

Occasional Paper

307

June 2020



Africa's Diverging Approaches to Youth Inclusion and Participation

LUANDA MPUNGOSE

African perspectives
Global insights

Abstract

Discussions about youth have taken various forms in Africa, as this segment of the population grows exponentially, propelling government responses and policy interventions to meet the needs of young people. A coordinated response requires a shared understanding of key components such as youth participation and youth inclusion, which seem to take diverging paths in Africa. Certainly, the interpretation of these concepts may differ based on country contexts. However, it is imperative that African countries take guidance from the existing standards and codes to which they are signatories. To adequately harness this demographic dividend, no country can run away from fully empowering its youth and creating an enabling environment for young people to be an integral part of development. African countries need to go beyond the narrow definition of participation and inclusion – characterised by the delivery of basic services by the state to young people – to rather empower and elevate youth to decision-making. First the continent’s response to the needs of its young people is assessed in accordance with its normative and operational frameworks. The paper then measures participation against the central tenets of the participatory governance theory and hones in on Africa’s key good governance assessment and promotion institution – the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) – and its role in fostering participatory approaches. It finds that there is policy incoherence in how frameworks are interpreted and implemented at policy and programmatic level. Examples of meaningful youth participation are few and far between in Africa. There are instances where the inclusion of young people is a tokenistic tick-box exercise and not demand driven, and there are limited indicators and targets for measuring progress in terms of youth empowerment.

Introduction

Africa does not have a common understanding of youth inclusion and participation. It is therefore important to define key terms used in this paper.

Africa does not have a common understanding of youth inclusion and participation

The term ‘participation’ refers generally to the process of sharing in decisions that affect one’s life and the life of the community in which one lives. Youth participation therefore is defined as the ways in which young people can be involved in the processes, institutions

and decisions that affect their lives.¹ This is particularly significant in Africa, which has the largest youth demographic globally. In 2019, 60% of Africa's population was under the age of 25. The UN notes that Africa's youth (ages 15–24) account for 20% of the global population – this is projected to grow to 42% by 2055.² Young people in Africa should therefore be participating in all areas related to social, political and economic life.

While participation and inclusion may be similar in definition, youth inclusion recognises and emphasises the diversity of youth. It pertains to the heterogeneity of youth in terms of age, gender, race, rural–urban divide, sexual orientation and religion. Representation matters. Policies and programmes purposefully need to meet the diverse needs and identities of all young persons. These concepts are particularly significant in the era of Covid-19,³ which has been a strong global reminder of the significance of equal and inclusive societies where no-one is left behind.

Although relevant policy and operational frameworks such as the African Youth Charter (2006), the Youth Decade Plan of Action (2009–2018), the AU Year of Youth (2017) and the Roadmap for Harnessing the Demographic Dividend (2017) make expansive pronouncements regarding participatory paradigms for Africa's youth, there is a disjuncture and lack of cohesiveness in application and implementation.

Africa's youth refers to all persons between the ages of 15 and 35.⁴ Yet the needs, skills and capacity of a 15-year-old and a 30-year-old are not the same. It is crucial to make this distinction and consider age distribution across different African countries, which exemplifies the heterogeneity of youth for policy and programmatic formulation and implementation. African countries are growing at varying levels. The median age in Niger is 15, followed by Uganda at 15.5. Mali, Malawi, Zambia, South Sudan and Mozambique have a median age of between 15 and 16. Burkina Faso, Burundi and Chad have a median age of 17. Sierra Leone is at 19, Rwanda follows with 20 and South Africa's and Tunisia's median age is slightly higher at 26 and 31.6 years respectively.⁵ These differences in median age underscore the fundamental issue of heterogeneity of young people and their different needs; information that is essential for policy response and programming. It is evident that there cannot be a one-size-fits-all approach when addressing the youth agenda.

While the traditional state–citizen relationship remains crucial for service delivery, Africa's youth should no longer be seen just as beneficiaries but rather as stakeholders who should be empowered to participate at the level of agenda setting and decision-making for Africa's development. In other words, this relationship needs to transcend viewing youth as mere

1 UNICEF, "Understanding Youth Advocacy Participation", 2019, <https://www.voicesofyouth.org/understanding-youth-participation>.

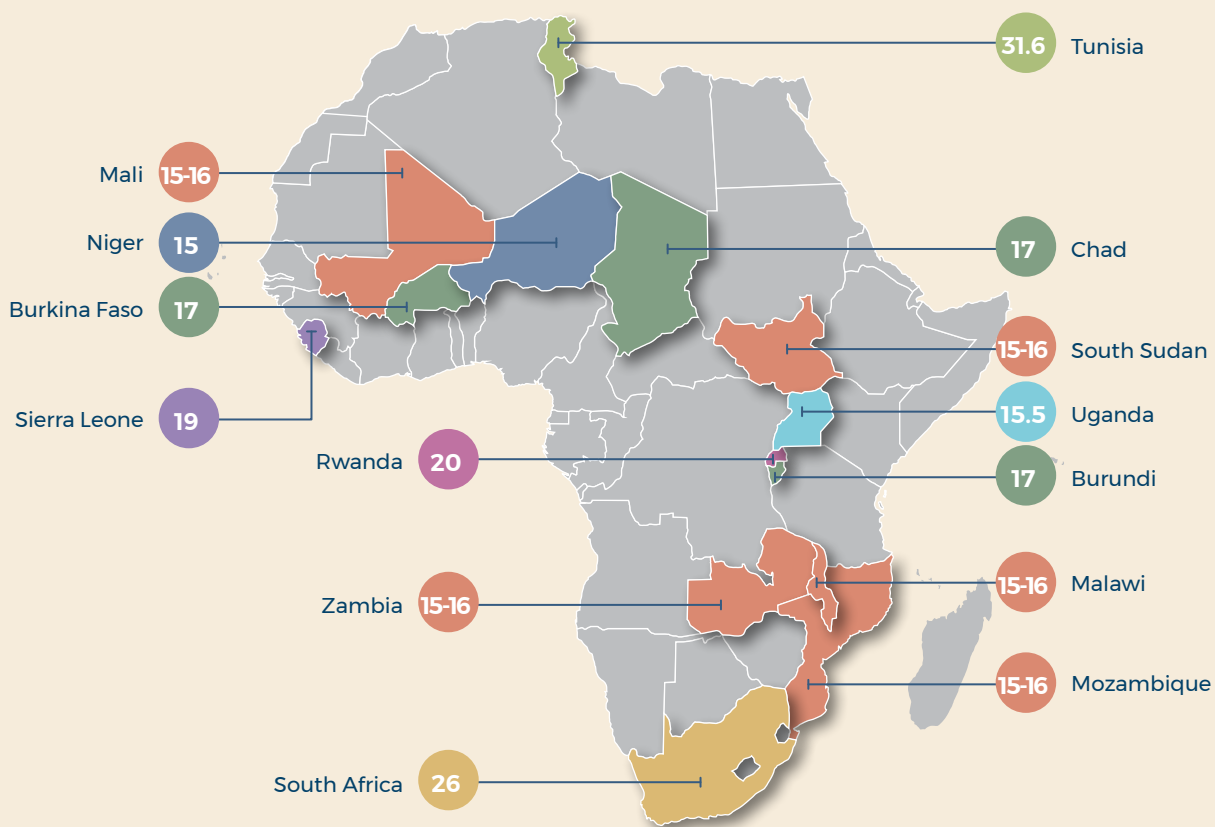
2 UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, "Youth Empowerment", <https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/youth.shtml>.

3 Covid-19 is a severe acute respiratory syndrome, coronavirus 2, which was declared a global pandemic by the World Health Organization on 11 February 2020.

4 Africa has a more expansive definition of youth than multilateral institutions such as the UN, which sees youth as people between the ages of 15 and 24 years.

5 Joe Myers, "The World's Youngest Populations Are All in Africa", World Economic Forum, May 9, 2016, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/05/the-world-s-10-youngest-countries-are-all-in-africa/>.

Figure 1 Median age in Africa



Source: Access Now.org, 'The State of Internet Shutdowns Around the World: The 2018 #KeepItOn Report', <https://www.accessnow.org/cms/assets/uploads/2019/07/KeepItOn-2018-Report.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2018

recipients of state services (such as education, health and employment) and instead ensure that young people participate meaningfully in social, political and economic life and are included in decision-making.

Roger Hart, a children's rights academic, contends that youth participation is a fundamental aspect of citizenship and an integral part of democracy.⁶ With political will, young people can ascend to the highest decision-making structures. For example, youth constitute 11% of South Africa's members of Parliament (MPs), a 5% increase from the sixth democratic Parliament that was dissolved before the elections in 2019, where youth

6 Roger Hart, "Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship" (Innocenti Essay 4, UNICEF, New York, 1992), 5, https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/childrens_participation.pdf.

accounted for 6%.⁷ Namibia just appointed 23-year-old Emma Theofelus as the Deputy Minister of Information and Communications Technology.⁸

To what extent should Africa's youth be included in governance processes? Is the inclusion of youth empowering or tokenistic? Are young people helping to set the agenda or are they being dictated to?

This paper contends that there is a disconnect and lack of cohesiveness in how youth-related and youth-relevant frameworks and policies are understood and implemented in Africa. It provides a situational analysis of the APRM youth engagement against the backdrop of the provisions of Africa's frameworks on youth, with particular focus on the APRM itself. It considers participatory governance as a relevant paradigm, whose principles will substantiate the importance of inclusion and engagement of all stakeholders, including youth.

Participatory paradigms for youth: Africa's strengths and shortcomings

Africa's youth are a key yet neglected constituent in governance processes. Although there are sufficient frameworks guiding participation, policy remains focused on a rights-based approach without specifications regarding political and civic participation, levels of participation and capacity building. As a result, there is insufficient monitoring of and reporting on youth participation.

Although there are sufficient frameworks guiding participation, policy remains focused on a rights-based approach without specifications regarding political and civic participation, levels of participation and capacity building

This paper uses the Participatory Governance Theory to challenge the lack of meaningful youth inclusion by highlighting the central tenets of participation in governance and drawing parallels with the provisions set out by the African Youth Charter (AYC).

7 Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, "Current Composition of the Newly Sworn-in 6th Parliament", Press Release, June 6, 2019, <https://www.parliament.gov.za/press-releases/current-composition-newly-sworn-6th-parliament>.

8 Charmaine Ngatjiheue, "Namibia: Nam's Youngest Minister Takes Office", *All Africa*, March 24, 2020, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202003241021.html>.

Participatory governance is derived from the theoretical lens of good governance⁹ and is concerned with creating favourable conditions for inclusivity and collective action. Participatory governance is therefore rooted in democratic systems of rule and practices. This paradigm has rapidly become an important requirement for democratic political systems and civic engagement.¹⁰ The central tenets of participatory governance are transparency, accountability, inclusivity, citizen participation and collaborative partnerships.

Typically, citizen participation in governmental processes focuses on measures designed to support and facilitate increased public access to information about governmental activities and initiatives. In some contexts, it is fashioned by efforts to extend consultative processes by including citizens in matters of interest to them. The participatory governance approach challenges those assumptions and practices that hinder meaningful participatory democracy. By challenging the idea that participation is limited to consultations and information sharing, it demonstrates that participation is sustained engagement and some distribution of power.

Participatory governance contends that participation extends beyond access to information and consultative processes, although they are the methods commonly used by governments. According to participatory governance expert Frank Fischer,¹¹

Citizen participation needs to be based on more elaborate and diverse principles, institutions and methods. Essential are a more equal distribution of political power, a fairer distribution of resources, the decentralization of decision-making processes, the development of a wide and transparent exchange of knowledge and information, the establishment of collaborative partnerships, an emphasis on inter-institutional dialogue, and greater accountability.

The primary objective of participatory approaches and techniques is to ensure that the voices of ordinary citizens have an influence on decision-making and are thus empowering.¹²

This form of governance has been widely embraced by major organisations such as the World Bank, the US Agency for International Development, UN-Habitat and the EU.¹³ This inclusive approach to governance involves proactive means to engage individuals and stakeholders who fall outside of government structures. This can be achieved through

9 Good governance is associated with efficient and effective administration in a democratic regime. It is equivalent to purposive and development-oriented administration, which is committed to improving people's quality of life and enlarging the scope of their participation in the decision-making process.

10 Siddiqur Osmani, "Participatory Governance: An Overview of Issues and Evidence", in *Participatory Governance and the Millennium Development Goals* (New York: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2006), <https://publicadministration.un.org/publications/content/PDFs/E-Library%20Archives/2008%20Participatory%20Governance%20and%20MDGs.pdf>.

11 Frank Fischer, "Participatory Governance: From Theory to Practice", in *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, ed. David Levi-Faur (Oxford Handbooks, 2012), 2-3.

12 Laurence Bherer, Pascale Dufour and Françoise Montambeault, "The Participatory Democracy Turn: An Introduction", *Journal of Civil Society* 12, no. 3 (2016), 5, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2016.1216383>.

13 Fischer, "Participatory Governance".

political networks and institutional frameworks that facilitate collaborative relationships with non-state actors.¹⁴ Active citizenry has the potential to improve democratic principles and values, accountability, transparency and the rule of law.

Why is this approach relevant for Africa's youth?

In the African context, contrary to countries' reported achievements on the protection of children's rights, their interventions do not lend themselves to the participatory governance approaches and stipulations of the AYC. Article 12 of the charter calls for deeper youth participation. It makes the following provisions:¹⁵

- Every young person shall have the right to participate in all spheres of society.
- States parties shall take the following measures to promote active youth participation in society:
 - » guarantee the participation of youth in Parliament and other decision-making bodies in accordance with the prescribed laws;
 - » facilitate the creation or strengthening of platforms for youth participation in decision-making at local, national, regional and continental levels of governance;
 - » ensure equal access to young men and young women to participate in decision-making and in fulfilling civic duties;
 - » provide access to information and services that will empower youth to become aware of their rights and responsibilities; and
 - » include youth representatives as part of delegations to ordinary sessions and other relevant meetings to broaden channels of communication and enhance the discussion of youth related issues.

Civil society groups in Africa enjoy different liberties when it comes to civic participation and inclusion, depending on their country context. According to the African Development Bank, the openness of the political space in Africa ranges from low to moderate, high and very high.¹⁶ Lack of inclusion has been more prevalent among the younger constituency, given widespread perceptions that young people are a 'ticking time bomb' and prone to political manipulation. Indeed, political apathy and a drop in political participation by youth is a growing concern. However, Afrobarometer¹⁷ claims that a lack of interest in

14 Fischer, "Participatory Governance", 2-3.

15 AU, "African Youth Charter" (Addis Ababa: AU, July 2, 2006), 7, https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7789-treaty-0033_-_african_youth_charter_e.pdf.

16 Yogesh Rajkotia and Jessica Gergen, "With or Without You: Making Governance More Participatory" (Working Paper, ThinkWell, February 2016), 12, https://thinkwell.global/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/ThinkWell-Making-Governance-More-Participatory_Final.pdf.

17 Rorisang Lekalake and Gyimah Boadi, "Does Less Engaged Mean Less Empowered?" (Policy Paper 34, Afrobarometer, August 2016), 5, https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Policy%20papers/ab_r6_policypaperno34_youth_political_engagement_in_africa_youth_day_release_eng2.pdf.

public affairs is more common among young people who are deprived of basic necessities. Issues such as service delivery, corruption and equitable electoral processes contribute to a decline in political and civic engagement. The 2019 Mo Ibrahim Forum Report¹⁸ concludes that about 60% of Africans, and especially youth, think that their governments are doing a fairly bad job at addressing the needs of young people. This is evidenced, for example, by the scores of young people dying in the Mediterranean Sea in an attempt to seek better opportunities in Europe. The SADC Youth Movement further notes that although youth make up the majority of electoral voters, they constitute just 1% of MPs across the sub-region. ‘Young people continue to be subdued and relegated to the “Youth Wing” of political parties and have been used as agents to amass political power.’¹⁹

Lack of inclusion has been more prevalent among the younger constituency, given widespread perceptions that young people are a ‘ticking time bomb’

Participatory approaches for young people need to ensure that youth presence, voice and visibility are enhanced. Youth should not be an afterthought but rather be included during the formulation of policies and programmes, while civic engagement and capacity building should be integrated into school curriculums to ensure that youth are empowered to participate. Currently, young people are only consulted at the end, if at all. The appointment of the AU Special Youth Envoy and the African Youth Council in 2018 are welcome participatory approaches in Africa that need to be scaled up. Aya Chebbi was appointed by AU Commission Chairperson Moussa Faki Mahamat with a mandate to serve as a representative of and advocate for African youth on the relevant AU decision-making bodies. The African Youth Council, which has gender and regional representation, advocates youth development issues by championing the work of youth in the AU, making it accessible to young people.²⁰ For example, as the world grapples with Covid-19, which

Participatory approaches for young people need to ensure that youth presence, voice and visibility are enhanced

18 Mo Ibrahim Foundation, “Africa’s First Challenge: The Youth Bulge Stuck in ‘Waithood’”, July 10, 2019, <https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/news/2019/africas-first-challenge-youth-bulge-stuck-waithood>.

19 Muzwakhe Sigudhla, “Perspectives on Youth and Governance (On the Occasion of ADFIV on Youth and Governance Symposium, Addis Ababa, October 10–15, 2004)”, 9, https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/uploaded-documents/ADF/ADF4/sadc_-_perspective_on_youth_and_governance.pdf.

20 AU, “Communiqué on the Appointment of an African Union Youth Envoy”, November 2, 2018, <https://au.int/en/pressreleases/2018/1102/communique-appointment-african-union-youth-envoy>.

has curtailed the ability of stakeholders to meet and engage physically, the AU Youth Envoy and the African Youth Council have used their online platforms to remain accessible through webinars, consultations and polls. This will help to ensure that the collective voices and perspectives of youth are not lost during this time. Mandipa Ndlovu, Senior Teaching Assistant at the University of Cape Town, observes that these platforms show that, although youth inclusion in such spaces remains an evident (frankly circumspect) pathway to boosting youth participation on the continent, many structural barriers remain for young people seeking to occupy space.²¹

According to Susan Mwape, a human rights activist and civil society representative of the Zambia APRM National Governing Council (NGC),²²

Youth need to be viewed as more than just beneficiaries and for meaningful participation to happen, the youth need to begin positioning themselves and exercising their democracy beyond the ballot box. They need to begin to talk about what they want [and] how they want to be led, and also contribute to policy at formulation stage.

It is with this in mind that the youth discourse needs to be considered and implemented using participatory governance paradigms and rooted in the AYC with its all-encompassing provisions. This puts a greater responsibility on Africa's governance mechanisms to promote good governance and create enabling environments for participation, particularly for the continent's youth.

Youth policy in Africa

Aspiration Six of the AU's development blueprint, *Agenda 2063: The Africa we Want*, hopes for 'an Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of the African people, including women and youth'.²³ According to a scorecard by the New Partnership for Africa's Development, Africa has so far attained 40% of this aspiration. This progress seems substantial but one has to take into consideration the limited indicators used. The methodology employed to ascertain progress leveraged data that was recorded by member states on their Voluntary National Reports against the targets set out in the First Ten-Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063.²⁴

21 Mandipa Ndlovu (Senior Teaching Assistant at the University of Cape Town), interview by Luanda Mpungose, April 6, 2020.

22 Susan Mwape (Member of the Zambia NGC), interview by Luanda Mpungose, February 23, 2020.

23 AU, "Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want", 2015, 8, https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/36204-doc-agenda2063_popular_version_en.pdf.

24 AU, "First Continental Report on the Implementation of Agenda 2063", 2020, 90-91, <https://www.nepad.org/publication/first-continental-report-implementation-agenda-2063>.

The targets for youth are that:

- African youth will be mobile, 15% of all new businesses will emanate from their ingenuity and talent and the proportion of 2013 youth unemployed will be reduced by at least a quarter; and
- child labour exploitation, marriages, trafficking, and soldiering will end by 2023.

Empowerment seems to be measured in the context of employment and entrepreneurship only. It can be argued that these goals are not ambitious enough. The progress made in empowering young people in Africa is commendable, but these targets leave out some of the crucial aspects of youth participation articulated in the AYC.

Until recently, Africa's normative and operational frameworks on youth have lacked a concise and cohesive understanding of and approach on addressing the needs of Africa's youth. Most pertinently, they have not been fully implemented. Although there has been some improvement in certain platforms, it can be argued that most African countries still do not completely understand youth participation.

The lack of prompt uptake and domestication of these frameworks by AU member states signals that issues relating to youth are not well understood or demand driven

The lack of prompt uptake and domestication of these frameworks by AU member states signals that issues relating to youth are not well understood or demand driven. To date, only 30 of the 55 AU members have signed, ratified and deposited the AYC. A total of 43 countries have signed the AYC, while 39 have ratified and deposited the AYC without signing the charter.²⁵ Figure 2 gives a detailed breakdown of this composition.

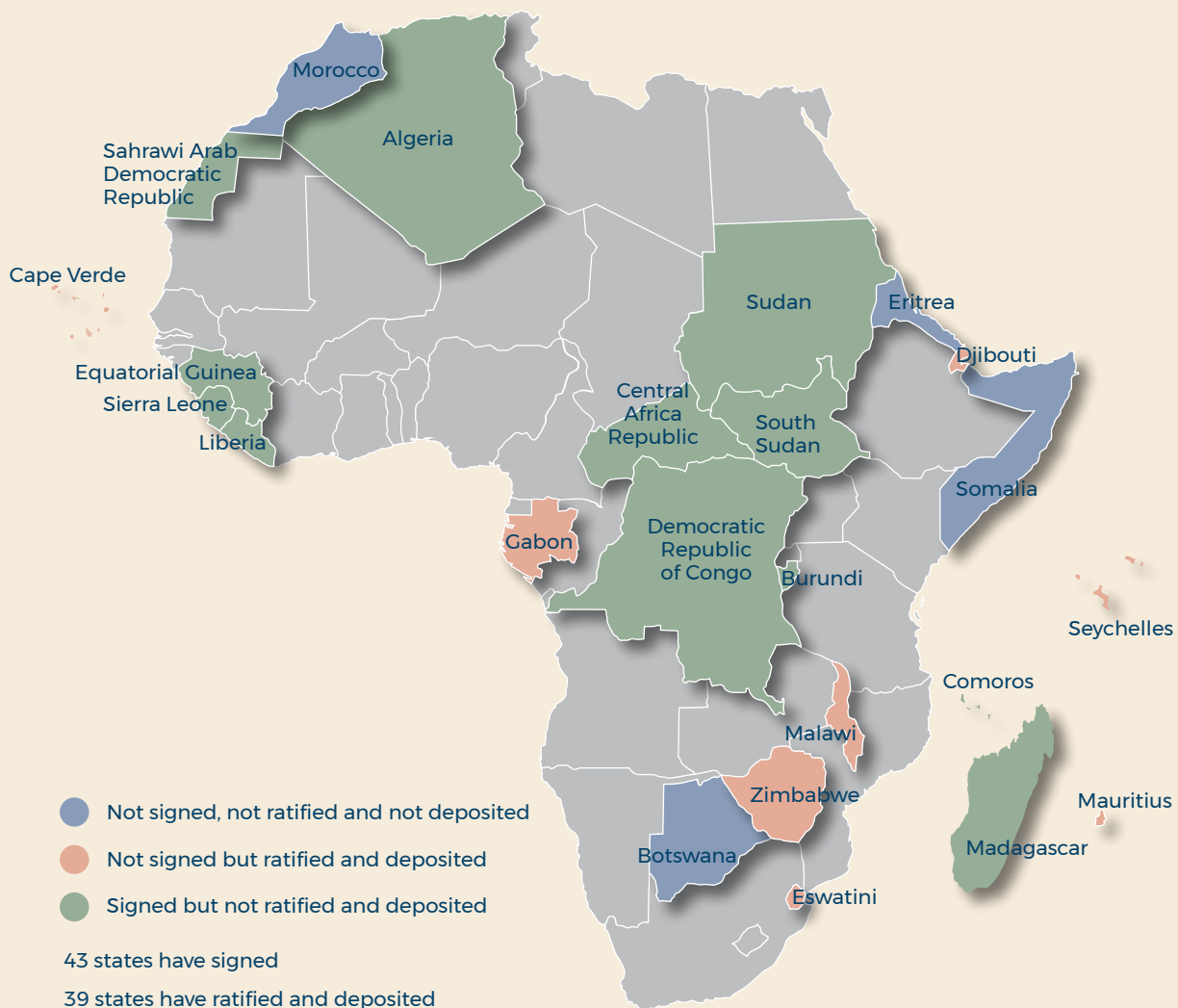
Some AU member states are listed (see Table 1) as having ratified and deposited the charter but are not signatories. This may mean that a country has developed a national policy that is guided or influenced by some sections of the AYC but also takes into consideration its own country context and other international frameworks and commitments. For example, Malawi's policy on youth takes cognisance of some sections of the AYC but is not entirely based on the AYC, as it also looks to its international commitments.²⁶ The AU registers these

25 Countries that have signed, ratified and domesticated are: Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Republic of Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mozambique, Mauritania, Namibia, Nigeria, Niger, Rwanda, South Africa, Senegal, São Tomé and Príncipe, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda and Zambia.

26 State of the Union Malawi, "Malawi's Compliance with African Union Protocols and Charters: Final Report 2015", 2015, 15, <http://www.fahamu.org/resources/SOTU-MALAWI-AU-COMPLIANCE-REPORT-2015-.pdf>.

countries as having ratified and deposited without being signatories. Consequently, they cannot be held accountable to the provisions of the AYC. Furthermore, Malawi defines youth as people between the ages of 10 and 35, as opposed to the AU definition of 15–35 years.²⁷

Figure 2 African Youth Charter: Countries that have either not signed, ratified or deposited



Source: AU, "List of Countries Which Have Signed, Ratified/Acceded to the African Youth Charter", June 28, 2019, <https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7789-sl-AFRICAN%20YOUTH%20CHARTER.pdf>

The AU's annual themes have been instrumental in setting the agenda and highlighting major developmental issues for AU member states, development partners, civil society

²⁷ Malawi Policy Fact Sheet, "Definition of Youth", June 11, 2014, <https://www.youthpolicy.org/factsheets/country/malawi/>.

and other stakeholders.²⁸ Furthermore, they create a platform to discuss and map action plans. Thus the 2017 Year of Youth was able to spotlight all issues pertaining to youth by reinvigorating the AYC through the intergenerational dialogues initiated by the African Governance Architecture and the establishment of the African Youth Fund, where 1% of the AU budget will be allocated to youth programmes.²⁹

In 2019, the AU Commission (AUC) adopted the Africa Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment (APAYE)³⁰ for 2019–2023. APAYE is a five-year continental framework and plan of action to implement the AYC, the AU decision on harnessing the demographic dividend through investment in youth, and the targets on youth articulated in the Agenda 2063 Ten-Year Implementation Plan.³¹

It is through the 1 million by 2021 initiative that the AUC seeks to reach 1 million African youth through tangible opportunities and interventions underscored in its '4Es' – employment, entrepreneurship, education and engagement. This can be viewed as a mid-term review that will assess the tangible gains of APAYE.³² It seeks to address the criticism about a lack of monitoring and evaluation.

Ndlovu states:³³

As the largest, and ever-growing demographic on the continent, young people are pivotal players in tackling current development issues that impact their current and future lived experiences. Unfortunately, the current frameworks in place to guide policies and programming at national, regional and continental levels remain tokenised spaces at best where progressive policies run parallel to a lack of urgency in implementation.

There are comprehensive frameworks for Africa's youth, along with many action plans, strategies, targets and initiatives. But owing to a lack of consolidation of efforts, reporting, monitoring and evaluation, it is difficult to understand the gains and how bottlenecks such as weak implementation, insufficient data and lack of coordination will be addressed. It is also unclear to what extent and at what level young people participated in the formulation of these frameworks and initiatives. Figure 3 depicts the flow of the AU frameworks and subsequent initiatives.

28 Luanda Mpungose, "Tracking AU Themes: Why the APRM Should Rise to the Occasion" (Opinion and Analysis, South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, June 5, 2019), <https://saiia.org.za/research/tracking-au-themes-why-the-aprm-should-rise-to-the-occasion/>.

29 Luanda Mpungose and Lennon Monyae, "Carrying Forward the Momentum of Youth" (Policy Insight 40, SAIIA, Johannesburg, 2018), 6.

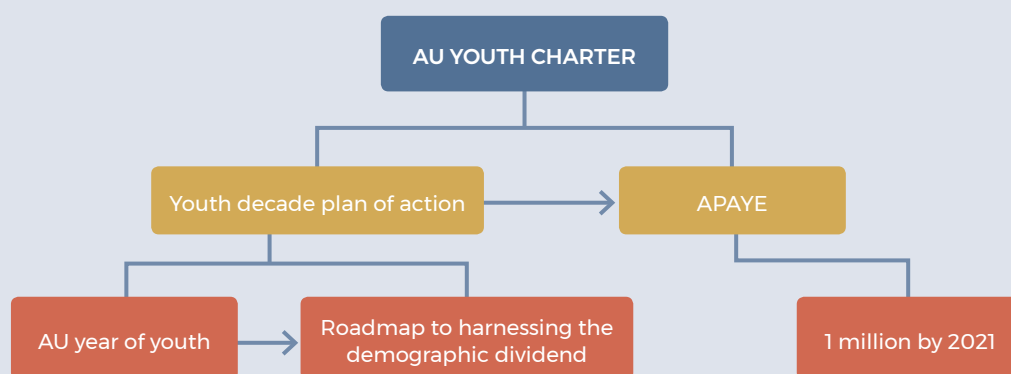
30 AU, Youth Envoy, "2019/2020 Action Plan for the Office of the Youth Envoy", 2019, https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/37526-doc-oye_action_plan_2019_20_final_oct_2019.pdf.

31 AU, "Agenda 2063".

32 The flagship programmes being implemented by APAYE are alternative pathways to education; young teachers initiative, internships and apprenticeships, nurturing youth-led start-ups; leadership programmes; youth movements; and youth well-being and mental health.

33 Ndlovu, interview.

Figure 3 AU normative and operational youth frameworks



Source: Created by the author

APAYE draws on previous frameworks and incorporates a monitoring and evaluation aspect through a mid-term review to assess impact and the number of young people empowered by this initiative.

BOX 1 MAJOR FEATURES OF AFRICA'S FRAMEWORKS ON YOUTH

African Youth Charter

This charter is divided into two parts: rights and duties; and the final provisions. Part one consists of 28 articles that outline the rights and duties of youth and state actors, such as the right to expression, right to movement, development, youth participation, health, peace and security. Article 28 gives guidelines on how the AUC can ensure states parties respect the commitments made in this charter.

Part two elaborates on guidelines pertaining to the adoption, ratification and amendment of the charter. The AYC was adopted by the Seventh Ordinary Session of the AU, held in Banjul, The Gambia in 2006.

African Youth Decade Plan of Action

The African Youth Decade Plan of Action (DPoA) 2009-2018 was crafted as an engagement strategy for different sectors and stakeholders (member states, development partners, AUC and AU organs). It aimed to facilitate more coordinated and concerted actions towards accelerating youth empowerment and development in Africa. The expected outcomes of the DPoA were:

- member states' capacity to develop and implement comprehensive, integrated and cross-sector youth development policies and plans is enhanced;

- youth perspectives are effectively mainstreamed in the design, implementation and monitoring of sustainable development goals and priorities;
- increased investment in youth development programmes and activities is linked to the assessment of development targets;
- resource requirements and mobilisation for youth development at all levels are based on evidence and results; and
- the DPoA is adopted as a framework for funding and evaluating youth empowerment and development policies, programmes and activities on the continent.

There are evident shortcomings with monitoring progress as envisioned by these outcomes. The DPoA was not popularised and did not gain momentum. It can be argued that it was forgotten and only remembered in 2017 when Africa's agenda was youth, but then there were only two years remaining to achieve these outcomes. To date, there has been no progress report on what was achieved during this decade.

AU Roadmap on Harnessing the Demographic Dividend

The AU Roadmap on Harnessing the Demographic Dividend was a direct response to the 2017 Year of Youth and the surging youth demographic in Africa. Like the DPoA, it provides ways in which stakeholders can catalyse actions towards harnessing the demographic dividend. It also takes into consideration the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Agenda 2063, which had not yet been adopted when the DPoA was crafted. The roadmap contains four central pillars that stakeholders need to address: employment and entrepreneurship; education and skills development; health and wellbeing; and rights, governance, and youth empowerment. Each pillar contains key actions and deliverables for stakeholders.

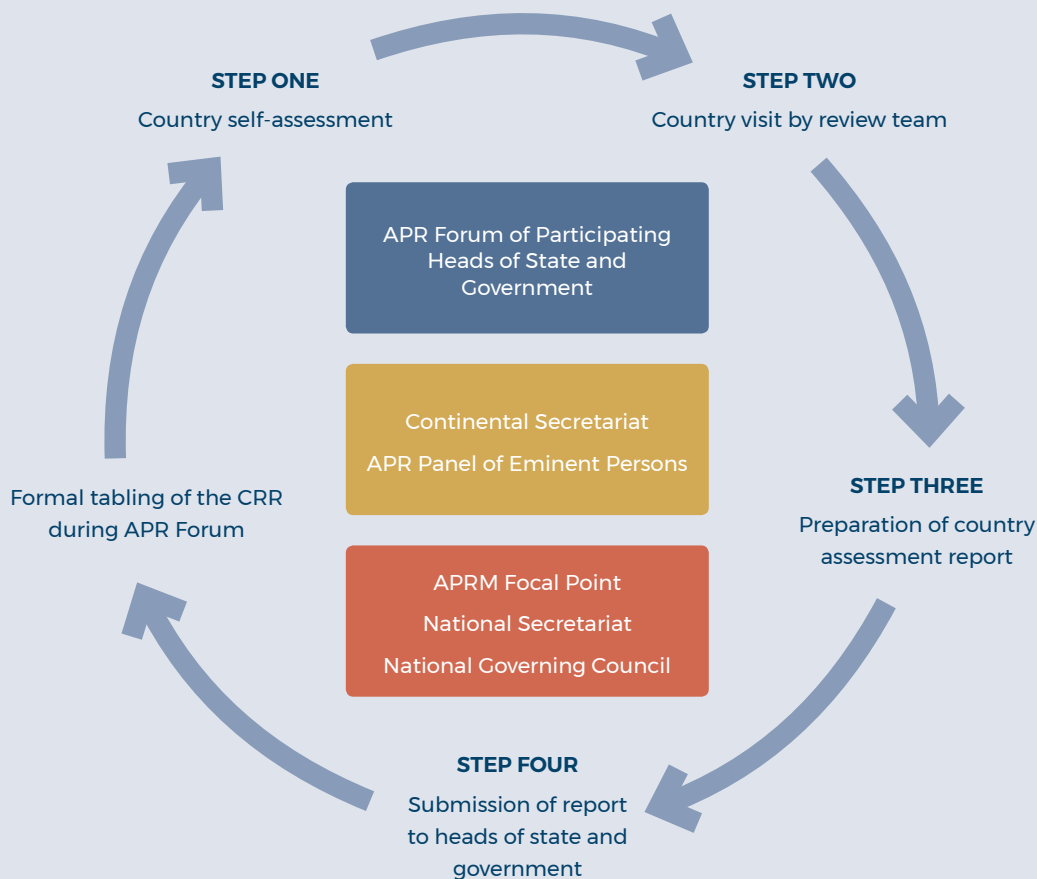
Youth participation and the APRM

There is now a greater imperative to assess and promote Africa's standards and practices, promote good governance and extract areas of best practice. The APRM has been heralded as the premier instrument for enhancing good governance in Africa. It is positioned to promote youth-related frameworks and garner a common understanding of inclusion and participation.

The APRM is Africa's voluntary, self-monitoring mechanism whose core mandate is to promote good governance by conducting governance reviews for peer learning.

The APRM Continental Secretariat provides coordination, administration and technical support to participating member states. The national structures and processes of the APRM are crucial in ensuring implementation of its priorities. These include the Focal Point (a senior government official who acts as a liaison between the APRM Continental Secretariat and national African Peer Review (APR) structures) and the NGC.

Figure 4 APRM structure and review process*



* The APRM also conducts targeted reviews and monitors the implementation of the UN SDGs and Agenda 2063

Source: Eric Albert Opuku, *Effective Stakeholder Participation in the APRM Process for the Participation of Democratic Governance: A Case Study of Ghana* (Oslo: UN Development Programme, Oslo Governance Centre, 2006), 15, <https://www.aprtoolkit.saiia.org.za/documents/country-reports-and-exper/67-atkt-ghana-stakeholder-participation-aprm-2006-en/file>

The primary function of this self-assessment tool is to evaluate good governance in participating states across four thematic areas: democracy and political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance, and socio-economic development. Through this process, the APRM Country Review Report (CRR) highlights a nation's governance landscape, including areas of best practice for peer learning, early warnings and recommendations.

Its expanded mandate (an outcome of the ‘Kagame Reforms’ of the AU) has broadened the APRM’s scope to monitor the implementation of the UN’s SDGs and the AU’s Agenda 2063.³⁴ Furthermore, having been recently integrated into the AU as a specialised agency, there is a bigger need for collaboration between the AUC and the APRM to empower Africa’s youth and integrate them into the good governance discourse. This should ensure that youth issues and meaningful participatory approaches are streamlined into AU programming.

Historically, APRM processes and platforms have had minimal youth inclusion and representation.³⁵ However, amid pressure for greater youth engagement and representation, the APRM Secretariat hosted the inaugural Youth Symposium in N’Djamena, Chad in July 2019. The event hosted some 100 young people from all sub-regions of the continent, along with representation from the diaspora.

The N’Djamena symposium is a milestone in the APRM Secretariat’s efforts to advance the youth agenda. One outcome of this event was the adoption of the N’Djamena Declaration,³⁶ which outlines the proceedings of the event and suggestions moving forward. However, no specific commitments were made in this declaration.

The symposium was followed up with youth workshops and meetings whose outcomes include the formulation of an Interim Youth Network, which will work with the secretariat to integrate youth issues into APRM processes and encourage the inclusion of youth in national structures of the APRM.

Moreover, there has since been coordination with the AUC Youth Division to identify mutual synergies and areas of collaboration. On 4–8 November 2019 the AUC Youth Division in collaboration with the APRM Secretariat hosted a workshop on youth-led accountability and youth mainstreaming. A collaborative framework between the AUC Youth Division and the APRM was drafted in partnership with young people from the APRM Youth Network and Secretariat. This framework was signed and sets guidelines on how the AUC will work with the APRM to mainstream youth.³⁷

These efforts by the APRM Secretariat are commendable. The consolidated launch of the African Governance Report in Nairobi, Kenya in December 2019 is further proof of its commitment. All panels comprised capable young people who made presentations applying a youth lens to a range of pertinent governance issues. There has been noticeably improved inclusion of youth in panels and workshops.

34 Yarik Turianskyi, “The Kagame Reforms of the AU: Will they Stick?” (Occasional Paper 229, SAIIA, Johannesburg, July 22, 2019), 4, <https://saiia.org.za/research/the-kagame-reforms-of-the-au-will-they-stick/>.

35 The author attended the Africa Governance Report Launch in Pretoria in April 2019 where the APRM Secretariat was openly criticised for never having youth panellists at its events. Panels are always filled by older participants.

36 See Annexure.

37 The author participated in the AUC-APRM Workshop on Youth-Led Accountability in which the collaborative framework was drafted. This resulted in a Collaborative Framework for the AUC and APRM and development of Indicators to measure community-led participation.

According to Mwape, the APRM is making a lot of headway in terms of integrating young people. She notes that at a continental level there is an established Interim Youth Network and a pending Youth Desk. However, she stresses that it is necessary to decentralise these structures to a national level, which will enable more young people to engage with the APRM.³⁸

It is imperative that youth participation is not limited to the attendance of conferences and meetings but also cemented into APRM tools and processes at both continental and national levels

It is imperative that youth participation is not limited to the attendance of conferences and meetings but also cemented into APRM tools and processes at both continental and national levels. This ensures continuity and sustainability. Moussa Kondo, Country Director at Accountability Lab Mali, says that it is important that youth have a clear agenda and budget to fully coordinate youth-related activities (such as capacity-building training) alongside the APRM Secretariat.³⁹ What are the additional avenues and platforms for inclusion and participation?

Questionnaire and indicators

The function of the APRM Self-Assessment Questionnaire is to provide member countries with guidelines to determine the participatory process of compiling the Country Self-Assessment Report, which gives an overview of a country's governance milieu.⁴⁰ The questionnaire comprises governance-related questions across the four thematic areas for the assessment of a country's performance.

In the 2012 revised questionnaire, cross-cutting issues are defined as areas that are interconnected and require an integrated and holistic response on the part of partners and integration into all stages of programmes and projects. This includes issues such as gender balance, land and corruption. Youth does not get the same recognition, although the UN views youth as a cross-cutting issue.⁴¹ According to APRM Youth Liaison Lennon Monyae,

38 Susan Mwape (Member of the Zambia NGC), interview by Luanda Mpungose, February 2020.

39 Moussa Kondo (Country Director of Accountability Lab Mali and member of the APRM Interim Youth Network), interview by Luanda Mpungose, March 17, 2020.

40 APRM, "Revised Country Self-Assessment Questionnaire for the African Peer Review Mechanism", 2012, 1, <https://aprmtoolkit.saiia.org.za/documents/official-documents/456-revised-aprm-questionnaire/file>.

41 UN, Inter-agency Task Force on Financing Development, "Cross-cutting Issues", <https://developmentfinance.un.org/cross-cutting-issues>.

the APRM is currently working on updating its questionnaire. Standards and codes relating to youth will be given attention.⁴²

The current self-assessment questionnaire defines participation as an approach whereby all stakeholders are equitably and actively involved in the formulation of development policies and strategies, as well as the analysis, planning, implementation, control and evaluation of development activities.⁴³ Participatory techniques underscored in the questionnaire are: information sharing, consultation, consensus building, dialogue, involvement, participation, appropriation and approval by stakeholders. Member states should be encouraged to assess themselves against these indicators.

Although the APRM generally has a consultative process and engages various stakeholders in these processes, it can be argued that thus far it has done so to a lesser extent with young people. Youth attendees at the APRM Africa Governance Report launch in Pretoria, South Africa in 2019 criticised the APRM Secretariat for its failure to include young people on its panels. More often than not, youth are only invited to listen to interventions proposed by the older generation. Demonstrating the APRM Secretariat's responsiveness to this critique, during the consolidated launch of the same report in Nairobi, Kenya in December 2019 the two-day workshop had youth representation and interventions in all its panels. This shows that the APRM can be youth-inclusive, but it needs to sharpen its approaches.

Will the process to revise the questionnaire identify and appoint capable young people to represent the views of their peers? It remains to be seen as the process unfolds, but the updated questionnaire should be ambitious and consider how member states can mainstream young people to participate and engage in the country's governance processes. The process to revise the 2012 questionnaire should try to include capable young people who can apply a youth lens to governance.

BOX 2 APRM SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE: CURRENT INDICATORS ON YOUTH

Democracy and Political Governance, Objective Seven, Question Two: Promotion of the Rights of Children and Young Persons

- I Details of legal provisions, measures and policies that promote and protect the rights of young persons including but not limited to:
- Legislation and policy initiatives taken to give effect to the provisions of the African Youth Charter
 - Legislation and policy initiatives that promote the participation of youth in the political process

42 Lennon Monyae (Youth Liaison at the APRM Continental Secretariat), interview by Luanda Mpungose, March 5, 2020.

43 APRM, "Revised Country Self-Assessment", 1.

- Mechanisms to promote a culture of peace and tolerance amongst youth people that discourage their participation in acts of violence, terrorism, xenophobia, racial discrimination, gender-based discrimination, foreign occupation and trafficking of arms and drugs
- II Assess the effectiveness of these measures in terms of trends in the overall improvement of the status of young persons in the country over the past five years:
- Provide evidence of measures taken to sustain progress (training, monitoring, follow-up actions, adjustment, reports available)

Country review missions and reports

The APRM Country Review Mission encompasses a multi-stakeholder approach led by a member of the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons, accompanied by governance experts such as academics, technical research partners, civil society representatives and independent consultants. However, it is not clear to what extent youth representation has been prioritised in the missions. Moreover, APRM tools and processes are highly technical and arguably very complex, especially for people who may not have been previously engaged with or followed the APRM over a long period. These processes thus become inaccessible to the very young people whom the APRM seeks to include. Monyae observes that the APRM Secretariat has already begun prioritising younger researchers and experts during country review missions, as evidenced by the Namibia targeted review mission where half of the mission comprised people under the age of 35. This included the Namibian expert, the AUC trade expert, and the technical and research team from the APRM Secretariat. He adds that this approach will protect the APRM's institutional memory.⁴⁴ This level of youth representation is commendable and should be emulated in other review missions.

It has also been observed that there are gaps in relation to youth in the CRRs of APRM member states insofar as frameworks, policies and initiatives are concerned.

Zambia Country Review Report 2013

Policy incoherence

The CRR⁴⁵ notes that Zambia is a signatory to international conventions for the protection of children, notably the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the Convention on the Worst

⁴⁴ Monyae, interview.

⁴⁵ APRM, "APRM Country Review Report No. 16: Republic of Zambia", 2013, <https://www.aprm-au.org/publications/country-review-report-no-16-zambia/>.

Form of Child Labour; the Minimum Age Convention; and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. These rights are enriched in Zambia's constitution. The report further observes that Zambia has a National Youth Policy aimed at empowering the youth constituency and a National Child Policy. However, Zambia's progress on youth empowerment is not measured against the provisions of the AYC, which Zambia has signed, ratified and domesticated. Furthermore, the indicators outlined in the Self-Assessment Questionnaire are not adequately examined in the report.

In Zambia, inadequate resources and the channelling of child programme funds to administrative and infrastructural programmes have been cited as challenges frustrating progress in child and youth development. The observations and recommendations that are made in this section apply the lens on children and youth protection rights, employment rights and basic services.

The APRM Panel of Eminent Persons recommends that Zambia enables broad participation to ensure representation of women, youth and people living with disabilities. Consequently, it missed the opportunity to promote the participatory techniques and guidelines listed in the questionnaire.

Kenya Country Review Report 2017 (second generation)

Broad-based participation: Lack of evidence in reports

The Second Kenya CRR⁴⁶ notes that broad-based participation has been extended to the youth. A National Youth Policy was finalised and enacted by Parliament in November 2007, culminating in the setting up of a National Youth Council. The council lobbies for legislation on issues affecting the youth. Above all the council gives youth a voice to ensure that the government and other policymakers are kept informed of their views and aspirations.

To what extent is this council effective? Is there evidence suggesting that it consists of young people? To what extent has the legislature taken up suggestions proposed by the council? There is no reference to the actual measures taken by the council to improve the status of youth, or youth inclusion and participation in Kenya. The evidence and impact of those measures are also not reported.

This disjuncture needs to be on the radar of the APRM Secretariat, its member states and Country Review Teams in order to address fragmentation and gaps resulting from the lack of a holistic understanding of youth participation.

46 APRM, "Second Country Review Report of the Republic of Kenya", January 2017, <https://www.aprm-au.org/publications/country-review-report-no-20-kenya-2nd-version/>.

Following the promulgation of the new constitution in 2012, the Kenya National Youth Council (NYC) was created as an umbrella body for the youth to feed into government policies. This body was enacted by Parliament in accordance with the 2009 National Youth Act. After elections it was officially operationalised, giving the elected youth representatives a six-year term.

Kathurima claims that the council is a toothless giant that has become a proxy for politicians. Prior to Kenya's 2017 presidential election, the council was due to undergo an election of its own to elect new representatives. This did not happen, owing to the reluctance of politicians to undergo such a process during a critical time. Electing new council members could frustrate the national election process. As a result, the outgoing council members were replaced by representatives handpicked by politicians, which compromises the council's legitimacy.

Another challenge curtailing the effectiveness of the NYC is funding. It does not have an independent budget, but derives its resources from the Ministry of Public Service, Gender and Youth Affairs. These end up being reserved for salaries rather than programmes. The ministry's budgetary allocation to the NYC was later cut owing to allegations of malpractice and corruption, which has had implications for the staffing and capacity of the NYC. The previous executive members of the NYC approached Parliament for additional funding to carry out mandated activities, but its response was along the lines of 'what is this monster that we have created' and no additional funding was granted.

Kathurima notes that while there are calls for the amendment of the National Youth Act, these are not being driven by representatives of the NYC. During the formulation of the act, youth employment and youth inclusion were left out. Youth at the grassroots level are not included in these processes, so the amendment seeks to address these shortcomings, as well as the political interference. The youth organisations of Kenya called for this amendment to address the following issues:

- formalisation of the work of the NYC to a profession of integrity and competence with formal outcome areas;
- youth mainstreaming and inclusion;
- the structure and functions of the NYC;
- corporate membership – ability to fundraise and not just receive funding from government; and
- resource mobilisation and capacity building.

According to Kathurima,

In Kenya, the APRM national structures including the NGC lack independence and have to answer to government. Issues pertaining to the challenges facing the NYC were raised to the APRM Review Mission in Kenya, however, they did not make it to the CRR, and this is due to government having the final word.

* Anne Kathurima (Former member of the Kenya APRM Youth Network), interview by Luanda Mpungose, March 2020

A report by the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy for Africa argues that there is no holistic approach to the questions raised in the APRM questionnaire (used to guide the report writing) and the subsequent conversations in the thematic chapters of the CRRs, thereby undermining the possibility of sustainable solutions.⁴⁷

Namibia acceded to the APRM In January 2017 and underwent a targeted review on youth unemployment in December 2019. The findings of the targeted review are consistent with the assessment made in this paper regarding the lack of policy coordination and cohesiveness.

The Namibia Targeted Review on Youth Unemployment makes the following assessment:⁴⁸

Challenges Implementing Youth Programmes: Uncoordinated policy framework, lack of administrative [coordination] and poor financial consolidation of youth programmes- whereby there is a lack of appropriate institutional framework to ensure all employment initiatives are targeted and time bound, financed, and are properly coordinated, monitored, and evaluated in a comprehensive manner. Greater coordinated level of involvement of key economic ministries such as Youth and Sports; Labour; Finance; Trade and Industry; Trade and Industry and other key national stakeholders; private sector; NGOs and civil society in the planning and implementation process for job creation and intervention is absent.

This finding underscores the arguments made in this paper regarding the lack of coordination and a concerted, cohesive understanding of youth interventions, which affects policies, programmes and impact.

47 Melanie Meirotti, "Africa's Untapped Resource: Analysing Youth in the APRM" (Occasional Paper AP5, Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, Johannesburg, June 2015), 2, <https://www.eisa.org.za/pdf/aprm2015aps5.pdf>.

48 APRM, "Namibia Targeted Review on Youth Unemployment" (Addis Ababa: APRM, 2019), 87.

National structures

The national structures of the APRM are significant in the APRM process, given that implementation predominantly takes place at this level. The national structures include the Focal Point (at ministerial level), National Secretariat and the NGCs.

This section will specifically look at the NGCs, as the Statute of the APRM stipulates that the NGC shall be autonomous from the government and its composition shall include representatives of all key stakeholders in society.⁴⁹ The NGC leads the country's self-assessment process and oversees the activities of the APRM at a national level. The composition of NGCs must be representative and inclusive. Its legitimacy is derived from the representation of and buy-in from all stakeholders, including young people.

To mitigate youth being overlooked and insufficient youth representation, APRM member states need to have a quota for youth representation in NGCs

To mitigate youth being overlooked and insufficient youth representation, APRM member states need to have a quota for youth representation in NGCs. These councils should adhere to the principles of participation and participatory techniques outlined in the APRM tools. For example, In preparation for South Africa's second-generation review, the Department of Public Service and Administration is facilitating the establishment of a new NGC where youth are a non-negotiable sector. According to Public Service and Administration Minister Senzo Mchunu, South Africa's APRM Focal Point,⁵⁰ 'The structure is comprised of representatives and key stakeholders from government; civil society; private sector; marginalized communities and organisations representing women, youth, and people with disabilities.'

Such exemplary approaches should foster real inclusion and participation at the highest level, as opposed to being a 'tick-box' exercise. Hart's Ladder of Participation⁵¹ argues that the highest level of youth participation is when adults and young people share in decision-making, and the lowest form of participation is when young people are tokenised. Therefore, African leaders need to examine their methods and approaches to ensure that youth are given real opportunities and spaces to contribute to Africa's development.

49 Migai Akech, "APRM at the National Level" (Johannesburg: APRM Secretariat, Deepening the Review Project, 2019), 12.

50 South African Government, "South Africa to Set Up New APRM National Governing Council Ahead of the 2nd Generation Review", Media Advisory, December 10, 2019, <https://www.gov.za/speeches/south-africa-10-dec-2019-0000>.

51 Mpungose and Monyae, "Carrying Forward the Momentum", 7.

Conclusion

Definitions and implementation of youth policies should go beyond employment, basic services and promotion of entrepreneurship. There is a great need for leaders to integrate participation and inclusion into policies and programmes. Furthermore, it is crucial to measure the impact of empowerment initiatives born out of national policies domesticated from Africa's normative frameworks.

It is evident that there are strong linkages between the AYC, which is the major AU framework on youth, and participatory governance paradigms. The divergence is found in the implementation of these provisions. There is a fragmentation in Africa's frameworks on youth and how they are formulated into policy at national level. AU member states are not effectively translating the frameworks they adopted in Banjul into national policies and programmes. This affects the indicators used to measure progress, which this paper shows not to be in sync with all the articles of the AYC.

This disjuncture between youth frameworks, policies and programmes suggests that issues pertaining to youth are not demand driven and/or Africa does not have a common and shared understanding of youth inclusion and participation. The AYC was adopted on 2006 but the DPoA only came into existence in 2009. It was not until 2017 that the AU dedicated a year to youth, prompting conversations and agenda-setting, and finally encouraging real dialogue on the youth discourse, albeit still fragmented. As African countries and institutions immerse themselves in the concept of youth inclusion, young people should increasingly be front of mind rather than an afterthought. To date there has been no progress report on the achievements of the DPoA, but it appears that we have already moved to a fresh initiative, namely APAYE, which encouragingly aims to consolidate and maximise gains based on lessons learnt.

There is a tendency to perceive meaningful youth participation as the creation of youth bodies or the invitation of young people to meetings only, but it is, in fact, characterised by shared dialogue and decision-making between adults and youth.

This paper makes the following recommendations:

- African leaders, governments and institutions urgently need to reach a common understanding on the protocols on youth and how expansive they are in terms of inclusion and participation. This must be clearly translated into policies and programmes and implemented. By 2025, which marks the 10th anniversary of the adoption of Agenda 2063, this should be reflected in the youth policies of AU member states.
- The APRM Continental Secretariat has to lead by example regarding inclusion and participation of young people. It should consolidate its youth activities and integrate youth into its tools and processes, which should be clearly highlighted in the APRM's subsequent strategy running from 2021-2024. The APRM Interim Youth Network needs

to participate at a strategic level on youth issues and responses, as opposed to operating in a silo.

- The APRM should immediately facilitate youth representation in all country review missions to ensure that the views and perspectives of young people are adequately represented.
- The APRM should encourage both its new and its long-standing member states to sign, ratify and domesticate the AYC, offering support where it can, to capacitate youth on governance issues and processes in Africa. All African countries should formulate policies that allow and encourage young people to participate in governance processes.
- Lastly, by 2025 all APRM NGCs must commit to established quotas for youth representation to guarantee youth inclusion in the national structures of the APRM.

This is how Africa can build a demographic of engaged young people who contribute to the continent's development and attainment of the aspirations set out in Agenda 2063.

Annexure

Declaration of the 1st APRM International Youth Symposium on 'Youth as APRM Driving Force for Good Governance in Africa', N'Djamena, the Republic of Chad, on 1-2 July 2019.

- 1 The APRM First International Youth Symposium held in N'Djamena, Republic of Chad, on the 1-2 July 2019, brought together over 300 young people from the five regions of the African Union, including representatives of youth organisations, African Union representatives, government representatives, activists, non-governmental organisations and experts. The symposium was hosted by the APRM Continental Secretariat with the support of His Excellency Idriss Déby Itno, President of the Republic of Chad.
- 2 In his opening address, H.E. Idriss Déby Itno emphasised the importance of youth involvement in decision-making and conflict prevention mechanisms, and reiterated that the vitality of our democracy and our political governance requires the full participation of our young people. The opening session of the conference also received remarks from, among others: the Chairperson of the Committee of APRM Focal Points, Hon. Khayar Ouma Defallah; the Chairperson of the APR of Eminent Persons Prof. Ibrahim Gambari; and the Minister of Youth of the Republic of Chad, M. Mahamat Nassour Abdoulaye.

- 3 In addition to the First Lady of the Republic of Chad, Madame Hinda Déby, the youth symposium was attended by other high-level delegation including:
 - The Sultan of N'Djamena;
 - The Mayor of the city of N'Djamena;
 - APRM Chad; and
 - Ministries and other government and civil society personalities and institutions.

- 4 The conference under the theme 'Youth as APRM Driving Force for Good Governance in Africa' deliberated on the following issues, amongst others:
 - Youth participation as a necessary condition for good governance.
 - Pan Africanism and African Development.
 - Digital economy, entrepreneurship and youth unemployment.
 - The nexus between African Youth migration and development on the African continent.

- 5 In their observations, participants:
 - Appreciated the people of the Republic of Chad for hosting this historic inaugural APRM International Youth Symposium.
 - Expressed their profound gratitude to His Excellency Idriss Déby Itno, the President of the Republic of Chad and the current Chairperson of the APR Forum in his capacity as the African Union (AU) Champion of Youth, for his continued support to the ideals of the African Union Youth Charter, the Demographic Dividend Roadmap and Agenda 2063.
 - Reaffirmed their commitment towards promoting good governance on the continent. As a critical demographic dividend, constituting most of Africa's population, young people can no longer remain silent on the question of improving Africa's governance.
 - Welcomed the appointment of the first ever AU Youth Envoy and committed to support and hold the office accountable in its efforts to achieve its mandate to deliver for the African youth; moreover, encouraged the AU Youth Envoy office to be accountable to Africa's Youth.
 - Commended the roll out of the AU Youth Volunteer Corps and undertook to support the initiative in its endeavours to promote youth participation in the work of the AU.
 - Recognised that youth are integral in the follow up work of the APRM and in monitoring the implementation of APRM Member States' Progress Reports.
 - Committed to actively promote the dissemination of the African Union Constitutive Act and related AU Governance frameworks to ensure that young people across the continent are informed and aware of the AU frameworks and their importance to their day to day lives.

- Reiterated their support for the African Union aspirations of promoting democratic governance and human rights through the framework of the African Governance Architecture (AGA) that should inform the APRM Youth Network.
- Recognized that the APRM Base Document (constituting the founding APRM legal framework) and the APRM Statute provide for youth inclusion in the National Governance Councils (NGCs) and further recommend that NGCs intentionally include youth in their structures and processes.
- Reaffirmed their commitment to support the work of the AGA and the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) towards Silencing of the Guns by 2020.

6 Considering these observations, the participants, therefore:

- Undertake to implement the principles of the African Union Youth Charter, Demographic Dividend Roadmap and the AU Agenda 2063 as well as reaffirm their commitment to work towards the realization of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.
- Call on the member states of the African Union (AU Member States) to ratify the African Youth Charter and further recommend that the APRM monitors and evaluates its ratification, domestication and implementation by the AU Member States.
- Recommend the establishment of an APRM Youth Office to facilitate the operationalization of the proposed APRM Youth Network and engagement of youth in the APRM's work, including realizing Universal Accession to the APRM by 2023.
- Undertake to promote the work of the APRM in enhancing democracy, good governance and human rights in Africa.

7 In their consideration of implementation modalities for these recommendations, the participants requested the APRM Continental Secretariat to urgently convene a workshop of the proposed Youth Network to develop an action plan. Furthermore, participants reiterated the directive of HE Edris Déby Itno for the APRM to find the financial resources to support the implementation of this Declaration and its action plan.

Author

Luanda Mpungose

is a Programme Officer for the African Governance and Diplomacy Programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs. Her research interests include youth development and broader policy participation, BRICS cooperation and South Africa's foreign policy. She recently co-authored the UNICEF Guide for Youth Participation, which was co-created with Africa's youth.

Acknowledgement

SAIIA gratefully acknowledges the support of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) for this publication.

About SAIIA

SAIIA is an independent, non-government think tank whose key strategic objectives are to make effective input into public policy, and to encourage wider and more informed debate on international affairs, with particular emphasis on African issues and concerns.

SAIIA's occasional papers present topical, incisive analyses, offering a variety of perspectives on key policy issues in Africa and beyond.

Cover image

A young Egyptian reads a poem during the protest meeting against the military coup in Egypt to support Egypt's first freely elected president, Mohamed Morsi, who was removed from power by the military on November 17, 2013 in New Jersey, United States (Cem Ozdel /Anadolu Agency/Getty Images)

All rights reserved. Copyright is vested in the South African Institute of International Affairs and the authors, and no part may be reproduced in whole or in part without the express permission, in writing, of the publisher.



Jan Smuts House, East Campus, University of the Witwatersrand
PO Box 31596, Braamfontein 2017, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)11 339-2021 · Fax +27 (0)11 339-2154
www.saiia.org.za · info@saiia.org.za