypt

After the mass public protests in Tunisia in late 2010, it did not take long for Egyptians to mobilise, furthering the regional momentum of the Arab Spring movement. However, as happened in Tunisia, Egypt has gone through a protracted period of political transition. Former heads of state Hosni Mubarak and Mohammed Morsi have faced criminal charges and continue to stand trial for, among other things, actions taken against protestors in 2011. The research found that young Egyptians played a central role in protests demanding change, but that there was also evidence of declining political participation and growing “election fatigue”. As described by an expert interview participant, “we were trying to present our situation in that we are not agreeing with what’s happening by avoiding to go to voting centres or to participate in any kind of elections.”¹

4.1 National political context

Egypt was formerly a British protectorate, and was then ruled by a monarchy for three decades following independence in 1922. In 1952 a military *coup* referred to as the 23 July Revolution led to the establishment of a civilian government. Coup leaders, General Muhammad Neguib and Colonels Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat, known as the Committee of Free Officers, declared Egypt a republic and Neguib was appointed president. Several years later, Neguib was deposed by Nasser, who served as president until his death in 1970.² Nasser was succeeded by Sadat, who was assassinated by Islamic extremists in 1981 and replaced by then vice-president Hosni Mubarak.³

Political transition and the 2011 elections

Egypt’s first contested presidential elections were held in 2005, more than fifty years after the 23 July Revolution. Incumbent president Mubarak won the election with 88.6% of the national vote.⁴ In the years that followed, though, public dissatisfaction mounted and soon after the start of the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia, mass demonstrations began across Egypt on what became known as the Day of Rage, 25 January 2011. Citizens demanded the removal of Mubarak and an end to high levels of poverty, unemployment and corruption.⁵ On 11 February, Mubarak stepped down and ceded control to an army council.⁶ He was later charged with ordering the killing of protestors in January 2011; proceedings in his trial have now been postponed until November 2016.⁷

Like Tunisia, Egypt experienced a number of advances and setbacks in the process of establishing a new government and holding openly contested elections. After Mubarak’s resignation, a government of national unity (GNU) was put in place under the leadership of Prime Minister Kamal al-Ganzouri.⁸ Elections were held in both the upper and lower chambers of Parliament – the Advisory Council (AC) and People’s Assembly (PA) – in late 2011 and early 2012. Presidential elections followed in June 2012, but none of the 13 candidates won an outright majority. Run-offs were held in which Muslim Brotherhood party candidate Mohammed Morsi narrowly defeated independent Ahmed Mohamed Shafik, by 51.73% to 48.27% of votes⁹, but Morsi’s term lasted only one year amid continued and widespread demonstrations. He was removed from office by the army in July 2013 and has since been sentenced to both life in prison and death on a range of criminal charges, including “conspiring against Egypt”, and for his role in orchestrating a mass prison break in 2011.¹⁰

Recent elections

Early 2014 saw the adoption of both a new constitution and a new election law. Presidential elections were held on 26 May, and won by independent candidate and former army chief, Abdul Fattah al-Sisi, with 96.9% of the votes cast and turnout at the polls recorded at 47.45%.¹¹ Both chambers of parliament were dissolved in 2012 and 2013, and a unicameral House of Representatives (HR) was established under the new constitution. Elections to the PA were held in two phases in October and December of 2015, with candidates contesting 568 seats. The majority of seats were won by independents (351), followed by representatives of the following leading political parties: Free Egyptians (65); Nation’s Future (53); and the New Wafd Party (36). However, recorded voter turnout was low at 28.27%¹² notwithstanding the announcement from government that voters who failed to participate in elections faced a possible fine of up to 500 Egyptian pounds.¹³

1 Interview with Anonymous (F, Egypt), MINDS Alumni, 4 July 2016.

2 BBC, “On This Day: 7 September”, BBC, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/september/7/newsid_3074000/3074069.stm.

3 BBC News 2016, “Egypt profile – timeline”, BBC News, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13315719>.

4 Election Guide, Arab Republic of Egypt: Sept 7, 2005, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1980/>.

5 NDI, “Tunisia”, <https://www.ndi.org/tunisia>; Fahim, K & El-Naggar, M 2011, “Violent Clashes Mark Protests Against Mubarak’s Rule”, New York Times, 25 January, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/26/world/middleeast/26egypt.html?_r=0.

6 Al-Jazeera, 2011, “Timeline: Egypt’s Revolution”, 14 February, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/201112515334871490.html>

7 El-Fekki, A 2016, “Mubarak’s trial adjourned to November in protestors’ killing case”, Daily News Egypt, 7 April, <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2016/04/07/mubaraks-trial-adjourned-november-protesters-killing-case/>.

8 BBC News 2016, “Egypt profile – timeline”, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13315719>.

9 Election Guide, “Arab Republic of Egypt: May 26, 2014”, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2787/>.

10 BBC News 2015, “What’s become of Egypt’s Morsi?”, 16 June, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24772806>; Fathi, S 2016, “Egypt to issue ruling next month in Morsi ‘spy’ trial”, Anadolu Agency, 23 March, <http://aa.com.tr/en/world/egypt-to-issue-ruling-next-month-in-morsi-spy-trial/542705>.

11 Election Guide, “Arab Republic of Egypt: May 26, 2014”, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2787/>.

12 Election Guide, “Arab Republic of Egypt: October 18, 2015”, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2557/>; Election Guide, “Arab Republic of Egypt: November 22, 2015”, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2840/>.

13 Völkel, J 2015, “Why almost nobody participated in the Egyptian parliamentary elections”, Open Democracy, 23 October, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/arab-awakening/jan-v-lkel/why-almost-nobody-participated-in-egyptian-parliamentary-elections>; Masi, A 2015, “Egyptian Election 2015: Low Turnout And Voter Indifference Makes Victory For President El-Sisi Inevitable”, International Business Times, 29 October, <http://www.ibtimes.com/egyptian-election-2015-low-turnout-voter-indifference-makes-victory-president-el-sisi-2161872>.

4.2 Civic engagement

Research found that during the Egyptian revolution, youth civic and political participation reached “its highest levels in years.”¹⁴ According to Halaseh (2012), “youth movements and their allies were able to mobilise 15 million Egyptians” to participate in nationwide demonstrations.¹⁵

The Coalition of 25 January Youth was formed, and presented a series of demands to government including:

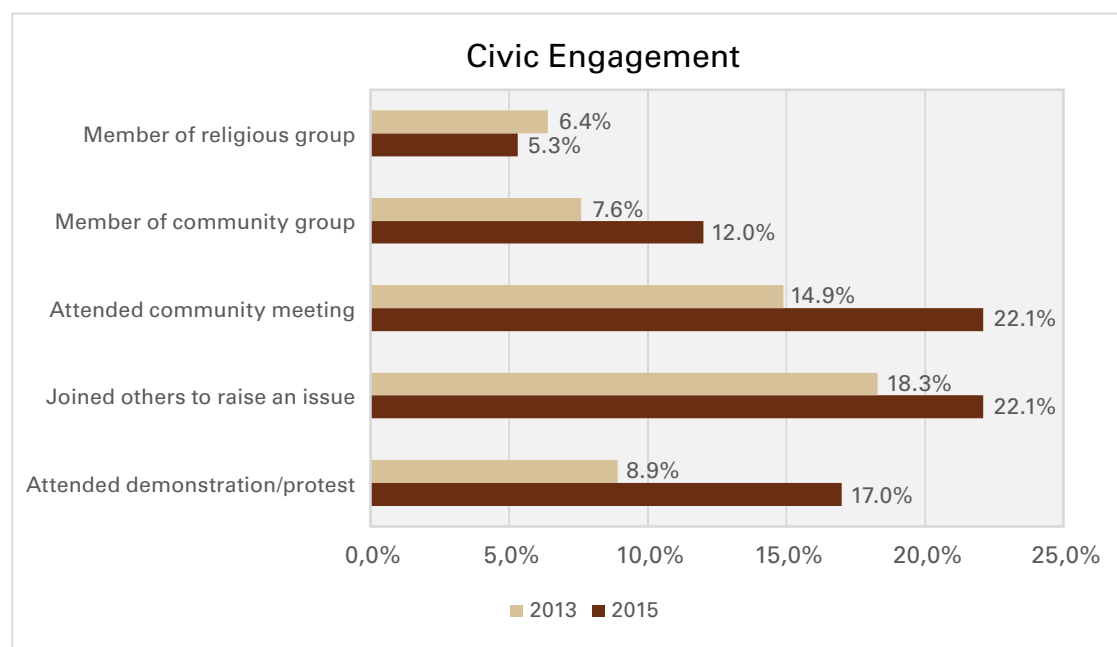
... the resignation of Mubarak, the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners, the dissolution of parliament, the appointment of a government of independent technocrats, the drafting of a new constitution, and for those who were responsible for violent attacks on protestors to be held accountable.¹⁶

Egyptian youth activists used social media extensively, raising awareness about the power of this form of communication for advocacy despite relatively limited Internet access across the country at large. As described by blogger Hani Morsi:

This minority [of middle class, educated and Internet-accessing youth] spoke for all of Egypt. By taking the war for reform to their virtual turf, away from the regime’s clamp down on political action in real space, then funnelling it all back out to real space in the form of a mighty wave of revolt, this minority has reclaimed Egypt.¹⁷

Afrobarometer survey results confirmed that youth civic participation continued to rise following the Egyptian revolution. Figure 11 shows increased membership in voluntary and community organisations between 2013 and 2015 (from 7.6% to 12.0%), as well as a rise in participation in a range of collective actions including attending community meetings (from 14.9% to 22.1%), joining others to raise an issue (18.3% to 22.1%) and attending demonstrations/protests (8.9% to 17.0%). The only recorded decline was in terms of membership in religious organisations (from 6.4% to 5.3%), coinciding with the decline of the Muslim Brotherhood party (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Youth civic engagement, Egypt 2013, 2015



Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2013) and 6 (2015), Egypt

14 Farid, FY 2015, “Egypt’s youth don’t care about elections but they still want a democracy,” Quartz Africa, 25 October, <http://qz.com/532593/egypts-youth-dont-care-about-elections-but-they-still-want-a-democracy/>.

15 Halaseh 2012.

16 Shehata, D 2011, “The Fall of Pharaoh: How Hosni Mubarak’s Reign came to an End,” Foreign Affairs vol. 90, no. 1 (May/June), p. 30, in Halaseh 2012, p. 266.

17 Hani Morsi Blog 2011, “The Virtualization of Dissent: Social Media as a Catalyst for Social Change Part two: From Reanimating the Social Discourse on Reform to a Grassroots Revolt for Change,” Hani Morsi Blog, 17 February, <http://www.hanimorsi.com/blog/>, in Halaseh 2012, p. 268.

However, Professor Ziad Akl (2016), senior researcher at the Egyptian Studies Unit in Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies, explained that youth movements lost resources during the post-revolution period, and membership became “more risky and controversial”. The activities of some organisations were restricted, and the work of the April 6 movement has been declared by the courts to be illegal.¹⁸ According to Akl, organisations such as the Revolutionary Socialist movement went underground. While youth were still “present in social movements”, these movements became less influential and new mobilisation was “not really taking place”.¹⁹

Expert interview participant Mahmoud Salah (2016) also described how many international organisations working in Egypt had either relocated to other countries or downscaled their activities if these were not aligned with or approved by the “security apparatus”. In addition, some youth activists changed careers and left the country, including Salah himself. He explained: “It’s very difficult to be active in the current political climate.”²⁰

4.3 Political engagement

The Egyptian Revolution saw a high level of civic participation, much of which focused on bringing about political transition. However, voter turnout was moderate to low in recent elections – at the presidential polls it was about 50% in 2012 and 46% in 2014. Constitutional referenda held in the same years brought less than 40% of registered voters to the polls, and elections to the PA in 2015 saw a turnout of only 28%.²¹

Perceptions about elections

Afrobarometer survey results also showed a decline in self-reported turnout between 2013 and 2015, as shown in Table 8. While 78.3% of youth indicated that they had voted in the national elections held in 2012, this dropped to 66.8% in 2014. At the same time, the percentage of youth who tried to persuade others to vote for a specific candidate or party increased from 13.4% to 19.9%.

Table 8: Youth political participation, Egypt 2013, 2015

VOTING AND CAMPAIGNING	2012 Elections (Round 5, 2013)			2014 Elections (Round 6, 2015)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Voter behaviour in last election						
Voted in the elections	80.3%	76.3%	78.3%	64.6%	69.4%	66.8%
Was not registered to vote	1.2%	3.0%	2.1%	2.8%	2.9%	2.8%
Was too young to vote	2.0%	3.0%	2.5%	3.5%	2.6%	3.1%
Decided not to vote	9.2%	8.4%	8.8%	14.7%	6.2%	10.7%
Did not vote for another reason	7.0%	9.1%	8.1%	13.3%	16.6%	14.9%
Participation in campaigning						
Attended campaign rally*	16.9%	5.9%	11.4%	24.9%	13.5%	19.5%
Attended campaign meeting*				16.4%	7.0%	11.9%
Persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party	17.9%	8.9%	13.4%	23.4%	16.1%	19.9%
Worked for a candidate or party**	-	-	-	9.6%	4.7%	7.2%

* In Round 5, these two items were asked as a single question (“attended a campaign meeting or rally”) and were separated in Round 6.

** This item was not included in Round 5.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2013) and 6 (2015), Egypt

Support for elections also declined in the post-revolution period. Table 9 shows that while in 2013, 85.8% of youth agreed that leaders should be chosen through regular, open and honest elections, this had declined to 69.6% by 2015. Agreement that leaders should be chosen through “other methods” increased from 10.4% to 22.9% during the same period.

18 Middle East Eye Staff 2016, “Banned movement plans protest in Cairo over islands deal”, Middle East Eye, 14 April, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/banned-movement-plans-mass-protest-cairo-1951081977>.

19 Interview with Prof Ziad Akl, Egyptian Studies Unit in Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 11 July 2016.

20 Interview with Mahmoud Salah (M), MINDS Alumni, 17 June 2016.

21 Election Guide, “Arab Republic of Egypt”, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2840/>.

Table 9: Youth perceptions of elections, Egypt 2013, 2015

ELECTIONS	2012 Elections (Round 5, 2013)			2014 Elections (Round 6, 2015)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
How leaders should be chosen						
Regular, open elections	87.1%	84.4%	85.8%	69.9%	69.3%	69.6%
Other methods	10.9%	9.9%	10.4%	24.0%	21.7%	22.9%
Neither	1.0%	1.2%	1.1%	2.8%	1.3%	2.1%
Freeness and fairness of last election						
Completely free and fair	27.8%	28.1%	27.9%	22.7%	29.6%	26.0%
Free and fair, minor problems	16.1%	15.3%	15.7%	34.2%	29.9%	32.1%
Free and fair, major problems	16.9%	13.1%	15.0%	19.9%	16.9%	18.5%
Not free and fair	31.3%	30.8%	31.0%	12.4%	10.6%	11.6%
Don't know	7.2%	11.3%	9.3%	9.6%	11.7%	10.6%

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2013) and 6 (2015), Egypt

Given that close to one in four youth (25%) supported the use of methods other than elections to choose leaders in 2015, further analysis was conducted to explore the characteristics of youth in this sub-group. Data analysis found that both males and females with a post-secondary level education were most likely to agree that leaders should be chosen through regular, open and honest elections, while youth with a primary level of education were least likely to agree. Further, level of education was shown to predict support for use of elections over other methods.²²

Likelihood of voting in future

Afrobarometer Round 6 was conducted in Egypt between June and July 2015, a few months before elections for the PA. Levels of party support were low: overall only 29.4% of youth indicated that they were close to any particular political party, although this was higher among males (37.4%) than females (20.5%). When asked about the party they would likely vote for if an election were held tomorrow, support was diffuse, as shown in Table 10. Cumulatively, just over 70% indicated that they would not vote (19.2%), did not know (40.7%), or refused to answer the question altogether (10.7%).

Table 10: Future youth voting behaviour, Egypt 2015

VOTE FORTOMORROW	2015		
Party*	Male	Female	Total
Al Messreyoun Al Ahrar	6.3%	4.4%	5.4%
Egyptian Patriotic Movement	5.1%	2.9%	4.1%
El Wafad	3.7%	3.9%	3.8%
Misr Alqawia	4.9%	1.8%	3.4%
Ennour	4.2%	2.1%	3.2%
Egyptian Social Democratic Party	3.3%	1.8%	2.6%
El Motamar	2.1%	1.8%	2.0%
Would not vote	20.8%	17.4%	19.2%
Refused to answer	11.4%	9.9%	10.7%
Don't know	32.0%	50.4%	40.7%

* Includes all parties selected by >2% of survey respondents.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 6 (2015), Egypt

The Egyptian government has expressed concern over the low levels of youth participation in recent elections, and presidential adviser Azza Heikal warned: "If a young person doesn't go down and vote then I blame his family and especially his mother. I squarely blame him too because he doesn't have the right to protest against the current state of affairs."²³

22 A linear regression analysis was significant at the .01 level, although education predicted relatively little variance ($r^2 = .015$).

23 AKI, ZA 2015, "Youth political participation in Egypt", Daily News Egypt, 17 October, <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/10/17/youth-political-participation-in-egypt/>.

4.4 Influences on youth participation

A number of reasons were identified for the moderate (and declining) levels of youth political participation in Egypt.

- **Disillusionment with elections.** One of these reasons is, according to writer and political analyst Yehia El Gammal, simply that a “general sense of disillusion with the current system [drove] Egyptians away from elections”²⁴ This analysis was echoed in comments by young Egyptians in popular media reports. Speaking to the Daily News Egypt about the 2015 elections, 25-year-old sales manager Basem Mahmoud commented: “I used to go down and vote in all the major elections right up until the presidential ones last year but with these elections I’ve been a bit busy ... It is the last thing on my mind.”²⁵ In an interview for the same publication 32-year-old law graduate Mohamed Kamel confirmed that, while he had voted in the recent elections, “When I asked my friends to vote they told me we have better things to do like playing dominoes at the cafe. There’s no change. We are just blowing in the wind ... The revolution hasn’t reached us yet.”²⁶

Part of this disillusionment was linked to the perception that elections have not yet been effectual in the post-revolution period. Salah (2016) explained: “People don’t really believe in elections – they voted and then after the election, the president was simply removed from office.”²⁷

Similarly, an anonymous female expert described how “before the revolution we didn’t have any kind of representation in elections and the people were not even interested to do anything or to know the results or the candidates.” She recalled high levels of participation at the 2011 polls: “You have to see the lines ... some people stood four or five hours just only to go and vote. Egyptians went and voted and we were all so enthusiastic to go and do our part.” However, confidence in electoral processes dropped after Morsi was removed from office in 2013 and “everything collapsed again – the representation, the voting centres, and the people themselves.” She added that in the most recent elections youth stayed away from the polls as a form of protest: “No-one went, honestly we were so – we were trying to present our objection and we were trying to present our situation in that we are not agreeing with what’s happening by avoiding to voting centres or to participate in any kind of elections.”²⁸

- **Closed political environment.** Expert research participants also discussed increased restrictions within the political environment and civil society. Akl (2016) observed that a number of new laws and policies had been introduced to limit political action and mobilisation. Scrutiny of political activities increased, even on university campuses. This was despite the introduction of new policies and programmes that appeared to encourage youth participation in civic and political life, such as the president declaring 2016 the “Year of Youth.”²⁹

An anonymous female expert agreed explaining that, in her opinion, social and political activism and mobilisation were closely monitored by the government and security forces. She described how “anyone who tries to do anything, even social like having a charity thing, and his background is a little resistant – he’s detained or she’s detained.” She added that many youth were fearful about expressing their views openly in case they were being “observed.”³⁰

- **Lack of representation.** A third reason identified as a cause behind declining participation was that youth did not feel represented within government or by political parties. This was partly explained by the fact that many of the revolution’s political leaders had been detained. According to Salah (2016), large numbers of youth were “behind bars for their political views and activism.”³¹ Similarly, political activist and former parliamentary candidate, Safwan Mohammed, commented that the “lack of participation by the youth in these elections is clear to everyone; the reason simply is that most young political front-runners in Egypt are currently jailed.”³²

Related to this, experts suggested that only a few youth candidates had run for office or been elected since the revolution. Akl (2016) explained that, in terms of recent elections in particular, the “percentage of youth who ran for office, and those who ultimately succeeded, were minimal.”³³ An anonymous expert added that even after the 2015 polls, “parliament is full of older people. They are using youth to maybe do some research or as personal assistants, but even in the parliamentary elections all the candidates were above 40 or something.”³⁴

This lack of representation extended beyond candidates and elected leaders, into the policy sphere. According to professor Nadine Sika of the American University of Cairo, while there has been a great deal of “rhetoric about their [youth] inclusion in the economic, social and political spheres ... when we look at the real policies, we find that there has been no inclusionary policies at all.”³⁵

24 Masi, A 2015, “Egyptian Election 2015: Low Turnout And Voter Indifference Makes Victory For President El-Sisi Inevitable”, International Business Times, 29 October, <http://www.ibtimes.com/egyptian-election-2015-low-turnout-voter-indifference-makes-victory-president-el-sisi-2161872>.

25 Akl 2015.

26 Farid 2015.

27 Interview with Mahmoud Salah (M), MINDS Alumni, 17 June 2016.

28 Anonymous (F, Egypt) 2016.

29 Akl 2016.

30 Anonymous (F, Egypt) 2016.

31 Salah 2016.

32 Aman, A 2015, “Despite risk of \$62 fine for not voting, less than 20% of Egyptians bothered to show up at polls”, Egypt Pulse, Al Monitor, 20 October, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/10/egypt-parliamentary-elections-first-round-low-turnout.html#ixzz45Rf5YwVU>.

33 Akl 2016.

34 Anonymous (F, Egypt) 2016.

35 Akl 2015.

4.5 Encouraging future participation

Some of the experts interviewed during the course of this study were sceptical about whether or not youth could be successfully encouraged to participate in the current political climate. Nonetheless, a number of strategies were identified.

- **Focusing on education.** Data analysis found that Egyptian youth with higher levels of education were more likely to support the use of elections to choose leaders. Further, experts suggested that more voter education is needed across the whole country.³⁶
- **Making more resources available for youth candidates.** As in a number of the countries included in this study, youth candidates in Egyptian elections lacked the networks, resources and support bases that older candidates were able to access. This was particularly important in a context in which some affluent candidates were described as giving money and goods to voters in exchange for their support.³⁷
- **Providing better political training.** Experts suggested that youth were interested in receiving focused training and skills development, enabling them to participate in politics and decision-making.³⁸

4.6 Key findings

The following key findings emerge from research conducted on youth participation in Egypt.

- Egyptian youth were largely credited with orchestrating the mass demonstrations across the country during the Arab Spring, which led to elections and a change of government.
- Afrobarometer survey data confirmed increased youth participation and membership in a range of different civil society activities in recent years in Egypt (as had been evident in Tunisia).
- Recent reports suggested that, following several years of government and leadership transition in the post-revolution period, Egyptians in general and youth in particular were experiencing “election fatigue” and political participation had declined overall.
- A comparison of survey results from 2013 and 2015 showed declines in self-reported voter turnout, and less agreement that elections were the best means of choosing leaders.
- In the lead-up to the 2015 PA elections, party support was diffuse and a large percentage of youth was either unsure of who they would vote for, or did not plan to vote at all.
- Some of the reasons identified for declining political participation were disillusionment with electoral processes, perceptions about an increasingly restricted political environment, and a lack of meaningful representation and of inclusion in the work of government.

Although there was scepticism about whether or not youth might be encouraged to participate more in political life in the future, possible strategies could include increased civic and political education, as well as support and resources for youth candidates contesting elections.

36 Anonymous (F, Egypt) 2016.

37 Anonymous (F, Egypt) 2016; Salah2016.

38 Anonymous (F, Egypt) 2016.



5/**KENYA**

Kenya

Kenya's recent political history has been characterised by changing party allegiances and high levels of electoral contestation – often along ethnic lines. In December 2007, the release of contested election results led to an outbreak of violence, in which more than a thousand people were killed.¹ Peaceful elections were held in 2013, and a new system of devolution was implemented with the aim of decentralising authority and increasing resources to counties. Presidential elections will be held again in August 2017, and research found that campaign activities had already begun by early 2016. Kenyan youth have been involved in election-related conflict in the past, and one of the challenges going into the 2017 elections will be to ensure peaceful political participation.

5.1 National political context

History

A former British colony, Kenya was granted independence in 1963 and became a republic the following year. Political activist and independence movement leader, Jomo Kenyatta, was elected president² and he faced little political opposition during his first few years in office. However, this changed with the founding of the leftist Kenya People's Union (KPU) party in 1966, under the leadership of Jaramogi Odinga Odinga. In an attempt to limit political contestation, the government banned the KPU and Odinga was arrested in 1969.³ Kenya became a *de facto* single party state, and Kenyatta served as president until his death in 1978.⁴

Kenyatta was succeeded by Vice-President Daniel Arap Moi. At the outset of his presidency, Arap Moi was hailed as a reformist who “attacked corruption, released political prisoners, reduced primary school fees, introduced free milk in schools, and signed the Third Tripartite Agreement to increase employment across the board by ten percent.”⁵ However, he also worked to consolidate power within the ruling Kenyan African National Union (KANU) party, purging Kenyatta loyalists in order to create a “new alliance based on minority ethnic elites” and tightening control over the civil service.⁶ After a failed *coup* attempt in 1982, Kenya was officially declared a one-party state.⁷

Political transition and elections

Arap Moi was re-elected in single party elections in 1983 and 1988, but political repression increased and “spawned underground movements such as the December Twelfth Movement and Mwakenya.”⁸ In 1991 Odinga Odinga, together with five other opposition leaders, established the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD).⁹ As a result of internal pressure exerted by FORD and members of the public, and later by foreign donors and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Arap Moi and KANU eventually agreed to return to a multi-party system and to hold elections before the end of 1992.¹⁰

Arap Moi was re-elected president at the 1992 polls and again in 1997. While KANU retained a majority in the legislature in 1992, its support base declined, and the party had to enter into coalitions in order to maintain power after 1997¹¹, but Arap Moi only vacated the presidency when his term ended in 2002. His successor, KANU presidential candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta (son of Jomo), was defeated by Mwai Kibaki, candidate for the newly formed National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), who won 62.60% of the national vote.¹²

Post-election violence

Kibaki served as president from 2002 to 2007. Months before the December 2007 polls, he formed the Party of National Unity (PNU), and contested the elections as that party's presidential candidate.

The results of the 2007 elections triggered a wave of violence that lasted for seven weeks. When the polls closed on 27 December, Kibaki lagged behind the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) candidate Raila Odinga, son of Jaramogi Odinga. On 29 December the ODM declared its victory, although votes were still being counted. Then, on the evening of 30 December, the electoral commission announced that Kibaki had won by a narrow margin of about 230,000 votes¹³ – although the commission's chairman later conceded that “[he] ‘did not know’ who had won.”¹⁴ Reports suggested that within minutes of the commission's announcement, the streets were filled with protestors claiming that Kibaki had “stolen” the election.¹⁵

1 Kenya Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIEV)(2008), Report of the Kenya Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence, http://www.kenyalaw.org/Downloads/Reports/Commission_of_Inquiry_into_Post_Election_Violence.pdfm.

2 Republic of Kenya n.d., A Brief History of Kenya, http://www.kenyarep-jp.com/kenya/history_e.html.

3 Republic of Kenya.

4 wa Maina, K. 1992, “The future of democracy in Kenya”, *Africa Today*, 39.1-2, p. 122.

5 wa Maina 1992.

6 Southall, R & Wood, G 1996, “Local government and the return to multi-partyism in Kenya”, *African Affairs*, vol. 95.381, p. 510.

7 Republic of Kenya.

8 wa Maina 1992.

9 BBC 1997, “Special Report – Kenya: a political history”, BBC, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/for_christmas/new_year/kenyan_elections/41737.stm.

10 wa Maina 1992.

11 Republic of Kenya online.

12 Republic of Kenya online.

13 Election Guide, Republic of Kenya, December 27, 2007, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2059/>.

14 Brownsell, J 2013, “Kenya: What went wrong in 2007?”, *Al Jazeera*, 3 March, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/03/201333123153703492.html>.

15 Brownsell 2013; Gettleman, J 2007, “Disputed Vote Plunges Kenya Into Bloodshed”, *The New York Times*, 31 December, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/31/world/africa/31kenya.html?_r=0.

According to the Kenyan Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIEV), which was established in 2008, “violence has been a part of Kenya’s electoral processes since the restoration of multi-party politics in 1991”, but never to the extent experienced in 2007 and 2008. By the time the violence ended in late February, 2008, 1,133 people had been killed and thousands more injured, properties had been destroyed and about 350,000 people had been displaced.¹⁶ In a peace deal brokered by former UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, Kibaki remained president and Odinga became prime minister.¹⁷ Six political leaders, including Uhuru Kenyatta, were later charged by the International Criminal Court (ICC) with inciting the post-election violence but their cases were ultimately dropped.¹⁸

The CIEV’s investigation found that “armed militias, most of whom developed as a result of the 1990s ethnic clashes, [and] were never demobilized” were readily “reactivated by political and business leaders”. Patterns of violence revealed both “planning and organisation by politicians, businessmen and others”. Further, political violence – like party support – was often between members of different ethnic groups. The CIEV also found evidence of the “increasing personalisation of power around the presidency” and that the “widespread belief that the presidency brings advantages for the President’s ethnic group” meant that communities were “willing to exert violence to attain and keep power.”¹⁹

Kenya adopted a new constitution in 2010, which introduced a system of devolution with the aim of broadening representation and preventing future conflict. It established a system of political and administrative counties and a Senate, elected directly by each of the 47 counties. The Senate was required to include an additional 16 women members nominated by political parties, two youth representatives (one male and one female) and two representatives of people with disabilities (one male and one female). According to the new constitution, in order to win a presidential election, candidates had to receive more than 50% of votes, plus at least 25% of votes in half of the 47 counties. Further, the constitution mandated that in addition to the 290 seats in the NA elected from the constituencies, 12 “appointed members” must be selected to represent the interest of minorities, youth and people with disabilities, and 47 additional women must be elected directly in the counties.²⁰

Recent elections

Elections were held again on 4 March 2013, for the NA, the Senate and the presidency. In these elections, Uhuru Kenyatta – now a candidate for the Jubilee Coalition, established in 2013 through a union of The National Alliance (TNA), the United Republican Party (URP) and the NARC – narrowly defeated Odinga by 50.51% to 43.7% of votes.²¹ Odinga challenged the election results, but the bid was rejected by the Supreme Court.²² The next round of presidential elections will be held in August of 2017.

5.2 Civic engagement

The research found that Kenyan youth participated very actively in civic life. In 2014, 52.6% of males and 63.8% of females were members of religious organisations that met outside of normal worship services. A further 49.2% of males and 46.2% of females were members of community or voluntary organisations, as shown in Figure 12. Many also took part in a variety of collective actions, although participation levels were higher among males than females. In 2014, 57.2% of males and 45.9% of females had attended a community meeting within the past year. About half of all males (48.4%) and a third of females (32.6%) had joined others to raise an issue, while 37.1% of males and 23.3% of females had specifically joined others to request a government action (see Figure 12).

16 Kenya CIEV 2008, pp 345-351.

17 Brownsell 2013.

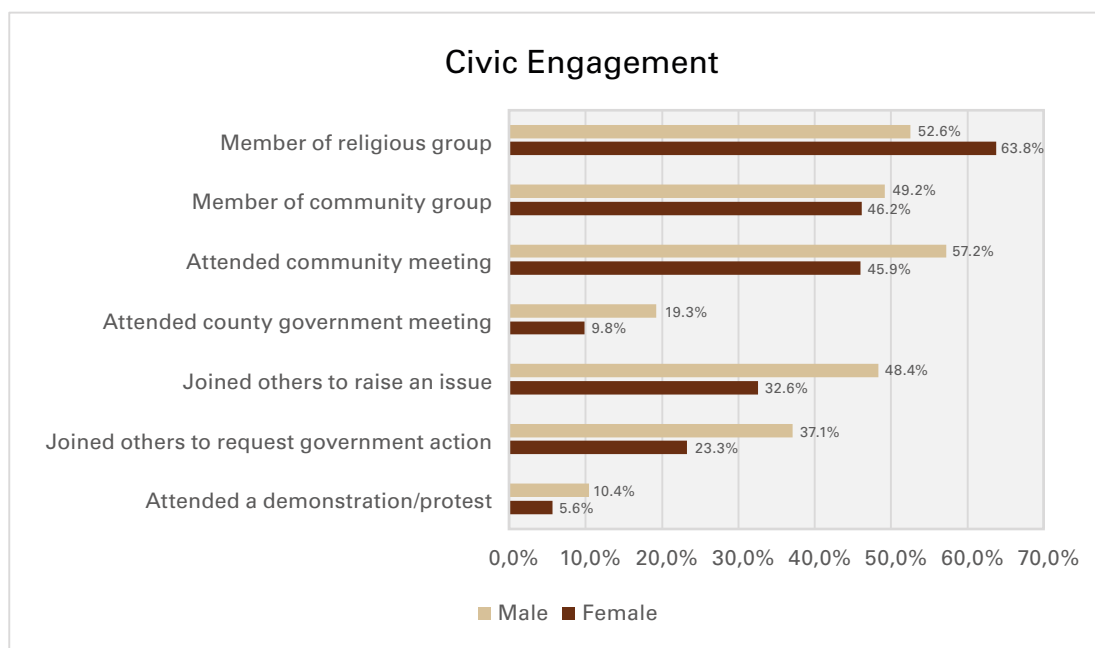
18 Daily Nation 2016, “ICC ruling on Ruto spells doom — Raila” Daily Nation, <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/icc-raila-odinga/-/1064/3157804/-/pifg8oz/-/index.html>.

19 Kenya CIEV 2008, pp vi-vii.

20 Election Guide, Republic of Kenya, March 4 2013, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1051/>.

21 Election Guide, Republic of Kenya, March 4 2013, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1051/>.

Figure 12: Youth civic engagement by gender, Kenya 2014



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, Kenya 2014

Expert interview participant Samuel Karuita, a MINDS alumni who works actively with Kenyan youth through the Peace Ambassadors Integration Organisation, explained these high levels of civic engagement. Many young people, and those in the middle class in particular, were disillusioned by what they viewed as a lack of real political change in the country. As a result, they were not interested in working directly with government or political parties. Instead, youth became involved in community service and development work, and were very active on social media. According to Karuita, young Kenyans felt they were more able to have an impact and exert influence working in civil society rather than in politics, where consultation was often superficial and the landscape was dominated by “the old guard”²³

5.3 Political engagement

Overview

The research found that youth have been central to political activity in Kenya. However, high levels of political participation have not always been positive, and have included participation in election-related violence. Even in the early 1990s, wa Maina documented frequent clashes between police and “rampaging” youth supporting opposition political parties, in which young Kenyans “shouted political slogans” and stoned cars.²⁴ The CIEV also reported that “politicians and businessmen allegedly chose to hire gangs of youth to fight their attackers” during 2007/2008 post-election violence. The Commission found that youth were particularly vulnerable to co-option by political parties due to high levels of poverty and unemployment, trauma resulting from ethnic violence, frustration at the lack of employment opportunities, and the proliferation of gangs.²⁵

More recently, a baseline study released by the Kenyan Centre for Multiparty Democracy found that many youth had effectively “disengaged” from politics, particularly following the 2013 elections. However, the Centre also found that young Kenyans have taken part in recruitment and campaign activities. Although some were interested in participating in policy processes, implementation and oversight, they often lacked the skills to do so effectively.²⁶

22 BBC, “Kenya: profile – timeline”, available online at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13682176>.

23 Interview with Samuel Karuita, MINDS Alumni, 26 July 2016.

24 wa Maina 1992.

25 Kenya CIEV 2008, pp. 33-35.

26 Centre for Multiparty Democracy, Kenya 2015, Youth in Political Party Participation in Kenya: Baseline Study, <http://www.cmd-kenya.org/files/Youth+Participation+in+Political+Parties+Survey.pdf>.

Perceptions about elections

Despite the country's history of election-related conflict, research found that most young Kenyans supported the use of elections to choose political leaders, and that this had remained relatively constant in recent years, as shown in Table 11. Evaluation of past elections also improved over time. In 2011/12, when asked about the 2007 elections, most youth responded that the election was either not free and fair (34.7%), or free and fair but with major problems (29.2%). In 2014, when asked about the 2013 elections, these percentages had almost reversed: about a third (33.9%) described the election as completely free and fair, and a further 27.9% as mostly free and fair but with minor problems. However, trust in the electoral commission as the main institution regulating electoral processes was moderate: only 53.3% of youth trusted the commission in 2011/12, and this had declined to 46.0% by 2014.

Table 11: Youth perceptions of elections by gender, Kenya 2011/12, 2014

ELECTIONS	2011/12			2014		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
How leaders should be chosen						
Regular, open elections	80.8%	81.8%	81.3%	82.2%	82.1%	82.1%
Other methods	17.5%	16.2%	16.8%	16.2%	16.0%	16.1%
Neither	1.3%	1.1%	1.2%	1.2%	.7%	1.0%
Freeness and fairness of last election						
Completely free and fair	13.8%	15.5%	14.7%	32.0%	35.6%	33.9%
Free and fair, minor problems	14.2%	15.6%	14.9%	30.9%	25.0%	27.9%
Free and fair, major problems	29.2%	29.1%	29.2%	17.0%	14.8%	15.8%
Not free and fair	37.2%	32.5%	34.7%	16.9%	17.9%	17.4%
Don't know	5.0%	6.5%	5.8%	2.8%	6.4%	4.6%
Trust in electoral commission						
Trust electoral commission	57.5%	49.5%	53.3%	49.1%	43.0%	46.0%
Do not trust electoral commission	30.0%	34.2%	32.2%	49.0%	50.0%	49.5%
Don't know	12.5%	16.1%	14.4%	2.0%	6.9%	4.5%

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2011 - 2012) and 6 (2014), Kenya

Interview participants also mentioned that as political activity has increased in the lead-up to the 2017 elections, issues of the effectiveness and independence of the electoral commission have become increasingly important. Youth activist, John Omwamba (2016), linked disillusionment with politics to problems with the reporting of election results in both 2007 and 2013. He added that a number of electoral commissioners had been implicated in cases involving irregularities in the procurement of election materials and that, in general, there was a perception that the commission seemed "too close" to the government. Some Kenyans called for it to be disbanded altogether.²⁷ Governance specialist Omore C. Osendo (2016) similarly described the electoral commission as "having significantly declined in public confidence according to independent polls run in Kenya." On the question of the objective of protests led by the political opposition in May and June 2016, he wrote: "They just took to the streets and paralysed operations, because they wanted electoral reforms including the removal of the Electoral Commission."²⁸ In July 2016, a joint parliamentary committee was established to elicit public views on the independence of commissioners, and on measures to strengthen the institution.²⁹

Research also revealed a number of interesting findings related to self-reported election participation. As shown in Table 12, the percentage of youth who indicated that they had voted in the last election increased from 68.0% to 76.8% between 2011/12 and 2014.³⁰ There was little difference in self-reported voting behaviour according to gender, but young men were found to be much more active in campaign activities than young women. While almost two-thirds of males (63.6%) indicated that they had attended a campaign rally during the 2013 election period, the same was true of only 39.3% of women. Men were also more likely have attended campaign meetings, persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party, or worked for a candidate or party (see Table 12).

27 Interview with John Omwamba (M), MINDS Alumni, 12 July 2016.

28 Interview with Omore C. Osendo (M), 21 July 2016.

29 Ombok, E 2016, "Kenya to Begin Receiving Proposals July 25 on Electoral Changes," Bloomberg, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-07-18/kenya-to-begin-receiving-proposals-july-25-on-electoral-changes>.

30 Here, it is important to note that the 2011 survey round was conducted about four years after the 2007 election, whereas the 2014 round was conducted about a year and a half after the 2013 election. This accounts for the larger percentage of youth who were too young to vote included in the 2011 sample.

Table 12: Youth participation in elections, Kenya 2011/12, 2014

VOTING AND CAMPAIGNING	2007 Election (Round 5, 2011/12)			2013 Election (Round 6, 2014)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Voter behaviour in last election						
Voted in the elections	69.8%	66.4%	68.0%	78.7%	75.0%	76.8%
Was not registered to vote	5.7%	7.9%	6.8%	8.7%	11.3%	10.0%
Was too young to vote	12.7%	13.2%	12.9%	3.9%	2.0%	3.0%
Decided not to vote	2.7%	4.8%	3.8%	2.3%	3.2%	2.7%
Did not vote for another reason	5.1%	3.7%	4.4%	6.3%	8.2%	7.3%
Participation in campaigning						
Attended campaign rally*	58.1%	37.6%	47.2%	63.6%	39.3%	51.1%
Attended campaign meeting*				32.1%	20.1%	25.9%
Persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party	35.9%	24.7%	30.0%	38.5%	27.1%	32.6%
Worked for a candidate or party	18.9%	8.4%	13.3%	13.5%	8.0%	10.7%

* In Round 5, these two items were asked as a single question ("attended a campaign meeting or rally") and were separated in Round 6.
Source: Afrobarometer Round 5 (2011 - 2012) and Round 6 (2014), Kenya

Likelihood of voting in future

Competition for youth votes is likely to be a key feature of the 2017 elections in Kenya. When asked in 2014 about who they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow, the greatest percentage indicated that they would vote for the TNA party under Kenyatta's leadership. The party has revealed plans to merge with the URP before the 2017 elections to become the Jubilee Alliance Party, and has recently been joined by New Ford Kenya.³¹ About one in four youth (26.3%) indicated that they would most likely vote for the ODM led by Odinga. Only 5.9% indicated that they would not vote and a relatively low percentage (6.8%) did not know who they would vote for (see Table 13).

Table 13: Future youth voting behaviour, Kenya 2011/12, 2013

VOTE FORTOMORROW	2011/12			2014		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Party*						
Orange Democratic Movement Party (ODM)	36.1%	35.0%	35.5%	28.4%	24.3%	26.3%
The National Alliance (TNA)	-	-	-	40.0%	34.9%	37.3%
Party of National Unity (PNU)	20.6%	19.2%	19.8%	-	-	-
Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya (ODM-K)	5.2%	4.8%	5.0%	-	-	-
United Democratic Party of Kenya (UDM)	4.9%	2.9%	3.9%	-	-	-
United Republican Party (URP)	-	-	-	6.6%	7.4%	7.0%
Other	1.8%	1.1%	1.4%	5.7%	5.4%	5.5%
Would not vote	4.3%	5.0%	4.7%	6.3%	5.4%	5.9%
Refused to answer	6.1%	7.0%	6.6%	8.4%	13.9%	11.3%
Don't know	14.3%	21.1%	17.9%	4.7%	8.7%	6.8%

* Includes all parties selected by >5% of survey respondents.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2011 – 2012) and Round 6 (2014), Kenya

31 Daily Nation 2015, "New party ready as Jubilee leaders pursue one political front for 2017," Daily Nation, <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Now-Jubilee-parties-unite-for-2017-poll/-/1064/2592114/-/4wia6r/-/index.html>; Mwangi, W 2016, "New Ford Kenya dissolves to join Jubilee Party ahead of 2017," The Star, 11 July, http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/07/11/new-ford-kenya-dissolves-to-join-jubilee-party-ahead-of-2017_c1384227.

5.4 Influences on youth participation

The research found a number of factors that have influenced youth civic and political participation in Kenya to date.

- **Election-related violence.** As found by Kenya's CIEV, marginalised youth have been the target of political parties, and have been co-opted and encouraged to orchestrate violence in past elections. Expert research participants indicated that political tension within the country is already high, although the next round of elections is only scheduled for August 2017. According to Omwamba (2016), campaigning has reached “fever pitch”, and there have been a number of high profile cases of hate speech. He added that politicians have once again begun inciting youth to turn against political opponents.³² Nelly Kasina, a MINDS alumni and youth volunteer working primarily in informal settlements in Nairobi, agreed that “speculation is rife about the elections next year, and some people are saying that the situation could be very bad”. She described high levels of tension between ethnic communities and political parties, and the “possibility that supporters are arming themselves”.³³

Osendo (2016) agreed that there is some risk of violence along party and ethnic lines, adding that there have already been “glimpses of clashes in the informal settlements in Nairobi”. There may also be new fault lines at the county government level. However, he was optimistic that violence was not likely to reach the level experienced in 2007.³⁴
- **Unfulfilled political promises.** Both Omwamba (2016) and Osendo (2016) also mentioned the problem of unfulfilled promises made to youth. According to Omwamba, government and the leading political parties made “a lot of promises to young people” after the 2013 election, including the creation of a million new jobs every year, development of sports programmes and facilities, and more funding for entrepreneurs and business start-ups. Many of these promises have not materialised.³⁵ Osendo further pointed out that corruption has added to this problem. Funds amounting to millions of dollars have been lost in scandals in the National Youth Service (NYS) and the Youth Enterprise Development Fund. The “fact that money meant for them was actually stolen” has left a “bitter taste in the mouths of young people”.³⁶
- **Youth exclusion from leadership and decision-making.** There was a further major challenge which was related to the level of involvement of youth in actual leadership and decision-making. The baseline study conducted by the Kenyan Centre for Multiparty Democracy found that, despite the introduction of measures to increase youth participation and representation in the 2010 constitution, compliance has been relatively low. Party youth leagues were characterised as weak and poorly funded, and young people were not adequately represented in party leadership or representative assemblies.³⁷ Omwamba (2016) similarly observed that, while relatively few young people had been elected or appointed to positions in government, those who had been elected complained that they had joined a “pack of old guys” and struggled to advance.³⁸ Osendo (2016) also agreed that, for the most part, youth had “largely not been in the important decision-making spaces”, but added that this had begun to change. He explained that the number of young parliamentarians has increased, and more youth have been appointed to senior technical roles and leadership positions in political parties. Further, political party youth leagues have been revived, and many young people were becoming increasingly influential through blogging and social media.³⁹
- **Gendered obstacles to participation.** Karuita (2016) suggested that Kenya's patriarchal society had made it difficult for young women to participate actively in politics, particularly in terms of running for elected office. He cited incidents in which female youth involved with his organisation had been targeted and harassed when actively involved in politics.⁴⁰

32 Omwamba 2016.

33 Interview with Nelly Kasina (F), MINDS Alumni, 20 July 2016.

34 Osendo 2016.

35 Omwamba 2016.

36 Osendo 2016; see also Muchiri, M 2015, “EACC Cracks Whip in Sh791 Million NYS Scandal”, [Kenyans.co.ke](https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/eacc-cracks-whip-sh791-million-nys-scandal), <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/eacc-cracks-whip-sh791-million-nys-scandal>; Muchiri, M 2015, “Another Multi-Million Scandal Hits Waiguru's Ministry”, [Kenyans.co.ke](https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/another-multi-million-scandal-hits-waigurus-ministry), <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/another-multi-million-scandal-hits-waigurus-ministry>

37 Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya, 2015.

38 Omwamba 2016.

39 Osendo 2016.

40 Karuita 2016.

5.5 Encouraging future participation

Research findings confirmed that Kenyan youth were actively engaged in civic and political life. The challenge going forward would be to ensure that this engagement is peaceful and constructive. A number of strategies were identified to improve youth participation and engagement in future.

- **Effectively addressing youth priorities.** According to research participants, youth voter turnout in future elections will likely depend on the ability of parties to address the concerns and priorities of this constituency. These included creating jobs and other economic opportunities, as well as addressing corruption.⁴¹
- **Changing the nature of engagement between youth and political parties.** Osendo (2016) described how “youth are used a lot during elections”, including to “cheaply run campaigns, [because] they are paid little money.”⁴² Kasina (2016) recommended that the government take a more active role in ensuring that youth are not “used by politicians” for “purposes of chaos and destruction”. This should include efforts to sensitise young people about “positive participatory politics.”⁴³
- **Increasing voter education.** More broadly, participants recommended increased voter education, with a focus on helping to “bring these young, social media focused kids into the whole political space” in order to understand the power of their vote. This was particularly important for first-time voters, who need to learn how to use their power to select “good leaders, who can come in and use their resources well and use the resources to help the youth build themselves.”⁴⁴ Karuita (2016) emphasised the importance of raising awareness and creating a national narrative around the benefits of active political participation through peaceful means.⁴⁵
- **Streamlining vote tallying and reporting systems.** Participants suggested that it was important to ensure that problems related to the counting and reporting of votes and election results were eliminated as far as possible in order to reduce the likelihood of future post-election violence.⁴⁶

5.6 Key findings

The following key findings emerged from research conducted on youth and elections in Kenya.

- Political cleavages, including between ethnic groups and over the centralising of power within the presidency, have characterised the Kenyan governance landscape since the 1970s.
- Kenyan youth have been involved in political conflict and instability at different stages of the country’s history. The CIEV found evidence of the deliberate use of youth by political parties and business leaders to orchestrate violence following the contested 2007 elections.
- Kenyan youth were very active in civic life.
- Youth were politically active, identifying strongly with political parties. Most youth reported that they had voted in previous elections, but participation in campaign rallies and other election-related activities was much higher among men than women.
- Evaluations of the administration of past polls, and whether or not elections were free and fair, were mixed. Further, only about half of all youth trusted the electoral commission, and a debate was underway on whether it should be dissolved and reconstituted before the 2017 polls.
- Factors identified as influencing youth participation negatively included past election-related violence, perceptions that political promises have been unfulfilled, exclusion from leadership and decision-making processes, and the harassment of young women seeking to get involved in politics.
- Factors with the potential to increase youth participation in future included effectively addressing youth priority issues, increasing voter education with a focus on peaceful participation, and ensuring the smooth and transparent tallying and reporting of election results.

41 Osendo 2016.

42 Osendo 2016.

43 Kasina 2016.

44 Osendo 2016.

45 Karuita 2016.

46 Omwamba 2016.



6/TANZANIA

Tanzania

Young Tanzanians had not experienced contested electoral politics prior to the most recent round of elections in 2015. In the post-independence period, Tanzania transitioned from a single party state to one with open multi-party elections, but the CCM party has controlled the presidency and legislature since the 1970s. The presidential campaign of former prime minister and CCM defector, Edward Ngoyai Lowassa, focused on addressing youth concerns and, although ultimately unsuccessful, generated support among young Tanzanians. As described by expert interview participant, Abdunuur Mwimi, “this was one of the hottest elections ever in the sense that the majority of young people are the ones who vote.”¹

6.1 National political context

History

Tanzania was colonised by Germany from the 1880s until 1919, and after that by the British. The independence movement was led by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, a schoolteacher who founded the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) party in 1954. Nyerere was appointed prime minister in 1960, and elected president in 1962 when Tanganyika became independent.² The Republic of Tanzania was formed after the unification of mainland Tanganyika and the Zanzibar islands on 26 April 1964. Although Zanzibar’s history is not addressed substantively in this report, unification took place after the Sultan of Zanzibar was deposed during the 1964 Zanzibar Revolution.³

Several years after Tanganyikan independence, the constitution was changed to establish a single party political system. Comparable changes were introduced in Zanzibar, under the leadership of the Afro-Shirazi Party. In 1977, TANU merged with Afro-Shirazi to form the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). General and presidential elections were held every five years from 1965 onwards, but candidates were only nominated from within the CCM. Nyerere retired in 1985, and was succeeded by Ali Hassan Mwinyi who remained president until 1995.⁴

Political transition and elections

Amid growing pressure for open political contestation, the constitution was amended in 1992 to allow for the establishment of opposition parties. Elections were held in October 1995 and contested by 13 parties. However, irregularities were found at some polling stations and the electoral commission set a second round of elections for November. These subsequent elections were boycotted by ten political parties and all opposition presidential candidates withdrew from the race, enabling the CCM to achieve a landslide victory. Party leader Benjamin Mkapa was elected president.⁵

The CCM has maintained its majority at all elections since 1995 for both the legislature and the presidency. Mkapa was re-elected in 2000 with 71.74% of the vote. After two terms in office, he was succeeded by CCM candidate, Jakaya Kikwete, elected president in 2005 (80.28% of votes) and re-elected in 2010 (62.83% of votes).⁶

Recent elections

Tanzania’s most recent elections were held on 25 October 2015, and CCM candidate John Pombe Magufuli was elected president with 58.50% of votes and a 65% voter turnout. Notably, however, the CCM’s share of total votes has continued to decline despite its majority. CCM defector, former prime minister and presidential candidate, Edward Ngoyai Lowassa, of the Party for Democracy and Progress (CHADEMA) won 40.0% of votes cast. Elections for the NA, or Bunge, were held on the same date, with the CCM winning 253 seats (55.04% of votes) and CHADEMA winning 70 seats (31.75% of votes).⁷

As in Tunisia, expert interview participants described the 2015 polls as both exciting and confusing. An anonymous MINDS alumni explained that in “previous years, the youth had no idea actually, how are we supposed to vote, why is the ruling party always taking part in the elections?” However, in 2015 the elections were “very different to previous years. It was more competitive and what I can say, at the end it was a fair election”, although she added that she found the results a “bit confusing” because she felt “most of the citizens, they were on the side of the opposition party because we wanted a change.”⁸ Mwimi (2016) described 2015 as “one of the hottest elections ever”, and a “tough election, where the government of the ruling party faced a strong opposition”. However, he also commented that CHADEMA’s goal to “prove to the public that the ruling party was bad” was complicated by the fact that Lowassa was himself a CCM defector.⁹ Researcher Stephen Mwombela agreed that these past polls were “the most contested election in our history in terms of enthusiasm, the candidates – particularly for president – and in terms of people’s participation.”¹⁰

1 Interview with Abdunuur Mwimi (M), MINDS Alumni, 21 June 2016.

2 The Commonwealth n.d., United Republic of Tanzania: History, <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/united-republic-tanzania/history>; Embassy of the United Republic of Tanzania n.d., About Tanzania, http://tanzaniaembassy-us.org/?page_id=92.

3 Embassy of the United Republic of Tanzania.

4 The Commonwealth n.d., United Republic of Tanzania: History, <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/united-republic-tanzania/history>

5 The Commonwealth n.d., United Republic of Tanzania: History, <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/united-republic-tanzania/history>

6 Election Guide, “Republic of Tanzania”, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/?inst=&cont=Tanzania&yr=>.

7 Election Guide, Republic of Tanzania – Election for President, 31 October 2010, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2164/>.

8 Interview with Anonymous (F, Tanzania), MINDS Alumni, 21 June 2016.

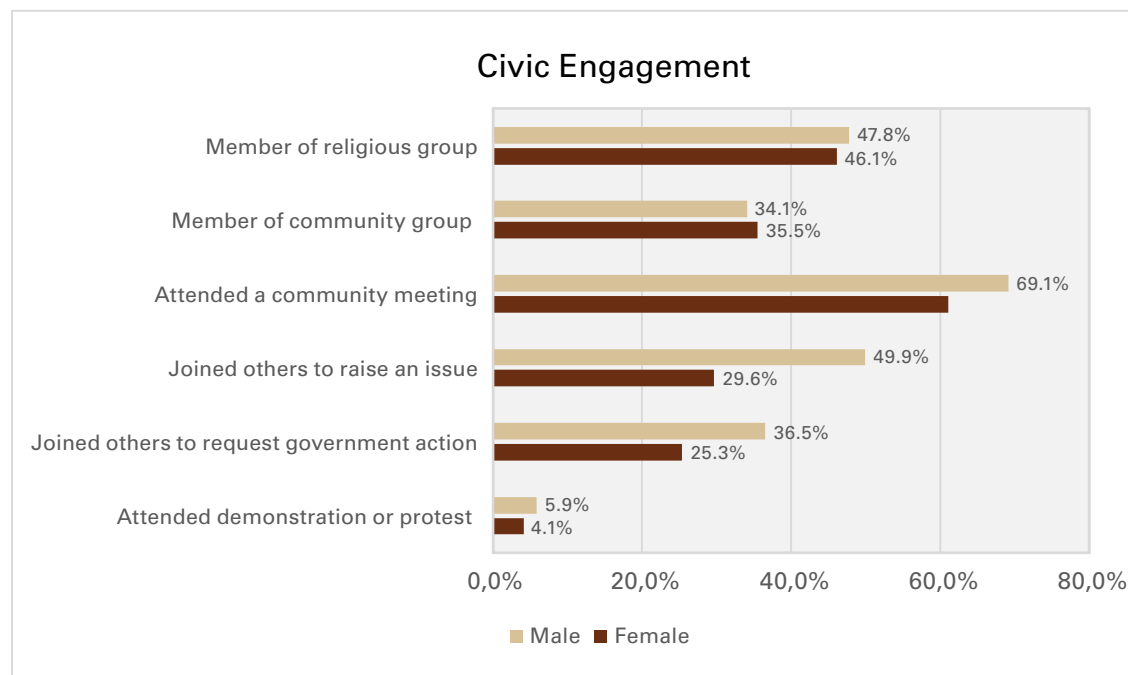
9 Mwimi 2016.

10 Interview with Stephen Mwombela, Researcher, REPOA Policy Research for Development, 29 July 2016.

6.2 Civic engagement

The research found that civic engagement was relatively high among Tanzanian youth. Close to half (47.8% of males, 46.1% of females) were members of religious organisations that met outside of worship services, and about a third (34.1% of males and 35.5% of females) were members of voluntary or community organisations (see Figure 13). There were also high levels of self-participation in a range of different types of collective actions. As shown in Figure 13, 69.1% of males and 61.1% of females had attended a community meeting in the past year. Males were more likely than females, however, to have joined others to raise an issue (49.9% of males, compared with 29.6% of females) or joined others to demand an action from government (36.5% of males, compared with 25.3% of females). Participation in demonstrations or protest marches was far lower, at around 5%.

Figure 13: Youth civic engagement by gender, Tanzania 2014



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, Tanzania, 2014

Interview participants were asked about these relatively high levels of youth civic participation and engagement. Mwombela (2016) agreed that youth are active in civic life, and added that challenges with low levels of education across Tanzania have not prevented engagement in this respect.¹¹ Another MINDS alumni explained that many young people have become involved in civil society organisations because they believe this is “the only way for them to raise their voices ... because the government is not there to speak for them”. She added that, increasingly, youth organisations have been forming partnerships and working together.¹²

6.3 Political engagement

Young Tanzanians constitute a significant portion of the electorate, and research found that political parties have increasingly vied for youth support. As discussed above, the 2015 elections were arguably the most contested since the transition to multi-party democracy, and they garnered voter interest in the “prospect of the kind of political change most young people [had] never seen before”. Much of Lowassa’s campaign focused on priority issues for young people, including promises of mass job creation and free education from primary to tertiary level.¹³

¹¹ Mwombela 2016.

¹² Anonymous (F.Tanzania) 2016.

¹³ Tracey, L 2015, “What role for Tanzania’s youth in the election?,” Institute for Security Studies, 26 October, <https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/what-role-for-tanzanias-youth-in-the-election>.

Perceptions about elections

Afrobarometer fieldwork was conducted in Tanzania about a year before the presidential and NA polls were held in October 2015. More than eight in ten youth (80%) agreed that leaders should be chosen through regular, open and honest elections, as shown in Table 14. However, while about two-thirds of youth (65.9%) described the 2005 national elections as completely free and fair, the same was true of only 42.1% of youth regarding the 2010 elections.

Table 14: Youth perceptions of elections, Tanzania 2008, 2014

ELECTIONS	2005 Elections (Round 4, 2008)			2010 Elections (Round 6, 2014)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
How leaders should be chosen						
Regular, open elections	79.6%	81.5%	80.6%	81.3%	81.8%	81.6%
Other methods	19.5%	17.1%	18.2%	17.7%	16.1%	16.9%
Neither	.7%	.6%	.7%	.4%	.7%	.5%
Freeness and fairness of last election						
Completely free and fair	62.1%	69.0%	65.9%	39.0%	45.0%	42.1%
Free and fair, minor problems	24.3%	20.0%	22.0%	33.5%	31.0%	32.2%
Free and fair, major problems	6.1%	4.7%	5.3%	10.6%	7.5%	9.0%
Not free and fair	4.6%	1.6%	3.0%	7.4%	4.3%	5.8%

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 4 (2008) and 6 (2014), Tanzania

Voter turnout and campaign participation

Some reports, including that of the European Union Election Observation Mission, indicated that youth turnout at the polls in 2010 was low. This conclusion was based only on observations, as age-disaggregated data was not released.¹⁴

Afrobarometer results showed something of a different picture. As shown in Table 15, 61.4% of youth indicated that they had voted in the 2010 polls, a much higher rate than the reported turnout of 43%.¹⁵ However, this was a sizeable decline from the 78.8% who said that they had voted in the 2005 elections. Youth participated in a range of election-related activities in 2010, although this was more common among young men than women. More than half of all males attended campaign rallies (65.1%) or meetings (53.5%), and a further 28.8% persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party.

Table 15: Youth political participation, Tanzania 2008, 2014

VOTING & CAMPAIGNING	2005 Elections (Round 4, 2008)			2010 Elections (Round 6, 2014)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Voter behaviour in last election						
Voted in the elections	80.7%	77.1%	78.8%	64.6%	58.5%	61.4%
Was not registered to vote*	8.5%	13.2%	11.1%	4.2%	4.1%	4.2%
Was too young to vote*			11.1%	11.5%	11.3%	
Decided not to vote	3.2%	1.6%	2.3%	4.7%	7.0%	5.9%
Did not vote for another reason	7.6%	7.7%	7.6%	13.5%	17.0%	15.3%
Participation in campaigning**						
Attended campaign rally	-	-	-	65.1%	49.2%	56.8%
Attended campaign meeting	-	-	-	53.5%	34.5%	43.5%
Persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party	-	-	-	28.8%	14.3%	21.2%
Worked for a candidate or party	-	-	-	13.3%	5.8%	9.3%

*Asked as a single item in Round 4.

**These items were not included in Round 4.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 4 (2008) and 6 (2014), Tanzania

14 European Union Election Observation Mission 2010, Tanzania – Final Report General Elections October 2010, p. 36, in Youth Map Tanzania 2014, Youth Perspectives: 2015 Elections, http://www.ivfnet.org/sites/default/files/library/YouthMap_TZ_elections.pdf.

15 Election Guide, Republic of Tanzania – Election for President, 31 October 2010, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2164/>.

Likelihood of voting in future

In addition to comparatively high levels of voter turnout in the 2010 elections, most youth indicated that they planned to vote in 2015, and the majority were close to one specific political party (72.8%). As shown in Table 16, only 3.4% stated that they would not vote if an election were held tomorrow. The majority of both males and females supported the CCM (58.3%), followed by CHADEMA (18.9%). Notably, CCM presidential candidate, John Magufuli, received 58.5% of votes, a result very close to the levels of reported support in 2014. Lowassa, the candidate for a coalition of opposition parties called Ukawa, received 40% of presidential votes.

Table 16: Future youth voting behaviour, Tanzania 2008, 2014

VOTE FORTOMORROW	2008			2014		
Party*	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	69.9%	83.4%	77.3%	51.3%	64.7%	58.3%
Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)	6.1%	2.4%	4.1%	22.9%	15.2%	18.9%
The Civic United Front (CUF)	7.0%	2.8%	4.7%	4.3%	3.9%	4.1%
Would not vote	4.1%	1.2%	2.5%	3.9%	2.9%	3.4%
Refused	6.8%	5.3%	6.0%	5.4%	4.7%	5.0%
Don't know	4.9%	3.8%	4.3%	10.3%	7.2%	8.7%

* Includes all parties selected by >1% of survey respondents.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 4 (2008) and 6 (2014), Tanzania

Participation in the 2015 polls

Although the Afrobarometer data was collected before the 2015 polls, the research found that youth took an active part in election-related activities. According to Mwombela (2016), unprecedented numbers of Tanzanians registered to vote, and turnout at the polls was also high.¹⁶ Mwimi (2016) described how “students and youth in the streets took part” and many appeared to support the political opposition under Lowassa’s leadership.¹⁷ An anonymous expert commented that youth not only voted in the elections, but also “contested for Parliamentary positions” themselves.¹⁸

Both leading political parties also worked to appeal to young voters. CHADEMA launched the “4 U Movement”, which focused on priority concerns for this demographic, such as addressing unemployment and improving education. According to Mwombela (2016), the opposition targeted particularly youth with low levels of formal education, including *boda boda* drivers.¹⁹ The CCM enacted the “Aim for Change” campaign, involving artists, musicians and comedians in an effort to appeal directly to young voters.²⁰

Research also found, however, that some young Tanzanians were involved in negative kinds of election activities, including political patronage and even isolated incidents of violence.

According to expert interview participants, some politicians and parties sought to consolidate their support base through giving away money and motorbikes.²¹ An interim report released by the Coalition on Election Monitoring and Observation in Tanzania (CEMOT) described how “youth have been a trump card to political parties”, that attempted to use them “as a bridge to cross over to power”. In addition, the report found that “youth have also been instigators and victims of violence and have constituted a majority of those apprehended by the police suspected of various electoral related aggressions.”²²

16 Mwombela 2016.

17 Mwimi 2016.

18 Anonymous (F,Tanzania) 2016.

19 Mwombela 2016.

20 Mwimi 2016.

21 Mwimi 2016.

22 CEMOT, CEMOT Interim Report on the 2015 Elections, <http://uchaguziwetu2015.blogspot.co.za/2015/11/this-report-was-jointly-prepared-by-two.html>.

6.4 Influences on youth participation

The research found a number of factors that have influenced youth civic and political participation in Tanzania to date.

- **Dissatisfaction with government management of the economy.** According to some interview participants, recent youth civic and political engagement was motivated by a demand for a change in leadership, and dissatisfaction with the state of the economy. An anonymous expert commented that for “most of us, we wanted to realise those changes because we are not satisfied with how the ruling party is running the country – we wanted to demand for change due to the economic hardship of the country due to the last period of the government”. She described unemployment levels as high and health services as inadequate.²³ This comment echoes Afrobarometer survey results which found in 2014 that the largest percentage of youth identified health as the biggest problem that the government should address (see Table 4).
- **Gender obstacles to participation.** Survey data analysis showed that young women were much less likely to participate in a range of election-related activities than men. An expert interview participant explained that while female youth voted in the 2014 elections, many did not feel that they could actually contest for positions themselves.²⁴
- **Inter-generational party loyalty.** One expert commented that some young Tanzanians feel pressurised to support the party favoured by their parents and others within their family, rather than “because they had a particular drive to vote for that party.”²⁵

6.5 Encouraging future participation

Research participants raised a number of issues that may influence youth political participation in future.

- **More effective tallying and reporting of ballots.** Several experts described issues around the counting of votes in the 2015 election, and the confusion this caused. Lowassa claimed to have his own vote-tallying system which showed very different results from those reported by the electoral constitution, and later he alleged that results had been rigged. One expert concluded that “it seemed like it was kind of cooking the results in this situation, we don’t really know – it was confusing.”²⁶
- **Improving registration processes.** Mwombela (2016) described how, in his own experience in the lead-up to the 2014 polls, it took several days of standing in a queue to complete voter registration. This could be a potential deterrent, particular for young Tanzanians seeking to make a living and provide for their families.²⁷
- **Addressing youth concerns and priorities.** A study conducted by Youth Map Tanzania found that young people were seeking leaders who would address needs such as employment creation, socio-economic development and advocating for their rights.²⁸
- **Increasing voter education.** With growing political competition in Tanzania, research participants suggested that more voter education was needed, although some work had already begun in this regard, including government initiatives to increase voter awareness and monitor campaign activities.²⁹ Further, after reporting youth involvement in some incidents of election-related violence, the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) also recommended that the government should take “measures to strengthen the institutions responsible for youth socialisation in order to regulate their behaviour to enable them to become patient, responsible citizens and learning to control their emotions.”³⁰

6.6 Key findings

The following key findings emerged from research conducted on youth and elections in Tanzania.

- Throughout the post-independence period, Tanzania has been led by the CCM, even after the introduction of multiparty politics in the 1990s.
- The 2015 elections for the first time brought the possibility of a change in leadership, with the candidacy of Lowassa and CHADEMA.
- Research found that young Tanzanians are active within civil society, although young men participated more frequently in a variety of collective actions than young women.
- Most young Tanzanians supported the use of elections to choose leaders, despite the fact that the choice of candidates had been limited in the past. Survey results found that youth voter turnout was higher than national turnout in the 2010 polls. Participation in other types of election and campaign-related activities was higher among young men than young women.
- In 2014, most youth indicated that that would be likely to vote in a future election. Although there was no published data on actual youth turnout, research findings suggested participation in election-related activities was high. Political parties launched a number of initiatives to compete for the support of this constituency.
- The research identified a number of factors that have negatively influenced youth participation in Tanzania, including dissatisfaction with the government’s management of the economy, gendered obstacles discouraging women from running for elected office, and pressure on youth to support the same political parties as their parents and families.

Factors identified to increase youth participation in future included more effective systems for voter registration and for the tallying and reporting of results, as well as increased voter education and greater focus on issues of concern for young people.

23 Anonymous (F,Tanzania) 2016.

24 Anonymous (F,Tanzania) 2016.

25 Anonymous (F,Tanzania) 2016.

26 Mwimi 2016; Anonymous (F,Tanzania) 2016.

27 Mwimi 2016; Anonymous (F,Tanzania) 2016.

28 Tracey 2015.

29 Mwombela 2016.

30 TEMCO Election Observer Mission 2015, Interim Statement on Tanzania 2015 General Election, October, p. 19, http://www.temco.udsm.ac.tz/images/stories/Interim_Statements/TEMCO_INTERIM_STATEMENT_ON_TANZANIA_2015_GENERAL_ELECTIONS-ENG-VER.pdf.



**6/BURKINA
FASO**

Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso has a complex political history that, following the transition from colonial rule to independence, has been characterised by a long series of *coups* – some successful, some not – from 1966 to 2014. When long-serving President Blaise Compaoré attempted to amend the constitution and further extend his term in office, Burkinabé youth played a central role in the protests that ultimately led to the ousting of the regime, and peaceful democratic elections in 2015. In the period that followed, according to MINDS alumni, Boubakar Yougbare (2016), youth have “realised that getting involved or interested in politics is not something they should be thinking about, it’s a must!”

7.1 National political context

History

The French colony, the Republic of Upper Volta, gained independence in 1960 and its name was changed to Burkina Faso in 1984.² Maurice Yaméogo was the first president of the Republic of Upper Volta and held office from 1959 to 1966, when he was ousted in a military *coup* led by Sangoule Lamizana following the adoption of unpopular economic austerity measures.³ After dissolving parliament and adopting a new constitution, Lamizana remained president for 14 years before he was deposed in 1980 in the wake of a *coup* led by former cabinet minister Saye Zerbo. Serving only two years in office, Zerbo was ousted in 1982 by Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo, who was removed from office one year later by radical leftist Captain Thomas Sankara.⁴

Sankara espoused a Marxist and pan-Africanist political philosophy, and was sometimes referred to as “Africa’s Che Guevara.”⁵ Soon after taking control of the presidency, he launched a mass vaccination campaign, large-scale housing development and infrastructure projects, educational reforms and interventions to increase food security.⁶ However, Sankara was killed in *coup* led by his aide, Blaise Compaoré, a member of the Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP), in 1987.⁷

Political transition

Compaoré remained head of state in Burkina Faso until 2014. He was elected without opposition in 1991, and re-elected in 1998 and again in 2005. Compaoré attempted to amend the constitution in order to run for another term in office, but this plan was met with widespread protests in 2013 and 2014. When the revisions to the constitution were ultimately passed by the NA in October of 2014, students and workers launched a massive strike action that became known as the Third Term Revolution.⁸ Burkinabé youth were at the centre of these protests, and occupied the streets of the capital city of Ouagadougou “for nearly a week, declaring their opposition to the president’s plan.”⁹ Compaoré resigned and the military took power, first under the leadership of General Honoré Traoré and then under Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Zida.¹⁰

Foreign Minister Michel Kafando was appointed interim president in late November, and an agreement was reached to establish a transitional government which would lead the country until elections could be held in 2015.¹¹ An international warrant was issued for Compaoré’s arrest for his role in the assassination of Thomas Sankara after he was deposed from office. However, he was granted citizenship in Côte d’Ivoire in 2016, “effectively ending the prospect of his extradition to face murder charges” in Burkina Faso.¹²

Recent elections

Given Burkina Faso’s political history, the November 2015 presidential and NA elections were both highly anticipated and closely observed. The elections were widely regarded as successful, and were described by an African Union (AU) observer mission as transparent, peaceable and “in accordance with standards recognised by the African Union and the international community.” The interim statement issued by the mission added that the “Burkinabé people, political actors and the Transition authorities [deserved] credit for the serene and tranquil atmosphere within which the elections were conducted.”¹³

In the presidential election former prime minister, Roch Marc Christian Kaboré of the People’s Movement for Progress (MPP), won 53.49% of the national vote, defeating former economy and finance minister, Zéphirin Diabré, of the Union for Progress and Change (UPC) (29.65% of the vote). The MPP (55 seats) also won a majority of seats in the NA, followed by the UPC (33 seats).¹⁴

1 Interview with Boubakar Yougbare (M), MINDS Alumni, 22 June 2016.

2 Ambassade de Burkina Faso à Taiwan, <http://ambaburkina-tw.org/spip.php?article43&lang=en>.

3 Kuba, R & Claver Hein, P 2001, “Burkina Faso”, in CR Ember and M. Ember (eds.), Countries and Their Cultures, vol 1, New York, Macmillan Reference USA.

4 BBC 2016, “Burkina Faso profile – Timeline”, BBC, 17 January, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13072857>.

5 Al Jazeera 2015, “Ex-president wanted over killing of Thomas Sankara”, Al Jazeera, 22 December, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/arrest-warrant-blaise-compaore-sankara-killing-151221171346675.html>.

6 Adelaide, U 2016, “Achievers: Thomas Sankara”, The New Times, 13 April, <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2016-04-13/198898/>.

7 BBC 2016, “Burkina Faso profile – Timeline”, BBC, 17 January, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13072857>.

8 Bertelsmann Stiftung, Transformation Index 2016: Burkina Faso Country Report, https://www.bti-project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2016/pdf/BTI_2016_Burkina_Faso.pdf.

9 Neumann, E 2014, “What Will Be the Outcome of Burkina Faso’s Youth Revolution?”, Takepart, <http://www.takepart.com/article/2014/11/02/what-will-be-outcome-burkina-fasos-youth-revolution>.

10 Blas, J 2014, “Coup leaders in chaos-hit Burkina Faso urged to hand over power to a civilian government”, The Financial Times, 3 November, p. 6.

11 BBC 2016, “Burkina Faso profile – Timeline”, BBC, 17 January, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13072857>; Al Jazeera 2014, “Burkina Faso appoints transitional government”, Al Jazeera, 24 November, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/11/burkina-faso-appoints-transitional-government-20141123225514740864.html>.

12 Butty, J 2015, “Former Burkina Faso President Wanted for Killing of Thomas Sankara”, Voice of America, 2 December, <http://www.voanews.com/content/former-burkina-faso-president-wanted-for-killing-of-thomas-sankara/3113160.html>; BBC News 2016, “Burkina Faso ex-leader Blaise Compaore becomes Ivorian”, BBC, 24 February, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-35650193>.

13 African Union Election Observation Mission 2015, Burkina Faso Presidential and Legislative Elections on 29 November 2015, 3 December, <http://www.au.int/en/newsevents/19421/burkina-faso-presidential-and-legislative-elections-29-november-2015#sthash.aeUWthXn.dpuf>.

14 Election Guide, Burkina Faso: 29 November 2015, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2501/>; BBC 2016, “Burkina Faso profile – Timeline”, BBC, 17 January, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13072857>.

7.2 Civic engagement

The research found evidence of a vibrant civil society sector in Burkina Faso, which had focused on democracy and bringing about political change in the country in recent years.¹⁵ Cheick Faycal Traoré, Special Envoy for Youth Inclusion in the UN Post-2015 Development Agenda and the Governance of Burkina Faso, credited the youth for leading Burkina Faso's revolution. Traoré suggested that young Burkinabés have “always had a strong culture of activism,” and recalled their support for Sankara's insurrection in 1983. According to Traoré, the demonstrations that ultimately led to Compaoré's removal from office

... occurred because the Burkinabé youth were disillusioned and weary regarding the absence of any youth representation in the political decision-making process, despite making up nearly 73% of the entire population. The marginalised Burkinabé youth showed their displeasure by orchestrating a well prepared and well-planned uprising.¹⁶

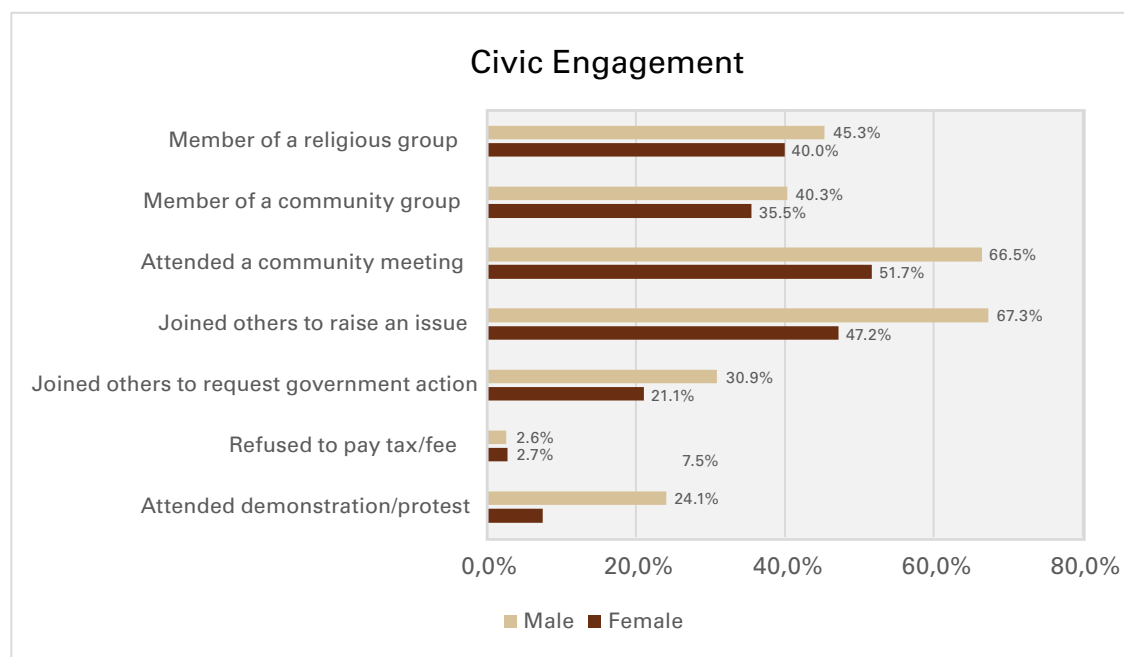
Traoré observed that there are “nearly 2000 youth-led organisations within the country and young people are extremely active through diverse initiatives that have many positive social impacts.”¹⁷

A range of artists and grassroots activists were also involved in leading the Burkinabé movement for a change of government. In 2013, popular musicians Smockey and Sams'k Le Jah launched the *Balai Citoyen* (Citizens' Broom) initiative, which aimed to “‘sweep out’ poor governance and preserve the presidential term limit” and quickly established “affiliated ‘clubs’ in all of Ouagadougou's neighbourhoods and in most major cities.” These clubs appealed to disenfranchised youth and “drew many more into active participation in anti-government protests.”¹⁸ However, while Sams'k Le Jah agreed that the elections were a positive sign of change, the artist also recalled Kaboré's role in the Compaoré regime, commenting that members of the “old political class” continued to dominate electoral politics.¹⁹

Chantal Naré (2016), a MINDS alumni and activist, explained that many new initiatives and organisations also came into being after the insurrection. These included increased dialogue and debate through journalism and social media, new educational programmes and civic organisations. Through this process, youth have increasingly become “civically engaged citizens of Burkina Faso.”²⁰

As discussed in Section 2, levels of youth civic participation in Burkina Faso were among the highest in all the countries included in this study (see Figure 8). As shown in Figure 14, high percentages of young men in particular had attended community meetings (66.5%), joined others to raise an issue (67.3%) or request an action from government (30.9%), or attended a protest or demonstration (24.1%) in the past year. Although civic participation was much lower among young women, about half indicated that they had attended a community meeting or joined others to raise an issue.

Figure 14: Youth civic engagement by gender, Burkina Faso 2015



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, Burkina Faso 2015

15 Bertelsmann Stiftung 2016.

16 Traore, F 2015, “Youth in Action: A success story from Burkina Faso”, One Young World, <https://www.oneyoungworld.com/blog/youth-action-success-story-burkina-faso/>.

17 Traore, F 2015, “Youth in Action: A success story from Burkina Faso”, One Young World, <https://www.oneyoungworld.com/blog/youth-action-success-story-burkina-faso/>.

18 Harsch, E 2014, “Citizens' Revolt in Burkina Faso”, African Futures, 9 December, <http://forums.ssrc.org/african-futures/2014/12/09/citizens-revolt-in-burkina-faso/>.

19 Harsch, E 2015, “Burkina Faso's Youth on Guard After Election Caps Turbulent Transition”, World Politics Review, 23 December, <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/17538/burkina-faso-s-youth-on-guard-after-election-caps-turbulent-transition>.

20 Interview with Chantal Naré (F) (translated from French), MINDS Alumni, June 2016.

7.3 Political engagement

Round 6 of the Afrobarometer survey was conducted between April and May of 2015, after the 2014 Third Term Revolution but before the November presidential and NA elections. Building on the momentum raised by civil society, campaigns were launched to involve youth as voters and election observers in the lead-up to the 2015 polls. According to Yougbare (2016), young people

... have realised that getting involved or interested in politics is not something they should be thinking about, it's a must. At least, they should get concerned about politics because at the end of the day, their life, their jobs will be influenced by politics.²¹

He added that "instead of complaining that government doesn't care about us, Burkina Faso's youth should rather fight better to get positions where policies are drafted."²²

Perceptions about elections

The 2015 elections were Burkina Faso's first openly contested polls. Given the country's history of frequent *coups* and the long-term tenure by a head of state, youth at this time demonstrated massive support for the use of regular, open and honest elections to choose leaders. As shown in Table 17, about 95% agreed in 2015 that leaders should be chosen through elections, and only 4% through other means. Only 40% described the previous polls, held in 2012, as completely free and fair (see Table 17).

Table 17: Youth perceptions of elections, Burkina Faso 2015

ELECTIONS	2015		
	Male	Female	Total
How leaders should be chosen			
Regular, open elections	94.8%	95.0%	94.9%
Other methods	5.2%	3.5%	4.2%
Neither	0.0%	.8%	.5%
Freeness and fairness of last election			
Completely free and fair	39.8%	40.0%	40.0%
Free and fair, minor problems	26.1%	21.6%	23.5%
Free and fair, major problems	14.3%	12.4%	13.2%
Not free and fair	11.5%	8.0%	9.4%
Don't know	8.3%	16.8%	13.2%

Source: Afrobarometer Round 6 (2015), Burkina Faso

Expert interview participants also reflected on this robust support for the principle of openly contested polls. Yougbare (2016) described how "during the demonstrations, youth wanted to give a clear message to President Compaoré that after 27 years on power, he can't still be thinking that he is the only Burkinabé fit for the office of the president. It was enough and he had to go."²³ Naré (2016) added that before 2015, Burkinabés had no real experience of elections, but participation increased significantly after the Third Term Revolution. However, Naré also added that, after the elections, she had observed some distrust towards the political system overall.²⁴

Voter turnout and campaign participation

Despite the dominance of Compaoré's CDP, Burkinabé youth reported moderate participation in the 2012 NA elections. Overall, 60% indicated that they had voted, although this was higher among men (64.8%) than women (56.5%). About one in five females (19.7%) indicated that they had not registered to vote, as shown in Table 18. Further, males were much more likely than females to have participated in all types of campaign activities (see Table 18).

²¹ Yougbare 2016.

²² Yougbare 2016.

²³ Yougbare 2016.

²⁴ Naré 2016.

Table 18: Youth political participation in 2012 NA elections, Burkina Faso 2015

VOTER BEHAVIOUR	Male	Female	Total
Voter behaviour in last election			
Voted in the elections	64.8%	56.5%	60.0%
Was not registered to vote	15.2%	19.7%	17.8%
Was too young to vote	7.4%	8.8%	8.2%
Decided not to vote	2.9%	2.9%	2.9%
Did not vote for another reason	9.7%	11.5%	10.8%
Participation in campaigning			
Attended campaign rally	44.7%	30.3%	36.4%
Attended campaign meeting	38.4%	23.7%	29.9%
Persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party	30.9%	13.2%	20.7%
Worked for a candidate or party	18.6%	6.5%	11.6%

Source: Afrobarometer Round 6 (2015), Burkina Faso

Youth were also asked, about six months before the 2015 polls, whether or not they would be likely to vote if an election “were held tomorrow”. Overall, very few answered that they would not vote (1.8%) but a high percentage (34.8%) were unsure, including 41.1% of young women. Among those who identified the party they would be likely to vote for, the majority supported the MPP. This pattern was borne out in the election results, when the MPP won 51.5% of NA votes and Kaboré won 53.5% of presidential votes (see Table 19).

Table 19: Intended youth voting behaviour and election results, Burkina Faso 2015

VOTE FORTOMORROW	Intended Vote			Poll Results	
Party*	Male	Female	Total	Pres.	NA
People’s Movement for Progress (MPP)	23.9%	14.2%	18.3%	53.5%	51.3%
Union for Progress and Change (UPC)	17.9%	11.9%	14.5%	29.6%	20.5%
Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP)**	6.0%	12.1%	9.5%	-	13.2%
Union for Rebirth - Sankarist Movement (UNIR/PS)	3.7%	3.1%	3.4%	2.8%	3.8%
Other	12.5%	10.6%	11.4%	-	-
Would not vote	2.0%	1.7%	1.8%	-	-
Refused to answer	7.7%	5.2%	6.3%	-	-
Don’t know	26.2%	41.1%	34.8%	-	-

* Includes all parties selected by >3% of survey respondents.

**The CDP was permitted to participate in elections for the NA, but not the presidency.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, Burkina Faso 2015; Election Guide.

7.4 Influences on youth participation

The research found a number of factors that influenced youth civic and political participation, both during and after the Third Term Revolution.

- **Gendered obstacles to participation.** Both Naré (2016) and Yougbare (2016) discussed the limited participation of women during the transitional period, particularly in terms of working directly with government or holding leadership positions. Yougbare recalled that “we have seen how strongly women were campaigning and demonstrating to defend democracy. They contributed a lot in that fight.” However, after the elections he concluded that relatively few women had been elected as Members of Parliament (MPs), despite guidelines related to gender representation on political party lists. He added that while “women were really involved, ultimately they were not able to reach higher positions in terms of influencing the national debate.”²⁵

25 Yougbare 2016.

- **Inadequate youth representation in government.** Both Naré (2016) and Yougbare (2016) also commented on the challenges of increasing youth representation in government. Yougbare personally stood for office as an MP, but ultimately did not win a seat in Parliament. He explained that some young people, including government officials and ministers between the ages of 35 and 40, became part of the government following the 2015 elections. However, as a former candidate himself, he explained that many youth did not have the resources to run for office effectively, particularly when some older and more powerful candidates were able to give cars and motorbikes to their supporters to “ride out into the villages and campaign on their behalf”.²⁶ Naré was optimistic, and mentioned that many youth had become involved in the work of the new government. An official framework for youth engagement was created, and a national youth treaty was also being developed. These interventions aimed to offer a formal structure for youth-led organisations to interact directly with political leaders and to increase inclusivity.²⁷

7.5 Encouraging future participation

The research also identified a number of strategies for increasing youth participation in future.

- **Focusing on justice and reconciliation.** Professor Augustin Loada emphasised the importance of justice and reconciliation in creating an increasingly stable political environment in Burkina Faso in the future. He noted that social cohesion had become “a bit damaged” following the insurrection, and efforts were required to reconcile people.²⁸
- **Increasing voter education.** Naré described voter education as one of the most critical interventions to ensure future participation by the youth and the public in general. She also stressed the need for more training and education within political parties and civil society organisations, preferably led by youth and targeting a maximum number of people.²⁹
- **Taking youth concerns and priorities into account.** Both Naré (2016) and Yougbare (2016) commented on the importance of ensuring that youth needs and concerns were taken into account in the drafting of policy and in the work of government more broadly. Naré (2016) also emphasised that political parties should ensure that their agendas and campaign policies were actually put into practice once they were elected.³⁰
- **Ensuring greater transparency.** Yougbare (2016) mentioned that as a result of high levels of civil society participation in the 2015 elections, there was a blurring of lines between CSOs and political parties, with some organisations receiving funding and “acting as if they are campaigning for a particular political party.” He suggested that going forward, there should be more transparency in terms of party activities and support, particularly where CSOs receive money for participating in political campaign activities.³¹

7.6 Key findings

The following key findings emerged from research on youth civic and political participation in Burkina Faso.

- Decades of political instability and successive *coups* in Burkina Faso ended in 2015 with the holding of peaceful and openly contested elections.
- Research found that young Burkinabés were actively involved in the Third Term Revolution, as were a number of popular artists and musicians who had strong support bases among the youth. Levels of civic engagement were also high, particularly among young men.
- Youth strongly supported the use of elections to choose leaders. At the time that the Afrobarometer survey was conducted, most intended to vote in the 2015 elections, but many were unsure of which candidates they would support.
- Factors identified as influencing participation negatively included gendered obstacles limiting the involvement of women, as well as the perception that youth were not adequately represented in government.
- Strategies identified for encouraging future youth participation included introducing a justice and reconciliation strategy to promote social cohesion, increasing voter education, ensuring that youth concerns and priorities were taken into account and greater transparency.

²⁶ Yougbare 2016.

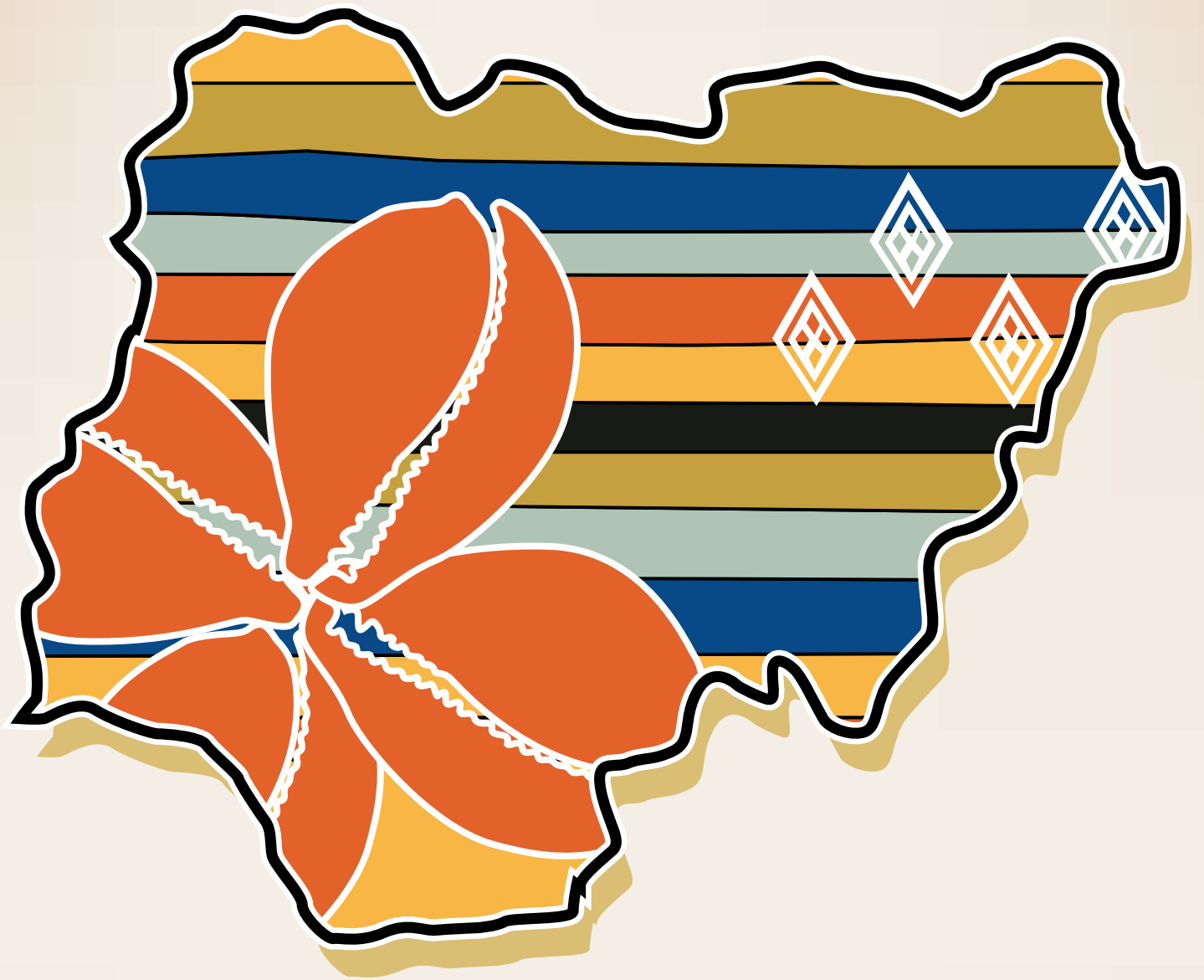
²⁷ Naré 2016.

²⁸ Interview with Prof Augustin Loada (M), 14 July 2016.

²⁹ Naré 2016.

³⁰ Yougbare 2016; Naré 2016.

³¹ Yougbare 2016.



7/NIGERIA

Nigeria

Nigeria's most recent round of elections, held in 2015, have been described as some of the most successful and robust in the country's post-independence history with the political opposition defeating the incumbent ruling party. Although voter turnout was moderate, the polls were declared free and fair. Research found that young Nigerians had participated in the elections in a variety of different ways, including as voters, observers and polling officers, but relatively few youth had taken up leadership positions in the new government.

8.1 National political context

History

Nigeria gained independence from Britain in 1960 and Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of the prominent Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), became its first president.¹ This first independent government remained in place until 1966, when it was ousted in a military *coup* in which the prime minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was assassinated.² Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi assumed control in the country but he was killed in a counter-*coup* several months later and replaced by Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon. The following years saw the outbreak of violent civil war as three eastern states seceded, forming the Republic of Biafra. Gowon was overthrown in 1975 and replaced by Brigadier Murtala Ramat Mohammed, who was in turn killed in a failed *coup* attempt the following year, placing Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo in power.³

Elections were held in 1979 with the goal of the country returning to civilian rule.⁴ Alhaji Shehu Shagari was elected president in 1979 and re-elected in September 1983, but was overthrown in a *coup* in December 1983 while his successor, Major General Buhari, was ousted in another *coup* in 1985. Although elections were held in 1993, results were annulled by the military. Power was transferred to an interim government, which was ousted only three months later by yet another military *coup* led by General Sani Abacha.⁵

Political transition and elections

Abacha remained head of state until his death in 1998. He was succeeded by Major-General Abdulsalami Abubakar, who ushered in a political transition programme leading to elections in 1999.⁶ Olusegun Obasanjo was elected president, and re-elected in 2003 amid what some observers labelled "serious irregularities".⁷ Following the end of the Obasanjo presidency, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) continued to win at the polls. PDP candidate Umaru Musa Yar'adua was elected president in 2007, and when he passed away in 2010, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan became the acting president – and was re-elected in 2011.

Recent elections

Orji (2015) has described many of Nigeria's previous elections as "characterised by attempts by the ruling parties to contrive and monopolise the electoral space and deliberately steer the process in their favour", including through " 'simulated' landslide victories" in 1964, 1983, 2003 and 2007.⁸ However, a number of institutional changes, including the establishment of an Electoral Reform Committee (ERC), contributed to more robust electoral processes and results in 2011 and 2015. Some of the Committee's recommendations were incorporated into amendments to the Constitution and Electoral Act, and new leadership was appointed to increase the credibility of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).⁹

The 2015 elections also brought about a change in the political trajectory of the PDP. The presidential incumbent was defeated for the first time in Nigeria's history, and the APC candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, won the presidency with 53.96% of votes. The APC also won 212 seats in the HR compared with 140 won by the PDP, although the party failed to achieve a two-thirds majority in the Senate. Voter turnout was somewhat lower than in previous elections, however, at 42% for the presidential polls and 39% for the HR.¹⁰

A number of reasons were put forward for former president Jonathan's defeat: the declining popularity of the PDP, a highly organised opposition campaign, allegations of corruption, and dissatisfaction with the national security situation following continued instability brought on by Boko Haram.¹¹ Jonathan was also accused of leading a "hate campaign" against Buhari, including by the PDP's National Working Committee (NWC), which maintained:

We (NWC members) did not lead the party to failure. We were not involved in the campaigns and our advice was ignored. If we had handled the campaign, Mr. President would have won the election.

The NWC concluded: "We cannot be held responsible when our advice was ignored."¹²

1 The Commonwealth n.d., Nigeria: History, <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/nigeria/history>.

2 Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Washington D.C. n.d., Nigeria: Past, Present and Future, <http://www.nigeriaembassyusa.org/index.php?page=nigeria-past-present-and-future>.

3 BBC News 2015, "Nigeria profile – Timeline", BBC News, 12 June, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13951696>.

4 Orji, N 2015, "The 2015 Nigerian general elections/Die allgemeinen Wahlen in Nigeria 2015", Africa Spectrum vol. 50, no. 2, August, p. 73.

5 BBC News 2015, "Nigeria profile – Timeline", BBC News, 12 June, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13951696>.

6 Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Washington D.C. n.d.

7 BBC News 2015, "Nigeria profile – Timeline", BBC News, 12 June, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13951696>.

8 Orji 2015.

9 Orji 2015.

10 Election Guide, Federal Republic of Nigeria, <http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/158/>.

11 Zane, D 2015, "Nigeria's Goodluck Jonathan: Five reasons why he lost", BBC News, 31 March, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-32136295>;

Siollun, M 2015, "How Goodluck Jonathan lost the Nigerian election", The Guardian, 1 April, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/01/nigeria-election-goodluck-jonathan-lost>; Sotubo, 2015, "Jonathan lost because of hate campaign against Buhari", PDP says", Pulse Nigeria, 5 May, <http://pulse.ng/politics/nigeria-elections-2015-jonathan-lost-because-of-hate-campaign-against-buhari-pdp-says-id3725776.html>;

Winsor, M. 2015, "Nigeria Elections 2015: Jonathan's PDP Loses Senate Majority To Buhari's APC", International BusinessTimes, 1 April, <http://www.ibtimes.com/nigeria-elections-2015-jonathans-pdp-loses-senate-majority-buharis-1867322>.

12 Sotubo 2015.

8.2 Civic engagement

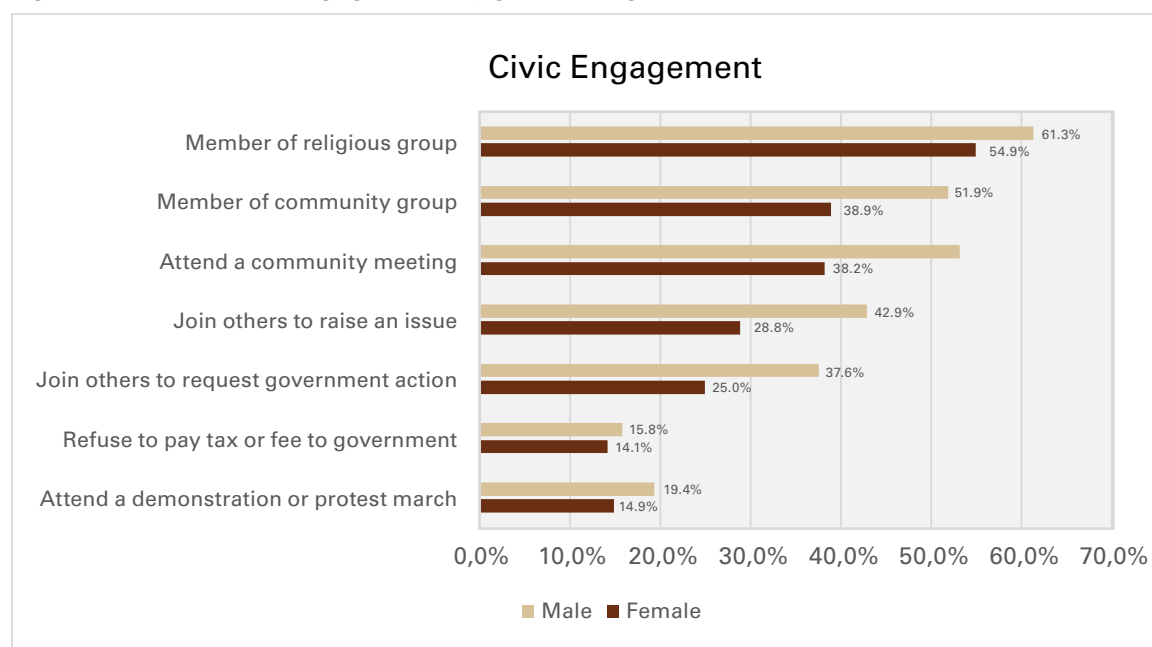
The research found that overall, young Nigerians were actively engaged in civic life. According to Ify Ogo, a MINDS alumni and doctoral student, Nigerian civil society has expanded since 1999. Citizens were “invigorated” and actively engaged in an environment that is relatively open and free.¹³ Safiya Bichi, a Senior Research Officer at the Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement (YIAGA), also observed that the number of both partisan and non-partisan CSOs in the country has continued to grow.¹⁴

Afrobarometer survey results also confirmed high levels of civic engagement, among young men in particular. As shown in Figure 15, 61.3% of males and 54.9% of females belonged to a religious group that met outside of regular worship services. Just over half of males, and 38.9% of females, were members of community or voluntary groups. Nigerian youth also reported taking part in a variety of collective actions in the past year. More than half of all young men (53.2%), and 38.2% of young women, indicated that they had attended a community meeting within the past year. Males were also more likely to have joined others to raise an issue (42.9%, compared with 28.8% of women) or to demand an action from government (37.6%, compared with 25.0% of women).

Young Nigerians demonstrated relatively high levels of participation in protest activities, when compared with other countries included in this study. About 15% of both males and females indicated that they had refused to pay a tax or fee to the government in the past year. A further 19.4% of males and 14.9% of females had attended a demonstration or protest march in the past year, as shown in Figure 15.

Expert interview participant, Abiodun Ajijola, commented that although levels of civic engagement are high, young Nigerians have “not come up with a unified agenda on their concerns and issues”. Further, he added that there is a kind of “restlessness” among youth in the country, related to issues such as security concerns in the Niger Delta.¹⁵

Figure 15: Youth civic engagement by gender, Nigeria 2014/15



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6 (2014 – 2015), Nigeria

13 Interview with Ify Ogo (F), MINDS Alumni, 16 June 2016.

14 Interview with Safiya Bichi, Senior Research Officer, YIAGA, 19 July 2016.

15 Interview with Abiodun Ajijola (M), MINDS Alumni, 16 June 2016.

8.3 Political engagement

The research found that young Nigerians were highly involved in the 2015 elections, particularly because of the possibility of political change. The APC's election campaign built on this appetite for a disruption of the status quo, and promoted a "message of change with which it consistently challenged the PDP's nearly two-decade-long hegemony of Nigerian politics" which "reverberated throughout society, especially among the youth and the middle and lower classes." This including a focus on key priority issues such as education, employment, and security.¹⁶ Writing for *The Guardian Nigeria* in the lead-up to elections, Henry Ezeah described the 2015 polls as a "truly a defining moment for youths with political ambitions" but also warned that a lack of change in the status quo would likely "encourage political apathy" among youth or "leave them with no choice but to wallow in their pessimism and despondency."¹⁷

Perceptions about elections

Nigeria has held five rounds of successful openly contested national elections, including the 2015 polls. The Afrobarometer survey found that most youth supported the use of elections to choose leaders (76.6%), and this has increased over time. While 30.2% of youth felt that leaders should be chosen through other means in 2008, this decreased to 22.5% by 2015, as shown in Table 20. Further data analysis showed that education levels were predictors of support for the use of elections to choose leaders: youth with higher education levels were more likely to support the use of elections to choose leaders than the less educated.¹⁸ The research also found some moderate improvement in evaluations of recent national elections. While only 6.8% of youth described the 2007 elections as completely free and fair, this increased to 18.2% following the 2011 elections (see Table 20).

Table 20: Youth perceptions of elections, Nigeria 2008, 2015

ELECTIONS	2007 Elections* (Round 4, 2008)			2011 Elections (Round 6, 2015)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
How leaders should be chosen						
Regular, open elections	69.1%	67.6%	68.3%	76.4%	76.8%	76.6%
Other methods	29.5%	30.7%	30.2%	22.8%	22.1%	22.5%
Neither	.8%	.8%	.8%	.3%	.4%	.3%
Freeness and fairness of last national election						
Completely free and fair	7.3%	6.3%	6.8%	17.4%	18.9%	18.2%
Free and fair, minor problems	22.3%	25.9%	24.2%	28.5%	25.1%	26.7%
Free and fair, major problems	26.2%	24.5%	25.3%	27.2%	24.4%	25.8%
Not free and fair	40.6%	36.7%	38.6%	22.3%	24.4%	23.4%

* Round 4 data was used because both Rounds 5 and 6 asked respondents about the 2011 elections.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 4 (2008) and 6 (2014-2015), Nigeria

Voter turnout and campaign participation

National voter turnout in the 2011 presidential elections was 52%, and Afrobarometer survey results show that this was comparable to turnout levels among youth voters.¹⁹ As shown in Table 21, 52.6% of youth reported that they voted in the polls, although this percentage was again higher among males (57.7%) than females (47.9%). This did, however, represent a decline from higher self-reported turnout in the 2007 elections, at 60.4%. Participation in other activities related to the 2011 elections was also moderate, with only about one in five youth (22.9%) indicating that they had attended a campaign meeting or rally or had tried to convince others to vote for a specific candidate or party (21.1%). Again, participation was higher among males than females, in terms of attending campaign rallies (30.0%), attending campaign meetings (23.9%), persuading others how to vote (26.9%) and working directly for a candidate or party (21.7%)(see Table 21).

16 Orji 2015.

17 Ezeah, H 2015, "The youth and 2015 general elections," *The Guardian Nigeria*, 26 January, <http://guardian.ng/features/youthspeak/the-youth-and-2015-general-elections-1/>.

18 A linear regression test was significant at the 0.01 level.

19 Election Guide, Federal Republic of Nigeria, Election for President, 16 April 2011, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2190/>.

Table 21: Youth political participation, Nigeria 2008, 2015

VOTING & CAMPAIGNING	2007 Elections (Round 4, 2008)			2011 Elections (Round 6, 2015)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Voter behaviour in last election						
Voted in the elections	67.2%	54.0%	60.4%	57.7%	47.9%	52.6%
Was not registered to vote	4.8%	4.7%	4.8%	5.0%	6.3%	5.7%
Was too young to vote				9.4%	10.9%	10.2%
Decided not to vote	13.3%	19.6%	16.6%	10.4%	12.7%	11.6%
Did not vote for another reason	14.0%	21.1%	17.7%	16.0%	20.6%	18.3%
Participation in campaigning**						
Attended campaign rally	-	-	-	30.0%	16.3%	22.9%
Attended campaign meeting	-	-	-	23.9%	13.1%	18.3%
Persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party	-	-	-	26.9%	15.7%	21.1%
Worked for a candidate or party	-	-	-	21.7%	11.7%	16.5%

**These items were not included in Round 4.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 4 (2008) and 6 (2014-2015), Nigeria

Intended participation in the 2015 elections

Moderate to low levels of past youth political participation appeared set to change with the 2015 elections. Bichi (2015) described an “unprecedented level of voter enthusiasm” in the lead-up to the polls, which included “passionate opinions shared by both young people and old people in the pre-election environment”.²⁰ When youth were asked about how likely there were to vote, 81.9% of males and 72.2% of females answered that they would probably or almost certainly cast a ballot. Further analysis showed that gender was a significant predictor of likelihood of voting.²¹ Party support within the youth sub-sample was almost evenly divided, as shown in Table 22. Overall, 38.3% of youth indicated that they were likely to vote for the APC and 37.9% for the PDP. Similarly, when asked about which candidate was likely to win the presidential polls, 38.0% predicated the APC and 40.0% the PDP.

Table 22: Youth likely voting behaviour and expected winner, Nigeria 2014/15

Voting behaviour	Likely vote			Expected presidential winner		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Party*						
All Progressive Congress (APC)	40.3%	36.3%	38.3%	40.4%	35.7%	38.0%
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	38.5%	37.4%	37.9%	40.3%	39.7%	40.0%
Democratic People's Party (DPP)	1.3%	1.0%	1.1%	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%
Conscience People's Congress (CPC)	1.4%	1.9%	1.6%	1.5%	1.9%	1.7%
Would not vote	3.8%	5.6%	4.7%	-	-	-
Refused to answer	5.9%	6.4%	6.1%	4.9%	5.5%	5.2%
Don't know	6.8%	8.1%	7.4%	9.7%	13.4%	11.6%

* Includes all parties selected by >1% of survey respondents.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 6 (2014 – 2015), Nigeria.

²⁰ Bichi 2016.

²¹ A linear regression test was significant at the .01 level.

Post-election analysis

As in most other countries, voter turnout data was not disaggregated by age following the 2015 polls, although Bichi (2016) mentioned that this might still happen because electronic systems were used. Overall, national turnout was fairly low, at 42% for the presidential polls and 39% for the HR.²² Bichi noted that this represented a net decline in turnout for the presidential elections, “at 43.65% in 2015 and 53.68% in 2011.”²³ Some analysts interpreted this as an indication of political disengagement. Fagunwa (2015) blamed low turnout to the lack of differentiation, strong ideological platforms or “well-articulated policies” among political parties. This generated particular voter apathy among youth, despite their size and strength as a portion of the electorate, and as a result Fagunwa suggested that many were “uninterested in the country’s elections” and “failed to perform their civic duties” by voting in 2015.²⁴

Other reports painted a somewhat different picture. YIAGA’s research found that youth were “actively involved” in the 2015 elections in a variety of ways, including as electoral officers, observers and party agents.²⁵ The INEC employed members of the National Youth Service Corps to assist with ad hoc jobs related to the administration of elections.²⁶ YIAGA also reported that according to its own observations, youth constituted “a significant number” of the voters who arrived to cast ballots at polling stations. For these reasons, the organisation concluded that “the large youth turnout in these various phases of the electoral process show some form of determination on the part of the youth to follow the process through to a logical conclusion.”²⁷ Ogo (2016) agreed that the 2015 elections saw an increased in youth-owned, youth-driven and youth-led movements.²⁸

However, YIAGA also found a troubling “dark side” to youth participation, observing deliberate disruptions at polling stations, harassment of both voters and officials, incidents of violence, and even attempts to buy and sell votes and steal ballot boxes.²⁹ According to Ajijola (2016), some youth were involved in political processes in the “wrong ways”, in part because they “earn a pittance and can easily be engaged” by candidates or political parties to instigate disruptions and even violence at polling stations.³⁰

The research also found some criticism, as in other countries featured in this study, of the failure of government and political parties to incorporate youth into representative and leadership positions after elections were over.³¹ Election law sets the minimum age for election as president or vice president at 40 years old, 35 for the Senate and 30 for the HR.³² Columnist O’Femi Kolawole noted that none of the new ministers appointed to the Buhari administration were under the age of 40. Taking into account the role of the youth in “mobilising one another across the length and breadth of the country” in support of the APC, as well as in “actually walking the talk by casting their votes”, he expressed surprise that young Nigerians were not “compensated” by including at least “one or two youths” in the new cabinet. Laying the blame for this lack of representation with Buhari and the APC, Kolawole commented:

I find it worrisome and extremely disappointing that the President couldn’t find one or two Nigerians, who fall within the youth age bracket, in Nigeria or overseas, who are up to it in patriotism, competence, intellectual soundness, maturity, integrity, or ability to deliver, who can be in his team.³³

It remains to be seen whether this will affect support for the APC going forward.

8.4 Influences on youth participation

The research identified a number of factors that have influenced youth civic and political participation in Nigeria. These were generally positive, and emphasised growing interest and value placed on elections and democratic processes.

- **Growing awareness about elections in Nigeria.** Experts suggested that increased youth participation might be the result of greater awareness, better understanding of how to participate in electoral processes, and increased confidence among young people in their ability to raise issues, particularly through social media. Ajijola (2016) added that, in general, Nigerians were “beginning to understand that they don’t have to be afraid of voting or participating in elections. You can be a part without any violence.”³⁴ Ogo (2016) also described a growing sense that democracy and elections are “a process that citizens need to guard and protect” with vigilance. She recalled during both the 2011 and 2015 elections Nigerians “in the country and in the diaspora were gathered around TV sets with excel sheets watching elections results and the vote counting.” She added that a “Buhari meter” was set up to measure how the president fared on the promises made during the election.³⁵

22 Election Guide, Nigeria, <http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/158/>.

23 Bichi 2016.

24 Fagunwa, TC 2015, Voter Apathy and Nigeria’s Electioneering Process: A Synopsis on the 2015 General Elections, Conference Paper for the INEC, <http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Conference-Paper-by-Christopher-Lambiko-Fagunwa.pdf>.

25 Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement (YIAGA) 2016, “Youth Participation in Nigeria’s 2015 General Elections: YIAGA’s observation report,” <http://yiaga.org/tag/youth-participation-in-the-2015-nigerians-elections/>.

26 Harris, SB 2015, Assessing the Participation of Youth Corps Members in the 2015 Electoral Processes, Independent National Electoral Commission, <http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Conference-Paper-by-Shehu-Bello-Idris.pdf>.

27 YIAGA 2016.

28 Ogo 2016.

29 YIAGA 2016.

30 Ajijola 2016.

31 Sotunde, B 2014, “Nigeria: Young people seek active role in politics,” Rural Reporters, 23 December, <http://ruralreporters.com/nigeria-young-people-want-to-be-a-part-of-politics/>.

32 Faruk, I 2016, “Engaging Nigeria’s Youths in Political Processes after the 2015 General Elections,” YIAGA, 29 March, <http://yiaga.org/engaging-nigerias-youths-in-political-processes-after-the-2015-general-elections-by-ibrahim-faruk/>.

33 Kolawole, O 2015, “Why Nigerian youths are losing out politically,” The Cable, 19 November, <https://www.thecable.ng/nigerian-youths-losing-politically>.

34 Ajijola 2016.

35 Ogo 2016. The “Buharimeter” was set up by the Centre for Democracy and Development, <http://www.buharimeter.ng/>.

- **Active role of the INEC.** According to Ajijola (2016), the electoral commission worked hard in the lead-up to the 2015 elections to “engage with stakeholders, including civil society”. He also credited the perception of greater transparency to INEC’s role in encouraging participation and debate.³⁶
- **Youth leadership in election campaigns.** Bichi (2016) described how the youth took an active leadership role in campaigning for the 2015 elections, which encouraged greater participation among their peers: “[Young Nigerians] controlled the campaigns. They engaged citizens in both policy discussions, whether – sorry to use that word – propaganda, saw young people taking centre stage, even the present ruling party had about three or four campaign groups that were dominated and driven by young people.”³⁷
- **Changing perceptions of politics.** Ajijola (2016) suggested that, in general, young Nigerians’ views of politics have become more positive, and some were “starting to think that they could even have careers in politics, and that you don’t have to be a bad or violent person to succeed”. He added that recent elections had been “of a better quality” and young candidates increasingly believed they could “actually win an election – whereas before it was impossible to defeat an incumbent and the person made sure they would be voted in again.”³⁸
- **Campaign focus on youth priority issues.** According to Bichi (2016), the focus of 2015 campaigning was largely on priority issues for youth, “from insecurity to corruption, and also issues around youth employment that were directly related to young people”. Further, Buhari developed a 100-day covenant with Nigerians, which appealed to young voters.³⁹

8.5 Encouraging future participation

The research identified a number of ways in which young Nigerians can be encouraged to participate more in future.

- **Focusing on education.** Survey data analysis showed that youth with higher levels of education were more likely to support the use of elections to choose leaders in Nigeria. Ogo (2016) also suggested that more voter education is needed.⁴⁰
- **Changing age limits for holding elected office.** Both Bichi (2016) and Ajijola (2016) mentioned the importance of changing laws that impose age restrictions on holding elected office. Ajijola (2016) observed that youth had increasingly captured voter support, had an advantage over older candidates in the social media space, and should be eligible to run for office.⁴¹ Bichi (2016) agreed that youth had become more interested in running for political office, but noted that some election results were nullified or cancelled when candidates were found to be under-age.⁴² She added that a bill, commonly referred to as the #NotTooYoungToRun Bill, was sponsored to reduce the age requirements for some elected officers, and had been supported by youth and a range of CSOs.⁴³
- **Building platforms for effective engagement.** Ogo (2016) suggested that in future, focus should be placed on building more effective platforms for greater engagement between youth, elected leaders and government, both during and outside of election times. She explained that some platforms do exist, including a recent competition called Aso Villa Demo Day to pitch ideas to the president, but more efforts are required.⁴⁴
- **Targeting female voters.** Given the gender differences in voter turnout and political participation more broadly, efforts to increase registration and engagement should target women.

36 Ajijola 2016.

37 Bichi 2016.

38 Ajijola 2016.

39 Bichi 2016.

40 Ogo 2016.

41 Ajijola 2016.

42 See also Owete, F 2015, “EXCLUSIVE: INEC clears underage candidates to contest Senate, House of Reps elections”, Premium Times, 20 January, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/175270-exclusive-inec-clears-underage-candidates-contest-senate-house-reps-elections.html>; Vanguard 2015, “Tribunal nullifies APC lawmaker’s election for not attaining 30yrs”, Vanguard, 6 October, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/10/tribunal-nullifies-apc-lawmakers-election-for-not-attaining-30yrs/>.

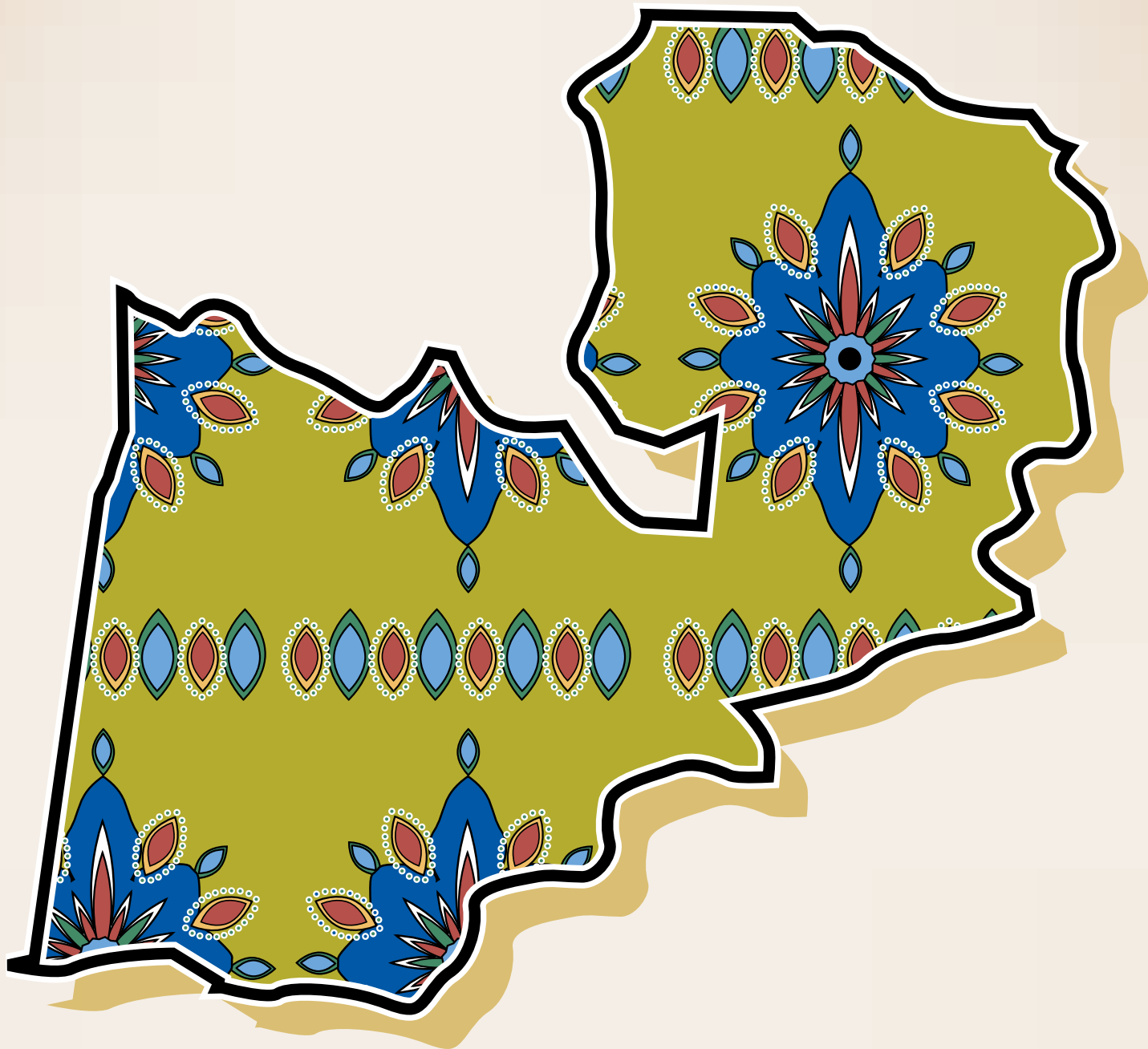
43 Bichi 2016.

44 Ogo 2016, see <http://www.avdd.gov.ng>.

8.6 Key findings

The following key findings emerge from research conducted on youth and elections in Nigeria.

- In the post-independence period, Nigeria's political stability was undermined by a series of *coups* and electoral irregularities. However, a number of institutional changes led to robustly contested and successful national polls in 2011 and 2015.
- The PDP consistently controlled the government of Nigeria until former President Goodluck Jonathan was defeated in the 2015 polls, ushering in an opposition government under the leadership of the APC. The APC's election campaign appealed to youth priorities and concerns, and offered a positive message of political change.
- The research found that Nigerian youth were actively engaged in civic life, but levels of participation were generally higher among young men than young women.
- Most Nigerian youth supported the use of elections to choose leaders, but prior to 2015, few described past elections as completely free and fair.
- Voter turnout at past elections has been moderate, both among youth and at the national level overall. This trend continued in the 2015 elections. However, research found that the levels and types of youth participation increased in 2015, and young Nigerians were involved as electoral officers, observers, party agents, and through the National Youth Service Corps. Some youth, however, were also reportedly involved in activities such as disruptions and intimidation at polling stations, the buying and selling of votes and attempts to steal ballot boxes.
- As is the case in other countries, research findings suggest that there was a missed opportunity in terms of youth actually taking up leadership positions within government, with blame partially attributed to political parties.
- Factors identified as influencing youth participation were generally positive, and included a growing interest in and awareness of elections, increased engagement by the INEC, the ascendance of youth into campaign leadership positions, a focus on youth priority issues, and a more optimistic outlook on politics overall.
- Research found that factors that could increase future participation included more voter education, increased platforms for effective youth engagement, targeting female voters, and changing laws preventing young candidates from running for office.



8/**ZAMBIA**

Zambia

Zambia has a long history of youth political activism, including during the time of the movement for independence from colonial rule by Britain. However, the post-independence government of former president Kenneth Kaunda grew increasingly restrictive during his term of office, which lasted nearly 30 years. The ushering in of a multiparty system led to openly contested elections during the 1990s but even then research found that young Zambians were more active in civic activities than in the political life of the country. One of the challenges identified by MINDS alumni Mweshi Ng'andu (2016) was that older people don't take youth seriously and are "kind of stuck in their ways, so when youth come with 'millennial thinking', ... it's not really received as well as it should be."¹

9.1 National political context

History

A former British colony, Zambia developed a growing liberation movement and achieved independence in 1964. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), was elected as the country's first president.² Over the course of three decades as head of state, Kaunda presided over what increasingly became a closed political system. In 1973, Zambia became a one-party state, through the adoption of a new constitution.³

Political transition

Internal dissent increased during Kaunda's term in office, and manifested in a failed *coup* plot, waves of union-led strikes and demonstrations against rising food prices during the 1980s.⁴ Eventually the ban on opposition political parties was lifted in 1990, and the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) was formed soon afterwards.⁵ Elections were held in 1991, and the UNIP was roundly defeated by the MMD. Trade union leader Frederick Chiluba was elected president. However, strikes continued in a worsening economic climate, and in 1993 a group of parliamentarians broke away from the MMD to form the National Party (NP).⁶

During the mid-1990s, the Zambian government led a contested process of constitutional redrafting, with the goal of prohibiting any president from serving more than two five-year presidential terms in office. Adopted months before the November 1996 elections, these changes meant that Kaunda was unable to run for president. Opposition parties boycotted the polls on this and other grounds, and the MMD and incumbent president Chiluba won the elections once again. As a result of the boycott, most opposition parties had minimal representation in the NA.⁷

In 2001, the MMD announced plans to "remove the legal encumbrances in the constitution" so that Chiluba could run for a third presidential term.⁸ However, Chiluba ultimately stepped down and was succeeded by former vice-president Levy Mwanawasa in the 2002 elections. He was re-elected in 2006 but died in office in 2008. Elections were held shortly after his death and MMD vice-president Rupiah Banda became the new president.⁹

Recent elections

The 2011 elections brought the political trajectory of the MMD to a sudden halt. Michael Chilufya Sata, presidential candidate of the breakaway Patriotic Front (PF), defeated incumbent Rupiah Banda by 42.9% to 36.2% of the national vote.¹⁰ However, Sata died three years later in October 2014. Vice-president Guy Scott became acting president, until by-elections were held on 20 January 2015.¹¹ The results were extremely close: PF candidate Edgar Lungu was elected president, narrowly defeating Hakainde Hichilema of the UPND by 48.3% to 46.7% of votes.¹²

1 Interview with Mweshi Ng'andu (F), MINDS Alumni, 28 June 2016

2 History World online n.d., History of Zambia, <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad27>.

3 History World online n.d., History of Zambia, <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad27>.

4 History World online n.d., History of Zambia, <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad27>.

5 The Commonwealth online n.d., Zambia: History, <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/zambia/history>.

6 History World online, n.d., History of Zambia, <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad27>.

7 The Commonwealth online n.d., Zambia: History, <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/zambia/history>.

8 IRIN 2001, "Chiluba's third term bid", IRIN News, 15 January, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/16682/zambia-chiluba's-third-term-bid>.

9 BBC News 2016, "Zambia profile – Timeline", BBC News 22 January, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14113084>.

10 Election Guide, Republic of Zambia: Election for President, Sept 20 2011, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2204/>.

11 BBC News 2016, "Zambia profile – Timeline", BBC News 22 January, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14113084>.

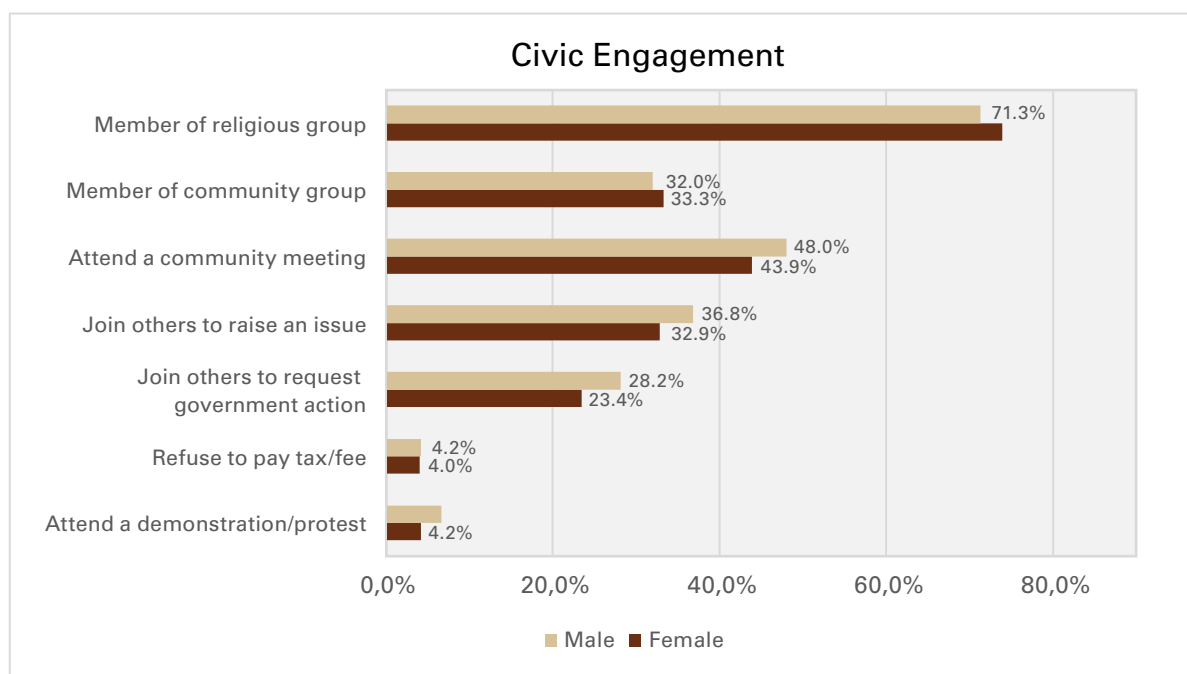
12 Election Guide, Republic of Zambia: Election for President, Jan 20 2015, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2814/>.

Presidential and NA elections were held on 11 August of 2016, with comparably close results. Lungu won 50.4% of presidential votes and Hichilema followed with 47.6%.¹³ The PF also led narrowly in the NA polls, winning 42.0% of votes (80 seats) compared with 40.4% (58 seats) for the UPND. Voter turnout was moderate at 55%.¹⁴ Hichilema and the UPND challenged the election results, alleging that votes were rigged.¹⁵ Although this challenge was ultimately dismissed by the constitutional court, Lungu was only inaugurated on 13 September and the intervening period saw a number of post-election protests, in which 150 people were arrested including MMD president Nevers Mumba.¹⁶ According to MINDS Alumni, Eness Mayondi, when she was interviewed on 30 August, delays to the presidential inauguration as a result of this court challenge led to a sense of unease and dissatisfaction among Zambians during this period.¹⁷

9.2 Civic engagement

The research found that Zambian youth were actively involved in religious organisations, but levels of other types of civic engagement were more moderate. As shown in Figure 16, over 70% of youth belonged to religious groups that met outside of regular worship services. However, the same was true of only about a third with regard to membership in voluntary or community organisations. About half of all males (48%) and 43.9% of all females had attended a community meeting in the past year, but participation in other types of collective action such as joining others to raise an issue (36.8% of males and 32.9% of females) or to request an action from government (28.2% of males and 23.4% of females) was lower. Very few youth had engaged in protest type actions, like refusing to pay a government fee or attending a demonstration or protest. A study conducted by Youth Map in 2014 found that the types of activities youth were typically involved in included religious communities, volunteering, sports clubs and youth groups.¹⁸

Figure 16: Youth civic engagement by gender, Zambia 2015



Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 6 (2015), Zambia

13 Election Guide, Republic of Zambia: Election for President, August 11 2016, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2884/>.

14 Election Guide, Republic of Zambia: Election for National Assembly, August 11 2016, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2770/>.

15 News 24 2016, "Zambia court throws out election result challenge", News 24, 5 September, <http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/zambia-court-throws-out-election-result-challenge-20160905-122>.

16 Chutel, L 2016, "It's just beginning: Zambia's president has finally won re-election, and now he just needs to save the economy from disaster", Quartz Africa, 13 September, <http://qz.com/780488/zambian-president-edgarlungu-is-inaugurated-as-opposition-parties-challenge-his-win-and-the-zambian-economy-struggles/>.

17 Interview with Eness Mayondi (F), MINDS Alumni, 30 August 2016.

18 Youth Map Zambia 2014, A cross-section analysis of youth in Zambia: Youth Map Assessment Report, May, https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1860/YouthMap_Zambia_Assessment.pdf.

Mweshi Ng'andu, a youth activist and MINDS alumni, discussed these moderate levels of civic participation. She explained that a "lot of young people in Zambia are looking for something to do but don't know where to start." However, she also mentioned that with the rise of social media, some are "very involved in talking on the Internet but don't actually want to get involved in anything."¹⁹

Research conducted in Zambia by the international NGO, Restless Development, also raised issues related to the youth sector overall. The organisation found "gaps in institutions dealing with young people, with many organisations operating as representatives of youth but not really standing for the needs of the young people" as well as limited cooperation and collaboration.²⁰ Similarly, Youth Map found that a number of dedicated institutions, such as the Youth Development Council and Youth Parliament, were relatively unknown.²¹

9.3 Political engagement

Overview

Overall, as with civic participation, the study found that Zambian youth were moderately engaged in the political life of the country. In 2014, Afrobarometer survey results showed that about half of all youth (56.6%) described themselves as interested in public affairs and 17.1% talked about politics often (see Figure 7). A study conducted by Youth Map in the same year (2014) found that many young Zambians participating in the research were "disengaged from the political process and [felt] excluded and marginalised." Reasons cited for non-participation included a lack of interest, a lack of opportunities and not having a voter's card. Notably, employed youth also felt they "did not have time to be involved in politics" or to wait in a line to vote when needing to earn an income.²²

However, the research also found signs of change, particularly related to the 2011 national elections, in which the MMD was defeated by the PF. Restless Development acknowledged youth as being "at the forefront of ushering in of the new government" with more than half of all registered voters under the age of 35.²³ Expert interview participant, Mulima Nyambe Mubanga, a National Investigator for Afrobarometer and a consultant at RuralNet Associates Ltd., described the 2011 elections as a "wind of change" that brought about high levels of political engagement among youth in particular.²⁴

Perceptions about elections

A retrospective comparison of Afrobarometer survey results confirmed that there have been changes in youth opinion about elections over time. In 2014, 80.8% of youth believed that leaders should be chosen through regular, open and honest elections, compared with 74.4% in 2009, prior to the 2011 polls. The percentage who agreed that leaders should be selected through other means decreased from 23.0% to 16.6% over the same period, as shown in Table 23. Survey results also showed a sizeable increase in positive evaluations about past national elections: while only 20.8% of youth agreed that the 2008 elections were completely free and fair, agreement increased to 58.1% after the 2011 polls.

Notably, in 2014 young men were more likely than young women to agree that leaders should be chosen through means other than elections. Further data analysis showed that gender was a significant predictor of support for selecting leaders through elections rather than through other methods.²⁵

Table 23: Youth perceptions of elections, Zambia 2009, 2014

ELECTIONS	2008 Elections* (Round 4, 2009)			2011 Elections (Round 6, 2014)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
How leaders should be chosen						
Regular, open elections	75.2%	73.7%	74.4%	86.7%	75.6%	80.8%
Other methods	23.3%	22.7%	23.0%	11.8%	21.0%	16.6%
Neither	1.3%	2.4%	1.9%	.9%	1.6%	1.3%
Freeness and fairness of last election						
Completely free and fair	21.6%	20.1%	20.8%	60.4%	55.9%	58.1%
Free and fair, minor problems	21.3%	23.9%	22.7%	18.9%	21.8%	20.4%
Free and fair, major problems	23.1%	19.9%	21.4%	11.1%	8.6%	9.8%
Not free and fair	30.0%	29.7%	29.8%	4.7%	5.0%	4.8%

* Round 4 data was used because both Rounds 5 and 6 asked respondents about the 2011 elections.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 4 (2009) and Round 6 (2014), Zambia.

¹⁹ Ng'andu 2016.

²⁰ Nyimbili, K 2012, "State of the Nation Report on Young People in Zambia," Restless Development, February, <http://restlessdevelopment.org/file/state-of-the-nation-2012-zam-pdf>.

²¹ Youth Map Zambia 2014.

²² Youth Map Zambia 2014.

²³ Nyimbili 2012.

²⁴ Interview with Mulima Nyambe Mubanga (F), 1 July 2016.

²⁵ A linear regression test was significant at the .01 level.

Voter turnout and campaign participation

Despite increased interest in the 2011 elections, survey results showed little change in self-reported voter turnout among Zambian youth. In 2009, 56.0% indicated that they had voted in the 2008 national elections, and this decreased marginally to 54.8% in the 2011 elections.

These figures were comparable to national turnout overall, which was 53% in both the presidential and NA polls.²⁶ Just over a third of youth attended campaign rallies ahead of the 2011 election (37.5%), although attendance was higher among males (43.7%) than females (31.9%). Participation in other election-related events was also moderate: 21.7% attended campaign meetings, 13.4% persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party and 11.9% worked for a candidate or party (see Table 24).

Table 24: Youth political participation, Zambia 2009, 2014

POLITICAL PARTICIATION	2008 Elections (Round 4, 2009)			2011 Elections (Round 6, 2014)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Voter behaviour in last election						
Voted in the elections	60.1%	52.3%	56.0%	60.3%	49.9%	54.8%
Was not registered to vote*	10.8%	16.5%	13.8%	8.6%	14.2%	11.6%
Was too young to vote*				12.9%	11.0%	11.9%
Decided not to vote	3.9%	6.0%	5.0%	7.1%	8.0%	7.6%
Did not vote for another reason	25.0%	25.2%	25.1%	11.1%	15.8%	13.6%
Participation in campaigning**						
Attended campaign rally	-	-	-	43.7%	31.9%	37.5%
Attended campaign meeting	-	-	-	24.7%	19.0%	21.7%
Persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party	-	-	-	14.2%	12.7%	13.4%
Worked for a candidate or party	-	-	-	14.4%	9.6%	11.9%

* In Round 4, not registering to vote and being too young to vote were treated as a single response category.

** These survey items were not included in Round 4 of the Afrobarometer survey in Zambia.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 4 (2009) and Round 6 (2014), Zambia.

Likelihood of voting in future

National elections for the presidency and NA were held on 11 August 2016. In the lead-up to the 2016 elections there was considerable speculation as to what the youth turnout would be like. Nyambe Mubanga (2016) recalled seeing many youth involved in the 2011 polls, but commented that “when you look at it this time around its difficult to tell”. She also added that some had been involved in some incidents of election-related violence in 2016: “It’s really worrying this time around that there’s the political violence that’s coming out, because people are so desperate for their party, the political party that they support, to emerge victorious.”²⁷ However, she also mentioned that efforts by the electoral commission had reportedly succeeded in registering more people than in the previous poll in which “there was a lot of voter apathy.”²⁸

Ng’andu (2016), a youth activist herself, was also unsure of what to expect with regard to turnout. She similarly referred to high levels of voter apathy during the 2015 by-election despite high levels of public debate, particularly on social media. She explained:

With young people, especially in the urban areas as opposed to the rural areas, we don’t tend to vote, we don’t come out – we’re very good at talking but we don’t really want to deal with problems. I don’t know if its lack of care or feeling like it’s not your problem to address but young people don’t normally come out to vote.

Nonetheless, she still felt that there were “a lot of young people that are very keen to get involved in the political arena.”²⁹

Survey results showed changing patterns of party support among youth voters in recent years. When asked in 2013 about the party they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow, most youth indicated that they would select the PF, as shown in Table 25. However, by 2014, support had grown for the UPND, from 9.9% to 21.5%.

26 Election Guide, Republic of Zambia, <http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/239/>.

27 Nyambe Mubanga 2016.

28 Nyambe Mubanga 2016.

29 Ng’andu 2016.

Table 25: Future youth voting behaviour, Zambia 2013, 2014

FUTURE VOTE	2013			2014		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Party*						
Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)	7.1%	6.5%	6.8%	9.3%	10.0%	9.7%
National Restoration Party (NAREP)	1.8%	3.4%	2.6%	1.8%	2.2%	2.0%
Patriotic Front (PF)	49.0%	41.4%	45.0%	37.3%	30.8%	33.9%
United National Independence Party (UNIP)	2.0%	1.0%	1.5%	0.0%	1.2%	.6%
United Party for National Development (UPND)	8.8%	10.8%	9.9%	22.8%	20.2%	21.5%
Would not vote	11.0%	11.4%	11.3%	6.9%	6.4%	6.6%
Refused to answer	14.1%	18.3%	16.4%	11.1%	15.6%	13.5%
Don't know	4.0%	4.9%	4.5%	8.9%	10.0%	9.5%

* Includes all parties selected by >1% of survey respondents in one or more survey round.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 5 (2013) and Round 6 (2014), Zambia

Post-election analysis

The research identified some initial assessments of the role of youth in the 2016 elections, although further analysis will likely be conducted by observer missions, CSOs and other stakeholders in the coming months. Mayondi's (2016) analysis was somewhat critical: she felt that in general, young people were not sufficiently informed about the values and policies of political parties or leaders, and how they should make decisions at the polls, but rather were largely influenced by "following the crowd". She also mentioned that while many were involved in campaign activities, in some cases this had led to violence, and cited examples of markets being "burned to the ground", cadres caught with weapons and supporters attacking passers-by who were wearing the regalia of other parties.³⁰

Early reports issued by a number of observer missions also alluded to the role youth had played in election-related violence, as well as possible obstacles to participation overall. In the days leading up to the August 13 polls, the AU Observer Mission called on political parties to "desist from forming and organising party youths with the intention of stirring up election related violence" in future.³¹ The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Election Observer Mission recommended that more work was needed to promote "youth leadership programmes at political party and community levels" going forward.³² The Carter Center found that youth groups had been involved, alongside other CSOs, in conducting voter education. However, in a preliminary statement, the Center raised concerns about substantial increases in candidate nomination fees for the 2016 elections, which were viewed as "excessive and unreasonable...especially for women and youth, who may face greater challenges in raising the required, non-refundable fees".³³

9.4 Influences on youth participation

The research identified a number of reasons behind the relatively low levels of youth civic and political engagement in Zambia.

- **Economic and social exclusion.** As in a number of other countries included in this study, unemployment was identified as a top priority among Zambian youth, and a contributing factor to economic and social exclusion. Nyambe Mubanga (2016) linked frustration with unemployment levels to youth marginalisation and even to election-related violence. An economic downturn, including recent drops in copper prices, had further exacerbated this pressure.³⁴

30 Mayondi 2016.

31 AU Election Observation Mission 2016, "Arrival Statement African Union Election Observation Mission to the Republic of Zambia's 11 August 2016 General Elections," 3 August, <http://www.au.int/en/pressreleases/31222/arrival-statement-african-union-election-observation-mission-republic-zambia%E2%80%99s>.

32 SADC 2016, "SADC Election Observation Mission Releases its Preliminary Statement on the 2016 General Elections and Referendum in the Republic of Zambia," 13 August, <https://www.sadc.int/news-events/news/sadc-election-observation-mission-releases-its-preliminary-statement-2016-general-elections-and-referendum-public-zambia/>.

33 Carter Center 2016, "Preliminary Statement: Carter Center Expresses Concerns Regarding Pre-Election Environment and Urges Patience While Results Come In," 13 August, https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/zambia-prelim-081516.pdf.

34 Nyambe Mubanga 2016.

- **Gender barriers to participation.** Research found that overall, young women participated less in political life than men in Zambia. In a study conducted by Youth Map, young women described Zambian politics as a “man’s game”.³⁵ Ng’andu (2016) explained that even though Zambian women are very successful and are leaders in some sectors, including in civic associations and in the small and medium enterprises (SME) sector, they faced challenges in the political arena. According to Ng’andu (2016), “cultural practices are really making it difficult for women, even our female politicians”. She added that women politicians have been subjected to personal attacks in the media, “so you’ll see a lot of women are being insulted and being called this and that”. This was a deterrent to young women interested in politics.³⁶ Similarly, Mayondi (2016) described a lack of women candidates during the recent elections, and cited traditional beliefs that women “can’t be good leaders”, that “you can’t just follow a woman blindly” and that it is “wasting your vote” to support a woman candidate.³⁷ Afrobarometer survey results found that in 2015, 31.9% of young men and 23.0% of young women agreed that men make better political leaders.
- **Inter-generational tension.** According to Ng’andu, one of the major obstacles to greater youth engagement and participation related to inter-generational tensions in Zambia. She felt that, in general, older people “don’t really take us seriously – at least that’s how it feels”. She added that many older Zambians are “kind of stuck in their ways” and when young people in the public space bring new ideas and “millennial thinking, and it’s not really received as well as it should be”.³⁸
- **Changing party allegiances.** Both Nyambe Mubanga (2016) and Ng’andu (2016) described Zambia’s political landscape as confusing for young people, particularly given the tendency of candidates and leaders to change political parties. According to Ng’andu, in the lead-up to elections “a lot of people [were] jumping ship, so we [had] people from the Patriotic Front which is the incumbent, joining the UPND and the other way around, or running as independents. So in my opinion, it’s a little bit scattered.”³⁹ Nyambe Mubanga commented that candidates changing political parties raised questions about their core values, and added that this contributed to “political doubt” and apathy among voters.⁴⁰
- **Aversion to politics.** As in a number of other countries, the research also found an aversion to and distrust of politics among some Zambian youth. Nyambe Mubanga (2016) described how among some Zambians there is a perception that “politics is a dirty game and there’s too much corruption”. As a result, youth in particular were seen to avoid politics as it was believed to be “mostly about self-enrichment”.⁴¹
- **Lack of youth representation.** Finally, research found that Zambian youth felt under-represented in government and political parties. In part, this was ascribed to the dominance of long-standing leaders within the political sphere, and a lack of opportunities for young newcomers. As described by Nyambe Mubanga (2016), “when you look at what the political party leadership has to offer it’s the same political leaders from as far back before I started voting. Those are the same people who were involved in our struggle for independence.” She asked: “So, what role will the youth play if the old politicians are still taking the leading role? The youth need to be engaged and actively participate in elections so that the old and fresh ideas are brought together.” She concluded that as a result, youth had limited confidence in their own ability to use elections to bring about political change: “Some of my friends would say, you know, even if I vote it won’t make a difference, the same people will win”.⁴² Similarly, Ng’andu (2016) commented that in Zambia the “key players don’t really change”, making it difficult for young people to enter into the political arena.⁴³

These comments echoed similar findings in the research conducted by Youth Map. The organisation found “with few leaders under 40, as well as few opportunities to positively participate in politics or become leaders, many youth have no interest in politics”. In fact, most elected leaders were over 50 as “older party members [were] being promoted to positions of power within government and other national bodies” – and “even those who are seen to ‘represent’ young people are over 40”. Youth Map therefore characterised leadership as “out of touch with youth issues and disinterested in authentically engaging youth”.⁴⁴

9.5 Encouraging future participation

Despite moderate to low levels of civic and political engagement, a number of strategies were identified in order to increase youth participation in future.

- **Improving voter education.** Research found that some Zambian youth were interested in increased civic and political participation in future, and in education and training to improve their skills and contribute to national development.⁴⁵ Mayondi (2016) also discussed the need for youth to learn more about what leaders actually do in government, for example, through internships or the expansion of the current Junior Mayor programme. This could also help to counteract misperceptions that working in government or politics is a means to access land and financial resources, rather than a public service.⁴⁶

35 Youth Map Zambia 2014.

36 Ng’andu 2016.

37 Mayondi 2016.

38 Ng’andu 2016.

39 Ng’andu 2016.

40 Nyambe Mubanga 2016.

41 Nyambe Mubanga 2016.

42 Nyambe Mubanga 2016.

43 Ng’andu 2016.

44 Youth Map Zambia 2014.

45 Youth Map Zambia 2014.

46 Mayondi 2016.

- **Increasing consultation with and involvement of youth.** In general, there was a need for greater consultation with youth by government and political leadership.⁴⁷ Ng’andu (2016) commented that “it would be good if leaders would engage on a more personal level with young people – like attend a seminar or a workshop hosted by the president or head of opposition to hear about policies.”⁴⁸ Mayondi (2016) agreed that youth needed more platforms to express themselves and their views and engage with leaders on a regular basis.⁴⁹
- **Ensuring youth nominations and appointments within government.** Finally, Ng’andu (2016) recommended that more youth should be involved in the work of government, either through appointments or as candidates in elections. She described it as “almost impossible to get a job at a ministry” Although the youth presence has grown within government, for example through the national youth council and the election of councillors under the age of 30, “at a higher level like presidential or minister you probably won’t find anyone younger than 45.”⁵⁰

9.6 Key findings

The following key findings emerged from research conducted on youth and elections in Zambia.

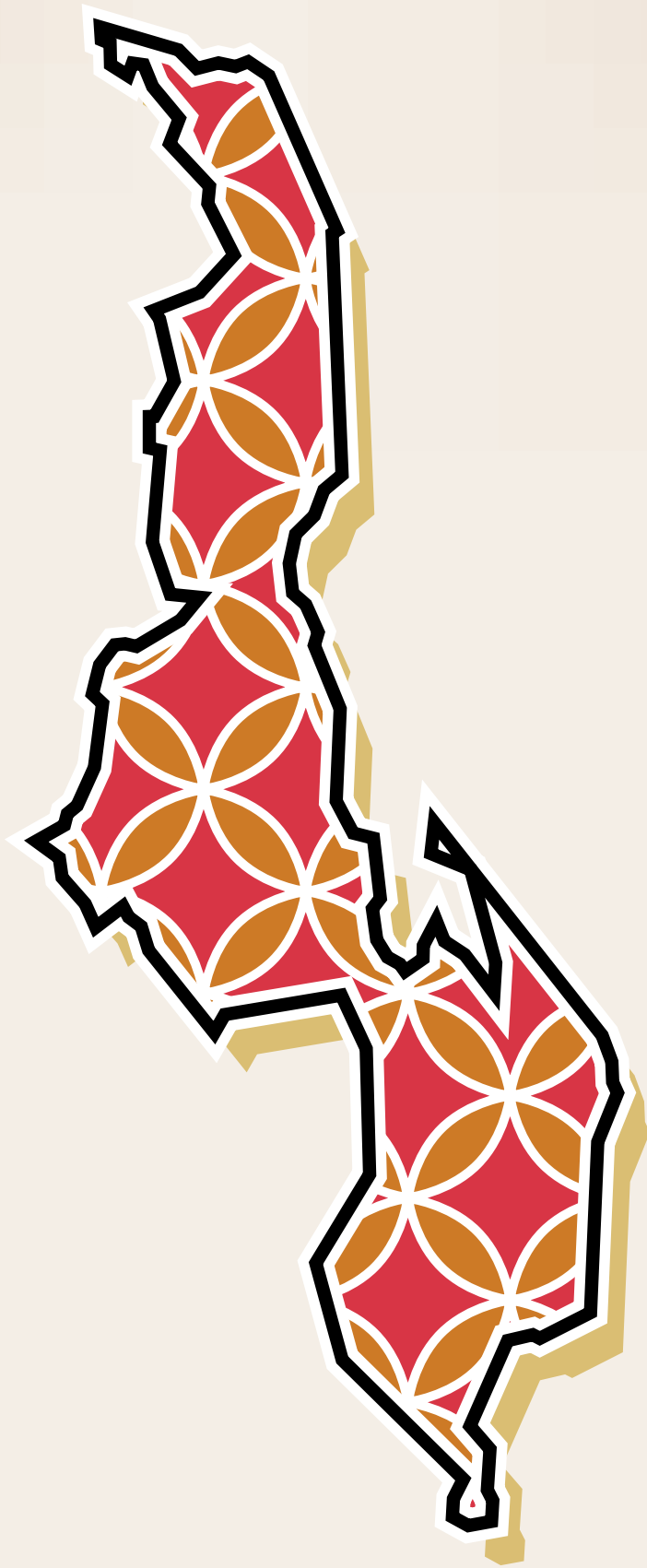
- Zambia has a rich history of youth political activism, including in the movement for independence from British colonial rule.
- During the 30-year presidential term of independence leader Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia became a one-party state in which open political contestation was not allowed.
- Internal demands for a more open political system, together with dissatisfaction with the Kaunda administration, eventually led to a return to multiparty politics. The openness of the system was evidenced by a majority opposition victory at the 2011 polls.
- Most Zambian youth supported the use of elections to choose leaders, and this has increased over time. Evaluation of elections has also improved over time.
- Research found that many young Zambians were disengaged from political life in the country, and were more likely to participate in civic activities. Levels of political participation were lower among young women than men.
- Factors identified as discouraging youth participation included social and economic exclusion, barriers to the participation of women, inter-generational tension, the fluidity of Zambian political parties, an aversion to politics, and a lack of adequate youth representation within government.
- Factors identified as likely to increase participation in future included voter education, increased youth engagement, the nomination of young candidates, and youth appointments within government.

47 Nyimbili 2012.

48 Ng’andu 2016.

49 Mayondi 2016.

50 Ng’andu 2016.



9/MALAWI

Malawi

Malawi was governed by a single leader and political party for three decades after independence. The first openly contested multiparty elections were held in 1994, but the recent political landscape has been characterised by fluidity between political parties, with elected leaders breaking away to form new organisations. Many Malawians are distrustful of political parties, and this seemed to have worsened after the 2012 “Cashgate” corruption scandal.¹ National elections were last held in 2014 and research participants suggested that the polls, which were closely contested between four presidential candidates, represented a turning point for increasing youth political participation in future. Malawian youth were found to be highly active in civil society, but also very frustrated with economic conditions in the country. As described by Jimmy Kainja, a blogger and lecturer at the University of Malawi, “as the saying goes a hungry man is an angry man.”²

10.1 National political context

History

Malawi was formerly a British colony, and achieved independence in 1964 under the leadership of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda.³ In the post-independence period, Malawi’s political system became more and more closed over time. Opposition political parties were banned in 1966, and in 1971 Banda was declared president for life. Despite calls for democratic reform during the 1970s and 1980s, Banda’s regime became increasingly repressive, and according to Chirambo (2010), “authorized detention without trial, political persecution, forced exile, torture, and even murder of those opposed” to the president.⁴

Political transition and elections

A referendum was held in 1993 amid growing internal pressure, which ushered in a multiparty political system. Elections were held in 1994 and Banda and the MCP were defeated in the polls by the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), led by Bakili Muluzi. Muluzi served two terms as president, and was succeeded by UDF candidate Bingu wa Mutharika, who was elected president in elections held in 2004. However, soon after entering office Mutharika formed a new political party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and a number of other parliamentarians joined him.⁵

Recent elections

Mutharika was re-elected for a second term as president in 2009 with 65.98% of the vote, running on the ticket of the DPP.⁶ However, Mutharika died while in office in April 2012, and was replaced by vice-president Joyce Banda, who had formed the People’s Party (PP) in 2011.⁷ In 2013, Banda fired the entire cabinet in a large-scale corruption scandal, known as “Cashgate”, in which up to US \$100 million in public funds were siphoned off from public coffers by government departments and to support election campaigns.⁸

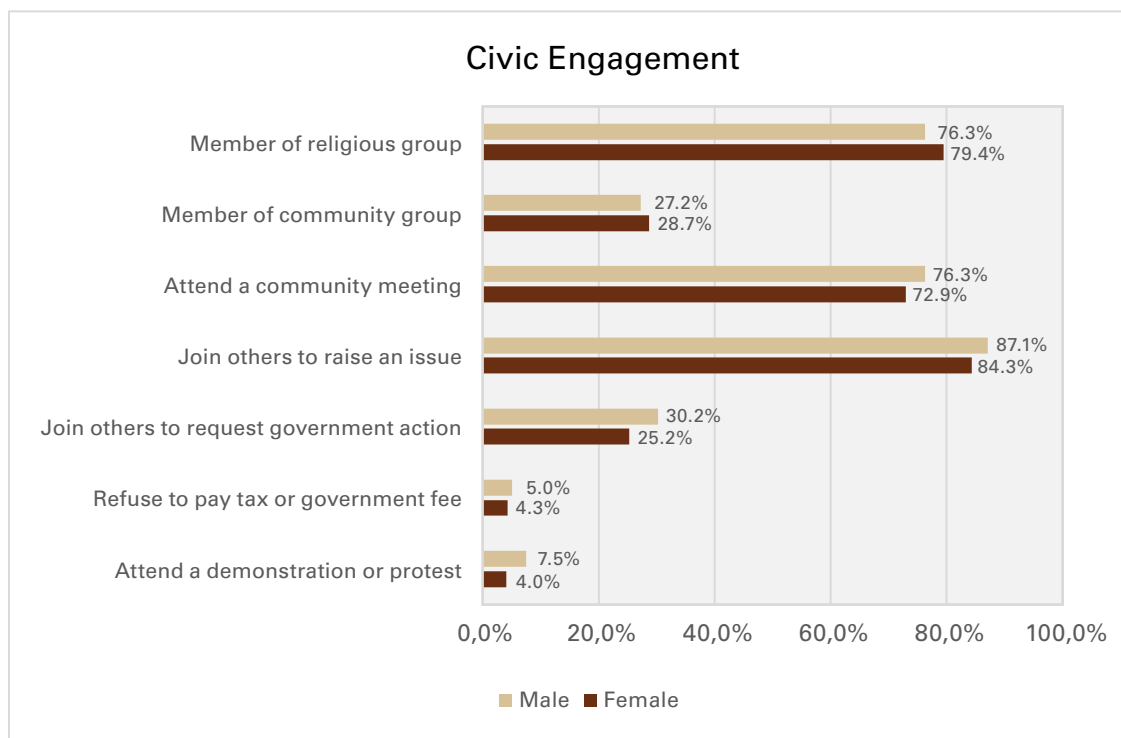
Malawi’s most recent polls were held in May 2014 for both the NA and the presidency. Election results were extremely close: DPP candidate and brother of the late president, Peter Mutharika, narrowly defeated MCP candidate, Lazarus Chakwera, by 36.40% to 27.8%. Former president Joyce Banda, candidate for the PP, won 20.20% of the presidential vote. In the NA, the DPP won 50 seats, followed the MCP with 48 seats and the PP with 26 seats. Voter turnout was high at around 70%.⁹

10.2 Civic engagement

As discussed in Section 2, Malawian youth were among the most active in civil society and civic life when compared with other countries included in this study. High percentages of both males and females participated in a wide range of civic activities (Figure 17). More than three in four youth (75%) were members of religious groups that met outside of regular worship services, and more than 70% had attended community meetings in the past year. Further, more than 80% indicated that they had joined others to raise an issue, although participation in protest-type actions was low, including refusing to pay taxes or government fees (5.0% of males and 4.3% of females) and attending demonstrations or protests (7.5% of males and 4.0% of females).

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- 1 The Guardian 2015, “Money from Malawi ‘Cashgate’ scandal allegedly funded electoral campaigns”, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/feb/13/malawi-cashgate-scandal-money-funded-electoral-campaigns>; Al Jazeera 2014. “‘Cashgate’ trial begins in Malawi”, <http://www.aljazeera.com/video/africa/2014/01/gate-trial-begin-malawi-20141294295112213.html>.
 - 2 Interview with Jimmy Kainja (M), Lecturer, University of Malawi, 8 July 2016.
 - 3 McCracken, J 1998, “Democracy and Nationalism in Historical Perspective: The Case of Malawi”, *African Affairs*, vol.97, no. 387, p. 231.
 - 4 Chirambo, RB 2010, “‘A Monument to a Tyrant,’ or reconstructed nationalist memories of the father and founder of the Malawi nation, Dr. H. K. Banda”, *Africa Today*, Summer, p. 3.
 - 5 The Malawi Project, <http://www.malawiproject.org/about-malawi/history/>
 - 6 Election Guide, Republic of Malawi: Election for President, May 19 2009, <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2099/>.
 - 7 Banda, M 2012. “Malawi’s President Mutharika dead”, Reuters, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-malawi-president-idUSBRE83504E20120406>; Al Jazeera 2012. “Joyce Banda sworn in as president of Malawi”, Al Jazeera, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2012/04/201247111815207836.html>.
 - 8 The Guardian 2015. “Money from Malawi ‘Cashgate’ scandal allegedly funded electoral campaigns”, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/feb/13/malawi-cashgate-scandal-money-funded-electoral-campaigns>; Al Jazeera 2014. “‘Cashgate’ trial begins in Malawi”, <http://www.aljazeera.com/video/africa/2014/01/gate-trial-begin-malawi-20141294295112213.html>; The Guardian 2013, “Malawi president sacks cabinet over corruption scandal”, *The Guardian*, 11 October, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/11/malawi-president-sacks-cabinet-corruption-scandal-banda>.
 - 9 Election Guide, Republic of Malawi, <http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/130/>.
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Figure 17: Youth civic engagement by gender, Malawi 2014



Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, Malawi 2014

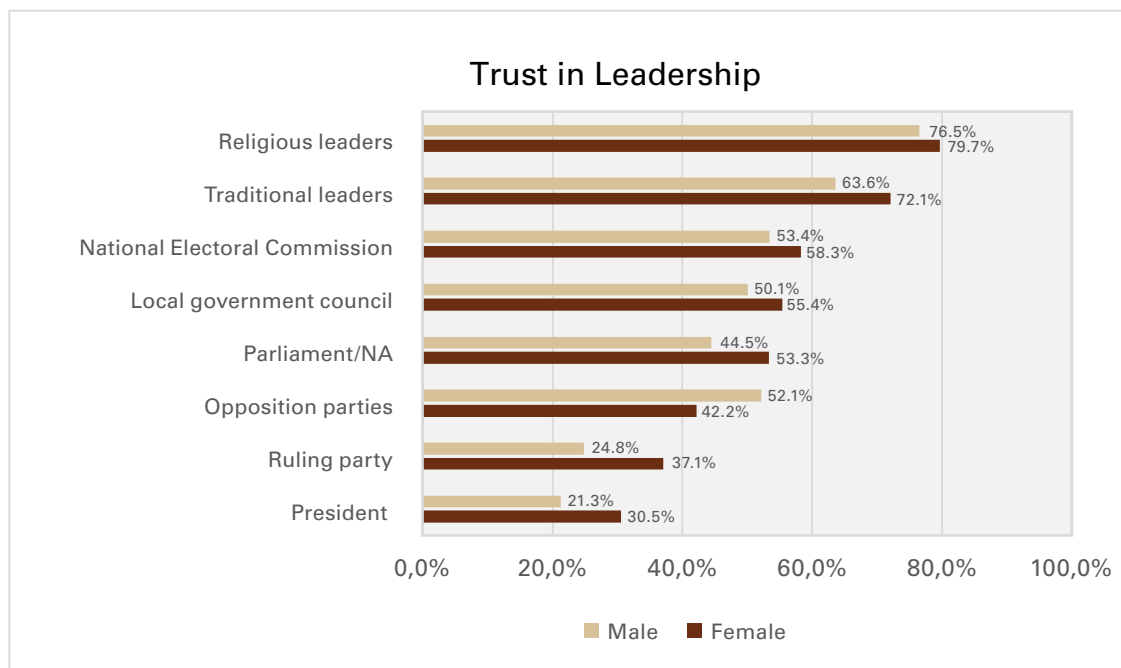
Malawian experts interviewed during the course of this study agreed that youth participate very actively in civic life – much more so than in the political sphere. Lawyer and MINDS alumni, Walhalha Saukila (2016), mentioned that youth are very involved in civil society organisations, and have increasingly taken up leadership positions there.¹⁰ Kainja (2016) described the country as very religious overall, accounting for significant levels of membership in various religious organisations. Further, when asked about high levels of participation in activities such as community meetings and joining others to raise issues, he suggested that this might be linked to deep trust in traditional leaders and structures. Traditional leaders were perceived as compassionate and with the discretion to help people in need, whereas politicians were seen as corrupt and self-enriching.¹¹

Kainja's (2016) analysis was borne out in Afrobarometer survey results. In 2014, youth trusted religious leaders (76.5% of males and 79.7% of females) and traditional leaders (63.6% of males and 72.1% of females) far more than political parties or parliament. The survey was conducted between March and April, while Banda was still president and just before elections were held. Only 21.3% of male youth and 30.5% of females indicated that they trusted the president at the time, as shown in Figure 18.

¹⁰ Interview with Walhalha Saukila (F), MINDS Alumni, 1 July 2016.

¹¹ Kainja 2016.

Figure 18: Youth trust* in leadership by gender, Malawi 2014



*Reported as the cumulative result for “a lot” and “somewhat”.

Source: Afrobarometer Round 6, Malawi 2014

10.3 Political engagement

The research yielded interesting findings about youth political participation in Malawi. Trust in political parties and elected leaders was low, as shown in Figure 18, and a large majority of youth (79.3%) believed the country was going in the wrong direction (see Figure 5). In a number of other countries included in this study disillusioned youth avoided politics altogether. However, in Malawi, most youth were interested in public affairs (72.1%) and 37.9% – higher than any other country included in this study – discussed politics often (see Figure 7).

Experts attributed youth political engagement in part to the country’s changing political landscape, and events surrounding the 2014 elections. Saukila (2016) described the 2014 elections as “historic” and a “turnaround” in terms of youth participation. Presidential candidates came together and signed a Youth Empowerment Declaration intended to involve young people in politics and governance issues more actively, and that “started the ball rolling”.¹² MINDS alumni, Jessie Kalepa, agreed that 2014 was the first time that youth were “actually involved in elections”. She added that youth voter turnout appeared to be higher in 2014 than in previous years, possibly in response to the presidential bid of 35 year old UDF candidate Atupele Muluzi.¹³

However, experts also questioned the ways in which youth were involved in the polls. Kainja (2016) commented that youth were “used” by political parties but are “not really taken seriously”; adding that candidates were often looking for votes “in exchange for a token of appreciation”.¹⁴ Kalepa (2016) similarly described youth being “used” in campaigns and feeling let down by parties after elections were over.

...youth are used negatively, in a way that before the elections political leaders told the youth that, you have to help us campaign, when we go in power we’re going to give you positions, you are going to be involved in decision-making. But we see that after the leaders have won, the youth are left aside ... So mostly, every time youth participate because they want to benefit – maybe, because of cash there are some benefits attached to it.¹⁵

Perceptions about elections

The research found that evaluations of the quality of the administration of elections have improved over time. As shown in Table 26, when interviewed for Round 4 (2008) of the Afrobarometer survey, only 44.8% of youth characterised the 2004 elections as completely free and fair, but this had increased to 54.9% in Round 6 (2014) in relation to the 2009 polls. However, only 31.6% expected that the 2014 national elections would be completely free and fair.

¹² Saukila 2016.

¹³ Interview with Jessie Kalepa (F), MINDS Alumni, 12 July 2016.

¹⁴ Kainja 2016.

¹⁵ Kalepa 2016.

Table 26: Youth perceptions of elections, Malawi 2008, 2014

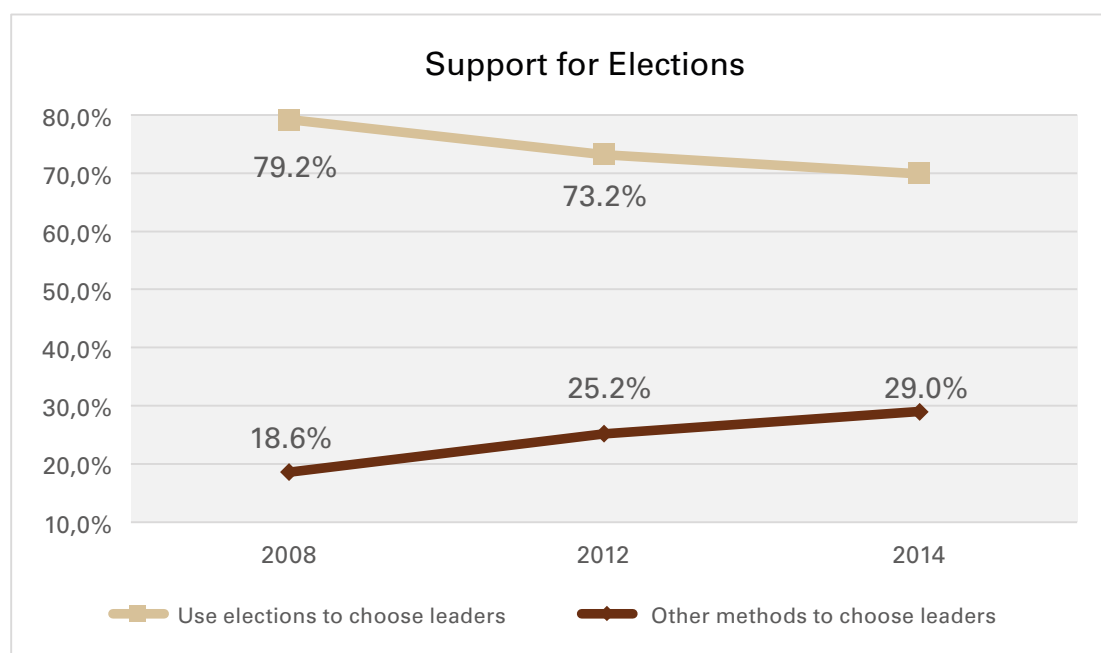
ELECTIONS	2004 Election* (Round 4, 2008)			2009 Election (Round 6, 2014)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Freeness and fairness of last election						
Completely free and fair	44.9%	44.6%	44.8%	52.2%	57.3%	54.9%
Free and fair, minor problems	18.1%	18.8%	18.5%	16.4%	11.8%	14.0%
Free and fair, major problems	12.8%	11.4%	12.1%	11.6%	8.5%	9.9%
Not free and fair	20.8%	16.2%	18.3%	11.0%	8.6%	9.7%
Don't know	3.4%	9.1%	6.4%	8.5%	13.7%	11.2%
Freeness and fairness of next election						
Completely free and fair	-	-	-	29.8%	33.2%	31.6%
Free and fair, minor problems	-	-	-	16.3%	12.5%	14.3%
Free and fair, major problems	-	-	-	23.8%	19.8%	21.7%
Not free and fair	-	-	-	17.6%	16.2%	16.9%
Don't know	-	-	-	12.2%	18.1%	15.3%

*Round 4 data was used for comparison because both Rounds 5 and 6 evaluated the 2009 elections.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 4 (2008) and 6 (2014), Malawi

The research also found some changes in youth perceptions about using elections to select leaders, versus using other methods. While 79.2% agreed that leaders should be chosen through elections in 2008, this dropped to 73.2% by 2012 and 69.9% by 2014, as shown in Figure 19. Further data analysis showed a significant link between level of education and support for the use of elections: youth with the highest levels of education were most likely to support the use of elections to choose leaders.¹⁶

Figure 19: Youth support for using elections to choose leaders, Malawi 2008 - 2014



Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 4 (2008), 5 (2012) and 6 (2016), Malawi

16 A linear regression test was significant at the .05 level.

Voter turnout and campaign participation

The research also found that youth participation in recent national elections has varied. As shown in Table 27, 63.4% of youth indicated that they voted in the 2009 election. This was relatively low compared with reported national turnout of 78.3% in the presidential polls (although turnout was lower for the NA, at 53.9%).¹⁷ Notably, self-reported voter participation was higher among young women (65.7%) than young men (60.8%). In 2008, 69.6% indicated that they voted in the 2004 polls, which was above the national turnout at 63.6% in the presidential race (60.2% for the NA).¹⁸

Other types of electoral participation were also moderate, particularly among women. While 55.8% of males attended a campaign rally during the 2009 elections, the same was true of only 42.0% of females. Young women were also much less likely to have attended campaign meetings (16.5%, compared with 26.3% of males), persuaded others how to vote (16.1%, compared with 24.4% of males) or worked for a candidate or party (10.4%, compared with 18.0% of males) (see Table 27).

Table 27: Youth political participation, Malawi 2008, 2014

VOTING AND CAMPAIGNING	2004 Elections* (Round 4, 2008)			2009 Elections (Round 6, 2014)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Voter behaviour in last election						
Voted in the elections	72.7%	66.8%	69.6%	60.8%	65.7%	63.4%
Was not registered to vote	13.8%	18.3%	16.2%	4.5%	2.9%	3.6%
Was too young to vote				21.5%	18.7%	20.0%
Decided not to vote	3.1%	3.7%	3.4%	2.9%	1.9%	2.3%
Did not vote for another reason	10.4%	11.0%	10.7%	10.3%	10.6%	10.5%
Participation in campaigning						
Attended campaign rally*	-	-	-	55.8%	42.0%	48.5%
Attended campaign meeting*	-	-	-	26.3%	16.5%	21.1%
Persuaded others to vote for a candidate or party	-	-	-	24.4%	16.1%	20.0%
Worked for a candidate or party	-	-	-	18.0%	10.4%	14.0%

*Round 4 data was used for comparison because both Rounds 5 and 6 evaluated the 2009 elections.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 4 (2008) and 6 (2014), Malawi

Youth party support prior to the 2014 polls

As discussed above, the 2014 national polls were extremely close, with DPP candidate Peter Mutharika narrowly defeating Lazarus Chakwera of the MCP (36.40% to 27.8%), followed by former president Joyce Banda (20.2%) and Atupele Muluzi of the UDF (13.7%) in third and fourth positions respectively. Voter turnout was high, at around 70%.¹⁹

These patterns of support were largely reflected in the results of Round 6 of the Afrobarometer survey, as shown in Table 28. When asked, in the months leading up to the 2014 polls, who they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow, the largest percentage (28.9%) supported the DPP while 21.4% of youth indicated that they would vote for the MCP. Support for the PP diminished substantively between 2012 and 2014, amid rumours that Banda herself might have been implicated in the “Cashgate” scandal.²⁰ There was some speculation that Banda would have attracted a significant amount of support from young women,²¹ but this did not appear to have been the case.

Notably, UDF candidate Atupele Muluzi was only 35 years old at the time of the 2014 polls, and appeared to have increased youth support for his party despite placing fourth in the presidential race (see Table 28). According to Chirwa and Patel (2014), Muluzi’s “generational factor” appealed to young supporters.²² However, Saukila (2016) also noted that although Muluzi “looked great on paper”, many Malawians felt he was “too young” and inexperienced for the presidency. She mentioned the cultural perception that candidates should be a certain age before running for elected office, because younger people should not be leading elders.²³ Mutharika (of the DPP) was the oldest candidate running for office.²⁴

17 Election Guide, “Republic of Malawi”, <http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/130/>.

18 Election Guide, “Republic of Malawi”, <http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/130/>.

19 Election Guide, “Republic of Malawi”, <http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/130/>.

20 Kainja, J 2014, “‘Cashgate’ unlikely to lose Joyce Banda the elections”, Nyasa Times, <http://www.nyasatimes.com/cashgate-unlikely-to-lose-joyce-banda-the-elections/#sthash.tQquhYs.dpuf>.

21 Kainja 2016.

22 Chirwa, C & Patel, N 2014, Election Situation Room: Analysis of the 2014 Tripartite Elections in Malawi, OSISA, 6 June, <http://malawivote2014.org/esrreport.pdf>.

23 Saukila 2016.

24 Kainja 2014.

Table 28: Future youth voting behaviour, Malawi 2012, 2014

VOTE FOR TOMORROW	2012			2014		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Party*						
Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)	17.9%	18.1%	18.0%	28.5%	29.3%	28.9%
Malawi Congress Party (MCP)	4.0%	3.2%	3.6%	24.3%	18.7%	21.4%
People's Party (PP)	42.1%	48.1%	45.2%	14.6%	20.7%	17.8%
United Democratic Front (UDF)	12.7%	7.3%	9.9%	16.9%	13.0%	14.9%
Not yet decided	-	-	-	1.0%	1.1%	1.0%
Would not vote	7.2%	6.6%	6.9%	2.2%	2.8%	2.5%
Refused to answer	5.4%	4.5%	5.0%	6.3%	7.0%	6.7%
Don't know	8.1%	11.2%	9.7%	5.2%	6.7%	6.0%

* Includes all parties selected by >1% of survey respondents.

Source: Afrobarometer Rounds 5 (2012) and 6 (2014), Malawi

Reports suggested that on the whole polling was conducted in a “peaceful, orderly and transparent manner” although there were shortfalls in materials, including voters’ registers, ballot papers and boxes, and seals. There were several isolated incidents of violence that were attributed in part to frustrations around delays at polling stations in Blantyre in particular.²⁵

10.4 Influences on youth participation

The research identified a number of factors that have influenced youth participation and engagement in Malawi.

- **Unemployment and poverty.** Many young Malawians have experienced poverty, unemployment and food insecurity. Both Saukila (2016) and Kainja (2016) described how there are simply not enough jobs available for youth even though they are better educated than the youth of previous generations. According to Saukila (2016), both young men and young women faced this challenge. She described the current atmosphere as a “testing moment” amid food shortages around the country.²⁶ Kainja (2016) also described recent riots related to hunger and drought: “As the saying goes, a hungry man is an angry man. So the president is running an angry country.” He added that due the lack of employment opportunities, young men were subsisting through small-scale, informal trade. Many young women were getting married and having children very young, meaning they were becoming grandparents in their 30s. These economic conditions also had a cross-generational impact, in that adult children could not afford to leave home to live independently. He felt that the current situation was a “time bomb”, and that in general there was “not a good feeling” in the country.²⁷
- **Lack of meaningful youth engagement.** Among experts there was a shared sense that political parties had not consulted meaningfully with youth or incorporated them into leadership or decision-making. Rather, youth had been “used” for their votes and effectively excluded when elections are over. According to Kalepa (2016) this had deepened distrust of and cynicism towards politicians and political parties. She described how in the lead-up to the 2014 elections youth thought that if they voted “it’s all gonna change”, but “actually, when they get into power, we are not included – it’s just in theory. So most youth are unwilling, they have a negative attitude – just because of how things are done on the ground.”²⁸
- **Reporting of election results.** In 2014, there were some issues related to the reporting of election results. According to Saukila (2016), delays in releasing the election results led to many Malawians feeling that they were not getting enough information.²⁹ Anxieties increased when Joyce Banda demanded the annulment of the election results, and again when the High Court rejected allegations of vote rigging and Peter Mutharika was swiftly sworn in as president.³⁰
- **Historical voting patterns.** According to Kainja (2016), many Malawians have continued to vote along ethnic and geographic lines. He added that there is still space for the development of more “ideological politics” in the country, and for voters increasingly to evaluate candidates on the basis of their policies.³¹

25 The Commonwealth 2014, Commonwealth Observer Group’s Interim Statement on the 2014 Tripartite Elections in Malawi, 22 May, <http://thecommonwealth.org/media/news/commonwealth-observer-groups-interim-statement-2014-tripartite-elections-malawi#sthash.NxlpUuGA.dpuf>.

26 Saukila 2016.

27 Kainja 2016.

28 Kalepa 2016.

29 Saukila 2016.

30 Allison, S 2014. “Dispute over Malawi election results ends Joyce Banda’s political sainthood,” The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/27/dispute-over-malawi-election-results-joyce-banda>; BBC 2014. “Malawi election: Peter Mutharika sworn in as president,” BBC, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27648964>.

31 Kainja 2016.

10.5 Encouraging future participation

The research identified a number of factors for encouraging increased youth participation in future.

- **Encouraging meaningful involvement of youth.** The research found a clear need for youth to be involved more directly in leadership, government and decision-making processes on a consistent basis. This could include efforts to strengthen youth-focused institutions, which were not well-known and were described as having “no real power”.³² Further, findings suggested that perceptions about the inability of youth to occupy leadership positions should be addressed, and direct efforts to “derail young people from participating” should be challenged.³³
- **Increasing registration of young voters.** Although reports suggested that voter registration drives were relatively successful in the lead-up to the 2014 polls, experts suggested that more work would be needed in future to ensure higher rates of youth voter registration.³⁴
- **Implementing more voter education, particularly in rural areas.** Saukila (2016) recommended that youth should be “sensitised” about the importance of political participation and voting. She suggested that while voter education initiatives had largely been concentrated in urban areas it was also important to “actually go to rural areas and villages and sit with people”. She added that young educators and trainers should be involved in initiatives targeting youth, rather than just going “in with old people”.³⁵ Kalepa (2016) agreed that youth should be trained in election monitoring and “making sure that elections are fair and free”, particularly because many young Malawians are educated and skilled but lack experience and employment opportunities.³⁶
- **Changing gender attitudes.** Research findings showed that young Malawian women are less involved in political life than young men. Kalepa (2016) suggested that election and governance institutions need to be changed in order for women to participate more effectively.³⁷
- **Reserving NA seats for youth.** Given low levels of youth representation in elected offices, Kalepa (2016) proposed that 30% of NA seats should be allocated to youth.

10.6 Key findings

The following key findings emerged from research conducted on youth and elections in Malawi.

- As in a number of other countries analysed in this study, Malawi’s successful transition from colonial rule to independence was followed by the establishment of a civilian government that ultimately banned political opposition and dissent.
- Malawi returned to multiparty politics in 1993, and the 2014 national elections were highly competitive.
- Malawian youth were among the most civically engaged of youth in any of the countries included in this study. In a very religious country, most belonged to religious groups that met outside of regular worship services. High levels of participation in other aspects of civic life, including attendance at community meetings and joining others to raise an issue, were attributed in part to widespread trust in traditional and religious leaders, rather than in elected officials.
- Youth were sceptical about elections overall. Support for using elections to choose leaders had declined, and only about a third anticipated that the 2014 polls would be completely free and fair. Males were more likely than females to have participated in a wide range of political and election-related activities.
- Factors identified as discouraging youth participation included unemployment and poverty, lack of meaningful engagement, issues in the tallying and reporting of election results, and historic voting patterns along regional and ethnic lines.

Suggestions for increasing participation in future included involving youth more meaningfully in the work of government, increasing registration of young voters, ensuring more voter education in rural areas in particular, changing gender attitudes to encourage women’s participation, and reserving a proportion of seats in the NA for youth parliamentarians.

32 Kainja 2016.

33 Saukila 2016.

34 Saukila 2016.

35 Saukila 2016.

36 Kalepa 2016.

37 Kalepa 2016.



2/ Key Findings

Key findings and strategies to increase participation

This study explored a number of critical questions on the extent of youth civic and political engagement, participation in elections, and confidence in electoral processes, in eight African countries: Tunisia, Egypt, Kenya, Tanzania, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Zambia and Malawi. Importantly, it also identified key factors influencing youth participation, and considered how this could be increased in future.

11.1 Key findings

The key findings that emerged from the study are as follows.

11.1.1 Youth represented a formidable and powerful force in bringing about political change.

In most of the countries included in this study, youth have been a driving force in mobilising and demanding political change. Young voters have effectively changed political outcomes, as evidenced through recent elections in countries like Nigeria and Burkina Faso.

11.1.2 Youth demonstrated high degrees of pessimism across many of the countries included in the study.

Although many young people were interested in public affairs, majorities in Tunisia, Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Zambia and Malawi felt that their countries had been going in the “wrong direction” in recent years. Evaluations of this kind often fluctuate in response to a wide range of social, economic and other factors. Nonetheless, sentiment of this kind carries both the potential to motivate youth to bring about the change they want to see in their own countries, and the risk of exacerbating political disillusionment and disengagement.

11.1.3 Across a diversity of countries, young people shared common concerns about economic opportunities and access to basic necessities.

As discussed in Section II, this research focused on some of the wealthiest states in Africa, and some of the most impoverished. However, many youth shared the same concerns. Unemployment was a top priority for youth, and although levels of educational enrolment and achievement had improved, students who completed their school, and sometimes even university, education were still unable to access jobs. Youth were also concerned about their governments’ management of national economies, particularly in a context of an economic downturn. Other economic concerns included poverty, low wages and lack of access to basic necessities such as clean water, food and healthcare.

11.1.4 Civic and political engagement was lower among women.

Across most of the countries included in this study, young women were less likely to engage in civic and political life than young men. They were often less likely to vote, or to take part in other election and campaign-related activities. According to expert research participants, young women were discouraged, particularly in patriarchal societies, from taking leadership positions or running for elected office.

11.1.5 Education levels predicted support for elections.

In a number of countries, education was found to be a significant predictor of support for the use of elections to choose leaders. Levels of support for elections increased with educational achievement.

11.1.6 Social media changed the ability of youth to network, mobilise and engage in debate.

Social media has significantly changed the way in which youth interact with each other and engage in national debates and discourses. Candidates and political parties must incorporate social media into their campaigns if they want to appeal to young voters. Although some experts cautioned that online activism can be at the expense of other types of civic and political involvement, social media was generally viewed as a positive tool that enabled youth to network, mobilise, broadcast, engage in citizen journalism, and enter into debates that were previously inaccessible.

11.1.7 Youth were distrustful of politics, politicians and political parties.

Overall, youth were found to be highly distrustful of politics with politicians often perceived to be self-interested, corrupt and tied to past undemocratic regimes. In most countries, youth felt they were courted for their votes during election times, but excluded from the work of government once campaigning was over, and this deepened their aversion to political participation.

11.1.8 Youth were vulnerable to being co-opted by political leaders and parties.

In several countries, the research found evidence that youth were “used” by political parties, as described by a number of experts. In addition to “buying” votes, in some countries candidates and parties incited youth to instigate disruptions and violence, and this included stealing ballot boxes, disrupting polling stations and even attacking political opponents.

11.1.9 Problems with ballot counting and the announcement of election results cast doubt on the integrity and effectiveness of electoral processes and institutions.

A number of countries experienced challenges related to the counting of ballots and announcing of election results. Some candidates claimed to have their own vote tallying systems, and disputed the official election results. Delays and problems brought the accuracy of election results and the independence of electoral commissions into question. In some cases, these issues also heightened political tensions and even led to violence.

11.1.10 Youth candidates lacked the resources to run for elected office.

Where youth were interested in running for elected office, many found they did not have the networks or resources to compete with seasoned politicians. This was particularly the case where patronage networks were used to gain political support.

11.1.11 Youth were not present at the decision-making table.

Finally, despite being a large demographic, youth felt largely marginalised from decision-making processes within their countries. Although parties and candidates depended on their votes, many young people felt abandoned after elections were over. In some cases there was minimal compliance with regulatory requirements for youth candidates on party lists while youth institutions were seen as lacking real authority. Research findings also suggest that youth did not feel they had the ability to demand better representation or to hold leaders accountable for fulfilling campaign promises.

11.2 Strategies to increase participation in the future

Critically, the research also sought to identify strategies and opportunities to increase youth participation in civic and political life, and in elections in particular, in the future. Speaking about Tunisia and Africa more broadly, Professor Alcinda Honwana posed a critical question for youth. She asked: “If you despise politics, what are the new politics that you would like to create?” She added, based on her own research, that answering this question is often “where the challenge comes in,” because youth are “often very good and quick at saying what they don’t like, but it’s much harder to articulate the project of the society that they want.” The prospect, she proposed, is for youth to learn how to “move from the street protest into governance.”¹

The following are some of the recommendations that emerged from the research.

11.2.1 Focusing on voter education

In most countries included in this study, there was a clear need, both during and outside election times, for more voter education, targeting specifically women, people in rural areas and other under-represented groups. In most countries, basic voter education and information on electoral processes was available, but there were also opportunities for training both on the monitoring of elections and on the work of government more broadly. Further, the research found an important and positive link between education and support for elections. From this perspective, in future, ensuring that youth are able to access school and remain in education will potentially increase support for democratic processes.

11.2.2 Changing perceptions about women and youth

The research found that in a number of countries, women and youth representation in government, political parties and elected positions was limited by perceptions about the inability of women and youth to occupy positions of leadership. Some countries have introduced targets for gender representation through party lists, or reserved positions for women, youth and persons with disabilities, but a number of experts still felt this had not resulted in meaningful change. Increased youth participation in future requires that these perceptions are interrogated and changed.

11.2.3 Supporting measures to strengthen electoral institutions

Research findings confirmed the critical importance of robust, independent and effective electoral institutions. Where such institutions functioned well, youth participation and engagement were strengthened. Where they did not, election results were treated with scepticism and suspicion. Given these findings, it is important to ensure that electoral institutions have a framework and the necessary resources to operate independently, and that vote tallying and reporting processes are streamlined.

11.2.4 Changing laws that limit the access of young candidates

A number of countries included in this study have laws in place that restrict youth below a certain age from running for elected office. Given that youth constitute a demographic majority in many African countries, there are strong grounds for advocating for a change in these age limits to strengthen youth representation.

11.2.5 Supporting young candidates

Many young people viewed politics with suspicion and distaste, and were unlikely to stand for elected office themselves. However, many also felt that seeing youth leaders in government and political parties would encourage greater participation in future. There were therefore strong reasons to support young candidates who are interested in contesting for political office, for example, through leadership training initiatives.


11.2.6 Creating platforms for youth engagement

Broadly speaking, in most countries the research identified a need for more platforms for sustained youth engagement with government, political parties and elected leaders.

11.2.7 Building networks

Finally, youth movements in individual countries could be strengthened through building networks across the continent, and learning from each other’s experiences.

1 Hodwana 2016.



Appendices / A

APPENDIX A: OVERVIEW OF RECENT ELECTIONS IN AFRICA

This Appendix provides an overview of recent elections in the five regions of the African continent.

NORTH AFRICA

The region of North Africa includes six countries: Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. Western Sahara is a contested territory with a population of just over half a million people.¹ Many North African countries were affected by the Arab Spring Revolution, which started in Tunisia in 2011. Recent electoral developments in the region include the following.

Algeria

Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika has been head of state for nearly two decades, and is in the process of introducing constitutional amendments that aim to “strengthen democracy and deepen the separation of powers”, including a re-introduction of presidential term limits.²

Egypt

Following the Arab Spring Revolution, a new constitution and electoral law were adopted in 2014. Former army chief Abdul Fattah al-Sisi was elected president in May 2014, and polls for the PA followed in October and November.³

Libya

Former head of state Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was deposed in 2011 and a National Transitional Council was appointed. Elections were held in June 2014 for the Council of Representatives. Fayed Seraj is Libya’s prime minister.⁴

Mauritania

Senatorial elections were scheduled to be held in 2015 but were postponed after a boycott by opposition political parties.⁵ Heated political debate has increased in response to a move to abolish presidential term limits and allow President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz to contest for a third term at the polls in 2019.⁶

Morocco

In this constitutional monarchy ruled by King Mohammed VI, parliamentary elections were held on 7 October 2016. The moderate Islamist Justice and Development Party remained the largest party, winning 125 of the 395 seats in the HR, while the Authenticity and Modernity Party won 102 seats.⁷ This was the second ballot since constitutional reforms were adopted following the Arab Spring movement.⁸

Tunisia

After the Jasmine Revolution, which was the catalyst for the Arab Spring movement, a new constitution and electoral law were adopted in early 2014. The most recent national elections were held between October and December 2014, in which Beji Caid Essebsi was elected president and the secular Nidaa Tounes party won the majority of seats in Parliament.⁹

East Africa

The region of East Africa consists of fourteen countries: Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Although successful elections have recently been held in Kenya and Tanzania, there have been a number of other countries in the region in which recent election results have been disputed, while others have not held elections for a long time. Recent electoral developments in the region include the following.

Comoros

Colonel Azali Assoumani was re-elected president in a runoff vote after disputed elections were held in February 2016. Assoumani previously led a *coup* in 1999, was elected in multiparty polls in 2002, and served as president until 2006.¹⁰

1 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 2016, “Western Sahara,” The World Factbook, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/wi.html>.

2 Khettab, DO 2016, “Algeria set to approve new constitution,” Al Jazeera, 2 February, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/01/algeria-set-approve-constitution-160131141538778.html>.

3 Election Guide, Arab Republic of Egypt, <http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/65/>.

4 BBC News 2016, “Libya Country Profile,” BBC News, 21 January, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13754897>; Amara, H 2016, “Libya’s U.N.-backed Presidential Council reaches Tripoli by ship,” Reuters, 30 March, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-politics-idUSKCN0WW1CG>

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Djibouti

Elections were held in April 2016, and incumbent Ismail Omar Guelleh won a fourth five-year term as president.¹¹

Ethiopia

The last elections were held in 2015, and the ruling party, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, won nearly 100% of votes, with around 93.2% voter turnout.¹²

Eritrea

President Isaias Afwerki has been head of state since independence in 1993. No national elections have been held since, and there has been no legislature since 2002.¹³

Kenya

Campaigning has already begun for the national elections scheduled for August 2017, amid some concern about the possibility of violence in a highly contested political climate. Following widespread protests targeting the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission in May and June, 2016, NA invited submissions on the institution (see Section 5).

Madagascar

Elections were held for the Senate in December 2015, with the party of President Hery Rajaonarimampianina winning more than 60% of the votes in all the country's seven provinces¹⁴ In April 2016, the president announced that Prime Minister Jean Ravelonarivo had resigned and would be replaced by interior minister Solonandrasana Olivier Mahafaly. Ravelonarivo, however, denied that he had ever resigned.¹⁵

Mauritius

The most recent round of elections was held in December 2014, when an opposition coalition took control of the national assembly and defeated plans to change the constitution.¹⁶ The ruling Labour Party sought to split powers between the president and prime minister through these amendments.¹⁷

Rwanda

The results of a poll held in December of 2015 will allow President Paul Kagame to run for a third term in office when elections are held in 2017. This means that the president could "stand for another term of seven years and two more after that of five each" and potentially remain in power until 2034.¹⁸

Seychelles

Presidential incumbent James Michel won a third term in office in a run-off vote in December 2015.¹⁹

Somalia

In April 2016, Somali leaders agreed to hold general elections later during the year.²⁰

South Sudan

In February 2015 Cabinet approved a resolution to postpone elections and extend President Salva Kiir's powers until 2017, contradicting the terms of a peace agreement entered into with insurgents. Elections are planned for July 2017.²¹

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Sudan

President Omar al-Bashir recently announced that he will step down when his current term ends in 2020, at which point he will have served as head of state for 31 years.²²

Tanzania

Tanzania's most recent elections were held on 25 October 2015, and CCM candidate John Pombe Magufuli was elected president. The CCM has won a majority at all elections since 1995, in elections to both the legislature and the presidency.²³

Uganda

President Yoweri Museveni, who has ruled Uganda for more than 30 years, was re-elected in February 2016 in polls held that were reportedly "marred by violence and allegations of ballot fraud".²⁴

CENTRAL AFRICA

The region of Central Africa includes nine countries: Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and São Tomé and Príncipe. Recent electoral developments in countries in the region include the following.

Burundi

President Pierre Nkurunziza's decision to run for a third term in office in 2015 triggered ongoing instability and violence²⁵, and in April 2016 the UN Security Council adopted a resolution to consider the deployment of police to "monitor the security situation, promote respect for human rights, and advance the rule of law in the country".²⁶

Cameroon

The last round of elections was held in 2013. In late 2015, President Paul Biya announced a major cabinet reshuffle, which included changes in a number of key portfolios.²⁷

Central Africa Republic

Elections were held in March 2016 following two years of a transitional government, and Faustin Touadera was sworn in as president.²⁸

Chad

In elections held in April 2016, President Idriss Deby was re-elected for a fifth term in office. The main political opposition parties have claimed that fraud was committed at the polls, but AU observers described the elections as flawed but fair.²⁹

Equatorial Guinea

Elections were held on 24 April 2016 and incumbent president Teodoro Obiang Nguema, in office since 1979, was re-elected with 93.7% of the votes.³⁰

Democratic Republic of Congo

Elections were planned for November 2016, and a new coalition of opposition political parties and CSOs called the Citizen Front 2016 was formed.³¹ A constitutional provision limiting the president to two terms in office will expire on 20th December 2016.³² In October, the government announced that elections would be postponed until April 2018, due to lack of funding and logistical challenges. When plans to delay elections were first raised in September, protests broke out in Kinshasa resulting in the deaths of 49 people, most of whom were shot by the police and security forces.³³

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Gabon

Presidential elections were held in Gabon on 27 August 2016. Incumbent president Ali Bongo Ondimba narrowly defeated former Minister of Affairs Jean Ping, by 49.8% to 48.2% of votes.³⁴ Violent protests broke out in the capital city of Libreville after the results were announced, and Ping's supporters claimed that the election had been "stolen".³⁵

Republic of Congo

President Denis Sassou Nguesso was re-elected in March 2016, extending a term of 32 years in office. A blackout was imposed by government to prevent opposition parties from publishing their own versions of the election results before the official announcement.³⁶

São Tomé and Príncipe

Elections were held on 17 July 2016, and ruling party candidate and former prime minister, Evaristo do Espírito Santo Carvalho, reportedly defeated incumbent president, Manuel Pinto da Costa, with 50.1% of the vote. However, da Costa challenged the results, and a run-off was held on 7 August.³⁷ Da Costa then boycotted the run-off, and Carvalho was elected president.³⁸

WEST AFRICA

The region of West Africa consists of fifteen countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. Recent electoral developments in the region include the following.

Benin

Presidential elections were held on 6 March 2016, but none of the candidates achieved an outright majority. A runoff was held between the two leading candidates on 20 March, and businessman Patrice Talon defeated the prime minister and ruling party candidate, Lionel Zinsou. Former president Thomas Boni Yayi stood down after two terms in office.³⁹

Burkina Faso

Despite a history of multiple and successive *coups*, peaceful elections were held in November 2015. Former prime minister Roch Marc Christian Kaboré of the MPP won 53.49% of the national vote. The MPP also won a majority of seats in the NA.⁴⁰

Cape Verde

Elections were held in March 2016, in which the opposition Movement for Democracy won parliamentary elections with 53.7% of the vote, taking back power after 15 years.⁴¹

Côte d'Ivoire

President Alassane Ouattara was re-elected to a second term in office in October 2015, and parliamentary elections are scheduled for December 2016.⁴²

The Gambia

The media has reported on a recent round of public demonstrations calling for electoral reform in the lead-up to the presidential elections scheduled for December 2016.⁴³

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Ghana

Elections are scheduled for November 2016 and analysis suggests that the country's two biggest political parties, the National Democratic Congress and the New Patriotic Party, will continue to earn more support than smaller opposition parties.⁴⁴

Guinea

President Alpha Conde was re-elected in polls held in October 2015, but opposition political leader Cellou Dalein Diallo has accused the government of fraudulent activities, including stuffing ballot boxes, intimidation, allowing minors to vote and changing the electoral map.⁴⁵

Guinea-Bissau

President Jose Mario Vaz dismissed the government in 2015 following a conflict with the prime minister, Domingos Pereira.⁴⁶ Political instability has increased during the past year and in December 2015, NA representatives abstained from voting on the 2016 budget, preventing its adoption.⁴⁷

Liberia

Presidential and general elections are scheduled for 2017, with a possible referendum to be held in 2016 if the recommendations of a Constitutional Review Commission are approved.⁴⁸

Mali

President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita was elected in 2013 after a military *coup* in 2012.⁴⁹ The country has experienced ongoing violent conflict following a takeover of the northern region by rebels.⁵⁰

Niger

President Mahamadou Issoufou was re-elected at polls held in March 2016. Turnout at the elections was reportedly low, following a call from opposition parties to boycott the polls.⁵¹

Nigeria

National elections were held in March 2015. For the first time in Nigeria's history, the presidential incumbent lost the election and APC candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, won the presidency with 53.96% of votes. The APC also won a majority of seats in the HR.⁵²

Senegal

In March 2016, Senegalese voters approved a referendum reducing presidential terms from seven to five years. Voter turnout was reported to be 38%, although the political opposition has criticised President Macky Sall because the changes will only be implemented after the end of his own term in office in 2019.⁵³

Sierra Leone

President Ernest Bai Koroma conducted his biggest cabinet reshuffle in nine years in office in March 2016, firing four ministers and the head of the army, in a reported attempt to "reverse waning public support for his party".⁵⁴

Togo

Incumbent president, Faure Gnassingbe, was re-elected at polls held in April 2015. This is his third term in office – he has been in power since 2005 and his family has ruled Togo for almost 50 years.⁵⁵

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SOUTHERN AFRICA

The region of Southern Africa consists of ten countries: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Many Southern African countries have recently held successful elections, although election results in Zimbabwe have been highly contested. Swaziland remains an absolute monarchy. Recent developments in the region include the following.

Angola

In March 2016, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the second-longest serving African leader (in power since 1979), announced his plans to retire from “active political activity” in 2018.⁵⁶

Botswana

The last round of national elections was held in October 2014, and ruling party incumbent, President Ian Khama, was re-elected for a second term in office.⁵⁷

Lesotho

Elections were held in February 2015 but none of the parties contesting achieved an outright majority, resulting in the formation of a coalition government.⁵⁸

Malawi

Malawi's most recent polls were held in May 2014 for both the NA and the presidency. DPP presidential candidate, Peter Mutharika, narrowly defeated Lazarus Chakwera by 36.40% to 27.8%. The DPP also won a majority of seats in the NA. Voter turnout was high, at around 70%.⁵⁹

Mozambique

Elections were held in October 2014, and FRELIMO candidate Filipe Nyusi was elected president with 57% of the vote. FRELIMO also maintained its parliamentary majority but lost 49 seats compared with the 2009 elections.⁶⁰

Namibia

The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) ruling party candidate and former prime minister, Hage Geingob, won the last presidential election in November 2014, with 87% of votes cast. SWAPO also won 80% of votes cast in the parliamentary elections.⁶¹

South Africa

National and provincial elections were held in 2014, and African National Congress (ANC) incumbent, President Jacob Zuma, was re-elected for a second term in office. The ANC also maintained a large majority in the NA.⁶²

Swaziland

This small landlocked country is ruled by King Mswati III, who retains absolute power. Parliamentary elections were held in 2013 but were boycotted by opposition political parties.⁶³

Zimbabwe

President Robert Mugabe has been in power since 1987. He was re-elected president at polls held in 2013 but the political opposition, led by Morgan Tsvangirai, described the results as “null and void” as a result of alleged vote rigging by the electoral commission and registrar general's office.⁶⁴

Zambia

Elections for president and NA were held on 11 August, 2016. Incumbent Edgar Lungu of the PF narrowly defeated Hakainde Hichilema of the UPND by 50.4% to 47.6%, with moderate voter turnout at 55%.⁶⁵ The PF also won a majority of seats in the NA.⁶⁶ However, Hichilema and the UPND challenged the election results in the Constitutional Court, alleging that vote rigging had occurred. This challenge was ultimately dismissed, but Lungu was only inaugurated on 13 September and the intervening period saw a number of post-election protests.⁶⁷

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Appendices/**B**

APPENDIX B: EXPERT INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

EXPERT INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS		
Tunisia		
Asma Abidi	F	MINDS Alumni and Journalist
Imen Zaouem	F	MINDS Alumni, English teacher and Masters student
Professor Alcinda Honwana	F	Visiting Professor in International Development at the Open University, and author of <i>The Time of Youth: Work, Politics, and Social Change in Africa</i> (Kumarian Press, 2012) and <i>Youth and Revolution in Tunisia</i> (Zed Books, 2013).
Egypt		
Mahmoud Salah	M	MINDS Alumni and Delegate at the International committee of the Red Cross
Anonymous	F	MINDS Alumni
Prof Ziad Akl	M	Senior Researcher, Egyptian Studies Unit, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, and part-time professor at the American University in Cairo
Kenya		
John Omwamba	M	MINDS Alumni, Regional and Metropolitan Planning Officer at UN-Habitat, environmental planner and youth activist
Nelly Kasina	F	MINDS Alumni and youth volunteer
Omoro C. Osendo	M	Governance adviser, Department for International Development (DFID), Kenya
Samuel Karuita	M	MINDS Alumni and Executive Director at Peace Ambassadors Integration Organisation
Tanzania		
Anonymous	F	MINDS Alumni
Abdunuur Mwimi	M	MINDS Alumni and founder of the Way Forward Foundation
Stephen Mwombela	M	Researcher, REPOA - Policy Research for Development
Nigeria		
Ify Ogo	F	MINDS Alumni and doctoral candidate
Abiodun Ajijola	M	MINDS Alumni, consultant and former National Coordinator, Election Monitor
Safiya Bichi	F	Senior Research Officer at the Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement (YIAGA)
Burkina Faso		
Boubakar Yougbare	M	MINDS Alumni, Partnerships Consultant, and former AU Youth Volunteer at the African Union Commission
Chantal Naré	F	MINDS Alumni and youth activist
Professor Augustin Loada	M	Professor, University of Ouagadougou and Director, Centre for Democratic Governance
Zambia		
Mulima Nyambe Mubanga	F	National Investigator for Afrobarometer and Lead Consultant for Rural Business Development at RuralNet Associates Ltd
Mweshi Ng'andu	F	MINDS Alumni, event consultant and youth activist
Eness Mayondi	F	MINDS Alumni and youth activist
Malawi		
Walhalha Saukila	F	MINDS Alumni and lawyer
Jimmy Kainja	M	Blogger and lecturer, at the University of Malawi
Jessie Kalepa	F	MINDS Alumni and political scientist



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