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Does less engaged mean less empowered?

Political participation lags among African youth, especially women

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Introduction

The African Youth Charter outlines young citizens' rights and responsibilities, affirming that "youth are partners, assets and a prerequisite for sustainable development and for the peace and prosperity of Africa" (African Union, 2006, p. 2).¹ Article 11 of the charter gives every young citizen "the right to participate in all spheres of society" and mandates that states encourage youth activism and ensure gender equity in political representation and participation (p. 6). Among responsibilities, the charter cites full participation in civic duties such as voting in elections and volunteering. The African Union (AU) Assembly declared 2009-2018 the "African Youth Decade" and released an action plan to promote youth empowerment and development throughout the continent, including by raising young citizens' representation and participation in political processes (African Union, 2011).

The latest results from Afrobarometer surveys in 36 countries reveal a wide gap between the aspirations set forth in the AU policy framework and the reality of youth political engagement in Africa today. The data show that African governments and development partners have considerable work to do to achieve the goal of increased civic and political participation among youth, particularly young women.

African youth (aged 18-35)² report lower rates of political engagement than their elders across a variety of indicators, including voting in national elections. Young citizens are also less likely to engage in civic activities such as attending community meetings and joining others to raise an issue. While these findings are consistent with research on age differences in voter turnout in advanced democracies (e.g. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1999; Norris, 2002), the survey further finds that youth engagement levels have *declined* over time despite the introduction of regional and national youth empowerment policies.

Young women's political engagement lags behind that of their male peers across all the indicators under consideration, although these differences are smaller for voting levels and attendance at demonstrations or protest marches. The findings on gender-based disparities in engagement levels are consistent with results from the previous round of the Afrobarometer surveys (2011/2013), which show that African women are generally less likely than men to participate in political processes, despite widespread support for gender equality across Africa (see Afrobarometer Policy Paper No. 8, available at <http://bit.ly/2aFrCnA>).

The persistence of gender gaps even among youth is a measure of the extent to which significantly more initiatives are required to empower young women and boost their participation – particularly in West African countries, which report the largest gaps on most indicators. Women make up less than one-quarter (23%) of parliamentary representatives in sub-Saharan Africa (average for single or lower house) and have even lower representation in Arab states (18%) (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2016). Boosting their representation to meet the AU's target of gender parity likely requires raising engagement among young women at lower levels of the political process. Greater civic education for all youth, and particularly young women, may be one strategy for moving toward the AU aspiration of an empowered young citizenry that acts as an agent for prosperity, peace, and development on the continent.

¹ The African Youth Charter was adopted in July 2006 and came into force in August 2009. As of 1 June 2016, 42 AU member states have signed the agreement and 38 have ratified it (African Union, 2016). Eight Afrobarometer countries are not signatories to the charter: Botswana, Cape Verde, Gabon, Malawi, Mauritius, Swaziland, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. Morocco is not a member state of the African Union.

² While the AU's official definition of "youth" is ages 15-35 years (African Union, 2006), Afrobarometer samples include only adult citizens, so this analysis focuses on respondents aged 18-35.

Afrobarometer survey

Afrobarometer is a pan-African, non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues across more than 30 countries in Africa. Five rounds of surveys were conducted between 1999 and 2013, and findings from Round 6 surveys (2014/2015) are currently being released. Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice with nationally representative samples that yield country-level results with margins of error of +/-2% (for samples of 2,400) or +/-3% (for samples of 1,200) at a 95% confidence level.

Round 6 findings are based on almost 54,000 interviews completed in 36 countries (see Appendix Table A.1 for a list of countries and fieldwork dates).

Key findings

- Political engagement is generally lower among African youth than among their elders, particularly in terms of voting. Two-thirds (65%) of 18- to 35-year-old respondents who were old enough to vote in the last national election say they did so, compared to 79% of citizens above age 35.
- Slightly more than half (53%) of African youth report being "very" or "somewhat" interested in public affairs, while two-thirds (67%) say they discuss politics with friends or family at least "occasionally." Compared to their male counterparts, young women report significantly less interest (48% vs. 60%) and discussion (61% vs. 74%).
- Attendance at campaign rallies is the most popular form of pre-electoral engagement among young Africans: One-third (33%) say they attended at least one in the previous year, compared to 37% of older citizens. The gender gap in participation in rallies averages 10 percentage points and is largest in East Africa (14 points) and West Africa (13 points).
- African youth are less likely than their elders to participate in civic activities: Less than half (47%) of 18- to 35-year-olds say they attended community meetings at least once during the previous year, while 40% joined others to raise an issue (vs. 57% and 47% for older citizens). Young women's participation also lags behind that of their male peers on these measures of civic activism (by 9 percentage points, on average), particularly in West Africa and North Africa (both by 14 percentage points).
- Not quite half (48%) of youth say they contacted political or community leaders during the previous year to discuss an important issue, with lower reported engagement levels among young women than men (43% vs. 53%).
- Youth participation in demonstrations and protest marches is lower than in more conventional forms of civic and political engagement, but higher than among their elders: 11% of young survey respondents say they attended at least one protest in the previous year (vs. 8% older citizens). Again, women report lower participation levels than their male peers (8% vs. 13%).
- Comparison over time in 16 countries shows that youth engagement levels have declined since 2005/2006 across most of these indicators, particularly interest in public affairs and measures of civic activism (both by 9 percentage points).

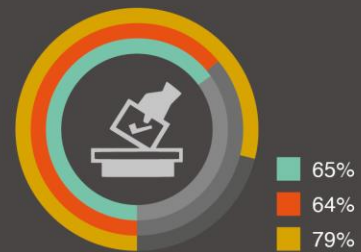
Political and civic engagement of African youth 36 countries | 2014/2015



Interested in public affairs



Discuss politics



Voted in most recent election



Attended a campaign rally



Attended a community meeting and/or joined others to raise an issue



Contacted a political or community leader



Attended a demonstration or protest march

Key

- Youth (18-35 years)
- Young women (18-35 years)
- Older citizens (36+ years)



Youth and development policy in Africa

Rapid population growth and reductions in child mortality rates in Africa have led to a large youth population in comparison to the adult population (the “youth bulge”). In 2010, 15- to 34-year-olds accounted for more than one-third (35.6%) of Africa’s population (African Union, 2015). The AU’s policy emphasis on youth development and empowerment reflects the economic gains that this demographic shift makes possible (African Union, 2015). Evidence from East Asia’s development trajectory in the 1990s indicates that rapid economic growth coupled with a large working-age population leads to accelerated growth and prosperity (a

“demographic dividend”) – if properly managed by providing adequate employment opportunities for young people (Canning, Raja, & Yazbeck, 2015).

At present, however, youth unemployment is a significant challenge in most sub-Saharan African countries and is at its highest level ever recorded in North Africa (International Labour Organization, 2015). The AU's Agenda 2063 aims to eliminate “overt youth unemployment” by 2063 (African Union, 2015, p. 160).

Youth (18- to 35-year-olds) represent 54% of respondents in the 2014/2015 Afrobarometer survey, with varying rates of urbanization, educational attainment, and employment (see Appendix Table A.2 for demographic profiles of youth respondents).

Youth political engagement in Africa

The AU's African Youth Decade action plan defines “youth empowerment” in terms of young citizens' freedom or ability to formulate and act upon their own choices, rather than the wishes of others: “Young people are empowered when they realize that they have or can create choices in life, are aware of the implications of those choices, make informed decisions freely, take action based on those decisions and accept responsibility for the consequences of their actions” (African Union, 2011, p. v). The document acknowledges the need to enable this empowerment by ensuring youth representation in the formulation, implementation, and monitoring of government development policies.

Empowerment therefore requires young Africans to be engaged in a range of activities in order to ensure their full representation in the political process. Afrobarometer measures citizen engagement in a range of dimensions: the extent to which they are interested in and discuss politics (“cognitive engagement”), their participation in elections and in civic or community events, and their views on various forms of political protest.

Survey results show that young citizens are less likely to engage in the political process than their older peers, except on measures of protest activity. Young women are even less likely to be engaged in the political process than their male peers.

Interest in and discussion of politics

In a measure of how mentally engaged they are with the political process, a majority of survey respondents of all ages say they are “very” or “somewhat” interested in public affairs and discuss political matters “frequently” or “occasionally” with their friends and families. Youth report slightly lower interest than their older peers (53% vs. 58%) and the same level of discussion (both 67%) (see Appendix Table A.3 for detailed results).

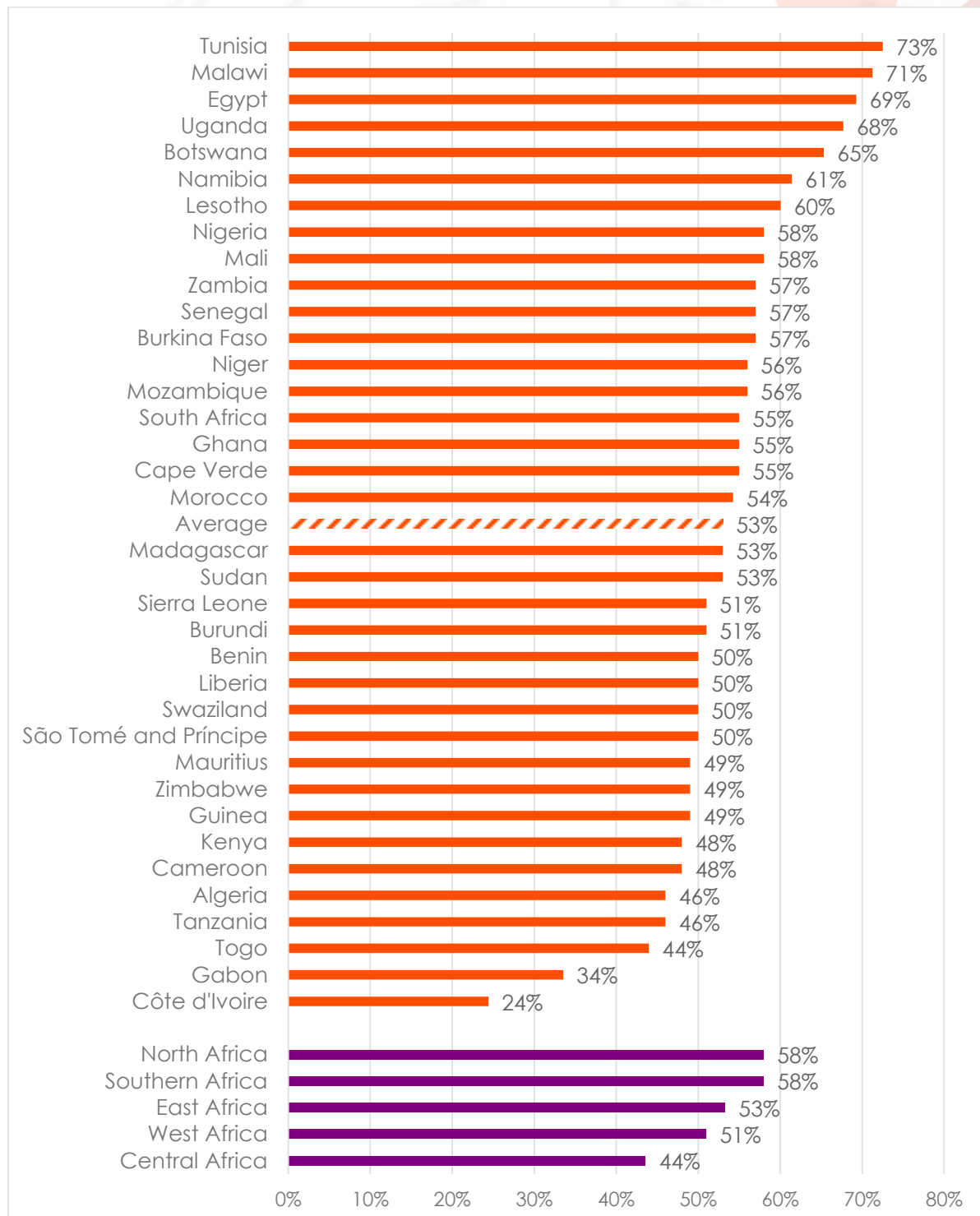
Interest in politics varies widely by country, from seven in 10 among Tunisian (73%) and Malawian (71%) youth to only one-quarter of young Ivoirians (24%) (Figure 1). Northern and Southern African youth are the most likely to say they are at least “somewhat” interested in politics (58%), followed by East Africans (53%), West Africans (51%), and Central Africans (44%).

Interest levels increase with age, education, and material security as measured by the Afrobarometer Lived Poverty Index³ (Figure 2). Youth who never lack basic necessities of life (“no lived poverty”) are significantly more likely to report being interested in public affairs (57%) than those living with frequent deprivation (“high lived poverty”) (48%). In addition,

³ The Lived Poverty Index (LPI) measures respondents' levels of material deprivation by asking them how often they or their family members went without enough food, enough clean water, medicines or medical treatment, enough cooking fuel, and a cash income during the previous year. “No lived poverty” refers to full access to all five basic necessities, while “high lived poverty” refers to regular shortages of these goods and services. (For more information on the LPI, see Afrobarometer Policy Paper No. 29, available at www.afrobarometer.org).

youth who are employed full time are the most likely group to express an interest in public affairs.⁴

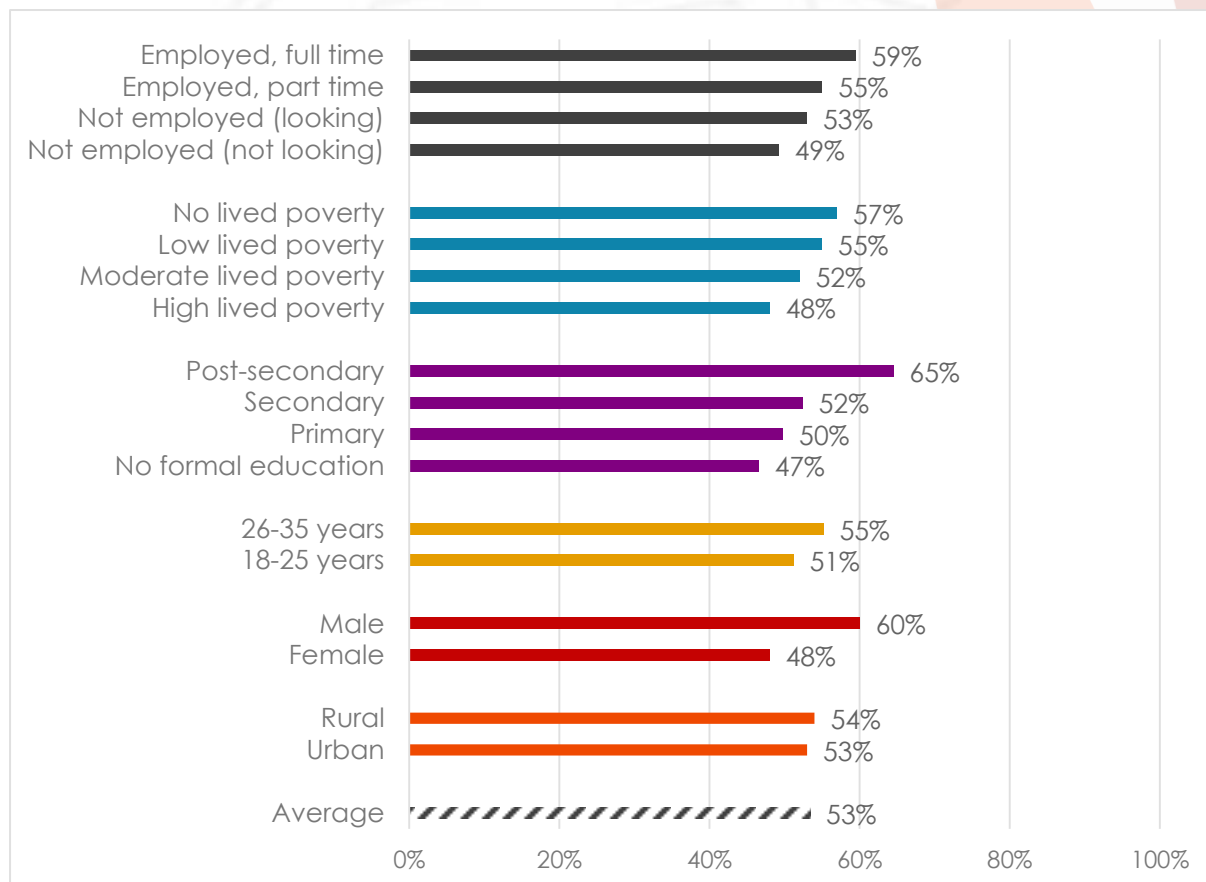
Figure 1: Interest in public affairs | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: How interested would you say you are in public affairs? (% "very interested" or "somewhat interested")

⁴ Students represent significant proportions of youth who say they are not employed and either not looking for a job (33%) or looking for a job (21%) (see Appendix Table A.5 for full results).

Figure 2: Interest in public affairs | by employment status, lived poverty, education, age, gender, and urban-rural residence | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: How interested would you say you are in public affairs? (% “very interested” or “somewhat interested”)

Two-thirds of young Africans say they discuss political matters “occasionally” (49%) or “frequently” (18%) with friends and family, while 32% say they “never” do so. Reported levels of frequent discussion of politics are highest among Malawian youth (38%) and lowest in Algeria (8%). However, Guinea has the highest proportion of youth who “never” discuss politics in their intimate circles (46%) (Figure 3).

Although there is no difference between the discussion levels of respondents aged 18-35 years and those aged 36 years and older, the youth sub-sample shows modest differences by age. Younger respondents (aged 18-25 years) are slightly less likely to discuss politics at least “occasionally” than those aged 26-35 years (65% vs. 69%). Discussion levels among young citizens increase with educational attainment and employment (Figure 4).

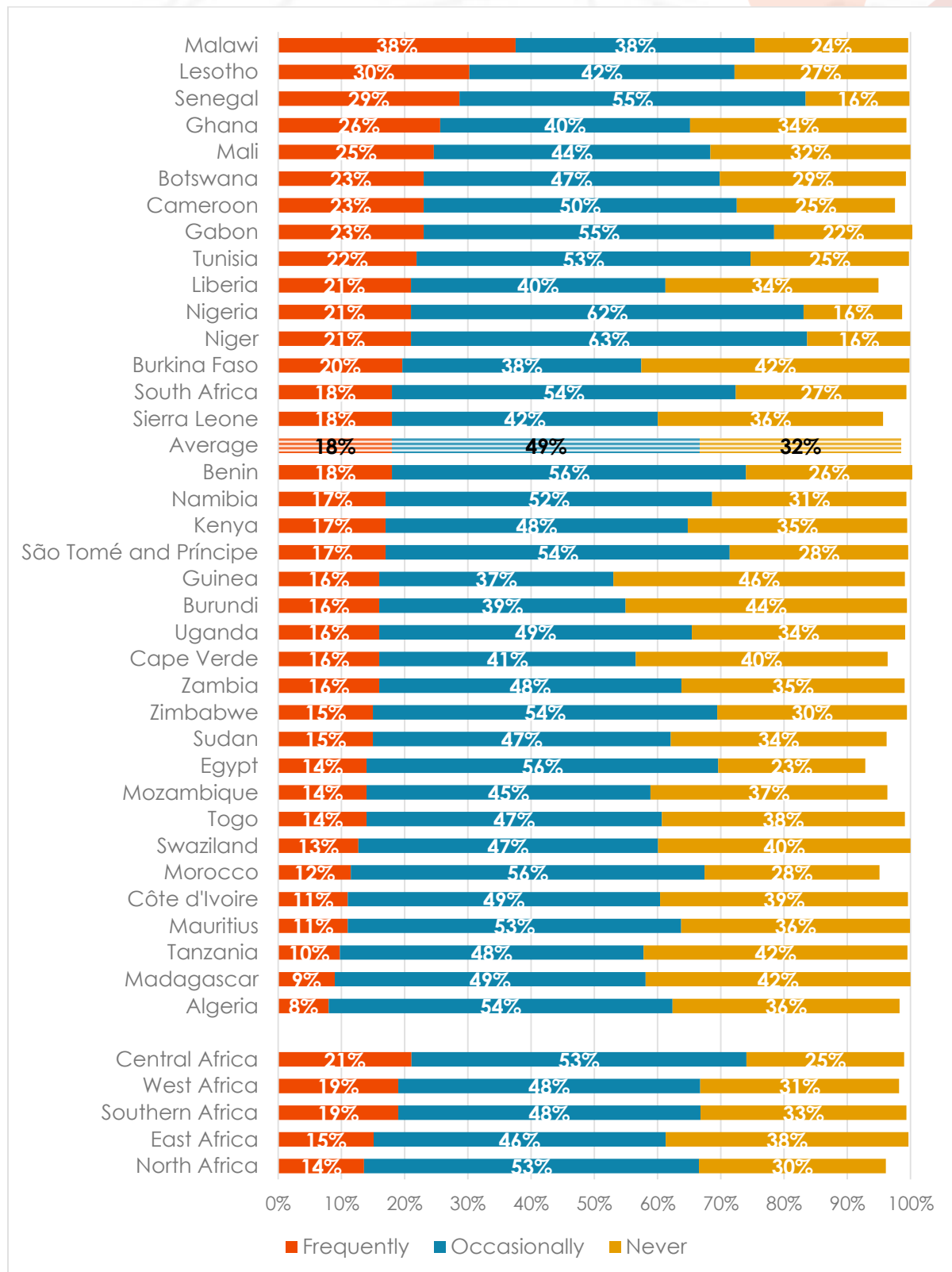
Six in 10 (61%) young women discuss political matters at least occasionally, compared to about three-quarters (74%) of young men – a gap that is comparable to the gender difference in interest levels (12 percentage points).

Across 16 countries tracked since 2002/2003,⁵ young Africans’ interest in public affairs has declined significantly (from 81% in 2002/2003 to 58% in 2014/2015), while discussion of politics has been stable since 2005/2006 (Figure 5; see Appendix Table A.4 for details). The largest declines in interest levels between 2002/2003 and the most recent survey occurred in

⁵ Countries tracked since Round 2 (2002/2003) are Botswana, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

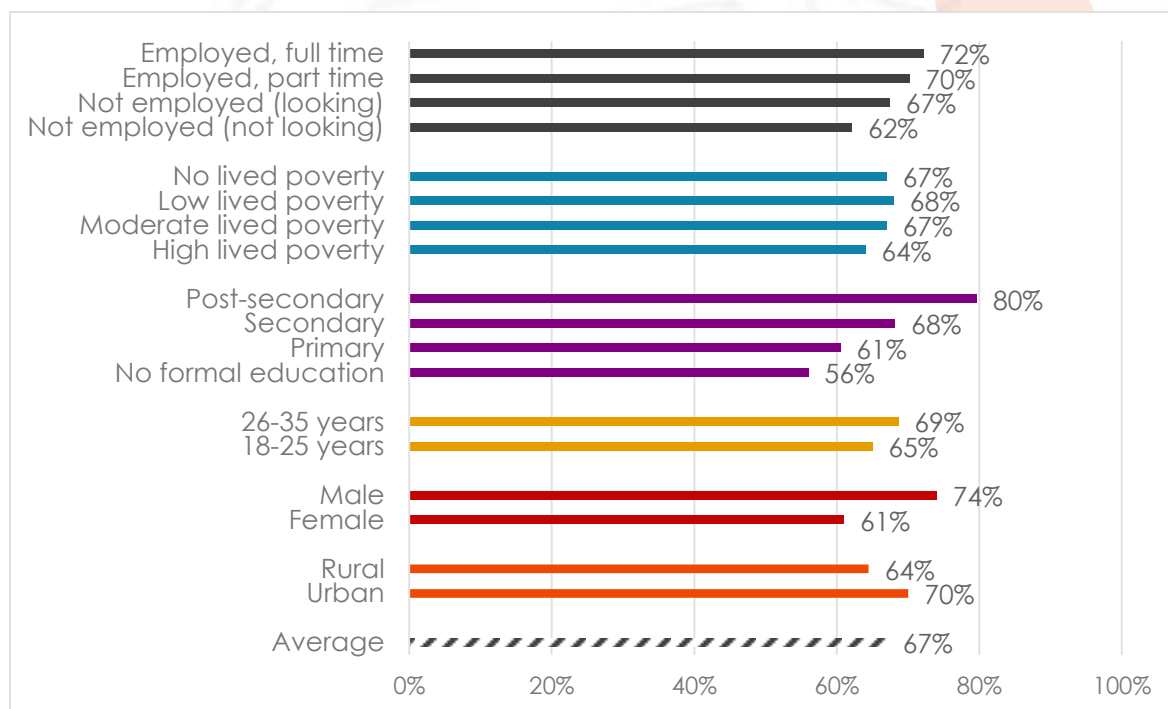
Tanzania (by 38 percentage points) and the smallest in Malawi and Mozambique (both 14 points).

Figure 3: Discussion of politics | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



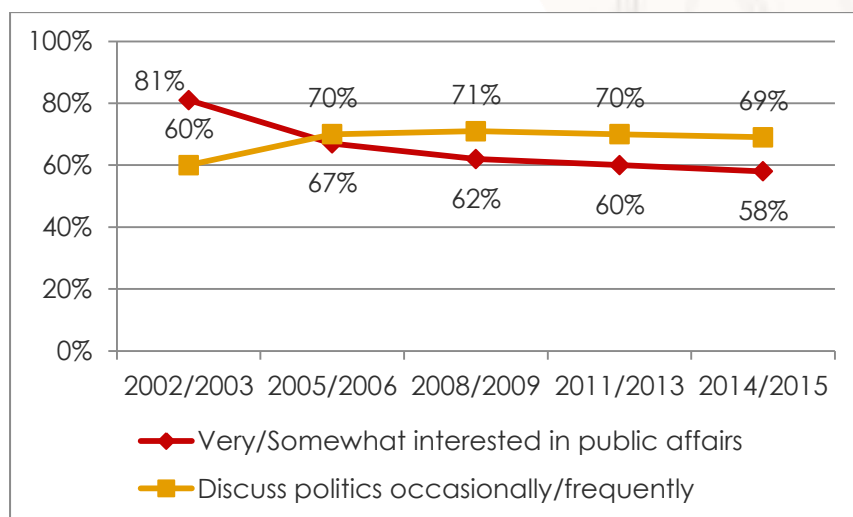
Respondents were asked: When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?

Figure 4: Discussion of politics | by employment status, lived poverty, education, age, gender, and urban-rural residence | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never? (% “frequently” or “occasionally”)

Figure 5: Trends in interest in and discussion of public affairs | 18- to 35-year-olds | 16 countries | 2002-2015



Respondents were asked:

1. How interested would you say you are in public affairs? (% “very interested” or “somewhat interested”)⁶
2. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never? (% “occasionally” or “frequently”)

⁶ In 2002/2003, the question text was: “Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Discussed politics with friends or neighbours?”

Media engagement

Afrobarometer also asks respondents about their news consumption from various media sources (radio, television, newspapers, the Internet, and social media), which provides an alternative indicator of citizens' engagement with political matters. Previous analysis shows that radio is the most popular news source (69% say they listen to the news at least "a few times a week"), followed by television (53%), newspapers (22%), the Internet (22%), and social media (21%) (see Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 85, available at <http://bit.ly/1THHfMR>).

African youth are similar to the general population in their news habits, citing radio as their most frequent source 69% "every day" or "a few times a week"). Youth are somewhat more likely than their elders to get news from other sources, especially the Internet (30% vs. 13% for older citizens) and social media (30% vs. 11%). Still, majorities of young citizens say they "never" get the news from social media (61%), the Internet (60%), and newspapers (55%) (Table 1; see Appendix Table A.3 for news consumption by age).

Table 1: News consumption | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015

	Every day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never
Radio	45%	24%	8%	4%	19%
Television	41%	15%	6%	4%	34%
Social media	20%	10%	5%	3%	61%
Internet	19%	11%	5%	3%	60%
Newspapers	10%	15%	11%	8%	55%

Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources: Radio? TV? Newspapers? The Internet? Social media such as Facebook and Twitter?

Electoral participation

The African Youth Charter specifies full participation in civic duties, including voting and volunteering, among the responsibilities of all young citizens on the continent (African Union, 2006). A strong majority of African youth agree that voting is an important component of democratic citizenship: More than three-fourths (78%) say that a good citizen should "always" vote in elections, while 20% say that citizens should only do so "if they choose" (see Appendix Table A.6). Afrobarometer measures citizen engagement in a range of electoral activities, including voting in national elections, attending campaign rallies or meetings, persuading others to vote for a particular candidate or party, and working on a campaign.

Voting in elections

Youth are significantly less likely to vote than older citizens. About two-thirds (65%) of young respondents who were old enough to vote in their country's most recent national election⁷ report doing so, compared to 79% of citizens aged 36 and older (see Appendix Table A.3). One in five youth say they were not registered to vote (10%) or decided not to vote (10%), and another 14% cite a range of other issues that prevented them from voting (Figure 6).

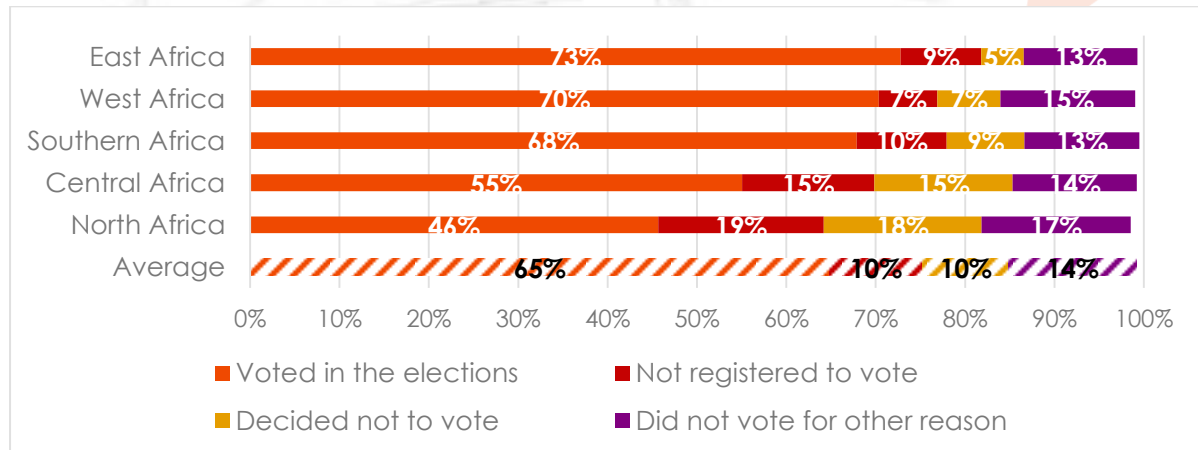
African youths' voting levels are highest in East Africa (73%), while North African youth (46%) trail far behind other regions.⁸

⁷ In 2014/2015, 12% of respondents aged 18-35 say they were too young to vote in the previous election.

⁸ Afrobarometer regional groupings are: East Africa (Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda), West Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo), Southern Africa (Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe), North Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia), and Central Africa (Cameroon, Gabon, and São Tomé and Príncipe).

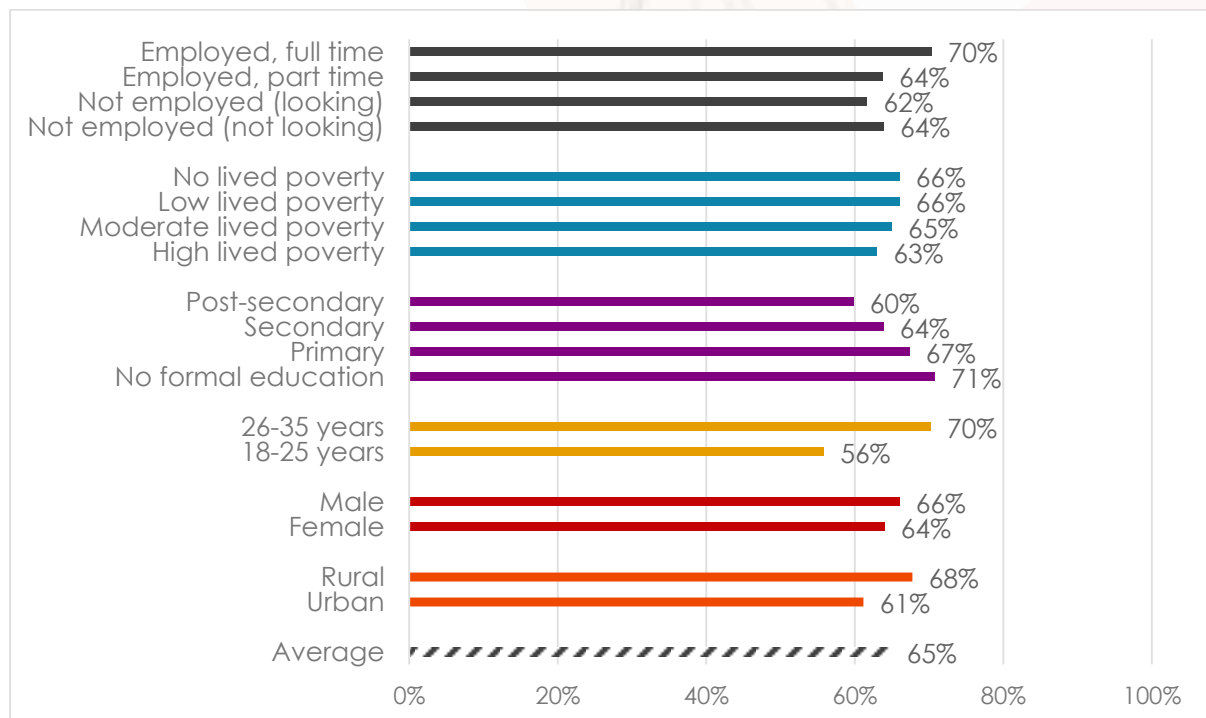
Older youth (aged 26-35 years) are significantly more likely to vote than 18- to 25-year-olds (by 14 percentage points, 70% vs. 56%), and rural youth report higher voting levels than youth in urban areas (68% vs. 61%) (Figure 7). In contrast to the findings on interest in and discussion of politics discussed above, electoral participation decreases with education levels. Young women are about equally likely to vote as their male peers (64% vs. 66%; note that a 2-percentage-point difference is not statistically significant).

Figure 6: Voting in elections | by region | 18- to 35-year-olds | 35 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in [20XX], which of the following statements is true for you? (Notes: This question was not asked in Senegal. Results exclude respondents who say they were not old enough to vote.)

Figure 7: Voted in last election | by employment status, lived poverty, education, age, gender, and urban-rural residence | 18- to 35-year-olds | 35 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in [20XX], which of the following statements is true for you? (% "voted in the last election")

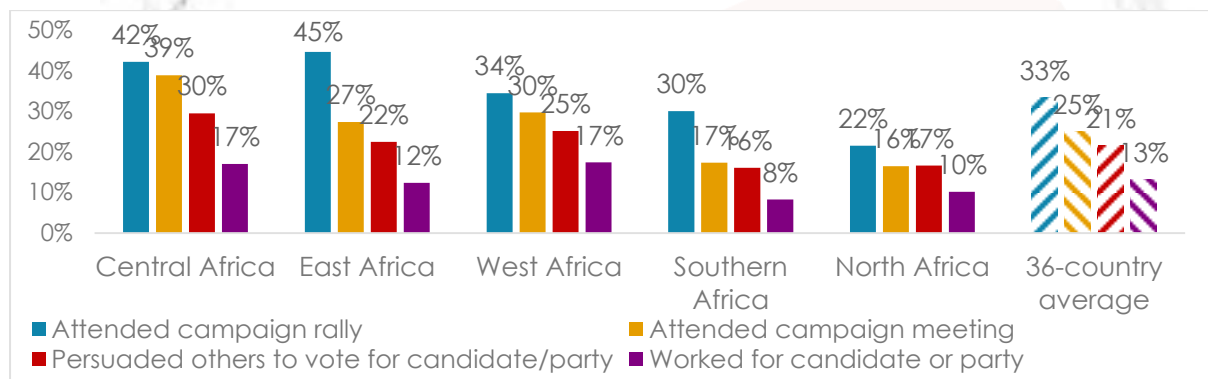
(Notes: This question was not asked in Senegal. Results exclude respondents who say they were not old enough to vote.)

Pre-election engagement

African citizens of all ages are more likely to vote in national elections than to participate in pre-election activities (see Appendix Table A.3). Among 18- to 35-year-olds, attendance at campaign rallies is the most popular form of pre-election engagement (33%, vs. 37% of older citizens), followed by attendance at campaign meetings (25%, vs. 30% of older citizens), persuading others to vote for a candidate or party (21%, vs. 26% of older citizens), and working on a campaign for a candidate or party (13%, vs. 17% of older citizens). Central African youth are the most active, while those in North Africa are the least active (Figure 8).

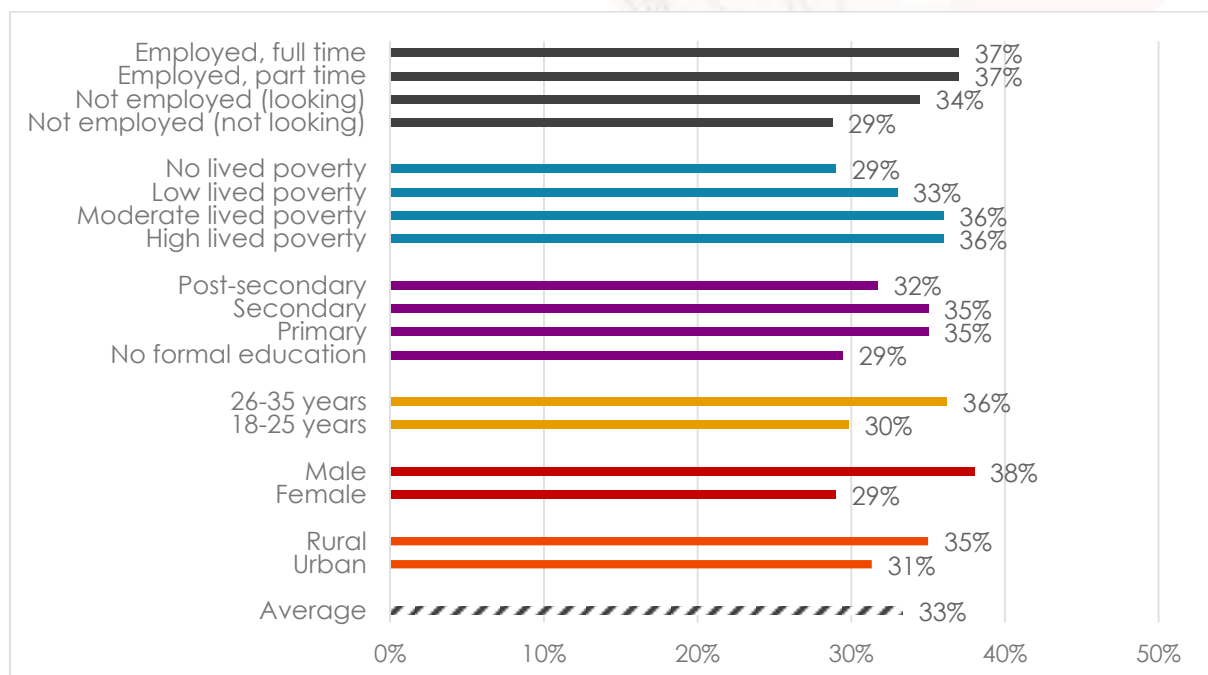
As shown in Figure 9, attendance at campaign rallies is somewhat more common among employed youth, older youth, men, and rural youth. Young citizens with higher levels of material security (i.e. “no lived poverty”) are less likely to participate.

Figure 8: Pre-election engagement | by region | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: Thinking about the last national election in [20XX], did you: Attend a campaign rally? Attend a meeting with a candidate or campaign staff? Try to persuade others to vote for a certain legislative candidate or political party? Work for a candidate or party? (% “yes”)

Figure 9: Attendance at a campaign rally | by employment status, lived poverty, education, age, gender, and urban-rural residence | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: Thinking about the last national election in [20XX], did you attend a campaign rally? (% “yes”)

Youth civic engagement in Africa

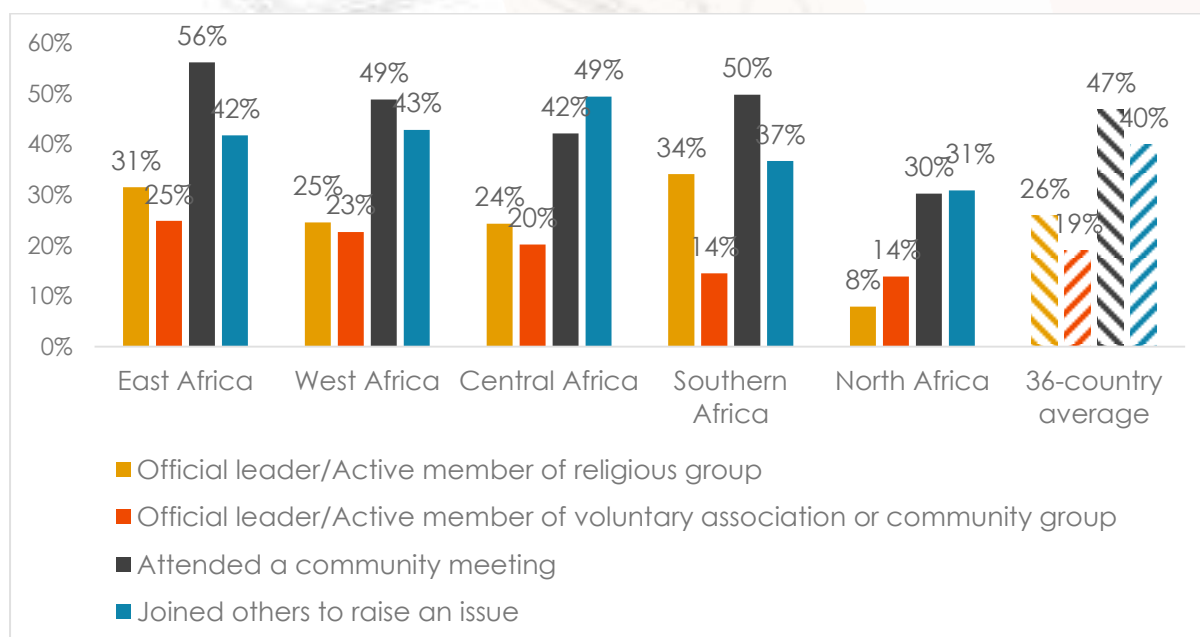
A plurality of African youth believe that ordinary citizens should play a leading role in holding elected leaders to account: On average, four in 10 young citizens say that voters should be responsible for making sure that local government councillors, the president, and parliamentary representatives do their jobs once elected, rather than leaving this task to political parties or others (see Appendix Table A.7). However, on three aspects of civic engagement, a majority of young Africans are not active: membership in civic organizations (religious groups and voluntary associations), civic activism (attending community meetings and joining others to raise an issue), and contacting community or political leaders to discuss important problems.

Membership in civic organizations and civic activism

On average, only minorities of young citizens in the 36 countries surveyed in 2014/2015 are official leaders or active members of a religious group (26%, vs. 30% of older citizens) or of a voluntary association or community group (19%, vs. 25% of older citizens). Furthermore, less than half attended a community meeting (47%, vs. 57% of older citizens) or joined others to raise an issue (40%, vs. 47% of older citizens) during the preceding year. Comparison by region shows that East African youth are generally the most active citizens, while those in North Africa are the least active (Figure 10).

On average, only 8% of North Africans aged 18 to 35 years are active in religious groups, while 14% are active in voluntary associations. Moreover, only three in 10 North African youth attended a community meeting (30%) or joined others to raise an issue (31%), compared to at least 40% of youth in the other four regions.

Figure 10: Active membership and civic activism | by region | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015

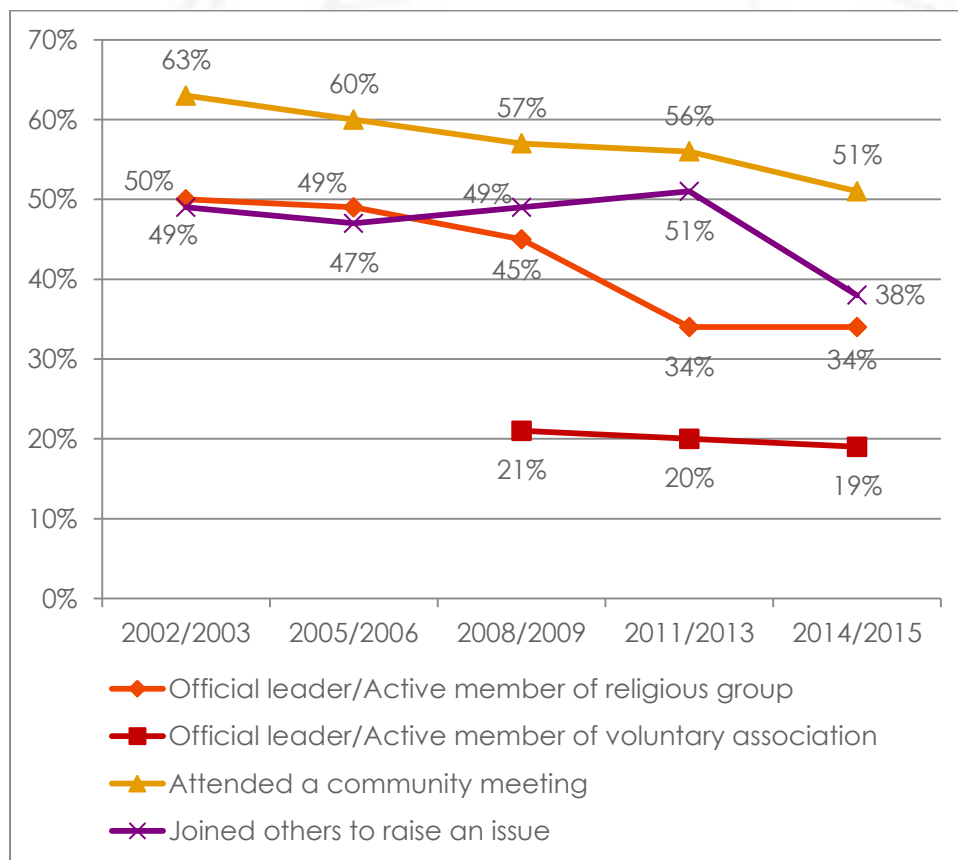


Respondents were asked:

1. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member: A religious group that meets outside of regular worship services? Some other voluntary association or community group? (% "active member" or "official leader")
2. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year: Attended a community meeting? Got together with others to raise an issue? (% "yes")

Analysis over time shows that these forms of civic engagement have declined in the 16 countries surveyed since 2002/2003 (Figure 11; see Appendix Table A.4 for details).

Figure 11: Declining youth civic engagement | 18- to 35-year-olds | 16 countries | 2002-2015



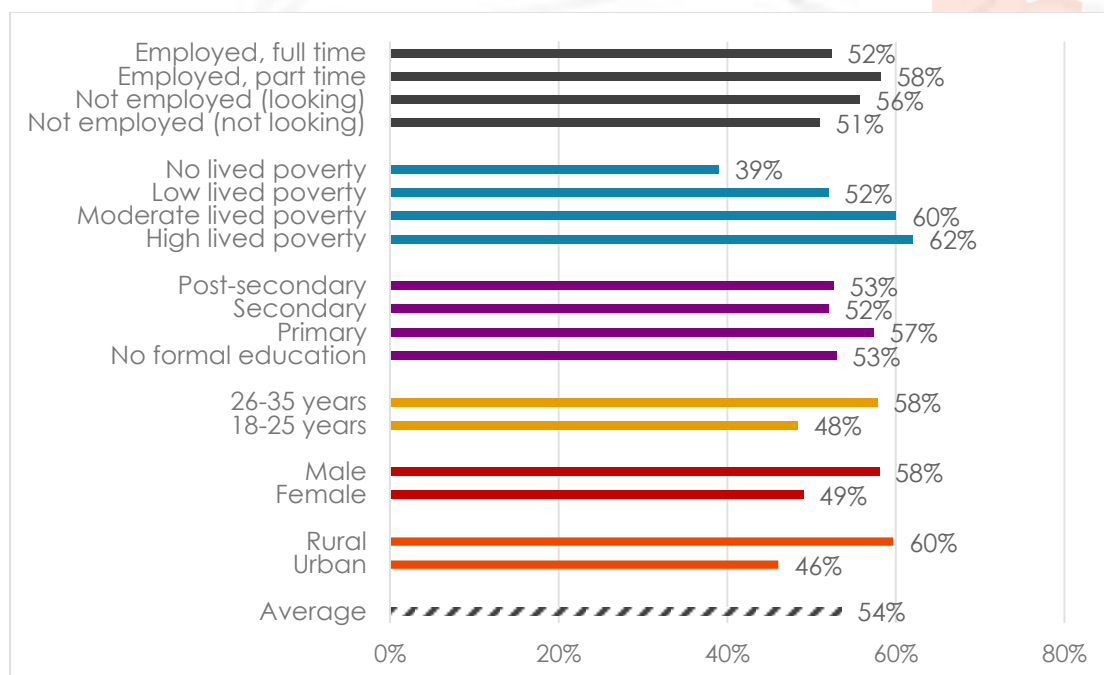
Respondents were asked:

1. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member?
2. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. (% "yes")

Overall, 54% of youth respondents (vs. 62% of older citizens) report attending community meetings and/or joining others to raise an issue at least once during the preceding year. Disaggregation of these results shows that these forms of civic activism are more common among youth with higher levels of lived poverty (Figure 12). Six in 10 youth in rural areas report participating in these activities, compared to only 46% of urban youth. Furthermore, older youth are more likely to engage in these forms of civic activism (58% vs. 48%). As with attendance at campaign rallies, young women (49%) are less likely to be active than young men (58%).

To further explore this data, please visit Afrobarometer's free online data analysis facility at www.afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis.

Figure 12: Civic activism | by employment status, lived poverty, education, age, gender and urban/rural location | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year: Attended a community meeting? Got together with others to raise an issue? (% who attended a community meeting and/or joined others to raise an issue)

Contact with political and community leaders

Half (51%) of all citizens surveyed by Afrobarometer in 2014/2015 say they had contact with at least one type of political or community leader (local government councillor, member of Parliament, government official, political party official, traditional leader, or religious leader) during the previous year. Youth were less likely to have such contact than respondents aged 36 years and older (48% vs. 56%) (see Appendix Table A.3). East African youth had the highest overall contact rates (56%), while North African youth had the lowest (40%) (Table 2).

Table 2: Contact with political and community leaders | by region | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015

	East Africa	Central Africa	Southern Africa	West Africa	North Africa	Average
Contacted at least one leader	56%	50%	50%	46%	40%	48%
Religious leader	43%	38%	34%	34%	24%	34%
Political party official	28%	23%	29%	25%	22%	26%
Traditional leader	28%	23%	29%	25%	22%	26%
Local govt councillor	19%	17%	19%	18%	20%	19%
Official of govt agency	16%	10%	10%	10%	23%	12%
Member of Parliament	9%	11%	9%	10%	8%	10%

Respondents were asked: During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? 1) A local government councillor (not asked in Malawi); 2) A member of Parliament (not asked in Egypt); 3) An official of a government agency; 4) A political party official (not asked in Swaziland); 5) Traditional leaders (not asked in Cape Verde, Mauritius, and São Tomé and Príncipe); 6) Religious leaders (% "only once," "a few times," or "often")

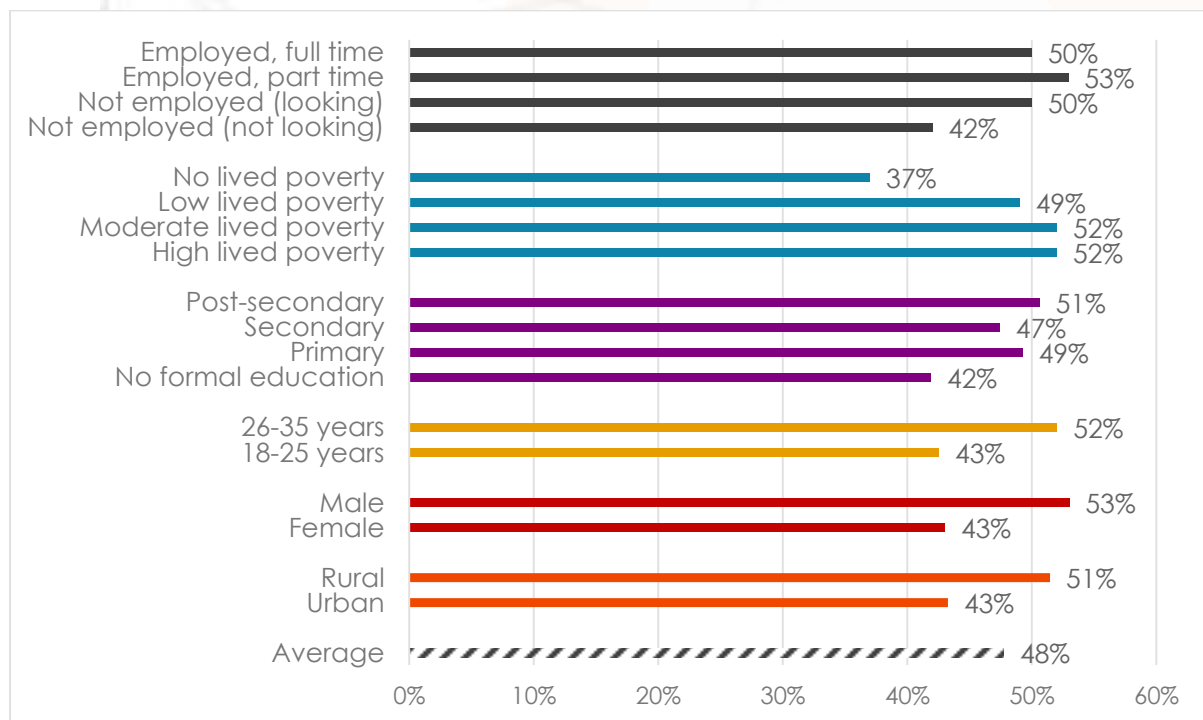
African youth have the highest levels of engagement with religious leaders (34%), followed by political party officials and traditional leaders (both 26%). In contrast, only one in 10 youth say they contacted a member of Parliament (10%) or a government official.

Analysis over time indicates that young citizens' rates of contact with political leaders have been relatively stable in the 16 countries surveyed since 2002/2003, while those with religious and traditional leaders have declined by 7 and 4 percentage points, respectively (see Appendix Table A.4).

Rural, male, and older youth, as well as youth with formal education, are more likely to report having contact with at least one leader (Figure 13). Unemployed youth who were not looking for a job have lower levels of contact than their peers, while those with full access to basic necessities ("no lived poverty") are significantly less likely to engage with leaders (37%) than those living with higher levels of material insecurity (51%, on average).

When asked about the type of contact they had with these leaders, more youth say they went with a group than say they went alone (52% vs. 46%), and they were more likely to contact leaders to discuss a community problem than a personal problem (53% vs. 45%) (see Appendix Table A.8).

Figure 13: Contact with political and community leaders | by employment status, lived poverty, education, age, gender, and urban-rural residence | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



(Figure shows % of respondents who had contact with at least one political or community leader in the previous year)

Protest activity

In addition to conventional forms of political participation, Afrobarometer measures citizens' involvement in various forms of protest activities. Respondents were asked about their participation in five forms of protest action: joining others to request government action, contacting a government official, contacting the media, attending a demonstration or protest march, and refusing to pay a tax or fee to the government.

African youth report relatively low levels of engagement in these activities: The highest participation levels are for joining others in their communities to request government action

(21% say they did so in the previous year), while the lowest are for refusing to pay a tax or fee (5%) (Table 3). In fact, two-thirds (68%) of youth say they “would never” refuse to pay a tax or fee to government as a way to express dissatisfaction.

Analysis by region shows variation in youth participation levels. Participation levels in demonstrations or protest marches, for example, ranges from 6% among East African youth to 16% of those in Central Africa (Figure 14).

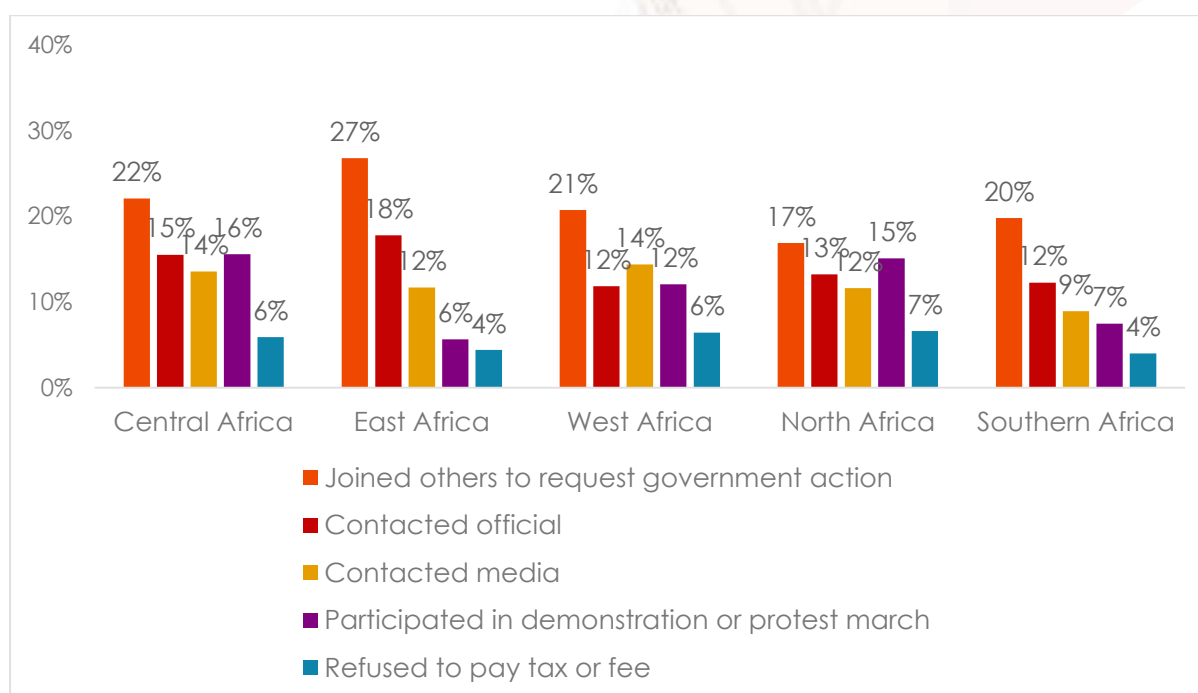
It should be noted that Africans overwhelmingly reject *violent* forms of protest. Across 34 countries surveyed in 2011/2013, nine in 10 survey respondents of all ages (89%) said they had not used force or violence for a political cause in the previous year and “would never do this” if given the opportunity. Similarly, 85% of respondents across 16 countries surveyed in 2002/2003 said the same.

Table 3: Protest activity | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015

	Yes	No, but would if had the chance	No, would never do this	Don't know
Joined others in your community to request action from government	21%	59%	19%	1%
Contacted a government official to ask for help or make a complaint	13%	62%	24%	1%
Contacted the media, like calling a radio program or writing a letter to a newspaper	12%	61%	25%	1%
Participated in a demonstration or protest march	11%	38%	49%	2%
Refused to pay a tax or fee to government	5%	23%	68%	3%

Respondents were asked: Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government performance. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance?

Figure 14: Protest activity | by region | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



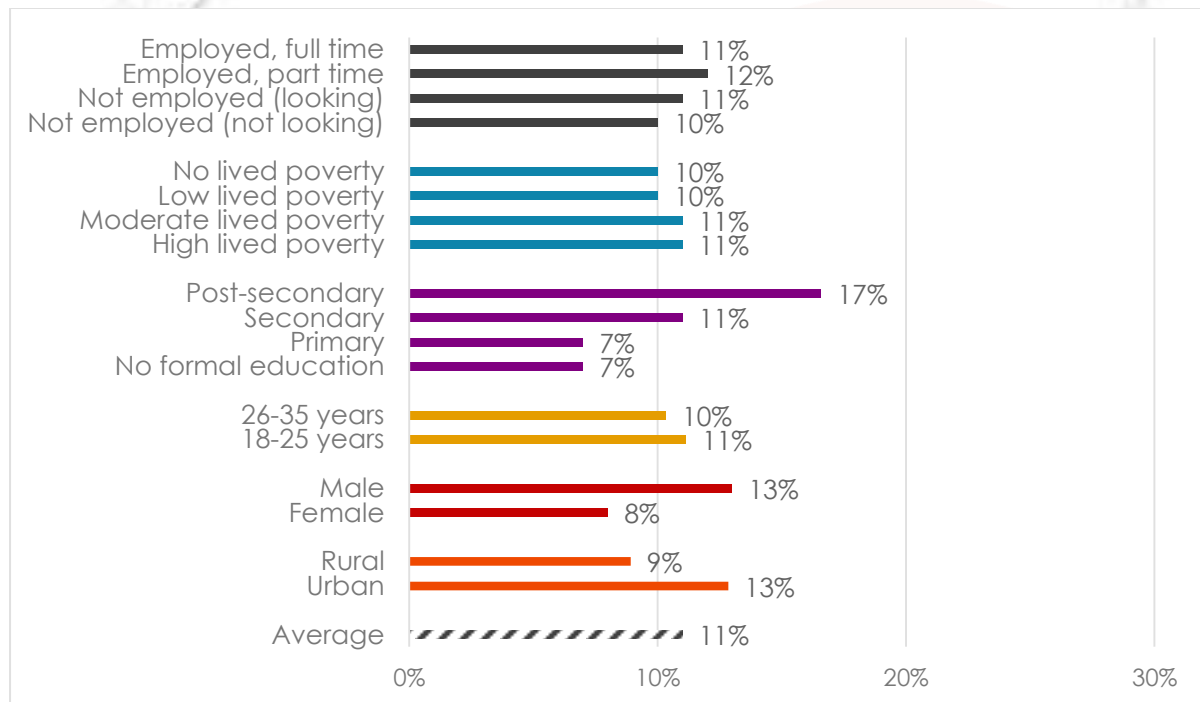
(% “yes”)

Participation in demonstrations or protest marches

Across 16 countries surveyed since 2002/2003, youth participation in demonstrations and protest marches has declined by 6 percentage points, from 15% to 9% (see Appendix Table A.4). Still, in contrast to other measures of political engagement examined above, African youth are slightly more likely to participate in this form of protest action than older citizens (11% vs. 8% on average across 36 countries) (see Appendix Table A.3).

Disaggregation of the most recent results shows that participation in demonstrations is more common among youth with higher education, young men, and urban youth (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Participation in a demonstration or protest march | by employment status, lived poverty, education, age, gender, and urban-rural residence | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



Respondents were asked: Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government performance. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year: Participated in a demonstration or protest march? (% "yes")

Gender gap in youth engagement and participation levels

Article 23 of the African Youth Charter, which focuses on girls and young women, requires signatories to eliminate discriminatory legislation and practices and to ensure that young women are given equal opportunity to participate in all spheres of society, including politics (African Union, 2006).

The 2011/2013 Afrobarometer survey found strong citizen support for gender equality on the continent: Seven in 10 respondents of all ages agreed that women should have equal rights and receive the same treatment as men (72%) and that women should have equal opportunities for election to political office as men (68%) (see Afrobarometer Policy Paper No. 8, available at www.afrobarometer.org). However, the survey also found that women were significantly less likely to engage in various forms of active citizenship, including voting, civic participation, and contact with politic leaders.

Results of the 2014/2015 survey reveal gender differences among 18- to 35-year-olds as well: Young women's reported engagement levels consistently lag behind those of their male

peers across all measures under analysis. It is not immediately clear whether young women are choosing not to engage or are being actively prevented from doing so due to social or political pressures.

Systematic comparison of young men's and women's responses suggests that the large gaps in cognitive engagement (interest in and discussion of politics) may explain the differences in participation rates (Table 4). Women are significantly less likely to be interested in and to discuss politics, particularly in East and West African countries (see Appendix Table A.9). Tunisian youth are the exception to this general pattern: Young Tunisian women are significantly more likely than young men to be interested in public affairs (82% vs. 66%) and to discuss these matters with friends or family (82% vs. 70%).

Table 4: Gender gaps in youth political engagement | 36 countries | 2014/2015

Young African women are less likely to...	Male	Female	% point difference
Discuss politics “frequently” or “occasionally”	74%	61%	13
Be “very” or “somewhat” interested in politics	60%	48%	12
Contact at least one political or community leader	53%	43%	10
Join others to raise an issue	45%	35%	10
Attend campaign rallies	38%	29%	10*
Attend community meetings	51%	43%	8
Attend demonstrations or protest marches	13%	8%	5
Vote in national elections	66%	64%	2

* Rounded numbers may result in an apparent 1-percentage-point discrepancy.

Among the various forms of political participation, gender differences are smallest for voting (2 percentage points, on average), although there is significant variation by country. For example, voting levels among young Zambian women lag behind men's by 13 percentage points, while female youth in Cape Verde are more likely to vote than their male peers (see Appendix Table A.10).

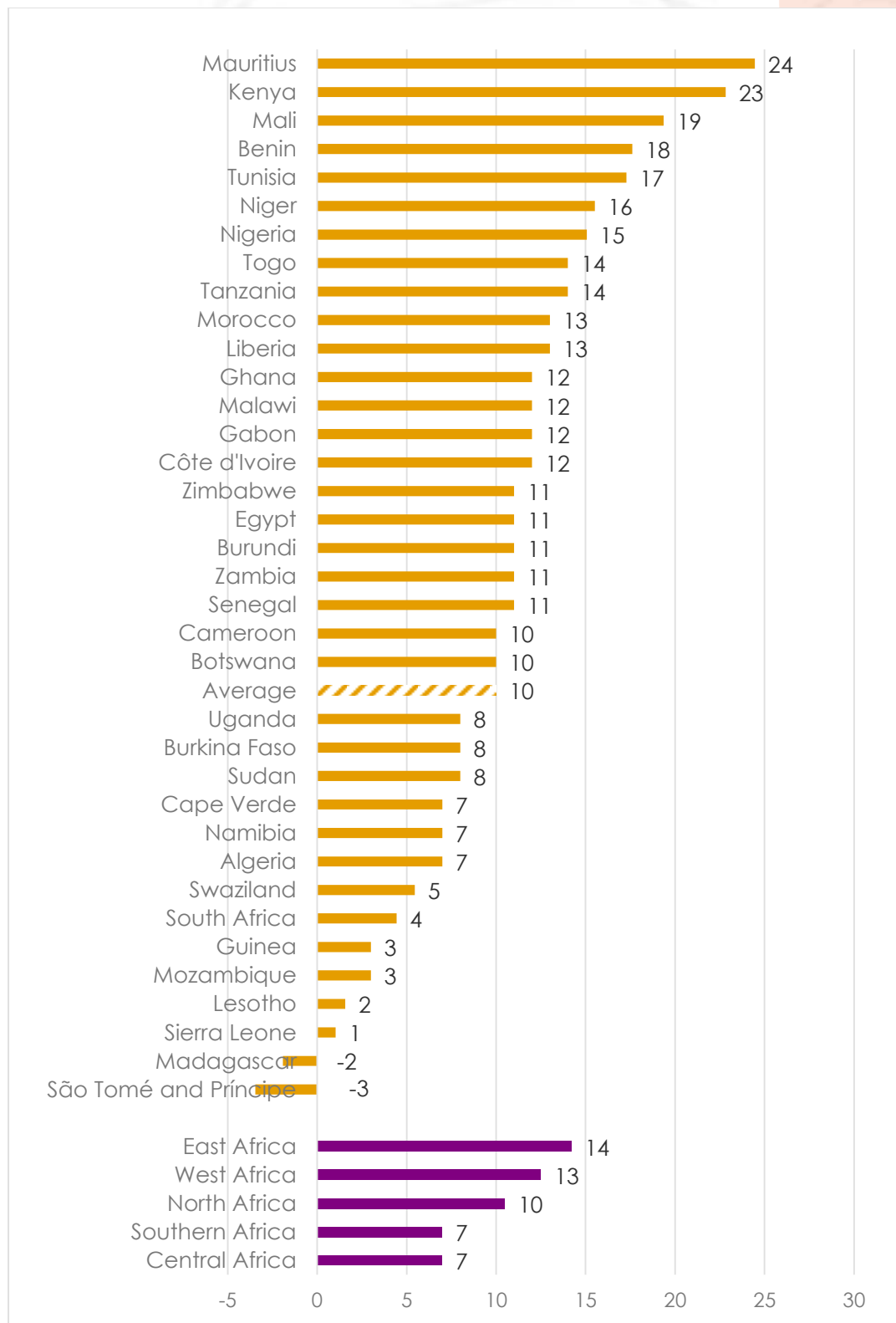
Although youth in the Southern African region average the highest levels of gender parity in attendance at campaign rallies, Mauritius has the largest gap on this measure (24 percentage points), followed closely by Kenya (23 points) (Figure 16). Young women are slightly more likely than men to participate in this form of pre-election engagement in São Tomé and Príncipe (by 3 points) and Madagascar (2 points).

Young female São Toméans are also slightly more likely to participate in civic activities than their male peers (by 7 points). In contrast, young women's participation lags considerably in West Africa: Seven of the 10 countries with the largest gender gaps are in this region (Figure 17).

The gender gap in contact with political and community leaders is largest in Guinea (33 percentage points) and lowest in Madagascar and São Tomé and Príncipe, where male and female youth report the same rates of engagement (Figure 18).

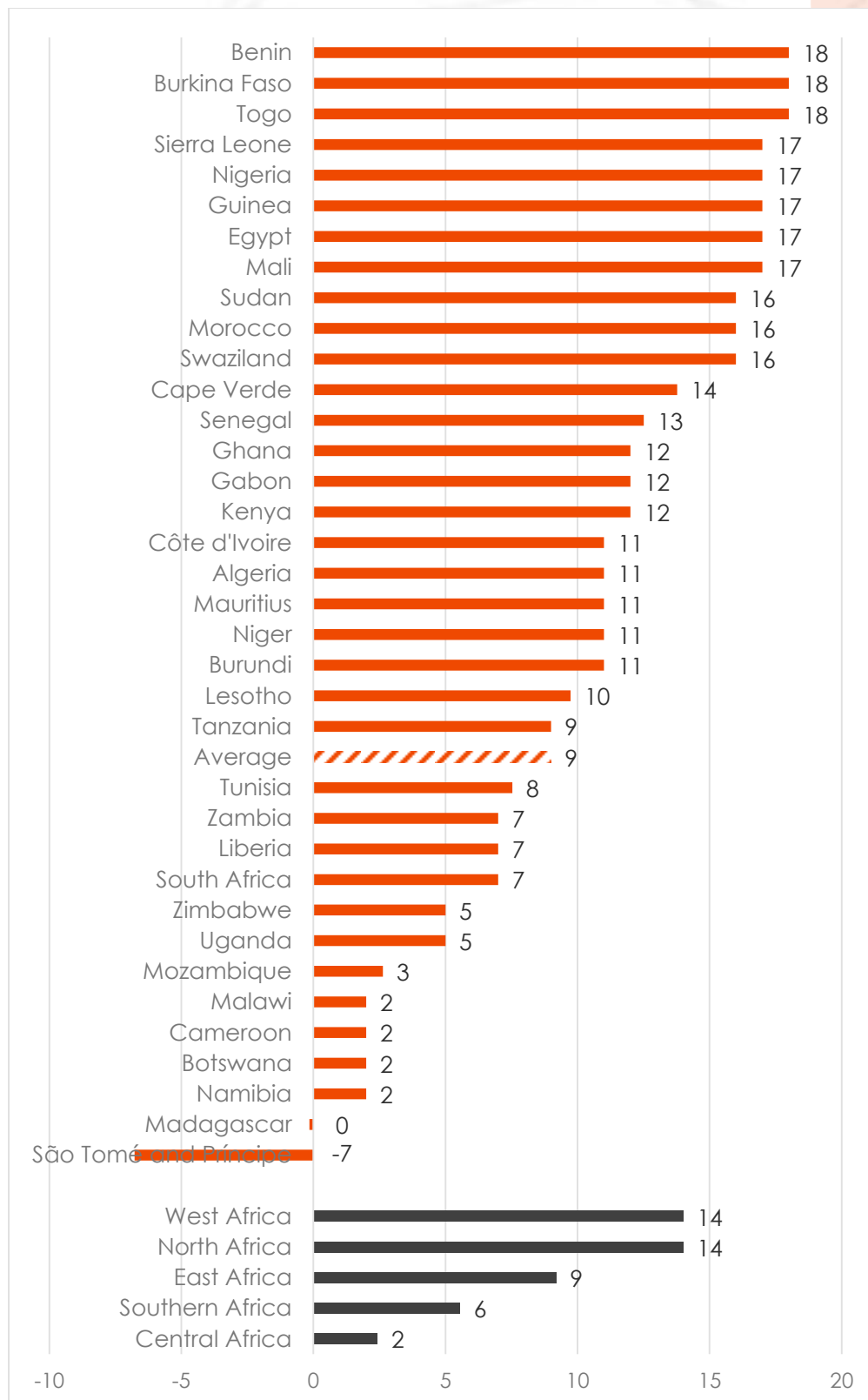
Lastly, Burkina Faso reports the largest gender disparity in attendance at demonstrations or protest marches (21 percentage points), while there is gender parity in three countries: Mauritius, Uganda, and Lesotho (Figure 19). Young Batswana women are slightly more likely to have participated in this form of protest action than men (by 3 points).

Figure 16: Gender gap in attendance at a campaign rally | 18- to 35-year-olds
 | 36 countries | 2014/2015



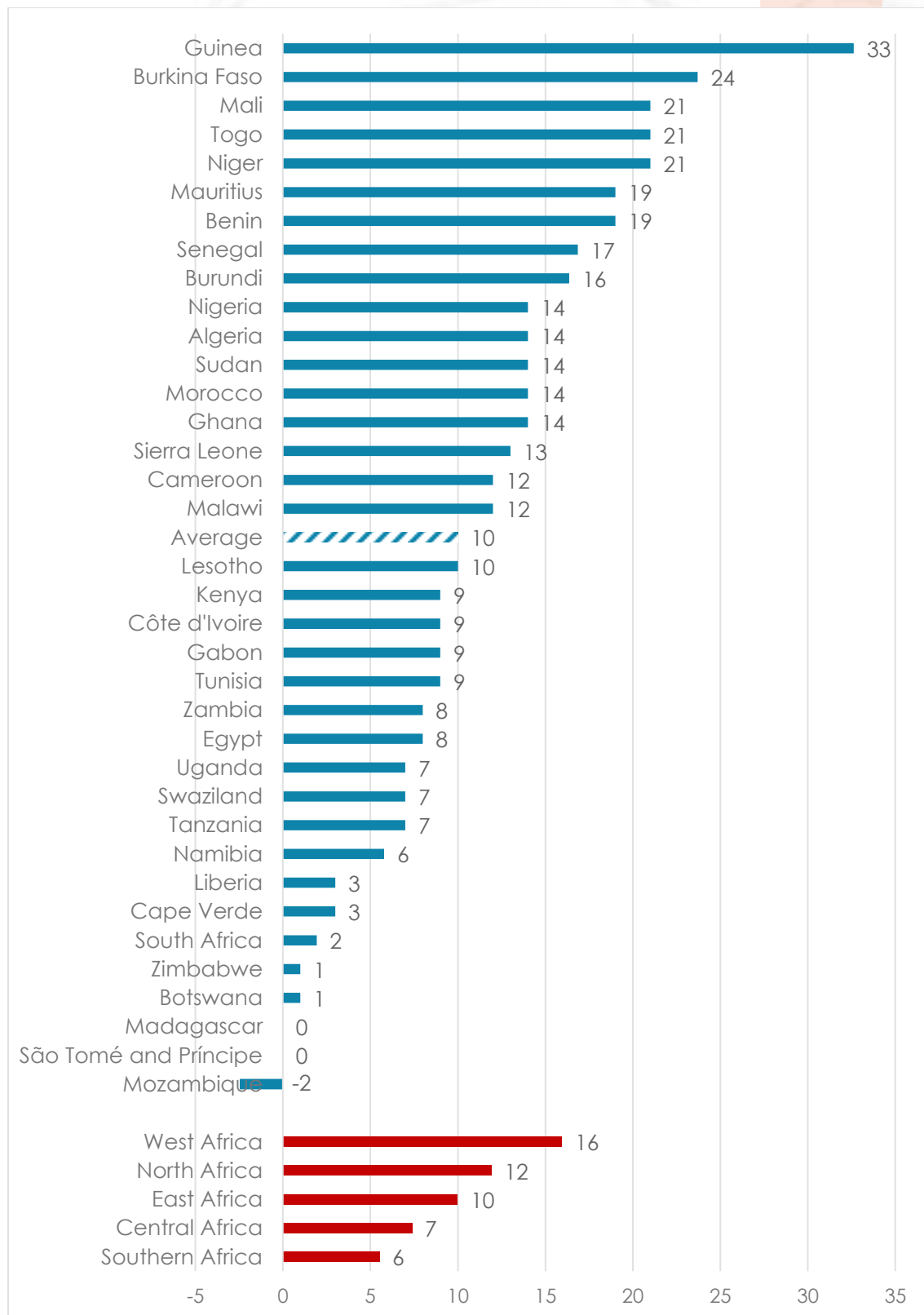
(Figure shows percentage-point difference between male and female respondents who attended a campaign rally during the previous year)

Figure 17: Gender gap in civic participation | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries
| 2014/2015



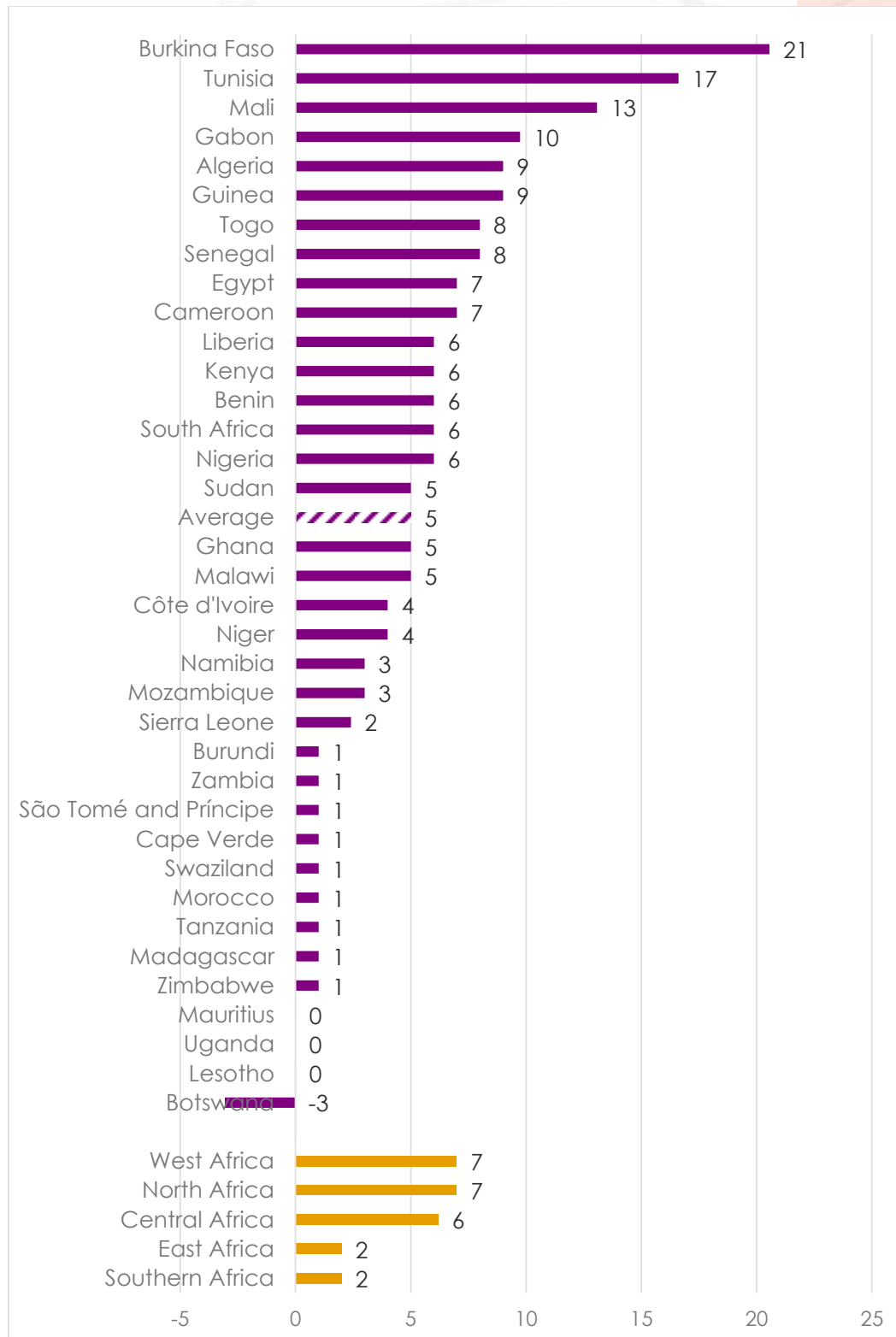
(Figure shows average percentage-point difference between male and female respondents who attended a community meeting and/or joined others to raise an issue)

Figure 18: Gender gap in contact with leaders | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries
| 2014/2015



(Figure shows percentage-point difference between male and female respondents who had contact with at least one of the six types of leaders)

Figure 19: Gender gap in participation in a demonstration or protest march
 | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015



(Figure shows percentage-point difference between male and female respondents who participated in a demonstration or protest march during the previous year)

Conclusion

Engagement in the political process, an important avenue for citizen empowerment in democracies worldwide, is a critical component of the AU's policy framework for youth empowerment in Africa. However, this analysis shows that African youth are generally less likely than their older peers to engage in various forms of political participation, including voting and civic activism. These findings are consistent with worldwide trends.

Perhaps greater cause for concern is that participation levels appear to be declining, suggesting that African youth are increasingly disempowered.

Despite AU policies aimed at ensuring gender parity in all member states, young women are even less likely than young men to engage in political activism, particularly in West African countries. Significantly lower levels of interest in public affairs among young female respondents may explain these lower levels of participation. This lack of interest may further indicate socio-cultural or other barriers to their participation.

Interestingly, gender differences in participation rates are smallest for voting in national elections, a crucial aspect of political engagement. However, more work is required to build their interest in political affairs and participation in other forms of active citizenship, as elections offer only periodic opportunities for engagement. Participation in civic activities and contact with leaders are particularly important for advancing the needs of communities toward positive solutions.


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Appendix

Table A.1: Afrobarometer Round 6 fieldwork dates and previous survey rounds

Country	Months when Round 6 fieldwork was conducted	Previous survey rounds
Algeria	May-June 2015	2013
Benin	May-June 2014	2005, 2008, 2011
Botswana	June-July 2014	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012
Burkina Faso	April-May 2015	2008, 2012
Burundi	September-October 2014	2012
Cameroon	January-February 2015	2013
Cape Verde	November-December 2014	2002, 2005, 2008, 2011
Côte d'Ivoire	August-September 2014	2013
Egypt	June-July 2015	2013
Gabon	September 2015	N/A
Ghana	May-June 2014	1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012
Guinea	March-April 2015	2013
Kenya	November-December 2014	2003, 2005, 2008, 2011
Lesotho	May 2014	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012
Liberia	May 2015	2008, 2012
Madagascar	December 2015-January 2015	2005, 2008, 2013
Malawi	March-April 2014	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012
Mali	December 2014	2001, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2013
Mauritius	June-July 2014	2012
Morocco	November 2015	2013
Mozambique	June-August 2015	2002, 2005, 2008, 2012
Namibia	August-September 2014	1999, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2012
Niger	April 2015	2013
Nigeria	December 2014-January 2015	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013
São Tomé and Príncipe	July-August 2015	N/A
Senegal	November-December 2014	2002, 2005, 2008, 2013
Sierra Leone	May-June 2015	2012
South Africa	August-September 2015	2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011
Sudan	June 2015	2013
Swaziland	April 2015	2013



Country	Months when Round 6 fieldwork was conducted	Previous survey rounds
Tanzania	August-November 2014	2001, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012
Togo	October 2014	2012
Tunisia	April-May 2015	2013
Uganda	May 2015	2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012
Zambia	October 2014	1999, 2003, 2005, 2009, 2013
Zimbabwe	November 2014	1999, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2012

Table A.2: Demographic profile of youth respondents | by region | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015

	18-25 years	Urban	Female	At least secondary education	No/Low lived poverty	Employed
West Africa	44%	45%	55%	54%	50%	30%
East Africa	41%	27%	54%	42%	53%	46%
Southern Africa	45%	41%	53%	69%	57%	34%
North Africa	46%	54%	45%	72%	72%	44%
Central Africa	50%	66%	52%	85%	43%	35%
Average	45%	45%	53%	62%	55%	35%


Table A.3: Political engagement | by age | 36 countries | 2014/2015

		18-35 years old	36 years and older	Average
1	Very/somewhat interested in public affairs	53%	58%	55%
2	Frequently/Occasionally discuss politics	67%	67%	67%
3	Voted in the last election	65%	79%	72%
4	Attended campaign rally	33%	37%	35%
	Attended campaign meeting	25%	30%	27%
	Persuaded others to vote for candidate or party	21%	26%	23%
	Worked for candidate or party	13%	17%	15%
5	Official leader/Active member of religious group	26%	30%	28%
	Official leader/Active member of voluntary association	19%	25%	22%
6	Attended a community meeting	47%	57%	52%
	Joined others to raise an issue	40%	47%	43%
7	Contacted at least one leader	48%	56%	51%
	Contacted religious leader	34%	40%	37%
	Contacted traditional leader	26%	36%	30%
	Contacted local government councillor	19%	27%	23%
	Contacted political party official	14%	16%	15%
	Contacted official of government agency	12%	15%	14%
8	Contacted MP	10%	13%	11%
	Joined others to request government action	21%	25%	23%
	Contacted official for help	13%	16%	14%
	Contacted media	12%	10%	11%
	Attended a demonstration or protest meeting	11%	8%	9%
	Refused to pay tax or fee to government	5%	5%	5%
9	Get news from radio	69%	71%	70%
	Get news from TV	56%	50%	53%
	Get news from newspapers	25%	20%	22%
	Get news from the Internet	30%	13%	22%
	Get news from social media	30%	11%	21%

Respondents were asked:

1. How interested would you say you are in public affairs? (% "very interested" or "somewhat interested")
2. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never? (% "occasionally" or "frequently")
3. Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in [20XX], which of the following statements is true for you? (% "voted in the election") (Note: Excludes respondents who say they were not old enough to vote)
4. Thinking about the last national election in [20XX], did you ...? (% "yes")
5. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member?
6. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year.
7. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? (% "only once," "a few times," or "often")
8. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens when they are dissatisfied with government. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. (% "once or twice," "several times," or "often")
9. How often do you get news from the following sources: Radio? TV? Newspapers? The Internet? Social media such as Facebook and Twitter? (% "every day" or "a few times a week")

Table A.4: Youth political engagement | 16 countries | 18- to 35-year-olds
| 2002-2015



		2002/ 2003	2005/ 2006	2008/ 2009	2011/ 2013	2014/ 2015
1	Very/Somewhat interested in public affairs	81%	67%	62%	60%	58%
2	Discusses politics at least “occasionally”	60%	70%	71%	70%	69%
3	Voted in the last election	-	63%	58%	63%	57%
4	Official leader/Active member of religious group	50%	49%	45%	34%	34%
	Official leader/Active member of voluntary assn	-	-	21%	20%	19%
5	Attended a community meeting	63%	60%	57%	56%	51%
	Joined others to raise an issue	49%	47%	49%	51%	38%
6	Contacted a local government councillor	24%	20%	23%	19%	20%
	Contacted a member of Parliament	10%	9%	11%	9%	9%
	Contacted an official of government agency	13%	11%	12%	12%	12%
	Contacted a political party official	16%	14%	-	13%	14%
	Contacted a religious leader	44%	40%	39%	-	37%
	Contacted a traditional leader	30%	21%	21%	-	26%
7	Attended a demonstration or protest march	15%	14%	13%	10%	9%

Respondents were asked:

1. How interested would you say you are in public affairs? (% “very interested” or “somewhat interested”)?
2. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never? (% “occasionally” or “frequently”)
3. Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in [20XX], which of the following statements is true for you: Voted in the election? (% “yes”) (Note: Does not exclude respondents who say they were not old enough to vote)
4. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member?
5. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. (% “yes”)
6. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? (% “only once,” “a few times,” or “often”)¹⁰
7. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year.¹¹ (% “once or twice,” “several times,” or “often”)

⁹ In 2002/2003, the question text was: “Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Discussed politics with friends or neighbours?” (% “yes”).

¹⁰ Question text referred to “official in a government ministry” prior to 2008/2009 and to “traditional rulers” prior to 2014/2015.

¹¹ Round 6 (2014/2015) question text specifies “when [citizens] are dissatisfied with government performance.”

Table A.5: Employment status | by occupation | 18- to 35-year-olds | 2014/2015

	Not employed (not looking)	Not employed (looking)	Employed, part time	Employed, full time	Total
Student	33%	21%	3%	2%	19%
Agriculture/farming/fishing/forestry	20%	11%	20%	16%	16%
Never had a job	12%	26%	1%	1%	12%
Housewife/homemaker	18%	10%	3%	1%	10%
Trader/hawker/vendor	7%	7%	15%	11%	9%
Unskilled manual worker	2%	10%	18%	9%	8%
Artisan or skilled manual worker	3%	5%	13%	15%	7%
Mid-level professional	1%	1%	6%	17%	5%
Retail/shop	1%	3%	8%	7%	4%
Clerical or secretarial	0%	1%	2%	5%	2%
Upper-level professional	0%	0%	2%	6%	2%
Security services	0%	1%	2%	4%	1%
Supervisor/foreman/senior manager	0%	0%	1%	2%	1%
Other	1%	3%	6%	4%	3%

Respondents were asked: What is your main occupation? (If unemployed, retired, or disabled, what was your last main occupation?)

Table A.6: Citizenship norms | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015

	Always do	Do only if they choose	Never do	Don't know
Vote in elections	78%	20%	2%	1%
Pay taxes they owe to government	72%	17%	7%	3%
Complain to government officials when public services are of poor quality	58%	34%	7%	2%
Agree with the majority of people in his or her community on political issues	34%	48%	15%	4%
Request personal assistance like help with school fees or funeral expenses from elected leaders	33%	45%	19%	2%
Avoid criticizing the government	30%	38%	29%	3%

Respondents were asked: For each of the following actions, please tell me whether you think it is something a good citizen in a democracy should always do, never do, or do only if they choose?

Table A.7: Voter oversight over elected leaders | by age | 35 countries | 2014/2015

	Local councillors	President	Members of Parliament	Average
Voters should hold them accountable	40%	40%	36%	39%
Parliament/Local council should hold them accountable	23%	31%	17%	24%
President/Executive should hold them accountable	18%	12%	30%	20%
Their political party should hold them accountable	12%	10%	10%	11%
Don't know who should hold them accountable	5%	6%	5%	6%
No one should hold them accountable	1%	2%	1%	1%

Respondents were asked: Who should be responsible for making sure that, once elected: 1) The president does his job? 2) Members of Parliament do their jobs? 3) Local government councillors do their jobs? (% who say "voters")


(Notes: These questions were not asked in Swaziland. The question on members of Parliament was not asked in Namibia.)

Table A.8: Type of contact with political and community leaders | by region | 18- to 35-year-olds | 36 countries | 2014/2015

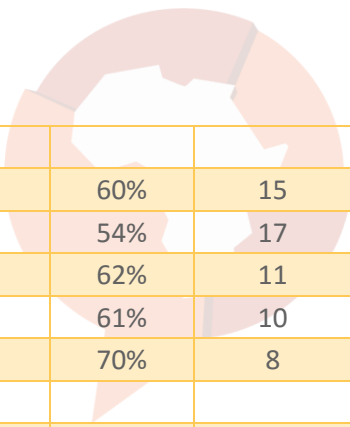
	Went...		To discuss a ...	
	With a group	Alone	Community problem	Personal problem
West Africa	58%	39%	59%	38%
Southern Africa	54%	45%	54%	44%
Central Africa	50%	47%	50%	47%
East Africa	47%	53%	48%	52%
North Africa	37%	61%	41%	57%
Average	52%	46%	53%	45%

Respondents were asked: Thinking of the last time you contacted any of these leaders, did you go: Alone or with a group? To discuss a community problem or a personal problem? (Note: Excludes respondents who did not have contact with any of the six types of leaders)

Table A.9: Interest in and discussion of politics | by gender | 18- to 35-year-olds
| 36 countries | 2014/2015



	Very/Somewhat interested			Discuss politics frequently/ occasionally		
	Male	Female	Gap (% points)	Male	Female	Gap (% points)
Algeria	48%	43%	5	68%	57%	11
Benin	63%	38%	25	85%	64%	21
Botswana	69%	61%	8	75%	65%	10
Burkina Faso	66%	51%	15	74%	46%	27
Burundi	58%	45%	13	71%	42%	29
Cameroon	51%	44%	7	78%	67%	11
Cape Verde	58%	52%	7	61%	52%	9
Côte d'Ivoire	33%	18%	14	67%	56%	11
Egypt	76%	61%	16	77%	61%	16
Gabon	42%	26%	17	85%	72%	14
Ghana	62%	49%	13	73%	58%	15
Guinea	59%	42%	17	66%	46%	20
Kenya	56%	40%	16	72%	59%	13
Lesotho	63%	57%	7	74%	70%	4
Liberia	55%	46%	9	67%	56%	11
Madagascar	65%	42%	23	70%	47%	23
Malawi	78%	66%	12	84%	68%	15
Mali	70%	50%	20	79%	61%	18
Mauritius	62%	40%	22	75%	54%	21
Morocco	62%	45%	18	75%	58%	18
Mozambique	58%	54%	4	62%	57%	5
Namibia	66%	58%	8	76%	63%	13
Niger	66%	49%	17	88%	80%	8
Nigeria	65%	53%	12	91%	76%	15
São Tomé and Príncipe	49%	50%	-1	72%	71%	1
Senegal	65%	51%	14	89%	79%	10
Sierra Leone	56%	48%	8	73%	51%	23
South Africa	59%	52%	7	76%	70%	6
Sudan	57%	48%	9	66%	58%	8
Swaziland	55%	44%	11	64%	55%	9
Tanzania	56%	36%	20	67%	49%	18
Togo	48%	40%	7	70%	52%	18
Tunisia	66%	82%	-15	70%	82%	-12
Uganda	71%	65%	6	70%	62%	8
Zambia	63%	53%	10	66%	62%	5
Zimbabwe	56%	43%	13	74%	66%	8




West Africa	58%	45%	13	76%	60%	15
East Africa	61%	47%	13	70%	54%	17
Southern Africa	63%	52%	11	72%	62%	11
North Africa	62%	53%	9	71%	61%	10
Central Africa	48%	40%	8	78%	70%	8
Average	60%	48%	12	74%	61%	13

Respondents were asked:

1. *How interested would you say you are in public affairs? (% "very interested" or "somewhat interested")*
2. *When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never? (% "frequently" or "occasionally")*

Table A.10: Voting in the last election | by gender | 18- to 35-year-olds
| 36 countries | 2014/2015



	Male	Female	Gender gap (percentage points)
Algeria	37%	34%	3
Benin	83%	80%	3
Botswana	58%	57%	2
Burkina Faso	62%	60%	1
Burundi	83%	84%	-1
Cameroon	52%	46%	6
Cape Verde	70%	77%	-7
Côte d'Ivoire	48%	45%	2
Egypt	68%	69%	-1
Gabon	39%	32%	7
Ghana	80%	78%	2
Guinea	79%	83%	-4
Kenya	79%	72%	7
Lesotho	68%	71%	-2
Liberia	76%	69%	7
Madagascar	72%	64%	8
Malawi	75%	78%	-3
Mali	69%	67%	2
Mauritius	86%	80%	6
Morocco	35%	38%	-3
Mozambique	77%	70%	8
Namibia	69%	70%	-1
Niger	76%	75%	1
Nigeria	63%	54%	10
São Tomé and Príncipe	79%	80%	-1
Sierra Leone	70%	74%	-4
South Africa	66%	68%	-3
Sudan	42%	39%	3
Swaziland	67%	66%	2
Tanzania	67%	61%	6
Togo	78%	80%	-2
Tunisia	51%	40%	11
Uganda	71%	64%	6
Zambia	64%	51%	13
Zimbabwe	64%	61%	2
Average	66%	64%	2

Respondents were asked: Understanding that some people were unable to vote in the most recent national election in [20XX], which of the following statements is true for you: Voted in the election? (% "yes")

(Note: Excludes respondents who say they were not old enough to vote)

Other Round 6 global releases



- **Where to start? Aligning sustainable development goals with citizen priorities.** (2015). Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 67. Available at http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r6_dispatchno67_african_priorities_en.pdf.
- **Building on progress: Infrastructure development still a major challenge in Africa.** (2016). Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 69. Available at www.afrobarometer.org/publications/ad69-building-progress-infrastructure-development-still-major-challenge-africa.
- **Africa's growth dividend? Lived poverty drops across much of the continent.** (2016). Afrobarometer Policy Paper No. 29. Available at <http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications/pp29-africas-growth-dividend-lived-poverty-drops-across-the-continent>.
- **Good neighbours? Africans express high levels of tolerance for many, but not for all.** (2016). Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 74. Available at <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/tolerance-in-africa>.
- **Off-grid or 'off-on': Lack of access, unreliable electricity supply still plague majority of Africans.** Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 75. Available at <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad75-unreliable-electricity-supply-still-plague-majority-of-africans>.
- **Lack of safe water, sanitation spurs growing dissatisfaction with government performance.** Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 76. Available at <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad76-lack-of-safe-water-and-sanitation-spurs-growing-dissatisfaction>.
- **Despite gains, barriers keep health care high on Africa's priority list.** Afrobarometer Policy Paper No. 31. Available at <http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications/pp31-despite-gains-barriers-keep-health-care-high-on-africas-priority-list>.
- **Strong public support for 'watchdog' role backs African news media under attack.** Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 85. Available at http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad85-media_in_africa_world_press_freedom_day_2016.
- **Regional integration for Africa: Could stronger public support turn 'rhetoric into reality'?** Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 91. Available at <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad91-regional-integration-africa-could-stronger-public-support-turn-rhetoric-reality>.

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LET THE PEOPLE HAVE A SAY



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