Youth Participation in Political Processes

Second Annual Summer School for Young Leaders from African Political Parties:
Kigali, Rwanda, 6–8 June 2018

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International IDEA
Strömsborg
SE–103 34 Stockholm
Sweden
Telephone: +46 8 698 37 00
Email: info@idea.int
Website: ‹http://www.idea.int›

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Executive summary

The Second Annual Summer School for Young Leaders from African Political Parties took place in Kigali, Rwanda, on 6–8 June 2018. The overall theme was 'Youth participation in political processes: emerging trends of the negative aspects of money in politics'. The stated purpose of the Summer School was to engage young political leaders from African political parties on issues that prevent their participation, thereby building their capacity for and confidence in positive and effective political participation. Details of the overall orientation of the Summer School are contained in the Concept Paper attached as Annex D.

Participants and resource personnel were drawn from at least 15 African countries. In addition, there was participation by senior officials from the African Union Commission (AUC), the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) and the Rwandan National Consultative Forum of Political Organizations (NFPO). A full list of participants is attached as Annex E. The Summer School was organized to maximize learning and interactions among participants. As a lead-in to more detailed discussions, guiding inputs and related discussions unfolded over three focused content presentations and dialogue sessions:

1. Political corruption and the cost of elections as a barrier to and ethical dilemma for youth participation in African countries;
2. Democratic engagement in technological platforms: micro-targeting, social media and political corruption in Africa; and
3. Money, corruption and state capture: the impact of illicit financial flows on youth participation in Africa.

Each of these sessions benefited from substantive high-level inputs, followed by detailed deliberations on the topics by responding youth leaders and all the participants. Participants also engaged in group discussions on the following focused questions:

- What can young political cadres do to eradicate corruption within political parties in Africa?
- How can youth politicians harness technology to reduce the cost of elections and increase the credibility of politics?
- What strategies can the youth cadres of political parties in Africa use to fight against illicit financial flows and state capture at the national and continental levels?

The presentations, related discussions and group-specific deliberations unfolded with the intention that the shared perspectives would serve to inform individual level action, initiatives by political parties, country-specific efforts and the work of regional and continental organizations. The detailed guiding inputs sessions were preceded by the formal opening of the event and the inaugural input of a senior and experienced 'political leader'. The draft programme is attached as Annex C. The following is a broad reflection of the core issues that emerged from the Summer School, which substantively mirror those contained in the draft recommendations attached as Annex B.

- It is imperative to appreciate the significance of having proper legal frameworks to fight new trends in the negative aspects of money in politics and ensure that political parties are accountable and responsible for campaign and other resources used. Such a framework, at the national and regional levels, would serve to ensure that proper sanctions were applied where there are implementation failures.
- Youth women's representation and participation in politics are vital to the fight against new trends in the negative aspects of money in politics. Youth women can be at the forefront of bringing evidence of these new forms of corruption into the public sphere.
- The financial situation of young people who enter politics needs to be appreciated with a view to supporting them so that they can remain outside of the influence of money in politics. Young people also need to keep away from the negatives associated with patronage politics and hence find ways to secure campaign resources—through crowdsourcing, among other things—and in this way direct accountability to communities.
- Individual and collective values are fundamental to appropriate political practices and to avoiding corruption. Such values need to be inculcated early on and must be included in what young people are exposed to in the schools system.
- The social activities of young people provide an immense opportunity for political education and mobilization. To this end, culture, sports and entertainment initiatives should be used to mobilize for the fight against corruption and ensure that young people become active citizens.
- The value and use of technology to drive change should be recognized and positive experiences in countries must be shared for wider use. Social media and new software platforms facilitate voter mobilization, education and registration; the monitoring of election processes and practices; and the tracking of voting behaviour and related patterns. Technologies allow young people to be at the forefront of confronting electoral fraud.
- The credibility of political representatives, especially young people, is fundamental to building systems that are resistant to corruption. Establishing credibility takes time and requires that young people mobilize funding directly from communities, thereby ensuring direct accountability, in order to avoid the patronage practices associated with political parties.
- To ensure that we rise above corruption and the poor use of state resources, young people need to develop a common understanding of the role of public institutions and the need to exercise responsible governance. Youth should also be at the forefront of securing democratic spaces, and ensuring that institutions work as intended and AU governance and anti-corruption instruments are implemented locally.

- Both the funding of political parties and their internal operations should be subject to greater accountability to young people and the appropriate electoral institutions. Transparency can be built over time. Young people can assist this by helping to establish better websites for political parties and ensuring that political parties are more transparent in how resources are secured and used.
- Young people must become more involved in the activities of the independent commissions and agencies in charge of the fight against corruption. Such participation would assist in ensuring that a transformative youth perspective on the fight against corruption was properly considered.
- There needs to be a greater focus on the overall empowerment and development of young people in politics. Building ideological positions and general political consciousness takes time. Young people need to recognize this and use existing media to deepen political education. It is particularly important that young people engage in party level debates on economic policy and other related policies.
- The idea of rebranding the manner in which politics unfolds is important and vital to changing the general approach to and more traditional modalities of political mobilization. At the centre of the new approach must be a willingness to take responsibility and exercise agency without relying on or placing the burden on the AU or other institutions. Young people need to read about and engage in the wider debates unfolding on the continent.
- As part of ongoing reflection on youth participation, it is vital to engage with the historical role and value of youth formations linked to political parties. Young people should establish structures that are independent and cannot be used for illicit purposes. They should also ensure that the state-party divide is clear, and that political parties are not funded from illicit sources of financing.
- The establishment of cross-party platforms for mobilizing young people can go a long way towards fighting corruption. Young people can benefit immensely by building common platforms within countries, in regions and across the continent. To this end, young people need to be realistic and engage with existing structures in a manner that secures change in a sustainable manner. Constructing trans-border and trans-regional solidarity networks can assist with funding and ensure the success of collective efforts.
- The participation of young people in politics and in the fight against corruption and illicit financial flows requires courage and integrity. It is critical to develop both courage and integrity through 'Personal Accountability and Transformative Leadership' programmes.

After a discussion on the core issues and recommendations that emerged from the deliberations, participants requested a shorter and more focused set of commitments for the future. These were developed after the formal closing session and are attached as Annex A.

Introduction. Youth Participation in Political Processes

The Second Annual Summer School for Young Leaders from African Political Parties took place in Kigali, Rwanda, on 6–8 June 2018. The overall theme was 'Youth participation in political processes: emerging trends of the negative aspects of money in politics'. The Summer School unfolded in a context that recognized that youth participation in politics, especially by young women, either in the form of direct representation in political structures or within less formal modes of political engagement, remains limited across Africa. These low levels of active participation and influence by young people unfold in a situation where young people constitute a very large and growing proportion of the general population.

A number of different factors serve to explain the low levels of active political participation in existing structures by young people. These include patrimonialism, cynicism about politics, mistrust of political parties, exclusionary legal regimes and related structural factors. Coupled with these, there is a wider concern that corruption and the use of illicit financial resources limit effective representation and the desire for change among young people. The youth are also subject to active manipulation through various forms of media, and often find it difficult to navigate political processes, including practices within political parties, in order to make a substantive and sustainable difference to their communities and countries.

To overcome the specific challenges facing young people, especially as these relate to corruption and the use of illicit financial resources to control their agency, it has become imperative to further engage with young leaders of political parties from across the continent. To ensure that these young leaders serve as agents of change and do not succumb to unethical and patronage-driven politics, it is vital to build capacity and related solidarity networks that will facilitate positive future action and better governance. In recognition of this, the International IDEA Africa and West Asia Programme and the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) of the African Union Commission (AUC), in collaboration with the National Consultative Forum of Political Organizations in Rwanda (NFPO) and with the support of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, set out to organize the Second Annual Youth Summer School.

The overall theme of the Summer School was in line with the 2018 theme of the AU: 'Winning the Fight Against Corruption: A Sustainable Path for Africa's Transformation'. Its stated purpose was to engage with young political leaders from African political parties on issues that restrict their overall participation, and thereby build their capacity for and confidence in positive and effective political participation. In line with this, the Summer School also served as an opportunity for youth cadres from select political parties in Africa to

reflect on, discuss and share experiences of the negative impact of money in politics on youth political participation. Three specific objectives were established for the second Summer School:

1. To provide a platform for youth cadres of political parties across the continent to reflect on emerging challenges linked to the negative impact of money in politics that hamper meaningful youth political participation in Africa;
2. To identify and discuss strategies to mitigate these challenges that can be submitted to political parties' decision-making organs and to other stakeholders involved in the fight against these new trends, including Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and those dealing with financial crime; and
3. To explore the role that can be played by DPA/AUC, and its partners at the regional and national levels, to overcome these new challenges and enhance youth political participation.

The Second Annual Youth Summer School further served as a platform for establishing actionable recommendations that will, among other things, enhance the agency of young people for positive future action. It was further anticipated that the inputs of the young political leaders would serve to enhance knowledge on action that can be taken at the national and regional levels to improve the role of young people in the fight against corruption. The Summer School was organized in three substantive sessions and related group sessions to enable active participation by all the attendees. The participants in the Summer School were drawn from the youth divisions of political parties from selected African countries, as well as peers from Haiti. Participants were invited on the basis of a set of clear criteria and in order to ensure a mix of ruling and opposition political parties. Frank Kayitare, Programme Officer at International IDEA, served as the overall Programme Director and facilitator for the Summer School.

Welcome and opening remarks

Madeleine Mukamabano, a senior journalist, served as the overall moderator for the welcoming session. Welcome remarks were delivered by the Honourable Mukamana Elisabeth, MP, on behalf of the NFPO. Opening remarks were also made by Dr Khabele Matlosa, Director of Political Affairs of the AUC, and Dr Maurice Engueleguele, Senior Programme Officer, representing Professor Adebayo Olukoshi, Regional Director of Africa and West Asia at International IDEA. In her capacity as overall moderator of the session, Madeleine Mukamabano welcomed all the participants and provided a broad overview of the purpose of the second Summer School, with an emphasis on fighting corruption and the illicit flow of resources. As part of the welcome and opening remarks, participants were given an opportunity to introduce themselves and talk about their expectations.

Dr Maurice Engueleguele

Dr Engueleguele began by welcoming all the participants on behalf of International IDEA. He noted that International IDEA was just the facilitator of the event and that the activity was an initiative of the Department of Political Affairs of the AUC. He noted further that the focus of the Summer School was in keeping with the thematic focus of the AU for 2018 on fighting corruption. He stated that while anti-corruption activities are widely engaged in, there are areas that are not well understood and that require further and more detailed engagement.

Dr Engueleguele broadly captured the different thematic areas of the Summer School. He highlighted the issue of social media and the way in which it is manipulated to shape elections, as was recently highlighted by the controversy surrounding Cambridge Analytica. He also mentioned the issue of the use of illicit financial flows by young people in several African countries to finance their political activities. Dr Engueleguele noted that little work has been done on these two issues in Africa, and invited the participants to be proactive in the exchanges. He concluded by observing that the Summer School is making significant strides as it serves to build interparty platforms across countries among young people. In conclusion, he noted that International IDEA, among others, is working under the leadership of the DPA/AUC and partners to improve the design and content of the Summer School for the benefit of young political leaders.

Dr Khabele Matlosa

Dr Matlosa began by expressing his humble appreciation for the organization of the Summer School. He noted that momentum was important and needed to be sustained into the future. He nonetheless expressed concern that we often communicate in European languages and that there is no common African medium of communication. He asserted that the use of an African language is vital as it would help to shape better interactions in the future.

Dr Matlosa indicated that he would not make a formal statement, but instead reflect on a few issues that he deemed relevant. He noted that while youth constitute around 75 per cent of the African population and women over 50 per cent, it is of concern that both are often not fully included in decision-making processes. He noted however that the AU has recognized the importance of inclusion and adopted the African Youth Charter and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. However, these are being implemented to varying degrees.

Dr Matlosa further noted that the marginalization of young people and women comes with various consequences. He noted that many young people are unemployed and hence are often mobilized for violence or recruited into terrorist networks. While Agenda 2063 seeks to tackle some of these challenges, much more needs to be done. Political parties are particularly important for securing full inclusion. He noted that, in many instances, Youth and Women's Leagues are used to capture state power, at the expense of young people and women. In this respect, reform of political parties will be vital for the future.

With respect to corruption, Dr Matlosa argued that the biggest threat to democracy in Africa is the flow of money to political parties. He noted that private sector funding for political parties has become entrenched. It is therefore vital that there is a discussion around the issue of illicit financial flows. Dr Matlosa outlined the scale of illicit outflows and the importance of thinking about strategies to prevent such flows and, in particular, how to secure funding for political parties. In conclusion, he thanked the participants for their attendance and wished them well with the Summer School.

The Honourable Mukamana Elisabeth, MP

Mukamana Elisabeth began by welcoming participants and expressing her organization's commitment to working in partnership at the continental level. She emphasized that the work in Rwanda and beyond is unfolding within a framework of a commitment to *transformative leadership*: a process through which individuals can demonstrate a higher level of commitment. In support of her perspectives, she quoted from a book on transformative leadership and emphasized the importance of developing role models for future leaders. She elaborated that transformative leadership embodies actions directed at ensuring proper planning and effective change management; and noted that this requires leaders who are committed to opening up space for others and ensuring that people take responsibility for their actions. It further requires leaders who go beyond their own interests and who are able to work for wider social interest. Elisabeth made reference to the history of Rwanda and hence the value of such leadership for moving beyond the tragedies of the past.

Mukamana Elisabeth outlined her organization's initiatives directed at training new leaders within Rwandan political parties. She highlighted how young people in Rwanda are increasingly taking on leading roles in political parties. In conclusion, Elisabeth thanked all the partners involved in arranging the Summer School and noted that the knowledge acquired should help to launch further national initiatives that involve young people, and thereby contribute to the sustainable development of countries. She wished all well with the event and for their stay in Rwanda.

Inaugural address

The inaugural address was delivered by Dr Obiageli Ezekwesili, Former Minister of Education and Minister of Solid Minerals in Nigeria, Former Vice President of the World Bank and co-founder of Transparency International. The opening session was intended to motivate participants and encourage wider reflection, from participants' own experience, on the critical issues embedded in the linkages between the development of young people and the overall strength of democracy.

Presentation: Dr Obiageli Ezekwesili

Dr Ezekwesili began by expressing her delight with the organization of the event, in the context of her feeling that, as a continent, not enough has been done in any substantive way to develop a 'pipeline' of political capacity. She applauded the DPA/AUC and International IDEA for their efforts and thanked Rwanda for hosting such a gathering of young political leaders. She noted that the continent is still in the early stages of democracy development, and that many do not fully appreciate the overall value of democracy for development.

Dr Ezekwesili outlined that the current generation is generally privileged as it has not really experienced military or despotic rule. She noted that, in contrast to her generation, which experienced authoritarianism with corruption, young people now have freedom and all manner of opportunities. She suggested that we have now moved beyond the idea of African exceptionalism to a period where there is a recognition that poor governance has been the greatest obstacle to development. She indicated further that if we do not get governance right, we will not get critical infrastructure, institutions and policies to work as expected.

Dr Ezekwesili admitted that her generation has not done very well and that it was time to put a stop to all the failure. She urged young people to act to ensure that systems function in a better way. She noted that this has to happen through political processes, and that the current generation should not make the mistake of staying out of politics. Many in the past focused on technocratic solutions and hence stayed out of politics. The result was that policies were shaped and controlled by those with little education and knowledge. She emphasized, in this context, the importance of good leadership and of engaging in politics on the basis of principles.

In encouraging younger people for the future, Dr Ezekwesili noted that we are now in a context in which politics can be carried on without access to a lot of funds. She stated that messages can trump money, and that relationships are not just vertical, but horizontal—and can be shaped and reshaped through social networks. She noted that when messages resonate

with people, this brings in large numbers and people provide the funding themselves. She further argued that current politics is about competence and capacity.

In conclusion, Dr Ezekwesili emphasized that the current generation should not seek to emulate the older generation. They should ideally have a different mind-set and have no excuse for delivering mediocracy. She noted that technology today is capable of resolving many problems and that knowledge will be key to many challenges. She encouraged younger people not to be anti-intellectual. As a final word, she indicated that if young people were not focused on making a meaningful contribution, then they should forget the world of politics.

Participants' comments on the opening session

The moderator opened the session for comments and input. The following provides a summary that incorporates both the input of participants and the related responses from Dr Ezekwesili and the others.

- It is imperative that young people continue to demonstrate positive leadership and engage on the basis of capacity and general competence. However, it is equally important that this is sustainable and people do not go back to the approaches of the past. It was noted that, in the past, little attention was paid to mentoring a new layer of leaders. This can be done easily and technologies can be used to assist the process.
- The current generation needs to do much more as previous generations have failed in many respects in the fight against corruption. Education is of particular importance and there has been a general failure of the current system to help people to act on the ground and in context. People are not powerless and it is essential that the young stand at the forefront of securing reforms in education where there are failures. Much more needs to be done to build capacities so that countries can become more competitive globally.
- The youth are often at the forefront of driving change and demanding accountability from those who exercise authority. However, it is imperative that leaders are also held accountable by the continental body, as often it is the young and women who suffer when there is no accountability. It is important that young people go beyond the mind-set of being powerless. In politics it is important to strengthen the demand side. Citizens and young people need to recognize the power that they have and act together to secure accountability.

Session 1. Political corruption and the costs of elections

Session 1, 'Political corruption and the costs of elections as a barrier and ethical dilemma for youth participation in African countries', was moderated by Professor Anastase Shyaka, Chief Executive Officer of the Rwanda Governance Board (RGB). The overall guiding input was provided by Brian T. Kagoro, Director of UHAI Africa Group. Dr Otive Igbuzor, Director of the Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development, Abuja, Nigeria; and Dr Emmily Koiti of South Sudan served as the discussants.

Overall guiding presentation: Brian T. Kagoro

Brian Kagoro began by recalling that as far back as 2004 he had worked with others to draft a Strategy for Africa. Quoting Chinua Achebe, he noted that anybody who does not think that corruption is a problem, is 'either a fool, a crook or else does not live in the continent'. He outlined how there are various definitions of corruption and that it is important to be careful to ensure that there is engagement with both global and local manifestations of corruption. Kagoro elaborated on the different drivers and transmitters of corruption, placing particular emphasis on how it has been internationalized and the different terrains in which corruption unfolds.

On the specific link between corruption and political participation, Kagoro outlined how young people can be used and the imperatives of building a strong ethical base from which to counter corruption. He emphasized the importance of ethics and integrity as imperatives for saving the next generation from the trappings of corruption and further noted that Africa has witnessed a conflation of state, party and security when it comes to corruption. Fighting corruption in such contexts is not easy as it often goes against established local and global interests.

Kagoro elaborated further on the challenge of fighting corruption and the reality that there is often a failure to exercise proper leadership and hence an ethical vacuum. He noted that the problem also often permeates non-state actors and that, sometimes, the rich manufacture poverty in order to sustain their position and continue their looting of the state. In fighting corruption, Kagoro emphasized the importance of engaging with the structural enablers of corruption. He noted that the middle class often has an interest in sustaining corrupt regimes and practices, and argued that it is therefore imperative to go beyond technical fixes in the fight against corruption. Kagoro emphasized the importance of going beyond the introduction of new laws. Much more needs to be done to create the required ethical infrastructure in the fight against corruption. In conclusion, Kagoro stressed the importance

of developing a global movement to fight corruption as it is not just an indigenous or national problem.

Dr Otive Igbuzor

Dr Igbuzor began by indicating that he was in broad agreement with the presentation by Briar Kagoro. He noted that engaging in elections requires much more than just money. He also noted the importance of organization and wider solidarity in the fight against corruption. He argued however that the challenges are diverse across countries and require direct engagement with the issue of political corruption.

Dr Igbuzor emphasized that political corruption is particularly important as it undermines democratic principles and often leads to apathy and hence the exclusion of young people and the poor. He noted that when state resources are used for personal enrichment, a link is created with using money to influence politics. This often leads to a number of additional problems, such as the rise of criminal gangs, policies that favour certain businesses, financial barriers for average citizens and the capture of state institutions by family dynasties.

Dr Igbuzor outlined the challenges in relation to family dynasties in more detail, and how often such situations are mediated through political corruption. After giving a few examples, he indicated that it was of critical importance to regulate the manner in which political parties are funded. Beyond the requirements for full disclosure of funding sources, he noted that the implementation of regulations is vital as rules are often not complied with.

In conclusion, Dr Igbuzor stressed that it is essential to go back to the most basic aspects of democracy and the primary purposes of government. He noted that, in this context, there is an urgent need for political education, including direct training and mentorship of a new crop of political leaders. He noted the value of social media for education and as a final word emphasized the importance of organizing for change in society.

Dr Emmily Koiti

Dr Koiti began by indicating that she works with young people in South Sudan and would draw on this experience to engage with the issues. She noted that part of the failure is not engaging with the reality that corruption is often linked to challenges related to the personal ethics of individuals. At this level, she suggests that we have often failed and that many smart young people do not want to engage in politics as they see it as having high costs and as generally a terrain for corruption.

Dr Koiti argued that often people do not want to engage in political activities beyond urban centres, and fail to mobilize in villages. She also noted that people forget that elections are a process and not just an activity to be engaged in prior to the formal voting. She further emphasized the importance of changing the culture and engaging independently of the authority of those already in political positions. In closing, she emphasized the importance of growing social spaces and political education as vehicles for building a new crop of leaders. In this she underlined the need for innovation, coupled with an imperative to build local institutions and to shift away from the tendency to borrow from other places.

Discussion

The following is a summary of the issues that unfolded after the presentations and discussions. It broadly captures the matters raised by participants and the relevant responses by the presenters and discussants.

- Corruption has become a norm in many societies. Even though people might complain about corruption during the lead up to elections, they often get involved in the system as members of political parties. It is therefore essential to engage with issues around how to shield people from corruption and avoid such dangers.
- A big challenge for young people is that they often do not have a financial base from which to engage in politics and stand for public office. Those in office often use funding to entice younger people; and their wealth to divide and rule within their political organizations.
- When we reflect on the realities of money in politics, it is difficult to imagine how young people can be motivated to avoid such temptations. Young people often do not have the resources to engage by themselves and hence have to rely on others to provide funding. The general view in some countries is that money and politics are closely linked. We need to think of approaches to overcome such realities.
- It is imperative to think through some more concrete strategies for fighting against the use of money to secure political positions. We know from wider reports that much of the corruption that we experience is through political parties. The reform of political parties is therefore of critical importance. The AUC is in the process of developing a Programme on Political Parties.
- It is imperative that we move from technical to political solutions to the challenges we face. Very often the problem of political parties stems from the reality that parties are ideologically weak and do not have the basics of what is needed to be a good political organization. Building political consciousness is vital and young people can be at the forefront of this task. There is a need to change the ingredients for success. It has to be policies and not money that pushes people into politics. This requires initiatives on the constant renewal of parties and to enable ongoing experimentation on doing better politics.
- Politics is often very difficult when you have criminal gangs in a country. To be effective, young people have to be part of a movement to change the nature of politics and hence plan together. Fighting corruption as a lone activist can be very dangerous and it is therefore imperative that wider cross-country networks are built.
- We have to appreciate that money has a great influence on politics. The consequence of this is that parties do not have credible members' lists, there is no internal democracy and most members are not part of decision-making. To overcome these challenges, there needs to be reform of political parties and strategies need to be introduced to regulate the flow of resources into political parties. This will serve to counter illicit financial flows. We also need to focus attention on introducing and implementing regulations on the financing of political campaigns. Public funding of political parties should be a key consideration for the future.
- It is imperative that young people remain committed to a set of positive values. Money is not everything in politics and the current system can be challenged through conviction and a willingness to sustain positive action. There is a need to move

beyond old style politics and engage directly with the challenges faced. We must avoid the tendency to make sacrifices at the altar of political expediency and remain focused on ensuring that political parties are accountable to communities.

The moderator of the session concluded by emphasizing the importance of young people being strategists and not just tacticians in the struggle for better politics. In this respect, there is a need to take risks to build a better future. It is equally urgent to stem corruption and the outflow of resources, and hence reduce reliance on development aid.

Session 2. Democratic engagement in technological platforms

Session 2, 'Democratic engagement in technological platforms: micro-targeting, social media and political corruption in Africa', was moderated by Marie-Laurence Jocelyn Lassegue, the Programme Manager at the Haiti Office of International IDEA. The main presentation of the session was from Christian Kakoba, Community Lead from BitHub Africa. Boniface Mwangi from Kenya and Nebila Abdulmalik, a Communications Expert from Ethiopia, served as discussants. The moderator opened the session by stressing the importance of young people sharing their experiences, as they are often at the forefront of using technology to effect political change.

Overall guiding presentation: Christian Kakoba

Christian Kakoba began by indicating that he would focus on the manner in which technology and innovation can corrupt democracy. He indicated that young entrepreneurs are coming up with many ideas to resolve problems, and that Africa is becoming a hotbed of innovation and the provision of digital solutions. He noted that his company has been doing research on the use of 'blockchains' and how these can contribute to solving social problems.

In further elaborating, Kakoba explained that large companies are practicing micro-targeting by using personal or private data and tools such as WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram to influence the political preferences of youth, practice voter segmentation among youth, change political preferences, canvass and mobilize. This is often a form of political corruption.

Kakoba observed that blockchains can help to prevent or at least mitigate this new phenomenon. A blockchain is simply a software system that allows the transfer of value instantly and easily. His company has also been partnering with a university to determine how blockchains might be used to share content and derive revenue. He cited other examples to demonstrate their value for exchange and transactions. In conclusion, Kakoba indicated that his organization has partnered with a United Nations agency to work on energy and its financing. He concluded that young people need to exchange more about the software platforms and applications they have developed, and the opportunities that these afford for enhanced political participation and to fight corruption.

Boniface Mwangi

Boniface Mwangi focused his input on how young people can use social media to take up issues that concern them. He noted that while many issues cannot be discussed on public radio, they can be discussed on social media. He told how social media often serves to re-motivate people around issues, and that he has used social media to raise funds.

Mwangi indicated that while social media can be good for engagement around issues, it often reduces young people to a passive role as it does not really result in their full mobilization as active citizens. The challenge is to move beyond social media to mobilize people on to the streets so they can act on their concerns. Social media has its limitations and these need to be recognized as we seek to make a difference for people.

Nebila Abdulmelik

Nebila Abdulmelik began by indicating that social media must be appreciated in context, and are not systematic vehicles for political corruption. She noted that very often different forms of social media become very important when governments try to shut down the Internet for control purposes. She argued that, in such contexts, people develop other, more sophisticated strategies for communicating, using, for example, virtual private networks. She noted that governments in Africa have attempted Internet shutdowns and in many instances people succeeded in creating alternative networks to overcome security efforts.

People have been able to mobilize large followings through the use of social media, as was the case during the Arab Uprisings in North Africa. Abdulmelik outlined that social media can be misused and used to stifle dissent. She argued the need to remain vigilant in order to secure the space, as many countries are seeking to pass regulations to restrict the use of social media and the activism of bloggers. As a final word, Abdulmelik argued that it is important to appreciate that radio remains the most used mode of communication across the continent.

Discussion

The deliberations, issues raised, questioned posed and relevant responses from the session are outlined below.

- It is evident that companies often use private information to manipulate people. Data has been used to shape elections and, in some cases, enabled people to win an election. Companies collect data freely and sell it on to others. It will therefore be important to consider blockchains as an alternative way to secure data ownership.
- By using blockchains, it will be possible to change how data is used and to prevent others from selling data. Young people can get involved and use data as an opportunity to offer different avenues for making a difference. As an example, blockchains can be used to track land use and ownership, thereby countering corruption around land.
- It is important to recognize that technology, especially social media, can be used to propagate racism or to defame people. We need to consider how to fight this, as well as how to tackle corruption using media. There is a need for regulation and associations are often created for such purposes, such as associations of bloggers. We must make it difficult for criminals to use social media and technologies.

- We have seen social media channels (including Facebook) used to organize a revolution. However, we have also seen politicians use such media to spread false rumours. We need to think through how social media can be used for positive purposes and the manner in which it can be regulated to counter negative uses.
- We have to appreciate that social media is only a tool and that much depends on the users. Whatever is put on social media is made public. Hence, a person must be prepared to defend what they share online. Regulations can be a challenge, but we have to develop a culture in which it is recognized that rights come with responsibilities.
- We have to learn from the experience of Egypt when it comes to the mobilization of young people. While young people were active in driving change, their activism was not sustained and hence the country now faces a new form of authoritarian rule. Social media has limitations and much more attention needs to be focused on political education. We need to develop the confidence of young people so they can engage in politics at a higher level and not just through social media.
- Social media is often used by different groupings to fight each other. We need to find ways to build bridges rather than use media to create political divisions or to organize along sectarian or ethnic lines. We need to avoid the tendency to engage in hate speech through social media. In some instances, governments pay people to use social media to attack the opposition.
- We have to think about the fact that technology is often pirated. The advantage of blockchains is that they build transparency. Sometimes people attempt to use such technology for money laundering. However, this is difficult as the system is transparent and it is often easy to follow the flow of resources and transactions.
- As much as we have to appreciate that writers on social media must take responsibility, it is imperative that we educate people about technology and engaging ethically on media platforms. Laws and regulations can help to mitigate the negative impact of the poor use of media. Self-regulation is possible when active users and bloggers come together to adopt ethical codes.

Session 3. Money, corruption and state capture

Session 3, 'Money, corruption and state capture: the impact of illicit financial flows on youth participation in Africa', was moderated by Njoya Tikum, Regional Manager, United Nations Volunteers (UNV) Regional Office for East and Southern Africa. The overall guiding presentation was made by Professor Thulisile Nomkhosi Madonsela, the former Public Protector of South Africa. Chantal Uwimana, a former Africa Region Director for Transparency International, and Mupiganyi Apollinaire, the Executive Secretary of Transparency International, Rwanda Chapter, acted as discussants. This session unfolded differently as the inputs from the discussants were largely shaped by questions and interventions from participants. Where appropriate, the issues raised by the discussants are summarised as their inputs.

Guiding presentation: Professor Thulisile Nomkhosi Madonsela

Professor Madonsela began by commending the DPA/AUC and International IDEA for joining hands with young leaders. In response to a specific issue around her work as Public Protector, she indicated that her office has established its reputation based on two overarching principles. Her work is based on the foundations built by the efforts of previous Public Protectors; and politicians set the work of the Office of the Public Protector through the issues that they identify as requiring investigation.

On state capture, Professor Madonsela indicated that many South Africans struggle with the reality of how this could happen to them. She noted that it is too simplistic to think that state capture is about one or two families. She described it as more complex and as often requiring a more substantive response. Professor Madonsela cited the experience of California, where people introduced laws on openness in order to counter state capture. This included transparency with respect to the funding of political parties.

Professor Madonsela further elaborated on the way in which policies are sometimes used to benefit specific interests. She noted that some of the strategies for capture are highly sophisticated and difficult to follow-up or prove in court. She suggested that transparency is often the best strategy for overcoming the use of public authority for sectional or private interests. She noted that people will often use the poor and various forms of defence to protect themselves and justify their intentions.

Professor Mandosela noted that the truth almost always comes out and that it is best to avoid situations where one's integrity can be questioned. Sometimes people act in their own self-interest to the point where everybody is worse off and in a manner that perverts

democracy and undermines social justice. She argued further that leadership with vision and commitment will be vital for the future. In conclusion, she emphasized the importance of principled, centred and ethical leadership, and urged the young people to make political parties more open to external voices and thereby encourage greater social accountability. As a final word, she indicated that political corruption is not normal and that is imperative to further institutionalize the shared values of the AU.

Chantal Uwimana

Chantal Uwimana began by indicating that the illicit flow of resources is essentially corruption disguised as commercial activities. She noted that over 60 per cent of flows involve multinational companies, and such flows often include the financing of politicians as a way of exercising control over resources. She noted that only 5 per cent of illicit flows are categorized as corruption while 35 per cent are categorized as criminal activities.

Uwimana told how it is very costly for people to run in elections and many have to work for long periods and save money before being able to do so. The reality of the cost of elections often drives people into the trap of being sponsored through criminal activities. In this respect, she encouraged young people to reflect on this issue and engage with the realities on the ground. She noted that it is important to reflect on which measures could be introduced to avoid temptation and the negative effects of money in politics.

Apollinaire Mupiganyi

Apollinaire Mupiganyi largely participated in the context of the overall discussion. He strongly argued that capture is not just a matter of illicit financial flows, but is also incorporated into other strategies through which power is captured for negative uses. In particular, he noted that without appropriate checks and balances, parties are used for controlling young people.

Mupiganyi noted that in the past, politics was seen as a way to enrichment in Rwanda. This has now changed, however, as people are held accountable and politics is no longer seen as a job or a way of earning money. There are a number of mechanisms for holding people accountable and ensuring that they operate in accordance with the law. People are prosecuted where there is corruption and there are mechanisms in place to tackle such issues.

Discussion

The deliberations that followed the panel made the following points:

- In some countries highly influential business people can shape who wins elections. Such individuals often use funding to control what happens and who is appointed to the cabinet. Such control is then used to shape government contracts and who wins specific large-scale tenders.
- We have to appreciate that corruption is often a systemic problem that is led by the private sector. In many instances, corruption is also linked to international aid and to multinational corporations. In such contexts, young people have to make choices about how they engage. There has to be a realization that there are consequences for engaging in corruption and that in the long run its bad for the reputation and standing of individuals and their families.

- We have to appreciate that people often use investment promotion as a way of enriching themselves. We often do not know how people engage with multinationals and how such agreements might be used for personal enrichment. Political parties should be much more transparent on issues of funding so that any form of potential capture can be identified.
- We have to appreciate that capture is not limited to direct financial flows. Sometimes people might be captured indirectly and be used to promote certain polices. People are sometimes appointed so that they can promote specific policies. In some countries financial loans are used to control politicians.
- We have to appreciate that people often do not understand democracy and that it can be used to deepen corruption in some countries. People often do not act freely in elections and are sometimes encouraged to act in particular ways by economic promises. To counter the corrupt use of democracy, we may sometimes have to consider alternative forms of governance.
- We need to develop a deeper appreciation of the role of parliament in fighting corruption and illicit flows of resources. There are many examples of parliaments acting against presidents and prime ministers. We have to strengthen democratic institutions and such actions need to go beyond party lines.
- We must appreciate that it is sometimes very difficult for political parties to participate in elections. Outside support for political parties will sometimes be needed. There has to be a way to distinguish between development aid for political parties and illicit financial flows for control purposes.
- It is important to recognize that elections can be expensive and often come with many risks. Young people need to be willing to take risks and engage in political processes with commitment. It is important to build on positive experiences in some countries where young people have taken the lead in forming political parties and engaged in oppositional activities with commitment and enthusiasm.
- Political parties are often built on the charisma of one or two leaders. This is not sustainable and it is therefore imperative to think of ways to develop new leaders. Young leaders have to find other channels for expression and cannot depend only on parties with high levels of control.
- Young people need to think of better ways to fight corruption. We have to come together across party lines and on the basis of common interests. We need to initiate conversations in our countries and find ways to unite young people from across party lines.
- We should not think that all investment involves corruption. While there will always be attempts to take advantage, we can overcome these by ensuring that there are high levels of transparency around what unfolds. We need a comprehensive system with many checks and balances, as well as ethical codes to guide the behaviour of individuals. Sometimes there are perceptions of corruption when there is none in reality.
- We have to appreciate that corruption sometimes unfolds in highly sophisticated ways and that money can flow in highly complex ways in order to avoid detection. We can overcome this through greater transparency and ensuring that people declare interests and reveal the source of their funds. While democracy can be used to pursue private

interests, in the long run it serves to ensure that leaders act in the common interest. It also provides a way to 'whisper truth to power'.

- We do not have to engage in an aggressive way to make an impact. We can make a big difference by addressing people with respect and by enhancing the quality of our arguments. We have to focus some attention on training young people on how to engage in effective advocacy and how to influence people.

The day's activities were brought to a close by the Programme Coordinator. In closing, he provided guidance to participants on how the discussion sessions would unfold on day two. He outlined the three questions that would be the focus of the groups and asked that there be some reflection on the issues overnight so that the discussions could unfold in a positive and focused manner the next day.

Working groups. Mitigating the impact of money in politics on youth participation

This session involved the establishment of three working groups. The brief for each group was to focus on articulating a set of solutions that would assist in enhancing youth participation in a context of fighting corruption and the threat of illicit financial flows, and hence money in politics. The group sessions were assisted by representatives from each of the organizing partners: Frank Kayitare, Programme Officer for International IDEA (Group 1); Sharon Ndlovu, Programme Officer at the Department of Political Affairs of the AUC (Group 2); and Zephyrin Jijuka, Programme Coordinator at the NFPO (Group 3).

During the discussions on the questions, participants were encouraged to make concrete suggestions on building corruption-free political parties and the role they could play in such processes. Each group was allocated a different topic, as follows:

- Group 1: What can the cadres of political parties do to eradicate corruption from political parties in Africa?
- Group 2: How can youth politicians harness technology to reduce the cost of election and increase the credibility of politics?
- Group 3: What strategies can youth cadres in political parties in Africa use to fight against illicit financial flows and state capture at the national and continental levels?

Before breaking into groups, participants were given the opportunity to reflect on the previous day's engagements and some of the key issues that they thought would be of significance for the future. The following is a brief summary of some of the issues that arose during the discussion:

- It is very useful to distinguish between a strategy and immediate tactics. To be successful in the fight against corruption and the negative impacts of money in politics, young people should ideally focus on long-term strategic issues. To do this effectively, individuals have to start early to develop accountability strategies on political participation and election cycles and not wait until the election to engage communities.

- The fight against corruption requires changes to behaviour, relationships and practices vis-à-vis the politics of young people.
- The commitment to fight corruption requires a lot of energy and enthusiasm from young people. The fight has to start at the top and must be rooted in an understanding that governments get their power from society. To win the fight, the spaces for civil society must be kept open.
- We need to spend more time building the correct ethical values among people. At times we place too much attention on structures and not enough attention on the values of individuals. We must spend more time encouraging positive ethics and ensuring that younger people uphold positive values.
- Effective change must start with self-reflection among young people. As young politicians we need to choose what we want to do and our own behaviour. We cannot become like those who have been in power for a long time. We need to create networks for supporting each other from across party political lines.

Reports from the working groups

Youth participants were divided into three working groups. Each group nominated an individual to report back. The following provides a broad summary of the issues that emanated from each group. Where appropriate, additions from other group members are also included in the summary. The group report back session was moderated by Idrissa Kamara, a Programme Officer at the DPA of the AUC.

Group 1

This group focused on what the cadres of political parties can do to eradicate corruption from political parties in Africa. Its conclusions were broadly as follows:

- It is imperative that the focus is put on encouraging National Authorities to formulate laws and strengthen frameworks and regulations on fighting corruption. The penalties for corruption must be increased and mechanisms must be put in place to ensure that people are prosecuted without any limitations on the time period within which legal action can be taken.
- It is important to engage with the issues of women's participation and the representation of youth in politics. More advocacy work needs to be done to ensure appropriate representation and on changing laws to allow young people to fully participate in politics. Young people must engage on the basis of evidence.
- It is imperative that economic institutions are established that are capable of keeping track of financial flows and, in particular, the financial interests of those who occupy public office. Ideally, there should be a fully audited record of the finances of those in political office. Young people should be assisted economically so they can engage in politics and avoid temptation.
- It is important to appreciate that countries often have different values. However, values are important in the fight against corruption and for encouraging positive behaviour among young people. It is therefore essential that that positive values are taught in schools.

- At the social level it is important to establish platforms for communication and for sharing information. Young people can also use music and related cultural platforms to assist with the fight against corruption and to mobilize their peers to engage as responsible citizens.
- It is important to create mechanisms to help fight corruption within political parties. Frameworks that require high levels of funding transparency should also be incorporated into the Electoral Code. There is a need to monitor the income and expenditure of political parties. Young people need to support each other so that they do not succumb to the temptations and traps of those who seek to use them to remain in public office.

Group 2

This group focused on how youth politicians can harness technology to reduce the cost of elections and increase the credibility of politics. Its conclusions were broadly as follows:

- It should be recognized that technologies have helped to bridge participation gaps during and outside of elections. Software platforms have been developed to allow citizens to report on election-related issues and hence serve as early warning on areas of potential violence. Software platforms have also been used to help people to register for elections and to find out where they can vote. More than 25 countries have deployed biometric systems to help avoid electoral fraud.
- It must be appreciated that countries are using different technologies with varied aims. Among young people, social media platforms can be used to mobilize funding, to track voting behaviour and to track election processes, including the movement of ballot boxes. The possibilities are endless and the use of technology should be encouraged. Young people need to exchange more about the software platforms and applications they are developing and the opportunities these afford for better elections and fighting corruption.
- We have to appreciate that technology can only do so much. Although useful for crowdsourcing and funding, it cannot replace the work needed to mobilize people from the ground up. As young people, we need to rethink how we do politics and hence need to build our credibility at the local level with communities. If we have credibility, communities will raise the funds for us and ensure that we get elected. Our efforts need to go beyond just using social media and other platforms.
- Technology can be used throughout the electoral process and over a long period of time. Whatever information we put online can be useful in the future and provides a record of our actions and efforts. It is often easy to find information online and such channels need to be used effectively for greater transparency and to build credibility.

Group 3

This group focused on the strategies youth cadres in political parties in Africa might use to fight against illicit financial flows and state capture at the national and continental levels. Its conclusions were broadly as follows:

- We have to think about some of the root causes of the challenges we face. People often do not recognize that we have moved on from the colonial period and need to

start taking responsibility for our actions. The AU should encourage people to recognize the importance of moving beyond the past and encourage positive actions that promote an appropriate distribution of resources.

- The illicit movement of resources is often encouraged by senior people in government and political parties. To overcome this, we need to establish independent commissions or institutions to investigate how parties and political campaigns are funded. This should be coupled with a strategy to change how candidates are selected by political parties.
- Youth require a more level playing field when entering politics. At the same time, more attention needs to be focused on building the political capacities of young people. Good values can be inculcated in schools, so that people understand that they should be engaging in politics to serve the people and not for personal enrichment.
- We have to appreciate that poverty and other related issues of inequality sometimes fuel the illicit flow of resources. To guard against this, the AU needs to focus more attention on conflict mediation in situations of high levels of antagonism over the use of natural resources. Good leadership with a long-term vision often helps to overcome difficult situations.
- The issues of party funding and transparency around resources are very important. Ideally, there should be a ceiling on party funding and on the resources available for political campaigns. Systems also need to be established to keep track of people's personal finances so they do not use state resources for personal enrichment. The AU should be encouraged to develop a framework around the funding of political parties.

Plenary discussion

Following on from all the feedback from the different groups, the Chairperson encouraged wider discussion on the perspectives presented. In particular, feedback was encouraged from the 'resource persons' and other participants in the presentation sessions. The following is a brief summary of the issues raised:

- It is important to think through the concrete actions that need to be taken and how the young people present can take responsibility for future actions. Rather than focus on what others should be doing, it is important to focus on the concrete actions that participants themselves will engage in on their return to their home countries.
- We have to think about how we can rebrand the fight against corruption and hence move beyond more traditional approaches. It is important to appreciate that there are many laws and regulations in place. Very often the challenge is implementation and not so much the existence of laws. Many AU instruments are not being implemented. We have to avoid asking the AU to do everything and need to start taking responsibility for our own actions.
- Much more work needs to be done on party funding. Some consideration should be given to the use of public funds for political parties, which might close some avenues for corruption that come with private funding sources. Young people should be at the forefront of ensuring that there is transparency in party funding and that private interests do not gain control of the agendas of political parties. It is important that there is separation between the party and the state.

- We should avoid trying to reinvent the wheel. There are many initiatives already in place and young people need to use these to engage further and in more substantive ways. At the level of the AU, there is the Youth Charter and an Anti-corruption Convention. These can be used by young people to demand accountability. Young people have to read widely and engage with issues on the basis of good information and providing evidence as they encourage change.
- It is important to always be realistic about what can be done. People often fail because they have unrealistic expectations and it is impossible to enforce specific proposals. We also have to appreciate that it is much easier to topple something than it is to build something up for the future. Building a political party for the future is a challenge. Young people can work together on the anti-corruption front and can cooperate across party lines. We should reflect on establishing transnational and trans-regional solidarity networks to support young people.
- It is important to think about how young people can help to reform their political parties. Parties are often weak and have little information on their websites. Young people can help to develop systems for effective performance monitoring of those in elected positions. Young people must also ensure that they participate in policy processes within their parties. It should also be noted that integrity takes time to build and the younger generation should not emulate the practices of the older generations.
- Young people need to be encouraged and mentored into positive roles. We cannot however work on the assumption that all political leaders are corrupt. There are many leaders who have never been corrupt and we should look to these leaders for inspiration. This is especially true of the initial young group of post-colonial leaders.
- Use must be made of available platforms to drive forward a positive agenda for change. Young people can make use of the information available on many websites, including that of International IDEA, to exchange information and draw on resources for positive actions. It is important to work together and avoid silos. It has to be remembered that there are often entrenched interests in politics and interests in keeping things as they are. Strong convictions and determination will be important for success.
- It is important to engage with the issue of campaign financing. People are often connected to each other and businesses are used to mobilize for funding. Corruption often unfolds within this process and when those engaging in political campaigns start making promises for the future. It is of major concern when political parties receive funding from outside as this has an impact on issues of sovereignty when it comes to policymaking.
- As young people, we have to recognize that we are in a majority and hence can create pressure groups to fight against corruption. We should be able to form alliances as young people and work together on issues of common concern. We already have some platforms for this and need to strengthen these so that we can work across ideological and party lines.
- As young people, we need to think of all of the funding sources and how these can be accessed to enable us to engage in politics. It is important to appreciate that sometimes the state can be captured by specific ethnic groups, and this needs to be engaged with to ensure more inclusive participation.

- When young people support corrupt leaders, it essentially means that we become corrupt by association. Young people should avoid just being the foot soldiers of those who have corrupt intentions. We have to organize in a manner that allows us to change leaders who are corrupt.
- Very often we have the required policies in place, but the challenge is implementation. We therefore have to engage in detailed strategies to advocate for full implementation of the laws that are already in place. This often means fighting bad practices perpetuated within our own political parties and by those we consider our allies. This requires young people to remain strong, true to their convictions and with a revolutionary spirit.
- We need to partner better with civil society in the fight against corruption. To do this, we must raise awareness among all young people and work to establish better advocacy strategies. We must also engage better with the leaders of our political parties and lobby for better delivery and more inclusive development.
- Consideration should be given to developing an online system for exchange beyond our individual countries. At the country level, we need to engage with our peers to build a positive culture of cooperation from the grassroots level. We should be able to be united as youth on common issues and concerns.

Recommendations

This session was moderated by Ibrahim B. Sanusi, Deputy Head of the Africa Governance Architecture Secretariat. The recommendations were delivered by Frank Kayitare. The report drafter at the meeting was asked to produce a draft version for discussion.

Presentation of the draft recommendations: Frank Kayitare

The draft, with revisions, was read out to the plenary session. It was noted that the draft was not organized in accordance with the Group Feedback questions. Frank Kayitare indicated that the focus of the feedback should be on the content of the draft and not on editorial issues. He noted that the documents will be reworked after the input of participants, and that some issues may be merged to avoid repetition. The draft presented is attached as Annex B.

Discussion

The following is a broad summary of the issues raised after the presentation of the draft recommendations:

- It is strongly recommended that the matter of leadership transparency be included. There has to be a universal system for the selection of candidates. It is also important that there is education for young people entering politics.
- It is important to appreciate that there are different types of technology and platforms available for use by young people. However, even with these, many people will still rely on traditional media, such as radio. We have to document case studies on how technology is used in politics; for example, the case of using social media for fundraising.
- It is important to emphasize the legal issues embodied in the fight against corruption. Young people should collaborate to ensure that appropriate measures are in place to provide transparency and to audit the finances of those who exercise power.
- It is important that the recommendations be reformulated as actions for the future. Young people need to take responsibility and not shift this on to other institutions. The focus should be on what young people themselves will do together or separately when they return to their own countries.

- We tend to make many promises on the continent, but often fail to deliver on these. Ideally, young people should conduct a self-assessment in their own countries and reflect on the results as a strategy for initiating change at the country level.
- Ideally, these recommendations should read as commitments to be made by all who participated in the second Summer School. These recommendations should be brief. It would be good if the issue of party funding were looked at and transparency encouraged through the efforts of young people. Young people could also work with Electoral Commissions to initiate change to overcome age restrictions, where they exist.
- It should be noted that political parties are not considered part of civil society. When we think about the participation of young people, we should encourage positive discrimination so that young people can get into parliament. We should mobilize young people for such a campaign.
- It is important to promote the spirit of volunteerism among young people. Young people should volunteer to work in political parties. While there, they can encourage high levels of transparency. It is important to move beyond the idea that everything in politics is about money.
- We have to think in broader terms about the use of social media. The world has moved on and there are now more advanced platforms. We can use Instagram, YouTube and other media to reach much greater volumes of people. As young people, we can advise on the use of online systems and on establishing higher returns on investments.
- We need much more education so that we can engage with the sophisticated ways in which corruption unfolds. Young people need to do better and more detailed analysis, and to engage with the media in much more substantive ways. The media helps to capture the public attention.
- It is important that young people make sure that they get involved at the grassroots level. We have to be sensitive to local stakeholders and ensure that the policies in place serve the interests of the people.
- We have to be able to instruct the AU to carry out its responsibilities. As young people, we are at the forefront of struggles and hence have to engage with governments to ensure that spaces are opened up. We must be able to engage with the AU to hold countries accountable for what they are doing.

In closing, Ibrahim Sanusi provided a broad summary of the issues raised. He noted the importance of young people taking a lead on the actions required for the future. In this respect, he indicated that it was important to engage with the structural issues that affect the participation of youth. He further highlighted the importance of establishing forums for interparty dialogue and as a basis for sharing information among young political leaders. He stressed the importance of engaging with the matter of violence around elections. He also urged young people to broaden their political understanding and build wider commitment. Frank Kayitare concluded the session by indicating that a shorter set of recommendations would be produced to be provided to participants as a way forward.

Closing remarks

Closing remarks were provided by Oswald Burasanzwe, Executive Secretary of NFPO, and Marie-Laurence Jocelyn Lassegue, the Programme Manager at International IDEA's Haiti Office. In addition, a short vote of thanks was delivered on behalf of the youth participants in the second Summer School.

Vote of thanks by the participants

A representative of those attending the Second Annual Youth Summer School began by citing Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, a prominent South African political dissident, who founded the Pan Africanist Congress in opposition to South Africa's apartheid system. He noted that many young people are still inspired by those who led earlier struggles. By way of the quote, he thanked all for participating actively and demonstrating that a better future is possible.

He also thanked the organizers for their efforts in bringing the young people together and for engaging with them on the challenges they face in each of their countries. He expressed appreciation for the robustness of the debates and the commitment of participants to follow up the issues when they return to their countries. He expressed a hope that there would be future opportunities to report back on what people have done on their return and wished all well with their travels.

In addition to the input from the representative of the participants, Nebila Abdulmalik explained that there had been many interactions on the social media twitter account, #CorruptFreeGeneration, and that in a poll established on the twitter account, over 60 per cent of respondents had agreed that a corruption-free generation was possible. She encouraged people to use social media to exchange information and their positive stories. As part of the closing remarks, a participant from Haiti sang a song.

Marie-Laurence Jocelyn Lassegue

In closing, Jocelyn Lassegue encouraged young people not to become different as they grow older. They must remain committed to those ideals which they hold valuable when they are young. Many people, she noted, change as they get older and sometimes lose sight of why they entered politics in the first place. She especially encouraged young people not to become corrupt themselves as they experience the realities of power. As a final word, she emphasized the importance of remaining committed to the fight against corruption and maintaining integrity.

Oswald Burasanzwe

Oswald Burasanzwe began by thanking all the participants for their attendance. He noted that there were at least 15 African countries represented at the Summer School. He acknowledged the importance of some of the recommendations and commitments that had been made and encouraged participants to avoid the temptation to pursue private interests while in public office, arguing that it is imperative for there to be a set of minimum values for all.

Burasanzwe indicated that it is vital for there to be reflection on the type of democracy that is relevant to Africa. He noted that some of the values inherited from the colonial period may not be relevant to an African context. In this respect, he postulated that that AU needs to drive forward values that will help the continent to ensure that its natural resources are used for the benefit of its people.

In conclusion, Burasanzwe thanked International IDEA for its efforts and for the work unfolding on the basis of a Memorandum of Understanding with his organization. He further expressed a wish to host the next Summer School and thanked the AUC for its efforts to bring participants to Rwanda. As a final word, and in formally closing the event, he thanked the staff of the NFPO for their efforts and encouraged participants to experience more of Rwanda. He also wished participants well on their journeys back to their home countries.

Annex A. Draft Statement of Commitment

We, the young political leaders from African political parties and members of civil society organizations who attended the Second Annual Youth Summer School in Kigali, Rwanda, on 6–8 June 2018 commit ourselves to:

1. Work to ensure that we have appropriate national and regional frameworks in place, with proper sanctions, to fight corruption and guarantee that political parties are accountable, transparent and responsible for the resources used.
2. Remain at the forefront of encouraging youth, and especially women's, representation and participation in politics and securing appropriate spaces for bringing evidence of corruption to public attention.
3. Advocate for the establishment and functioning of independent commissions and agencies in the fight against corruption and to ensure that there is proper declaration of interests and full tracking of public representatives' financial status.
4. Empower other young people by supporting their entry and success in politics, by making certain that they remain outside the influence of illicit finance and patronage in politics.
5. Promote individual and collective values that are fundamental for appropriate political practices in all our activities and educational institutions.
6. Make use of social activities, including culture, sports and entertainment initiatives, to mobilize for the fight against corruption and ensure young people become active citizens.
7. Utilize all forms of media and new software platforms to prevent election fraud, facilitate voter mobilization and monitor election processes and practices.
8. Ensure that we establish our credibility by engaging directly with communities and ensuring that their support is what keeps us engaged and committed to public office.
9. Promote political education and an appreciation of the role of public institutions in ensuring deeper and more appropriate forms of democratic governance.
10. Remain seized of the matter of ensuring that political parties function in an optimal manner and are subject to high levels of transparency and ethical conduct.

11. Establish youth structures that are independent, separate of state structures and cannot be used for illicit purposes.
12. Cooperate on efforts directed at the establishment of cross-party platforms for mobilizing young people to fight corruption and ensure better politics for our countries.

Annex B. Draft recommendations from the Summer School

The Second Annual Youth Summer School was held in Kigali, Rwanda, on 6–8 June 2018. Detailed dialogue among young leaders from political parties and civil society organizations from a number of African countries served to establish a set of overall recommendations on youth political participation as it relates to corruption and illicit flows of financial resources. In establishing a clear set of actionable recommendations, participants were inspired by guiding inputs and the related discussions that unfolded over three focused content presentation and dialogue sessions. These sessions were:

1. Political corruption and the costs of elections as a barrier to and ethical dilemma for youth participation in African countries.
2. Democratic engagement in technological platforms: micro-targeting, social media and political corruption in Africa.
3. Money, corruption and state capture: the impact of illicit financial flows on youth participation in Africa.

Each of these sessions benefited from substantive high-level guiding inputs, followed by detailed deliberations on the topics from responding youth leaders and all participants. Participants further engaged in discussions in different groups on the following focused questions:

1. What can young political cadres do to eradicate corruption within political parties in Africa?
2. How can youth politicians harness technology to reduce the cost of election and increase the credibility of politics?
3. What strategies can youth cadres in political parties in Africa use to fight against illicit financial flows and state capture at the national and continental levels?

The presentations, related discussions and group-specific deliberations unfolded with a view to the shared perspectives serving to inform the individual actions and initiatives of political parties, country-specific efforts and the work of regional and continental organizations. The specific summarized recommendations were as follows:

1. It is imperative to appreciate the significance of having proper legal frameworks to fight corruption and ensure that political parties are accountable and responsible for campaign and other resource utilized. Such a framework, at the national and regional levels, should serve to ensure that proper sanctions are applied where there are implementation failures.
2. Youth women's representation and participation in politics is vital for the welfare of society. Young people can be at the forefront of bringing evidence of corruption to the public sphere. More advocacy work is needed to facilitate change and to this end more collective platforms of young people need to be established.
3. The establishment and functioning of independent commissions and agencies are vital for the fight against corruption. Such bodies would help to ensure that there are proper declarations of interest and full tracking of public representatives' financial status before, during and after the occupation of public office.
4. The financial situation of young people who enter politics needs to be appreciated with a view to supporting them so that they remain outside of the influence of money in politics. Young people also need to remain outside of patronage politics and hence find ways to secure campaign resources through crowd sourcing, among other things, and in this way preserve direct accountability to communities.
5. Individual and collective values are fundamental for appropriate political practices and to avoiding corruption. Such values need to be inculcated early on and must be included in what young people are exposed to in schools system.
6. The social activities of young people provide an immense opportunity for political education and mobilization. To this end, culture, sports and entertainment initiatives should be used to mobilize for the fight against corruption and ensure young people become active citizens.
7. The value and use of technology to drive change should be recognized and positive experiences in countries must be shared for wider use. Social media and new software platforms facilitate voter mobilization, education and registration; the monitoring of election processes and practices; and the tracking voting behaviour and related patterns. Technologies allow young people to be at the forefront of confronting electoral fraud.
8. The credibility of political representatives, especially young people, is fundamental to building systems that are resistant to corruption. Establishing credibility takes time and requires that young people mobilize funding directly from communities, thereby ensuring direct accountability, in order to avoid the patronage practices associated with political parties.
9. To ensure that we rise above corruption and the poor use of state resources, young people need to ensure that there is a common understanding of the role of public institutions and the need to exercise responsible governance. Young people must be on the forefront of securing democratic spaces and ensuring that institutions work as intended and that AU governance and anti-corruption instruments are implemented locally.

10. Both the funding of political parties and their internal operations should be subject to greater accountability to young people and the appropriate electoral institutions. Transparency can be built over time. Young people can assist this by helping to establish better websites for political parties and by ensuring that political parties are more transparent in how resources are secured and used.
11. There needs to be a greater focus on the overall empowerment and development of young people in politics. Building ideological positions and general political consciousness takes time. Young people need to recognize this and use existing media to deepen political education. It is particularly important that young people engage in party level debates on economic policy and other related policies.
12. The idea of rebranding the manner in which politics unfolds is important and vital to changing the general approach and more traditional modalities of political mobilization. At the centre of the new approach must be a willingness to take responsibility and exercise agency without relying on or placing the burden on the AU or other institutions. Young people need to read and engage in the wider debates unfolding on the continent.
13. As part of ongoing reflection on youth participation, it is vital to engage with the historical role and value of youth formations linked to political parties. Young people should establish structures that are independent and that cannot be used for illicit purposes. They should also ensure that the state-party divide is clear, and that political parties are not funded from illicit sources of financing.
14. The establishment of cross-party platforms for mobilizing young people can go a long way towards fighting corruption. To this end, young people need to be realistic and engage with existing structures in a manner that secures change in a sustainable manner. Constructing trans-border and trans-regional solidarity networks can assist with funding and ensure the success of collective efforts.
15. The participation of young people in politics and in the fight against corruption and illicit financial flows requires courage and integrity. Developing both takes time and is a process. Young people can benefit immensely by building common platforms within countries, in regions and across the continent.

Annex C. Draft programme

Day 1: 6 June 2018

Time	Agenda item	Moderator/Responsible person
09.00–09.30	Arrival and Registration of Participants	Dagmawit Meried and NFPO administrative staff
09.30–10.30	Welcome and Opening Remarks	Moderator: Madeleine Mukamabano, senior journalist Remarks: Hon. Mukamana Elisabeth, MP, NFPO Spokesperson Dr Khabele Matlosa, Director of Political Affairs, African Union Commission Professor Adebayo Olukoshi, Regional Director AWA/International IDEA
10.30–10.45	Inaugural address	H.E. Dr Obiageli Ezekwesili, former Minister of Education and Solid Minerals, Nigeria; former Vice President, World Bank; co-founder, Transparency International
10.45–11.00	Group photograph and coffee/tea break	Wahida Oum Samate/ Dagmawit Meried
11.00–11.15	Participants' introductions and expectations	Frank Kayitare, Programme Officer, International IDEA Hamza Amor, Associate Programme Officer, International IDEA
11.15–12.45	Political corruption and cost of elections as barriers to and ethical dilemmas for youth participation in African countries	Moderator: Professor Anastase Shyaka, CEO, Rwanda Governance Board Presenter: Brian T. Kagoro, Director of UHAI Africa LTD Group (20 minutes) Discussants: Dr Otive Igbuzor, Director, Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development, Abuja, Nigeria Dr Emmily Koity, South Sudan Followed by plenary discussions
12.45–14.00	LUNCH BREAK	

Time	Agenda item	Moderator/Responsible person
14.00–15.45	Democratic engagement in technological platforms: Micro-targeting, social media and political corruption in Africa	Moderator: Marie-Laurence Jocelyn Lassegue, Programme Manager, Haiti Office, International IDEA Presenter: Christian Kakoba, Community Lead, BitHub. Africa (20 minutes) Discussants: Boniface Mwangi, Kenya Nebila Abdulmelik, Communication Expert Followed by plenary discussions
15.45–16.00	COFFEE/TEA BREAK	
16.00–17.45	Money, corruption and state capture: impact of IFF on youth participation in Africa	Moderator: Njoya Tikum, Director, UNVO, Nairobi, Kenya Presenter: Professor Thulisile Nomkhosi Madonsela, Former Public Protector of South Africa Discussants: Chantal Uwimana, Former Africa Regional Director, Transparency International Mupiganyi Apollinaire, Executive Secretary, Transparency International/Rwanda chapter Followed by plenary discussions
19.00–21.00	CONFERENCE DINNER	International IDEA

Day 2: 7 June 2018

Time	Agenda item	Moderator/Responsible person
09.30–11.00	Working Groups: Mitigating the impact of money in politics on youth participation	Moderators: Frank Kayitare, Programme Officer, International IDEA (Group 1) Sharon Ndlovu, Programme Officer, DPA/AUC (Group 2) Zephyrin Jijuka, Programme Coordinator, NFPO (Group 3)
11.00–11.15	COFFEE/TEA BREAK	
11.15–12.45	Groups' feedback presentations	Moderator: Idrissa Kamara, Programme Officer, DPA/AUC
12.45–14.00	LUNCH BREAK	
14.00–16.00	Guided visit to the Kigali Genocide Memorial	NFPO
19.00–21.00	Cultural event	NFPO

Day 3: 8 June 2018

Time	Agenda item	Moderator/Responsible person
09.00–10.00	Adoption of recommendations	Moderator: Ibrahim B. Sanusi, Deputy Head of AGA Secretariat
10.00–11.00	Official Closing Ceremony	Moderator: International IDEA/NFPO Closing Remarks: Oswald Burasanzwe, Executive Secretary, NFPO Dr Khabele Matlosa, Director of Political Affairs, African Union Commission Marie-Laurence Jocelyn Lassegue, Programme Manager, Haiti Office, International IDEA
11.00–11.30	Courtesy visit to NFPO Headquarters	NFPO
11.30–16.15	Excursion to Lake Muhazi (Eastern Province)	NFPO/International IDEA

Annex D. Concept note

Introduction

Following a successful first Summer School for youth cadres of political parties in Africa, which was held in May 2017, the Africa and West Asia Programme of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) of the African Union Commission (AUC), in collaboration with the National Consultative Forum of Political Organizations in Rwanda (NFPO) and with the support of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, will convene a second Annual Youth Summer School on 6–9 June 2018 in Kigali, Rwanda, with the theme: 'Youth participation in political processes and the negative aspects of money in politics: Emerging trends'.

Background

Africa is a youthful continent. In 2015, of a total population of close to 1.2 billion people, an estimated 541 million (45.1 per cent) were under the age of 18. A further 458 million (38.2 per cent) were between the ages of 18 and 45. Young people between the ages of 15 and 35 constitute one-third of Africa's population. By 2050, half the continent's population will be under 25 years of age. Between 2015 and 2050, Africa's youth is projected to almost double (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2017). However, youth participation in activities that are aimed at influencing the selection and decisions of government personnel—such as voting in elections—as well as more informal modes of engagement—such as meeting with community members, contacting political representatives or involvement in collective action—are limited all across Africa. If young men find it challenging to participate politically, young women face an onslaught of obstacles and discriminatory practices, as well as attitudes that make politics a hostile arena that is best avoided.

The young people of Africa are not only the largest share of the population on the continent. They are also the largest share of African citizens and as such have expectations and demands of political participation that need to be taken into account to ensure that the social contract between citizens and powers matches demand and supply and allows for meaningful citizen participation and ownership (Frazer 2018).

The potential of youth in political participation is thus not fully harnessed in Africa. Several factors might explain this situation, such as patrimonialism, mistrust of politics and political parties, distrust of electoral processes and institutions, under-representation within government and political parties, patronage and lack of financial resources, age limits in

electoral law and intergenerational differences, as well as corruption and the negative impacts of money in politics.

There are some emerging trends on the negative impact of money in politics that have not yet been systematically discussed and documented by youth and for youth. These include the use of micro-targeting and social media to influence political preferences and as a catalyst for political corruption, as demonstrated by Cambridge Analytica in Kenya and Nigeria; and the use of money from illicit financial flows to finance youth political participation in several countries, such as Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone (OECD 2018), but also Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Tunisia. One of the specificities of these emerging trends is that they provide a new dynamic to the issues of articulation between political and financial corruption, and to the articulation between immorality and legality. All the cases explain why large numbers of young people across African countries are losing faith in politicians and in politics.

Political corruption corresponds here to the use of specific tools (micro-targeting and social media) for illegitimate public and/or private gain. It is important to note that such use is sometimes perfectly legal. Forms of political corruption can vary, as shown in the reports of the Chr. Michelsen Institute (see e.g. Amundsen 1999). They include influence peddling of electoral and political preferences, political blackmail, parochialism and patronage.

Financial corruption in politics is rife as politics and democracy cost money. Thus, when the cost of politics and elections becomes so high that the investment that the candidates and their backers need to secure election is beyond the means of the vast majority of citizens, then fears grow about corruption, about exclusion from the political process, and about the quality of democracy. According to a report by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy which examines the cost of parliamentary politics in six countries (Ghana, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Nigeria, Uganda and Ukraine), with a particular focus on the costs faced by individual candidates and elected parliamentarians, 'many people, including women and younger people, are excluded from the outset—simply because they cannot raise the high costs involved. This does not make for a diverse legislature that represents a cross-section of the population; which in turn leads to the alienation of groups in society who are not adequately represented in parliament' (Wardle 2017: 11). Those who do pursue election are either wealthy enough to finance themselves, have to make significant personal financial sacrifices in order to raise the necessary funds or have to rely on wealthy backers who will expect something in return, thereby fuelling a culture of corruption.

A new development is when political actors—mostly young—make a deliberate choice to use dark money from illicit financial flows to fund their political causes and/or to gain access to public positions and become more influential in state matters. These actors are generally connected across borders and take advantage of the weaknesses of institutions to deploy a transnational parallel political and economic system that constitutes a new and serious threat to the consolidation of the democratization process in African countries.

Without serious changes on these issues, youth participation in political processes and the consolidation of democratization in African countries will definitively suffer. Failure to make these changes will come at a high price for the democratization process and the peace of the continent, its governance and the effective consolidation of its democratic process.

In recognition of these facts, as noted above, International IDEA and the DPA of the AUC, in collaboration with the NFPO and with the support of Norway Cooperation, are organizing a second Summer School in line with the 2018 theme of the African Union: 'Winning the Fight against Corruption: A Sustainable Path for Africa's Transformation'. The Second Annual Youth Summer School is therefore intended to be one of the contributions of the DPA and its partners to the implementation of this 2018 theme of the AU. The Theme of the Summer School is also in line with International IDEA's work on money in politics.

Objectives

The objective of the Second Annual Summer School is to increase awareness and contribute to changes in the behaviour of participants on societal issues that restrict meaningful youth political participation and representation in African countries in accordance with the requirements of Article 3 of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG), and in the application of the principles of the Continental Framework for Structural Preventive Diplomacy of the African Union. The Annual Summer School is therefore a persuasive and supportive tool for enhancing youth participation in African countries.

The Second Annual Youth Summer School is intended to offer opportunities for youth cadres from select political parties in Africa to reflect on, discuss and share experiences and the impacts of emerging trends on the negative impacts of money in politics on youth political participation. It will also be a forward looking platform that will generate realistic recommendations on how to address these new challenges in order to enhance youth participation—first and foremost from within political parties.

The specific objectives of the forum are to:

1. Provide a platform for youth cadres of political parties on the continent to reflect on emerging challenges linked to the negative impact of money in politics that hamper meaningful youth political participation in Africa;
2. Identify and discuss strategies to mitigate these challenges that can be submitted to political parties' decision-making organs and to other stakeholders involved in the fight against these new trends—such as EMBs and those dealing with financial crime; and
3. Explore the role that can be played by DPA/AUC and its partners at the regional and national levels in overcoming these new challenges and enhancing youth political participation.

Expected results

The Second Annual Youth Summer School is expected to lead to the development of actionable recommendations that will:

1. help to inform programming at the continental, regional and national levels, which promotes youth participation while addressing the identified negative role of money in politics;
2. strengthen efforts by youth wings of political parties and other election stakeholders to work for meaningful and corruption-free youth participation; and
3. enhance the knowledge and skills of youth cadres on political participation through sharing experiences and good practices from the continent on corruption-free youth participation.

Methodology

The Second Annual Youth Summer School will be conducted over three days. A participatory approach will be adopted in which various thematic sessions and moderated panel presentations will be followed by plenary sessions. Participants will share continental, regional and national comparative case studies and experiences on emerging trends on the negative aspects of money in politics. A background document will inform the debates during the Summer School and a Policy Brief will be developed around its outcomes and recommendations.

Presentations will be in the form of panels, and guest speakers will prepare in advance a paper on each sub-theme. Wherever possible, each panel will comprise a politician, a researcher and an academic. There will also be case study and group work discussions.

Participant profile

The participants in the Second Annual Youth Summer School will be drawn from the youth divisions of political parties from selected African countries: Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Lebanon, Mali, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, South Sudan, Tunisia and Zimbabwe, as well as peers from Haiti. Haiti will be included in the spirit of South-South cooperation and peer-to-peer exchange, and also given that Haiti has observer status at the AU.

Each of these countries has unique experience to offer from different perspectives, either of the past or the current political situation, and in relation to emerging trends on the negative aspects of money in politics. Three additional criteria have been used to select young participants for the Annual Summer School: (a) membership of decision-making bodies of a political party in their home country; (b) a gender criterion to ensure equitable gender representation; and (c) the personal socio-political trajectory of each young cadre. Apart from the host country, Rwanda, which will have two representatives from each of the 11 political parties currently registered with the NFPO, all other countries will send two delegates, representing the ruling and main opposition parties in the country. Representation from ruling and opposition parties will be crucial.

Apart from youth cadres from different political parties, Rwandan party leaders will also be invited to attend the opening and closing sessions. In the course of sharing experiences and widening discussion and debate, other national and international partners will be invited, such as the Ministry of Youth (MINIYOUTH), the National Youth Counsel, the Rwanda Governance Board (RGB), the Secretariat of the African Union Advisory Board on Corruption (AUBC), and high-level experts.

Working languages

The Summer School will be conducted in English and French.

Contacts

For more information on the Second Annual Summer School, please contact Dagmawit Meried, Administrative Officer, International IDEA; Sharon Ndlovu, Policy Analyst, DPA/AUC; or Zephyrin Jijuka, Programme Coordinator, NFPO.

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Wardle, P., *Cost of Politics Synthesis Report* (London: Westminster Foundation for Democracy, 2017), <https://www.wfd.org/2017/08/26/cost-politics-synthesis-report/>, accessed 7 September 2018

Annex E. List of participants

Country/organization	Name and Surname
Benin	Marlyse Houngbedji Lazard Hounsa
Burkina Faso	Youlouka Damiba
Cameroon	Assembe Ndi Alvine Henriette Ataubo Buriya Unause
Côte d'Ivoire	Éric Abrogoua Sidjé Marie France Akissi Kouakou
Ethiopia	Nebila Abdulmelik
France	Fazila Da Hall Juan Gomez Richard Riffonneau Chantal Uwimana
Haiti	Jean Louis Ariette Widdy Joseph Marie-Laurence Jocelyn Lassegu Gabriel Manoucheka Pierre Mathias Cantave Pascale Nadia
Kenya	Professor PLO Lumumba Boniface Mwangi Albashir Mohamed Nur Benson Musungu Njoya Tikum Ruth Cicily Wawira
Mozambique	Dr Adriano Nuvunga
Nigeria	H.E Dr Obey Ezekwesili Dr Otive Igbuzor
South Africa	Zinhle Happiness Biyela Brian Kagoro Salim Latib Adv. Thulisile Nomkhosi Madonsela Belinda Moses Masonwabe Nqawe Yongama Ludwe Zigebe
South Sudan	Emmily Koiti

Country/organization	Name and Surname
Tunisia	Emna Dridi
Uganda	Phoebe Namulindwa Ssembajwe Paul
Zambia	Gerald Chiluba Tinashe Mazala
Zimbabwe	Chioniso Murinda
African Union Department of Political Affairs (AU DPA)	Idrissa Kamara Dr Khabele Matlosa Ibraheem Sanusi
International IDEA	Hamza Amor Dr Maurice Engueleguele Frank Kayitare Dagmawit Meried Sharon Ndlovu (International IDEA/AU DPA) Professor Adebayo Olukoshi Samate Oum Wahida
Rwanda	Virginie Akimanizanye Jean d'Amour Akubukaka Oswald Burasanzwe (Executive Secretary) Patrick Cyusa Kinyange Delmy Fazil Harerimana Ignace Hategekimana Thierry Hirwa Neema Eugenie Ingabire Yvonne Ishimwe Zephyrin Jijuka (Programme Coordinator) Malkia Kazimbaya Igihozo Madeleine Mukabamano Prisca Mukahirwa Elizabeth Mukamana (Spokesperson) Germaine Mukansanga (Monitoring and Evaluation Officer) Emile Munyemana Jean Paul Ngarambe (IT and Communications Officer) Emmanuel Ntwari Scholastique Nyiramajyambere Jean Chrysostome Rindiro Justin Rutikanga Jean De Dieu Safari Professsor Anastase Shyaka Fabien Sindayiheba (Director of Communication and Committees Works) Doreen Tumuhirwe Elyse Twizerimana Christine Umutoni Bucura Joyeuse Umutoni Hyacinthe Uwimana Grace Uwurukundo Jean Marie Vianney Zigurumugabe (Procurement Officer)

About the organizations

Department of Political Affairs, African Union Commission

The Department of Political Affairs (DPA) of the African Union Commission is responsible for promoting, facilitating, coordinating and encouraging democratic principles and the rule of law, respect for human rights, participation of civil society in the development process of the continent and the achievement of durable solutions for addressing humanitarian crises. Key mandates include promoting AU shared values; coordinating AU election observation and monitoring missions; providing technical support to the electoral bodies; coordinating implementation of the African Governance Architecture and its platform; and implementing sustainable solutions to humanitarian and political crises, including through preventive diplomacy.

<https://au.int/pa>

National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations (NFPO)

The National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations (NFPO) is an institution established by the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda. The NFPO works as a platform where political organizations recognized in Rwanda meet and discuss the country's problems and national policies, with the purpose of consensus building and national cohesion.

The NFPO is a permanent framework for capacity building for member political organizations in the development of political activities and political service provision. It is also a framework for conflict mediation between political parties and for the promotion of the code of conduct which should characterize the political leadership in Rwanda.

<http://forumfp.org.rw>

International IDEA

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization with the mission to advance democracy worldwide, as a universal human aspiration and enabler of sustainable development. We do this by supporting the building, strengthening and safeguarding of democratic political institutions and processes at all levels.

Our vision is a world in which democratic processes, actors and institutions are inclusive and accountable and deliver sustainable development to all. In our work we focus on three main impact areas: electoral processes; constitution-building processes; and political participation and representation. The themes of gender and inclusion, conflict sensitivity and sustainable development are mainstreamed across all our areas of work.

International IDEA provides analyses of global and regional democratic trends; produces comparative knowledge on good international democratic practices; offers technical assistance and capacity-building on democratic reform to actors engaged in democratic processes; and convenes dialogue on issues relevant to the public debate on democracy and democracy building.

Our headquarters is located in Stockholm, and we have regional and country offices in Africa, the Asia-Pacific, Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean. International IDEA is a Permanent Observer to the United Nations and is accredited to European Union institutions.

<https://idea.int>

The Second Annual Summer School for Young Leaders from African Political Parties took place in Kigali, Rwanda, on 6–8 June 2018. The overall theme was 'Youth participation in political processes: emerging trends of the negative aspects of money in politics'.

The Summer School unfolded in a context that recognized that youth participation in politics, especially by young women, either in the form of direct representation in political structures or within less formal modes of political engagement, remains limited across Africa.

These low levels of active participation and influence by young people unfold in a situation where young people constitute a very large and growing proportion of the general population.

International IDEA
Strömsborg
SE–103 34 Stockholm
Sweden
Telephone: +46 8 698 37 00
Email: info@idea.int
Website: ‹http://www.idea.int›