EMERGING PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICAN YOUTH ON A POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

african monitor
African voices for Africa's development

Acknowledgements

African Monitor wishes to thank all individuals and organisations who made a valuable contribution to Voice Africa's Future project, and this report.

Our appreciation in particular goes to the following youth organisations which, amongst others, contributed to conducting the initiative: Youth Alliance for Leadership and Development in Africa (Botswana); ROJALNU and Western African Youth Network (Burkina Faso); Talent Youth Association(Ethiopia); Youth Advocates Ghana (YAG); International Youth Council and Organisation of African Youth(Kenya); Africa Unite(South Africa); No One Left Behind(Tanzania); Inter-Faith Action for Peace in Africa – Youth Desk(Uganda), Civil Society MDG Campaign – GCAP(Zambia).

Special thanks go to Text to Change, a technical partner who provided the mobile platform. African Monitor is also grateful to TW Designs for the overall design and layout, and Melanie Stark for copy editing.

This publication was prepared by African Monitor staff and Voice Africa's Future project team - Yared Teka Tsegay and Masiiwa Rusare, supported by Freddy Lutonado, Tsungai Macheka and Joseph Maniragena.

We would also like to acknowledge the financial support from the Department for International Development (DFID), UK.

Above all, we wish to greatly thank our President and Founder, Archbishop Njongo Ndungane, for his guidance, support and inspiration in preparing this special issue.

TEXT TO CHANGE

african monitor
African voices for Africa's development

Funded by
UKaid
from the British people

CONTENT

EMERGING PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICAN YOUTH ON A POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

A. BACKGROUND TO THE VOICE AFRICA'S FUTURE INITIATIVE 5

1.1 Introduction 5

1.2 Approach 5

1.2.1 Description and method 6

1.2.2 Data analysis and categories 6

1.3 Cross-cutting Themes 7

1.4 Categories 7

B. PRELIMINARY FINDINGS 7

1. BOTSWANA 10

2. TANZANIA 17

3. ETHIOPIA 23

4. UGANDA 30

5. KENYA 35

6. GHANA 40

C. CONCLUSION 44

EMERGING PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICAN YOUTH ON A POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

A. BACKGROUND TO THE VOICE AFRICA'S FUTURE INITIATIVE

1.1 Introduction

African Monitor, in partnership with Text To Change and local partners, undertook an initiative titled Voice Africa's Future using innovative mobile technology to ensure youth participation in the post-2015 development framework. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of 2000 have served as a global compact for poverty reduction and are set to expire in 2015. The United Nations has led processes to shape the post-2015 development framework in various countries and thematic consultations are coming to conclusion and the inter-governmental process has begun.

The Voice Africa's Future initiative was rolled out in 10 countries: offline work is being undertaken in Burkina Faso, Malawi, South Africa and Zambia, and online work – the subject of this report – in six countries (Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda) to create a platform to enable youth to participate in post-2015 process and ensure that their voices are heard. Through various events, roundtables and thousands of SMSs, African youth were able to express their vision for post-2015 Africa. These voices were used as substantive inputs in country, regional and global processes. This is significant given that in Africa more than 60 percent of the population is younger than 35, making the youth Africa's best development asset over the coming decades. Thus it is important to ensure that their perspectives, needs and aspirations are taken into account as Africa and the world deliberates a new global development framework.

The idea behind the initiative was to use widely available mobile technology platforms[1] to ensure African youth groups could participate in shaping the post-2015 agenda. Mobile technologies have become a powerful tool for social mobilisation efforts in recent times. Therefore, this innovative strategy was developed as part of using technology to enhance participation. African Monitor, being the Secretariat of the African Youth Decade Alliance (AYDA) and actively involved in the post-2015 process at continental level, was uniquely positioned to undertake this initiative.

This report features the youths' voices and highlights the emerging themes from the first phase of the project. The concepts have been grouped into eleven broad themes that have two overarching (cross cutting) themes and nine thematic issues. Top priorities in each country were ranked (fuzzy weight) to bring out country-specific features and youth priorities.

1.2 Approach

The survey was designed to be undertaken in two rounds of data collection supplemented by pilot testing. A smaller sample was drawn for the first round survey and will be scaled up to full capacity for round two. It was based on a working definition of youth as being in the 15 to 35 age group. In each country 13 500 responses is being solicited. These responses were obtained from at least three provinces of which two are rural and amongst the poorest in terms of poverty index or incomes, and at least one was an urban province. Since the mobile initiative was to be delivered within a very short period, selection of the three provinces was purposeful and informed by convenience, including the presence of partners and networks. The respondents in each province were selected through stratified random sampling. Poverty levels of districts could constitute the strata. This mix ensured that voices from various youth groups were heard.

A mixed method of 'pull and push' was used in data collection. An extensive promotional drive, involving local radio shows, celebrities, newspaper adverts and various events, took place to pull youth to participate in the mobile platform by responding by SMSing 'post-2015' to country short codes. It was supplemented by an SMS push to the database of the mobile phone number (youth).

1 World bank report (2012) estimates 648.4 million mobile subscriptions in Africa

In round one, 3 500 responses were sought per country. Youth groups were asked to respond, through the mobile platform, to a focus question on their aspirations for Africa and the post-2015 development frame work. This question was also used for the concept mapping[2] exercises.

The question helped to generate a list of priorities that conceptualise the youth's perspective on a "better future for Africa". The focus question was

> *"What is your hope or dream of a better future for you and Africa?"*

In round two youth in each of the six countries will be asked to rank the concepts that emerged from round one. It will follow a similar sample design as in round one but the sample size will be scaled up to 10 000 respondents per county. The quantitative data generated from this round will be processed through descriptive statistical methods and visualised in real time, and analysed for syntheses and reports.

1.2.1 Description and method

The mobile technology initiative for the post-2015 MDGs used the concept mapping methodology to generate responses and views from the youths and analyse those views to come up with youths' realities and aspirations for the post-2015 MDGs.

Concept mapping (CM) is a methodology that is used to produce a picture or map of the ideas or concepts of an individual or group[3]. Information from a specific group of people on particular social ideas, issues or phenomena is generated and collected. In the mobile technology initiative, the social phenomena under analysis are community realities and aspirations on post-2015 MDGs. It is a mixed-method, participatory approach that combines group processes (such as brainstorming, sorting and interpretation) with a sequence of multivariate statistical analyses such as multidimensional scaling and hierarchical analysis. This idea is designed for use by individuals as a tool to enhance personal ideas about a social phenomenon. There are several analogous methods that go by such labels as 'idea mapping', 'mind maps', 'casual mapping' or 'cognitive mapping'.

According to Kane and Trochim (2007)[4], CM has some advantages over other known methods of idea generation. These include:

- It is purposefully designed to integrate inputs from multiple sources with differing content expertise or interest;
- It creates a series of maps that visually depict the composite thinking of the group;
- The resultant maps constitute a framework or structure that can immediately be used to guide action planning, programme development or evaluation and measurement; and
- Information and data collected is amenable to multivariate analyses.

Concept mapping is used in the analysis of opinions and ideas derived from participants in focus group discussions (FGD) or similar groupings that allow them to identify common issues of interest. For the mobile technology initiative the steps involved in the CM process were[5]:

- Group selection and awareness raising on post-2015 MDGs for youth.
- Formulation of a neutral focus statement.
- Generation of ideas and issues.

2 Concept mapping is a technique where participants are grouped according to some criteria (e.g. age, gender, etc.) and are presented a neutral focus statement that allows them to generate ideas/concepts around the issues under discussion. The ideas generated can be in either a negative (pessimistic) or positive (optimistic) sense without predetermination by the researcher.

3 This methodology was used in various African Monitor projects, including the Grassroots Focus Index Project.

4 Kane, M. & Trochim, W.M.K. 2007. Concept Mapping for Planning and Evaluation. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.

5 Focus group discussions were conducted by in-country partners and were aimed at raising awareness amongst youths on post-2015 MDGs.

- Structuring (ranking and grouping) of issues.
- Representation of ideas and issues: cluster analysis and mapping.
- Interpretation of results.
- Utilization of ideas and outputs.

The focus statement was translated into local languages where appropriate to ensure that a wide range of youths understood and responded to the question.

A pilot study was conducted in three countries to ensure that a concept mapping exercise would be valuable for addressing youth issues for Post-2015 MDGs. The purpose of the pilot study was to

- Assess the clarity of the focus statement for youths from different backgrounds.
- Ascertain the amount of time it takes to get responses on the focus statement and ranking.
- Assess any other implications for the mobile technology survey.

At most 200 responses were generated. The focus question was found to be reliable and valid.

1.2.2 Data analysis and categories

The qualitative data was coded and categorised through initial key words generation, then the key words were grouped into categories which refer to similar concepts. A computer program called Vision Data Tools was designed to assist this categorization. For example, key words such as 'transparency', 'participation', 'election' and 'democracy' were grouped under 'Governance'. Eleven broad concepts were formulated through an iterative process that took into consideration context of the key words in each response. The concepts are grounded in the current debate around Post-2015 development frame works.

The eleven broad concepts rendered two cross cutting aspects: the aspiration for self-development as well as African advancement. These two aspects of advancement can be realised through nine categories which work as thrust vectors to realise a better future for Africa and its citizens.

1.3 Cross-cutting Themes

1.3.1 African Advancement

This concept encapsulates an African youth vision for a united and independent Africa advancing in political, social, cultural and economic aspects and promoting its African identity, culture and value system.

1.3.2 Youth empowerment and self-development

This concept entails an African youth vision for empowerment and self-betterment as the next generation of leaders, entrepreneurs and professionals.

1.4 Categories

1.4.1 Better governance

This envisions a democratic state based on a free and fair electoral system that is participatory and responsive, with transparent and accountable government institutions led by a corruption-free political leadership, and where human rights and political freedoms are upheld.

1.4.2 Employment and access to economic opportunities

This category was focused on youth employment and self-employment, and broader access to economic opportunities in the form of entrepreneurship (business start-up and ownership) in the formal and informal sectors, including services, agriculture, and manufacturing.

1.4.3 Economic development

This concept encompasses economic growth, industrialisation and technological advancement, and infrastructural development and provision of an enabling environment for investment, entrepreneurship and innovation with appropriate institutional settings. It includes development planning and economic management including national resource management for economic development.

1.4.4 Better access to quality education and skills development

Access to, and successful completion of, education, starting from early childhood education, through primary and secondary schooling to tertiary education; including vocational and technical education and skills development programmes. Equitable access to education as well as literacy was part of this concept.

1.4.5 Peace and stability

This concept entails a peaceful and stable Africa that was free of conflict and fragility. It includes the sense of unity and harmonious co-existence among various social and religious groups. Free from all forms of violence, with an emphasis on non-violence against women, children and other vulnerable groups, and control of crime.

1.4.6 Better access to quality health services

This encompasses access to general health care for all population groups and spatial areas, with special foci on child and maternal health (access to reproductive health care and family planning); strengthening of health systems and the control of epidemics (HIV, malaria, and TB).

1.4.7 Improved livelihoods

This category refers to the elimination of poverty and improved livelihoods where households have access to sufficient food, clean water, sanitation facilities and housing. It includes efforts towards ensuring food security and food production with a special focus for smallholder agriculture.

1.4.8 Equal societies

This concept comprises the promotion of gender equality, reduction of income inequality and elimination of all forms of exploitation, marginalisation and discrimination (aged, disabled, children and other vulnerable groups).

1.4.9 Environmental sustainability and conservation

The sustainable use of natural resources including fauna and flora, rivers and water sources was important including investment on afforestation, soil and water conversation and preservation of natural habitat. Efforts in climate change mitigation, adoption of green technologies and green energy sources are some elements of the sustainable future for Africa.

B. PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

1. BOTSWANA

The initiative in Botswana was rolled out in partnership with Youth Alliance for Leadership and Development in Africa (YALDA), Yarona FM, Orange Botswana and Text to Change. It was launched on 3 April, 2013, with extensive popularisation of the campaign through radio, TV and other media channels. Youth were engaged in online and offline events. Major activities around the campaign include:

- The project launch, held at the University of Botswana on Wednesday 3 April 2013. The launch received full support from the University of Botswana management and local journalists, from eBotswana News, The Voice and Youthhub Africa, covered the event.
- Addresses to the youth by NGO representatives from Voice Africa's Future campaign, including by representatives from the Vision 2016 Council.
- Partnering with Orange Botswana, we were able to reach 110,000 youth though their data base.
- Radio interviews by YALDA and Orange Botswana with Radio Botswana 2 and Yarona FM, to explain the survey process and the purpose of the campaign.
- A newspaper interview on the local Mmegi newspaper which also went online.
- Publicity on radio and in the press - the Mmegi Newspaper ran three consecutive ads in their paper advertising the campaign.
- The radio jingle aims to attract young listeners and hype up the campaign while directing them to send SMS updates.
- Participation in the Post-2015 Global Thematic Consultation on Governance, held in South Africa in February 2013.

The voices generated through these platforms brought a fresh look by Botswana's youth on a better future for Africa.

1.1 Cross-cutting Themes

The nine categories mentioned below are couched within the two cross-cutting themes of youth empowerment and self-development and African advancement.

1.1.1 Youth empowerment and self-development

This overarching theme means that youth desire to participate in all economic, social and political affairs of their societies.

Youths are asking for an empowering environment to take charge of their lives. As one respondent said

> *My hope for the future of all Africans is that by the year 2020 in Botswana 80 percent of the youth in this country should be employed; that as the youth we should stop depending on the government to present us with job opportunities. I would be pleased if the youth in Africa stood for themselves and created job opportunities for themselves and take responsibility for their future (18, female, Moshupa).*

This self-empowering narrative shows that youth are not just wanting to be at the receiving end of development but they are confident they can be the generators of development themselves. This was articulated further as

> *Sustainability - more and more African youths, especially here in Botswana, are looking forward/ seeking investments in those rare kinds of businesses that can be able to withstand the market with their high product or service demand. The youth have come to a stage where they have realised that they have to minimise reliance on government and create more jobs with their independent companies (26, male, Gaborone).*

There are strong voices coming from Botswana, on youth empowerment and participation. As one youth expressed it

> *I hope Botswana will realise that we the youth are its future leaders. And its current leaders should not be corrupted by money. And be selfish. Instead they should equip us with the necessary skills to be able to drive our country to greater heights. And stop making business out of us, and driving us into poverty and without knowledge (22, male, Francistown).*

1.1.2 African Advancement

A strong narrative coming out of Botswana focused on African advancement. It was a comprehensive notion of an independent and united Africa making progress in the political, economic and social spheres: there was emphasis on democracy and peace and security as a basis for economic and social development. As a 22-year-old female respondent explains it,

> *A self-reliant and independent Africa that prioritises taking care of its people. An economically diverse Africa which has alternatives as far as its economy is concerned. A loving and caring Africa, that its people are educated and well informed on the different ways of life and not only academically but socially as well, a politically stable Africa with democracy being the core root (22, female, Kweneng/Molepolole).*

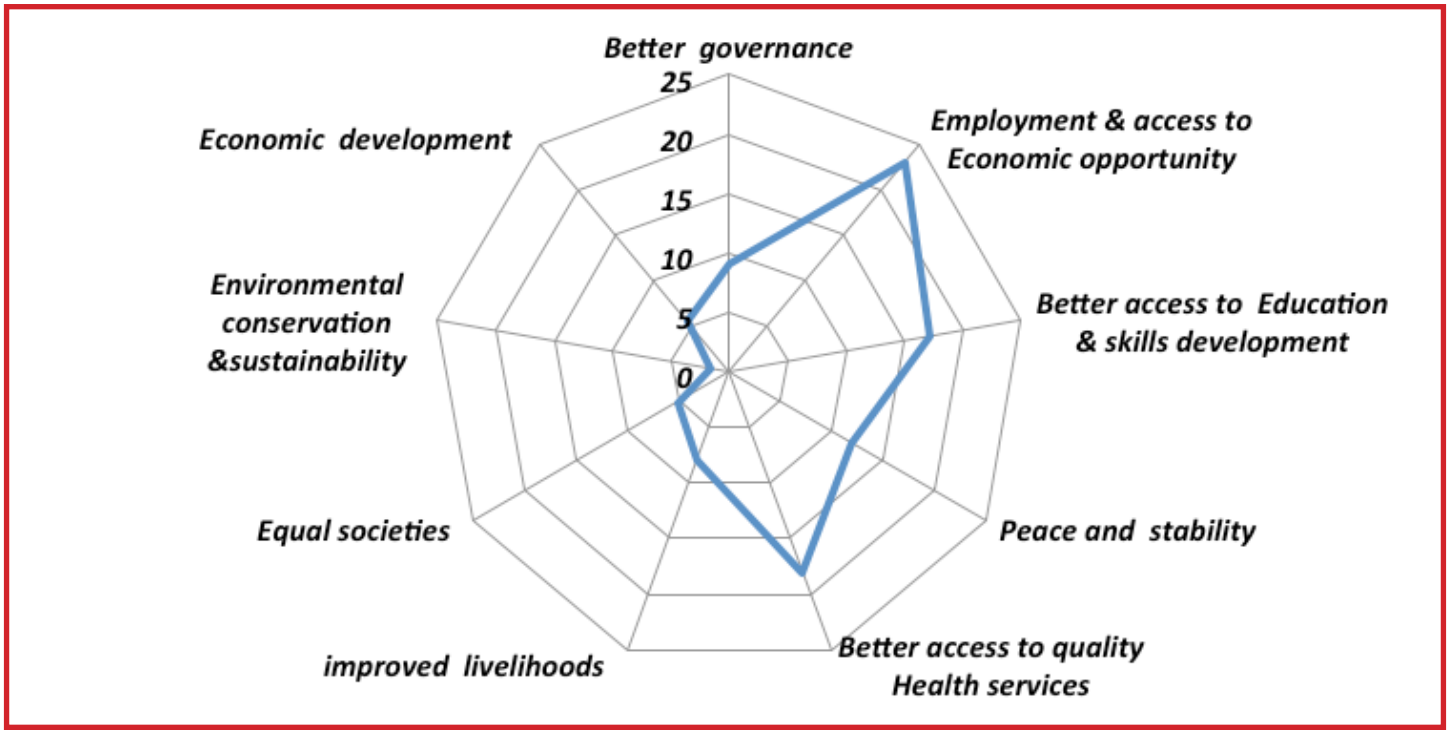
This African advancement notion brings in the sense of unity and integration as well as African sovereignty over its natural resources – this was expressed as

> *I hope if all Africans can work together, love each other, stop discrimination, stop intolerance and know that we are all equal, even the poor and rich, if that happens we will have a better future because we will help those in need, live in peace and harmony, freely knowing that we are safe and sound, when we work together like extracting our minerals to help all those unemployed and poor, we will have a better and beautiful Africa (17, male, Maun).*

Finally, the African advancement theme brings in the renaissance of African identity, culture, traditions and shared values. As one respondent puts it "To see a peaceful and united Africa which preserves its culture and keeps it for the next generation to pass it on" (24, female, Lobatse).

1.2 Category Results

Initial data generated from Botswana was analysed to provide a preliminary view of emerging perspectives. The data was coded and categorised into nine concepts and the concepts were ranked based on frequency of reference to the issues related to the concept.



Source: Data set from the youth opinion survey, 2013

The pattern observed from Botswana youth voices shows that employment and economic opportunities, access to health, access to education and skills development are found to be robust concepts. Other concepts such as peace and stability, improved livelihoods, equal society, environment conservation and sustainability, economic development and better governance are also emerging as important concepts for a better future for Botswana.

This was summed up by a 23-year-old respondent who said

> *I want an Africa whose citizenry is liberated in terms of human development, sustainable development, and modernisation and from aid dependency. Africa has an abundance of natural resources that if processed here at home would turn the continent into a very prosperous one. Lastly we should curb corruption and internal conflicts through equitable distribution of wealth, participatory democracy and inclusive economic development.*

The nine themes are analysed in detail below.

1.2.1 Employment and economic opportunity

The majority (25.3%) of respondents indicated that employment and economic opportunity was the most important concept for Africa's future. Most respondents in this category stated youth employment as their top priority, followed by access to economic opportunities. Sixty-four percent of those respondents who prioritised this category emphasised employment creation as the most important aspect within the category. Thirty-five percent of respondents aspire to become entrepreneurs, to set up and run their own businesses; they have a strong sense of entrepreneurship and innovation and seek enabling infrastructure and institutional settings.

This theme resonated well with Botswana's youth who were looking for employment and entrepreneurship opportunities. The most common theme in this category was "Better job and entrepreneurship opportunities and better trade relations" (23, male, Gaborone). There was a notion that youth can be part of employment creation as well, as expressed in the following "There are no textiles in my village, I want to run my own business, a textile one, and create jobs for other people who are not working" (25, female, Matlhakola).

The expression of self-drive in employment creation and seeking economic opportunities for youth was aptly put as

> *My hope/vision for the future is to become a successful business woman and be able to expand my businesses to other countries outside Africa. As for the future of Africa I would love to see young African leaders all over the world working hard as entrepreneurs, businessman and woman, engineers, doctors etc. ... Putting our continent on the top of the world and making it rich, and also working hard to fight the Aids pandemic for an Africa that is free of Aids (25, female, Tsabong).*

1.2.2 Quality education

Nineteen percent of respondents referred to better access to quality education as an essential aspect for a better future for Africa. It was predominantly focused on the access aspect of education, but some qualified it in terms of equity and quality of education. Botswanan youth view education in relation to employability and professionalism. There was an understanding that education is a basis for the general advancement of human wellbeing.

As one respondent expresses it "Free Education for everyone and more employment created" (20, male, Gaborone). Access to tertiary education seems to pose challenges for the youth, as some expressed access to government sponsorship for tertiary education needs to be expanded "The government should minimise cutting points, at least to 25points, so that many youth can qualify for government sponsorship to go for tertiary studies because education is the key to success" (22, female, Ramokgonami Central District).

Quality and relevant education was also raised. One respondent said "I want a better education for Botswana, free quality education for everybody" (25, male, Gaborone). Another respondent referred to the relevance of education as

> *I dream of an Africa which has independent youth and this can be possible if our education can be less theoretical but more practical. If I had the means I would open a children's entrepreneurship school so we start developing entrepreneurs at a young age. And this will help to have more entrepreneurs in Africa, hence less dependency on Europe. Africa has talent it just needs a little push (35, female, Gaborone).*

Equity in education was another aspect that emerged from the Botswana youth voices. As one respondent puts it "To empower the youth of Africa by giving all an equal chance to basic education to pave way for their future" (17, female, Gaborone). Urban and rural youth were divided in terms of access to education; this was highlighted as "If at all our government could target rural areas, and do more in education equivalent to urban areas, our future will be shaped right from our own roots and a better future will be at hand"(26, male, Francistown).

1.2.3 Better health

Eighteen percent of youth respondents prioritised better health, with 50% of these emphasising the fight against HIV, TB and malaria as the most important element of a better future for Africa. This was followed by access to general health care for all population groups in all geographic areas (32%) as well strengthening of health systems. Botswanan youths also highlighted child and maternal health (14%) and access to reproductive health and family planning.

The youth voices identified HIV-infection as the single most important health issue in Botswana. One respondent shares her

vision as "An HIV/AIDS-free nation" (20, female, Mmankgodi). Another respondent puts his vision as "Zero HIV transmission" (23, male, Kanye).

Furthermore, there was awareness of reproductive health; as one respondent put it

> *I aspire for every African to lead a healthy life now and beyond. I believe sexual reproductive health rights should be put at the centre of development for we all are sexual beings and a greater understanding of sexual and reproductive health and issues surrounding it will better for Africa. Health breeds productivity, productivity breeds progress, progress gives birth to mother of all success (25, female, Gaborone).*

Another respondent raised the issue of nutrition and child mortality: "I hope by 2020 there won't be high child mortality rates and that hunger will be eradicated" (20, female, Gaborone).

1.2.4 Peace and stability

Botswana youths rate peace and stability as an important element of their vision for the better future for Africa: 13% of the respondents aspire to a stable, peaceful and united Africa. They envision an Africa free from conflict and civil wars. They want to see an end to all forms of violence with an emphasis on non-violence against women, children and other vulnerable groups.

This was expressed as "My hope is to see us living in peace and harmony. We have to work together as nations to help one another to stop wars and political instability; let Africa unite for a better future of the next generation" (25, female, Letlhakane). One aspect of peace and security is the call for an end to violence against women and children; this was expressed as "My hope is to see Africa uniting, countries assisting one another, no wars, as well as the abuse of women and children coming to an end" (30, female, Jwaneng).

1.2.5 Better governance

Democratic governance was cited by 10.8% of respondents as an essential element for a better future for Africa. Over 41% of youth who referred to this category referred to corruption-free and good quality leadership as the most important aspects of good governance. This was followed by 32% noting the importance of participatory and representative, democracy with regular elections which are free and fair, with appropriate institutions and rules and laws being followed. Eighteen percent emphasised transparent and accountable institutions while 8.4% highlighted protection of political and human freedom.

There was an overriding concern about corruption and the quality of political leadership. A respondent put it candidly as "A nation free from corruption" (21, female, Mogoditshane). The Botswana youths notion of better governance was also comprehensively expressed as "A democratic continent with transparency and accountable government that can uplift living standards of its people. A peaceful and healthy nation to boost the economy, with less or no corruption" (25, male, Gaborone).

1.2.6 Improved livelihoods

The elimination of poverty and human deprivation in all its forms was noted as an essential element for the better future of Africa by 8.7% of respondents, who want to see Africa free from poverty, hunger and forms of human deprivation. Fifty-six Botswanan youth viewed the reduction of poverty as an important aspect of their vision of a better future for Africa. Africa needs to ensure food security and sovereignty for all its citizens (24%) and 19.2% focused on improved standards of living.

One respondent put it succinctly: Botswana youth aspire to see "A poverty free Africa" (35, female, Francistown). African youth relate poverty to vulnerability; as one respondent put it "Poverty eradication for old and disabled people" (21, female, Moshupa). There was a suggestion on how to reduce poverty: "We should create businesses in order to help others and reduce poverty" (33, female, Selebi Phikwe).

Still another suggestion relates poverty to access to education; a respondent hopes "To get a competitive education in order to improve poverty in Africa" (15 female Goshwe). And another hoped "For job opportunities, which, at the end, will help reduce the state of poverty" (15, female, Francistown). There was strong voice advocating the need to produce food to ensure food self-sufficiency. As one respondent put it "Africa should produce food that is enough to feed itself and abroad" (25years, male, Gumare). Another respondent suggested that the youth need to engage in food production processes: "More youth should be involved in agriculture to produce food" (27, female, Tonota). This was supported by the comment "By 2015 we have to be self-sufficient making (producing) our own food" (22, female, Molepolole).

1.2.7 Economic development

Seven percent of Botswana youth see economic advancement of their country as a priority. This was largely focused on economic development and infrastructural and technological development. It also encompasses industrial development in Africa as well as management of mineral resources including benefaction of mineral resources and moving up the value chain.

Botswanan youth aspirations for African economic development take off was expressed as "An inclusive unbiased economic, political and social system that allows for progressive growth" (22, female, Gaborone). Another respondent focused on the growth of manufacturing industry "To have a productive nation and a growth in manufacturing industry" (19, male, Mochudi).

Botswana's youth share their hope for African industrial development based on mineral processing as "Would like to improve the mining industry in Africa, more especially the diamond industry, as I am a diamond polisher. I would also like to study further outside Africa in diamond industries" (27, female, Serowe). Another respondent focused on mineral resources as "To ensure that Africa's mineral wealth was exploited for the benefit of Africa's citizens, particularly the children" (26, male, Gaborone). Local processing and upward move in the value chain of mineral resources came out strongly as "Improved utilisation of mineral resources and local processing" (24, male, Gaborone).

Another view looked at economic growth as a vehicle of poverty reduction: "Be involved in my country's economic development, and Africa's at large, by investing within and help in poverty eradication" (28, male, Francistown).

1.2.8 Equal society

Botswana youths come out clearly stating the need to end all types of discrimination and marginalisation. They emphasised a reduction of gender inequality, and the elimination of discrimination and marginalisation based on race, tribe and clan. The vision calls for an end to discrimination against disabled persons, ethnic minorities and stateless persons.

There was a clear call for reducing inequality in Africa – as one youth respondent simply puts it "Equality" (29, female, Molepolole). Another said "Elimination of stigma and discrimination" (18, female, Gaborone). The better future for Africa will be realised once gender inequality is addressed; as one respondent noted "Equality in both males and females, together with that of disability" (21, female, Serowe). A more comprehensive expression was

> *I would love to see a society that is inclusive for people with disabilities. Information, education and services should be accessible to all PWDs, policies should be changed to accommodate vulnerable people and the UNCRPD should be ratified in all African countries (27, male, Otse/ South East).*

1.2.9 Environmental sustainability

Only 1% of Botswanan youth saw environmental sustainability and access to safe water as an aspect of a better future for Africa. This issue relates to the sustainable use of natural resources including fauna and flora, rivers and water sources. Africa must invest in afforestation, soil and water conversation and preservation of natural habitat. Efforts in climate change mitigation, adoption of green technologies and green energy sources are some elements of the sustainable future for Africa.

This was reflected though youth voices as "A green economy for sustainable development" (27, male, Gaborone) and "Environmentally friendly by 2030" (28, male, Kweneng). Other respondents related environmental sustainability to food security "An environment that is free from pollution, Africa that has food security with better health facilities" (18, female, Bobirwa) and to conservation and green practises, as in "I hope Africa will find alternatives for natural resources so that if a natural resource gets finished we do not struggle"(18, female, South East).

1.3 Conclusion

The youth voices that come from Botswana expressed their top priorities as employment and economic opportunities, access to health, access to education and skills development. These voices reflected the country's development challenges in terms of employment, health issues and better access to quality education and their aspiration of transforming their society based on the transformation of the extractive-industry based economy, and better governance.

2. TANZANIA

The initiative in Tanzania was rolled out in partnership with No One Left Behind and Text to Change, and was launched on 18 March 2013. Popularisation of the campaign occurred through radio, TV and other popular media. A number of youth events were organised to announce the campaign and garner youth voices from around the country. The major activities undertaken in the processes of generating youth voices included:

- Prior to the launch popularisation work was undertaken on 18 February 2013 through interviews discussing the post-2015 MDG on 90.0fm and Radio France International, and online discussions.
- Youth events were organised at five universities (University of Dar es Salaam, Open University of Tanzania, Mapambano College Centre (Mwenge), the Kilimanjaro Christian Medical College in Kilimanjaro region and Tumaini University) and other colleges including Dar es Salaam College, Tanzania Institute of Accountancy, and visits in Mbeya (Southern Island region) at Tumaini College, Faraja Tourism Centre and St. Agrey Nursing Centre.
- TV programmes shared the message of youth post-2015: "Baragumu" on Channel Ten, "Jarida La Wanawake" on ITV and Mlimani TV during the 7.30 pm news bulletin
- Extensive radio coverage also broadcast the message on youth post-2015: Mlimani Radio, Clouds FM, TBC FM, and on Kili FM in Moshi, Kilimanjaro.
- Partnership with youth-based organisations including Restless Development in Tanzania and Participatory Youth Development Centre (TAMASHA), where the message on youth post-2015 was shared through its youth camps.

2.1 Cross-cutting Themes

The categories mentioned below are couched within the two cross-cutting themes of youth empowerment and self-development, and African advancement.

2.1.1 African advancement

This concept encapsulates an African youth vision for a united and independent Africa advancing in the political, social, cultural and economic arenas and to promote its African identity and value system. The youth aspiration for a better future for Africa was described succinctly as "A united Africa sharing one government, currency, market, communication as well as infrastructure" (20, male).

The notion of united and independent Africa was repeated; as one youth respondent puts it "Independent Africa, one

currency for all countries in Africa. Protect our environment" (22, male, Dodoma). There was a sentiment that Africa needs to be free from outside influence and interference, and challenges the African Union to be more active in African issues: one respondent called for "A strong African Union that is able to resolve its own conflicts without the influence from Europe" (21, male, Wanging'ombe). Another aspect of political independence was in the policy space, "An independent Africa without the influence from big institutions, without the pressure of foreign countries and international financial institutions; economic, political and social" (20, female, Ilala).

Beyond African political independence, Tanzanian youth are looking at economic and technological independence; as one respondent said "I want Africa that is independent in technology since technology is key to any type of development" (22, male, Downtown). African sovereignty over its natural resources was highlighted strongly as "Africa should end exploitation of our natural resources through neo-colonialism. Africa should be careful with the western influence since they are always interested in our resources and not our well-being" (19, male, Planter).

There was a notion among Tanzanian youth that African identity and culture need to be protected and developed. One respondent implores that "Africa uphold good norms and patriotism" (21, male, Kinondoni) and was supported by "I dream to uphold, maintain and develop our culture and traditions that carry African identity" (18, male, Njombe).

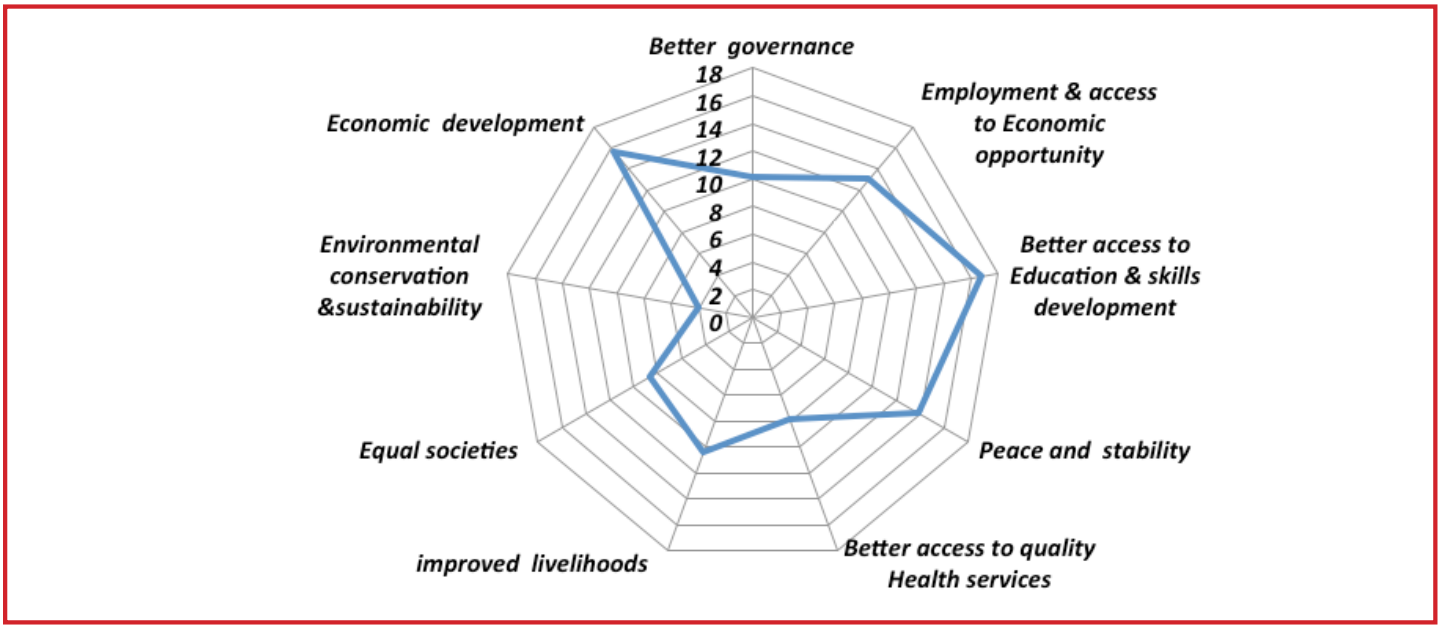
2.1.2 Youth empowerment and self-development

There was a strong sense of empowerment and self-drive in Tanzania for youth to improve their livelihoods as well as their country. Tanzanian youth see themselves as the next generation of leaders, entrepreneurs and professionals. This was aptly expressed as "Youth are capable; we need to be given a chance now, not later" (20, female, Mbeya Mjini). The commitment for Tanzanian youths was highlighted as "Africa will be developed by youth so youth should work hard" (19, male, Arusha).

An element of personal ambition and self-betterment was linked to the development of their country: "I dream to be a big businesswoman in the world" (23, female, Rungwe Mbeya). Another youth shared her aspiration as "My dream is to be independent, educated and bring about development and equality in Africa" (20, female, Mbeya), and yet another as "I want to become a lawyer to end corruption" (18, female, Ilala).

2.2 Category Results

The figure below shows a plot of the category results:



Source: Data set from youth opinion survey, 2013

Access to quality education and skills development, economic development, peace and stability, employment and economic opportunities were found to be the top concepts for Tanzanian youth. The concepts will be analysed in detail below.

2.2.1 Better governance

Just over 10 percent (10.15%) of Tanzanian youth referred to better governance as an important aspect for the better future of their country. Of these, 65% listed corruption and the quality of political leadership as overriding concerns. This was followed by 22% who referred to the effective democratic process in terms of participatory and responsive government. However, transparency and accountability and institutions building were less well articulated in youth responses. There was better recognition for protection of human rights and political freedom.

Youth voices highlighted quality leadership as an important aspect of the better future, one respondent putting it as "To have good leaders who listen to their citizens" (20, female, Kinondoni). There were strong voices on the need to end corruption in Africa; respondents were very clear on this "End corruption!" (23, male, Mbinga). They related corruption to poverty, in "Leaders should stop corruption and end poverty" (35, female, Kinondoni) and to frustrations over leadership and corruption "Most leaders are corrupt hence taking the continent backward" (20, male, Kinondoni).

The quality of African leadership was questioned by youth respondents, for instance in the statement "Good leaders who emphasize development in Africa" (18, male, Missenyi). Another respondent questioned the patriotism of African leaders in "I dream of a better life though African leaders lack patriotism to make this happen. Let's liberate ourselves!" (20, male, Dar es Salaam).

2.2.2 Employment and access to economic opportunities

Thirteen percent of Tanzanian respondents referred to employment and access to economic opportunities as an important element for the better future for Africa. Of these, more than half (64%) sought employment opportunities in all sectors of the economy, while 34% aspire to start businesses and become entrepreneurs. They would like to see the state supporting budding entrepreneurs through various schemes such youth funds, skills development and access to technology and markets.

This overwhelming youth voice, focused on youth employment and self-employment, was simply put as "Employment for youth" (17, male, Serengeti). This notion of youth employment was further qualified by referring to skills for self-employment; one respondent summed it up by proposing "Empower youth with skills that will enable them to employ themselves instead of waiting to be employed" (19, female, Temeke).

This entrepreneurial aspiration was supported repeatedly: "I want to start my own clothing lines that will sell across Africa" (20, male, Geita). Confidence was reflected that youth entrepreneurship could actually absorb the youth labour force; as one respondent put it "To do my own business and expanding by employing other youth" (34, male, Kinondoni). A respondent sums up youth aspiration for entrepreneurship as

> *To educate the youth of Africa in a way aiming to help us to discover our true potential in entrepreneurship, so as to create an African society with youth whose chief goal is to try and create employment opportunities rather than seeking employment (17, male, Masaki).*

2.2.3 Economic development

Just over 15.3% of Tanzanian youth referred to national development as the most important aspect for a better future for Africa. Of these, there was a strong (91%) sense that economic advancement for Africa, and particular for Tanzania, will bring a better future. Industrialisation, technological advancement and infrastructure development were viewed as bases for economic development.

As one respondent expressed it: "A developed Africa in all sectors of the economy" (18, male, Tarime). This was further qualified by another respondent who said "I want to see Africa with good infrastructure, freedom in decision making regarding

development issues, good politics, unity and economically independent" (26, male, Arusha).

Agriculture was seen as the basis for Africa's industrialisation, as one respondent explained "Modern farming will bring development" (26, male, Basin). Another notion, of Africa using its natural resources for its development, was strongly supported: "Africa has plenty of resources; I hope in the near future Africa will develop from its own resources" (21, male, Tanzania), and "An independent Africa that utilises its resources for its development" (23, male, Iringa).

Technology was perceived as another base for African development, as in "I dream for Africa that is developed in technology to boost the economy" (24, female, Kinondoni) and "To build a developed and powerful Africa in terms of technology" (19, male, Mufindi).

2.2.4 Quality education and skills development

Sixteen percent of Tanzanian youth respondents referred to quality education as an important aspect for better future for Africa, with 68% of these referring to access to education at all levels starting from early childhood being the most important aspect of the category. Thirty-two percent of respondents referred to quality and equal access to education as important indicators to access to education.

Quality education was strongly supported, as in "To get a good education" (20, female, Mbeya) and "My hope is for better education since the current education system seems not to be functioning" (23, female, Mbeya). There was an interesting notion that lack of access to education reinforces poverty for African youth; as one respondent cogently noted "Lack of education among youth is causing abject poverty in Africa; a large number of young people in Africa are poor because of our poor education system that does not empower youth to be independent" (20, female, Mbeya).

Equality in terms of access to education was one of the points the youth respondents raised: as one respondents said "I want to see better education without regard to religion, tribe, status, disability or money; only this will ensure better education for all" (26, female, Dar es Salaam). Another female respondent expressed her vision for a better Africa as "Better and equal access to education" (18, female, Downtown district).

2.2.5 Peace and stability

Peace and stability were referred to as an important aspect of the better future for Africa by 13.9% of respondents. They envisaged a peaceful and harmonious co-existence, free from conflict and wars as bases for a better future. Reference was made to reducing gender-based violence. Youth also expressed the desire to see Africa free from all forms of violence with emphasis on violence against women, children and other vulnerable groups, and control of crime.

Supporting statements for this vision include "A peaceful and harmonious Africa for our development" (26, female, Serenge) and "I want protection for my life. I want an Africa free of oppression, terrorism, gender-based violence, child labour. Stop greedy leaders. Harmony and unity should be our mission" (25, female, Kinondoni).

Some saw peace and stability as bases for development: "A peaceful Africa and then development will come" (24, male, Tunduru). There was a call for an end to civil wars in Africa, in "Africa that is free from civil wars" (20, male, Musoma) and for religious tolerance, as in "End religious conflict in Tanzania" (15, male).

A strong plea for an end to violence against children and woman was also made, as in "End gender-based violence in Africa" (18, female, Kinondoni) and "Fight against violence on women and children" (20, male, Rungwe).

2.2.6 Health services

Access to health services was referred to by 7.8% of respondents, with more than half of the respondents (52%) emphasising the need to control the epidemics such as HIV, malaria and TB. This was followed by the universal access to general health care (32%) and 16% referred to a special focus on maternal and child health.

The eradication of HIV, TB and malaria was supported in statements such as "Reduction of HIV infection in Africa" (23, male, Mufindi); and the eradication of malaria by "To eradicate diseases such as malaria" (20, male, Mbeya).

Equal access to general health care services was expressed in "I dream for Africa that has better health systems and improved working conditions among health workers" (28, female, Tukuyu), while some noted the disparity between urban and rural health services, as reflected in "Better health service in rural areas" (20, female, Iringa).

The special focus on child and maternal health care was expressed in "Better health services for women all over Africa" (32, female, Moshi Rural) and the call for "Better education and free health care for women and children" (18, female, Mbeya). Youth voices called for a reduction in child and maternal mortality as reflected in "To reduce mortality rates for children under five years old" (20, female, Mbeya) and "Reduce maternal and child mortality" (20, male, Mbarali).

2.2.7 Improved livelihoods

Improved livelihoods were also seen as an important element for a better future for Africa, by 10.4% of respondents. Ending poverty was the overriding concern within this category (56%), followed by improved access to housing, clean water and sanitation. There were also concerns about the availability of sufficient food in households.

Youths in Tanzania aspire to see an end to poverty in Africa and beyond, as expressed "To end poverty in Africa" (21, male, Rungwe) and "To end poverty in the world" (28, male, Temeke).

The youth related poverty with corruption in "Need to eradicate poverty and reduce corruption because corruption is the enemy of progress" (27, female, Kinondoni) and with growth, as in "My dream is growth of economy and zero poverty" (26, male, Temeke) and with education: "Better education will help in eradicating poverty" (16, female, Kinondoni). There was an interesting take on the use of natural resources to end poverty in the sentiment: "To use our resources to end aid dependency as well as poverty" (28, male, Kibaha City).

Food security was another concern for youth respondents in Tanzania. As a youth from Mufindi expressed it, "Hunger is still a challenge in Africa" (22, male, Mufindi), while another respondent wished to see "Food security, better social service and end diseases" (33, male, Dar es Salaam). There was a specific reference to child malnutrition in "My dream is to eradicate malnutrition among children in Tanzania and the continent at large" (23, female, Mbeya).

2.2.8 Equal society

Eight percent of the respondents referred to the concept of equal societies as an important feature for a better future for Tanzania. There was a strong emphasis on equality including gender equality as well as children's rights. A strong voice against discrimination and marginalisation of various population groups based on disability, sexuality, race and gender could be heard.

Tanzanian youth identified equality as their vision for a better future for Africa, as can be heard in the statements "An Africa that has equality" (24, male, Mbeya) and "Equality and human rights for all" (20, male, Rungwe).

The elimination of any form of discrimination and marginalisation was viewed as part of the vision for a better future for Africa. A youth respondent shared his dream in "My dream is to see Africa free of discrimination" (23, male, Dar es Salaam).

Gender equality and children's rights came out clearly from youth voices in Tanzania, as voiced in "To liberate women from a patriarchal system" (28, female, Njombe), and, "I see Africa has achieved some aspects of children's and women's rights, I hope after 2015 Africa will be better in children's rights and stop bad practises against children" (18, male, Dar es Salaam).

2.2.9 Environmental sustainability and conservation

Sustainable use of natural resources was referred to by 4.7% of respondents. References were also made to the effect of cli-

mate change mitigation and adaptation efforts, conservation and protection of the environment. An effective and renewable use of natural resources was another aspect of this concept.

The environmental concern was reflected as "Development for all, need for patriotic leaders who will protect our environment and utilise our resources for the benefit of the whole people" (22, female, Dodoma) and "To protect environment" (22, male, Iringa).

Tanzanian youth aspired to a "Better and clean environment" (18, male, Kinondoni) and suggested "We should invest in science and education for technology advancement, we should protect our environment from any pollution for the future generation" (19, female, Kinondoni). Developing a green economy with sustainable use of natural resources to reduce poverty was expressed in "To end poverty, increase employment for youth through our natural resources such as land, mineral, and climate-change effects" (23, male, Babati).

2.3 Conclusion

A clear message came out from Tanzania that put education, economic development and peace and stability as the main drivers for societal transformation in Tanzania. This reflects Tanzanian youth concerns and ambitions for their country that could put it onto a higher path of development and transformation.

3. ETHIOPIA

The initiative in Ethiopia was rolled out in partnership with Talent Youth Association and Text to Change. It was launched on 3 April 2013 in the presence of ambassadors, network and consortium leaders and members, media delegates, known artists, youth activists and leaders, representatives of disability organisations and government officials.

As in other countries there was a wide popularisation of the campaign through radio, TV and other popular media. Talent Youth Association (TaYA) organised a number of consultations and youth events throughout Ethiopia to generate the youth voices. Some of the key activities that went through to popularise, mobilise and engage Ethiopian youth on post-2015 process included:

- Support from the Packard Foundation for the Voice Africa's Future initiative and the popularisation of the existing MDGs and the post-2015 youth agenda.
- Awareness raising and mobilization programs were aired by Addis Ababa Mass Media Agency for 20 minutes, and on Sheger FM 102.1 radio, Zami FM 90.5, FM 97.1 and ZAMI 90.7.
- TaYA participated in the national consultation workshop on the post-2015 development agenda conducted on 25–26 April 2013.
- Orientation and mobilization activities were conducted at Addis Ababa University, Unity University and St. Mary University College.
- TaYA engaged with representatives of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MOFED) since these organisations facilitated the national consultation process.
- The Post-2015 Youth Agenda was promoted during a 2km walk which started at the AU Head Quarters and ended at Meskel Square. The walk was organized by the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The AU Commission, diplomatic missions, delegates, high school students and CSOs were in attendance.

The voices generated through these platforms have brought a fresh look by Ethiopia's youth on a better future for Africa.

3.1 Cross-cutting Themes

The categories reported on below are couched within the two cross-cutting themes of youth empowerment and self-development, and African advancement.

3.1.1 African advancement

More than one-third of Ethiopian respondents are proponents of a vision of a united and independent Africa, for Africa to advance in the political, social, cultural and economic arenas and to promote its African identity, culture and value systems.

The Ethiopian youth aspiration for a better future for Africa was summed up in the statements "I wish Africa will be the symbol of peace, love, development, freedom and equality" (18, female, Addis Ababa) and "I want to see a green Africa, political and economic development, civilization for Africa's citizens" (22, male, Assella).

Africa's independence and unity was extensively articulated by the youth respondents, including notions such as a common currency, common passport, and integrated infrastructure. This was aptly expressed as

> *I hope for Africa to become the greatest country in the world. I said 'country' because one day Africa will be a country that from south to north, east to west, Africans can move freely in without passports (16, male, Addis Ababa).*

This was further corroborated as in "My vision is to see a united Africa with one currency, connected with infrastructure like electricity, road ,railway and sufficient internet and also I want to see communication of people to people" (16, male, Sebeta).

Ethiopian youths came out strongly regarding the political independence of Africa and concern over foreign interventions. A 23-year-old female from Fenote Selam said "I hope for an independent Africa, Africa free from the interference of western countries". This was supported in "Hope Africa free of resource and religious conflicts, it's citizens benefiting from equitable distribution of wealth, free of western interventions, solving it's problems together with its citizens" (28, male, Adama).

There were also proponents for Africa's cultural renaissance and protection of customs and shared values. As one respondent put it "I hope for the revival of the spirit of African literature, songs and dramas that conveyed the message of what Africa represents and Africanism is"(27, female, Addis Ababa). Another aspect of this was the protection of African culture and identity; as a female respondent put it "Hope for Africa to be free from negative impacts of globalization with typical culture and identity, and prevent brain drain" (18, female, Addis Ababa).

3.1.2 Youth empowerment and self-development

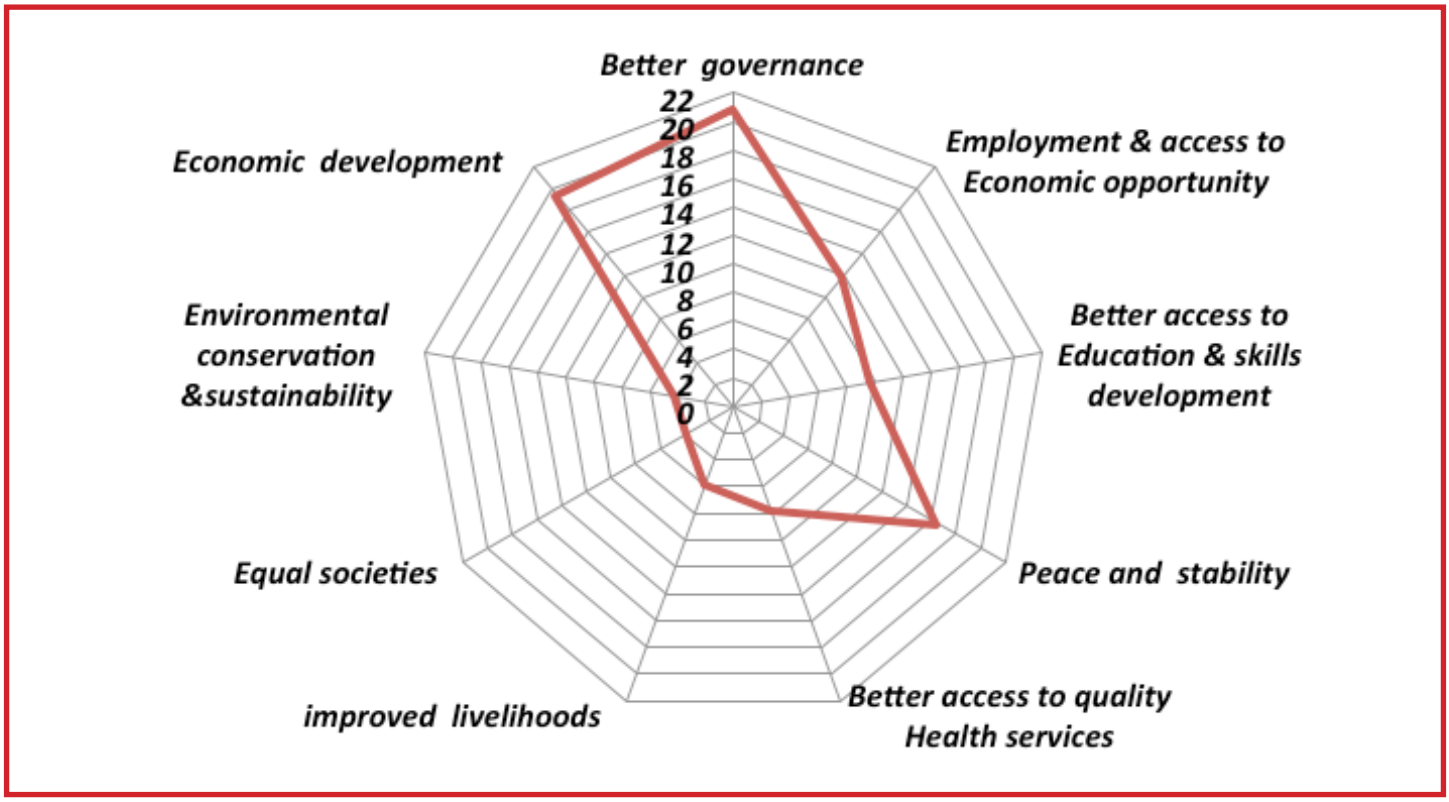
A definite Ethiopian voice, indicative of its self-drive to better their livelihoods and their desire to contribute to the uplifting of Africa, has emerged. This was expressed by a youth respondent from Addis Ababa as "Hope for me and for my continent Africa, I wish for all young African sons, including me, to wake up from our sleep and lift up our continent" (21, male, Addis Ababa). This energy was reflected in "I want to see one civilized Africa. But we can't achieve it without youth power. So we need more work. God bless Africa" (23, female, Mekele).

Ethiopian youth see their self-betterment linked to Africa's development and see themselves as agents of such upliftment. A male respondent from Addis Ababa hopes to use his training to solve Africa's health challenges: "Hope to be a known epidemiologist and make Africa free from any communicable disease" (25, male, Addis Ababa). This was supported by others, as in "I would like to see a prosperous nation with active participation of young people in political, social and economic arenas. I dream to see self-actualized young people through quality education" (33, male Addis Ababa) and "Hope with the contribution of youth in all transformation programs I want Africa become peaceful, green, the good developing example" (25, female, Bedele).

There was a call by Ethiopian youths to be supported and facilitated to participate in all aspects of development. A respondent puts this challenge as "Hope all youth to participate in matters that affect their life" (35, male, Addis Ababa). Access to technology was seen as important, as in "Access to technology for African youth" (21, female, Addis Ababa). Along same lines another respondent expressed his hope as "I want to be the best architect and I want Africa to have a better internet and network access" (18, male, Addis Ababa).

3.2 Category Results

The figure below shows a plot of the category results:



Source: Data set from youth opinion survey, 2013

The pattern observed from the Ethiopian youth voices was that peace and stability, good governance and economic development were the top themes.

3.2.1 Better governance

Twenty-one percent of the respondents cited democratic governance as an essential element for a better future for Africa, with 55% of these wanting effective democracy, including free and fair elections and participatory and representative governments. A further 30% wanted a reliable, corruption-free political leadership; 14% the protection of human rights and political freedoms, including freedom of association, free speech and associated freedoms. The concept of transparency and accountability received 0.8%of the vote.

Statements such as "Good governance" (32, male, Mekelle) and "I wish to live a better life. And I wish Africa to be the leading continent in democracy and good governance by having leaders free from corruption" (25, male, Addis Ababa) were indicative of these sentiments.

Other issues emerging were the quality of democracy and electoral credibility: as one respondent hopes "African leaders to be elected by free, fair and periodic elections" (17, male, Addis Ababa). One Ethiopian youth was fed up with electoral fraud:

> *Hope to not see more dictator leaders and fake elections in Africa. I don't want to hear the sound of bullets anymore in this continent. Peace, democracy, wealth equity, free press and media, job opportunities (30, male, Addis Ababa).*

Others focussed on a peaceful transfer of power:

> *Hope to see peaceful, free, fair elections and peaceful transfer of power. Lastly, it will be little late, but one day Africa will be a leading country by the new generation, God bless Africa" (17, Addis Ababa, male).*

The youth also want an end to corruption. As one respondent put it "Hope for an Africa free from dictatorships and corruption" (24, male, Jimma).

A notion of good governance that was advanced was an open, transparent and accountable government, as in the hope "There must be transparent and accountable government after the coming few years after 2015" (17, male, Addis Ababa). This was further elaborated by referring to institutional responsiveness and accountability, in "I envision Africa uses its resources and potential; its governments and institutions are responsible and accountable to citizens" (34, male, Addis Ababa).

Human rights and political freedoms were referred to as one of the elements of a better future for Africa: "Hope a continent in which people's human rights are respected in a meaningful way, basic needs are relatively fulfilled, well-educated society that can solve practically the prevailing problem" (35, male, Addis Ababa). Another respondent adds "Hope for freedom of speech, press, express ideas freely, free movement" (34, male, Addis Ababa).

3.2.2 Peace and stability

Sixteen percent of Ethiopian youths referred to peace and stability as the most important concept for a better future of Africa. Of these, 71% envisioned an Africa which was peaceful, stable and where there was harmony between religious and social groups. Twenty percent also wanted an end to civil wars and conflict, 8.4% percent seek an end to all forms of violence with emphasis on reducing violence against women, children and other vulnerable groups.

Expressions of this vision for a better future for Africa that was peaceful and stable, included "Hope peace for all African people" (29, Addis Ababa, female), and "Hope for peace, security, stability and good governance" (18, male, Addis Ababa,), and, highlighting terrorism "Hope for peace and free from terrorism" (29, male, Addis Ababa). The focus on the violence against women and children was expressed in "Hope for less women abuse" (17, male, Addis Ababa) and "Hope Africa to be a better place to live for children, and no war and famine" (15, male, Addis Ababa).

3.2.3 Economic development

Nineteen percent of respondents who referred to the economic development vision referred to growth and industrialisation as they believed these will affect all aspects of development. This was followed by infrastructure and technological development; Ethiopian youths wanted Ethiopia to build infrastructure and invest in technological development. Other voices focused on economic management and processing of primary products.

These visions were expressed as "I hope for Africa to be developed and have a fast growth in the world economy that has a free market and economic systems" (16, male, Addis Ababa) and

> *Hope to see a decrease in unemployment rates, to achieve all millennium goals, globalized country, economic activities depends on industrialization and technologies, I wish our country and continent to join developed countries (25, female, Addis Ababa).*

This ambitious vision was supported by "I know we African's have unique features than the rest of the world, we are the source of humanity. We need democracy, we have to work hard to be a leading continent in economy" (23, male, Addis Ababa).

Reference was made to technological development and setting up of necessary infrastructure for Africa's development. As a youth respondent expressed it

First we want a clear government and we want peace then we need good jobs and we want fast transport and we want to learn using technology and we want to establish an African economy: that's my vision" (19, male, Addis Ababa).

A desire for access to the World Wide Web was expressed in "Hope Africa interconnected with fast broadband internet connection" (21, male, Addis Ababa).

Some voices focused on the economic management of their country, as a youth advocated for industrialisation based on agriculture while another proposed a mixed economic system: "Hope for growth of economy specially agricultural products (21, female, Addis Ababa) and "Hope for Africans to experience real constitutional democracy, mixed economy and tax payment of fair rates from each citizen" (16, female, Addis Ababa).

3.2.4 Quality education

Better access to quality education was rated as important by 8.4% of respondents with 87% of these wanting access to education starting from early childhood education, through primary and secondary schooling up to tertiary education. Ten percent made reference to the quality of education, 5% to skills development, and another 5% to eradication of illiteracy.

The Ethiopian youth vision for better access to education was reflected in "Hope for better education for all Africans" (19, Addis Ababa, male) and "Hope education for all children" (26, female, Addis Ababa).

The conviction that Africa could move forward with better quality education was expressed in "Hope to see Africa giving quality education for all, so that we can move our continent forward with our own educated youth"(24, female, Addis Ababa). The quality and relevance of the education system, better quality teachers and the necessary teaching was articulated in "Hope to see each and every African teacher qualified with minimum of master's degree and have laptop computers" (25, male, Meki).

Concern about the quality of education in secondary schools was expressed as "Hope quality education for Ethiopian youth, especially in secondary school" (21, female, Addis Ababa). Similarly, ideas abut the quality and relevance of higher education were expressed in "I want to see good quality education in our universities and colleges, which is more practical than theory" (21, male, Addis Ababa). The issue of equity in access to education was raised in "I hope all African women and little girls will get education and better life" (28, female, Addis Ababa).

3.2.5 Health

Access to quality health care was important for 7.2% of respondents, with 48% geographic areas, as well as the availability of health facilities and essential drugs. A further 33% called for focused intervention towards child and maternal health, while 18% referred to the control of pandemics such as HIV/Aids, TB and malaria as important elements of the vision for a better future for Africa.

Ethiopian youths hope for free universal health care was expressed in "Hope to see every African getting access to quality healthcare for free" (26, female, Addis Ababa). The expansion of health infrastructure throughout the country was also called for, in "Hope to expand infrastructure, especially education and health centres for the better future of Africa" (18, female, Addis Ababa). Ethiopian youths dream of "Quality health centres that can treat all illnesses including heart transplants, this is my first hope and pray to get this before many children die, let's go, we can" (17, male, Addis Ababa).

Child and maternal health were specifically referenced in "Wish Africa reduced child mortality rate" (19, male, Addis Ababa) and "Hope to see a decrease in child mortality rates in Africa" (15, female, Addis Ababa). Concern over the control of epidemics such as HIV, malaria and TB was also voiced in "I want in 2015 Africa to become free from HIV/AIDS" (16, male, Addis Ababa) and "Hope to see Africans free from malaria" (34, male, Addis Ababa).

3.2.6 Improved livelihoods

Five percent of the youth respondents referred to improved livelihoods as important for Africa's future. Of these, 48% raised poverty reduction, 32% referred to the availability of sufficient food and the end of hunger while 18% referenced improved livelihoods including housing, water and sanitation facilities.

The elimination of poverty and human deprivation in all its forms was noted in "Poverty eradication" (24, female, Addis Ababa) and "Hope 100 percent Africa will be free from poverty, civil war, famine and drought" (21, male, Addis Ababa). Youth showed faith in Africa's capacity to eradicate poverty:

> *I hope that Africa will be a continent where no one will suffer from poverty or hunger and every country will be able to feed their own people without any help from outside. Peace for Africa (22, female, Addis Ababa).*

The need for Africa to ensure food security and sovereignty to all its citizens was stated in "Hope all Africans assure their food security" (26, female, Addis Ababa). Agricultural development focused on food production, with a special focus on small-holder agriculture, was also considered important as was reflected in "I hope that one day Africa's agriculture will provide sufficient amount of food supply" (18, female, Addis Ababa). There was an ambitious vision that Africa can be the world's bread basket. One respondent shared her vision "Hope for Africa to become the world's food provider and a green continent" (24, male, Adama).

Better living standards in terms of access to housing, clean water and sanitation emerged through the youth voices. Respondents shared their hopes for "Good sanitation" (21, female, Addis Ababa) and for on clean water in "Hope Africa in the future could not get shortages of water; because of this let us repair dirty water to pure water" (14, female, Addis Ababa).

3.2.7 Equal society

From the survey, 3.8% of Ethiopian youth viewed elimination of inequality in all its forms as important for the better future for Africa. Gender equality and children's rights emerged as the most important aspects of equality (75%), followed by the need to end discrimination and marginalisation based on race, tribe and clan.

A female respondent hoped for "Gender equality" (17, female, Debre Marqos) while another hoped for "Job opportunities and empowerment of women" (25, female, Addis Ababa). Income equality was also seen as important, as in the "Hope all people to get equal distribution of wealth" (24, female, Addis Ababa) and "Hope to create job opportunities for youths, create socialist systems to reduce the gap between the poor and the rich people" (22, male, Addis Ababa). Ethiopia's youth voiced strong opinions against marginalisation and discrimination; for example "I wish for Africa to have peace, development, unity, stability, free from corruption, violation of rights, without discrimination of race, sex, wealth, colour" (17, male, Hosanna).

3.2.8 Employment and economic opportunity

Twelve percent of the Ethiopian respondents listed employment and access to economic opportunities as important elements in their vision for a better future for Africa. Of these 61% opted for employment opportunities in all sectors of the economy, and 38% aspired to start-up businesses and become entrepreneurs. They would like to see the state supporting budding entrepreneurs through schemes such youth funds, skills development and access to technology and markets.

Employment and self-employment are an important aspect for the better future for Ethiopia. Respondents shared their vision as "I want to see Africa with more job opportunities for its youth" (15, male, Addis Ababa) and, specifically to industrial jobs "Hope for industrial job opportunities for all African youth" (21, Addis Ababa, female). Quality of jobs and their relation to salaries was reflected in "Hope to create job opportunities with good salaries" (21, femaleAddis Ababa). There was a call for hard work and quality workmanship "Hope in addition the previous culture of work must be changed: all must respect each type of work and must perform honestly" (25, male, Addis Ababa).

Ethiopian youth also focused on entrepreneurship and innovation, as in "Hope to be a business man" (20, male, Finfinne) and the element of encouraging innovation surfaced in "Hope for educated citizens, free of corruption, and encourage innovation" (16, female, Addis Ababa). Another youth shared his ambitious vision as "I hope to be a computer engineer and to have my own multinational software company. For Africa I wish to have many technological centres to create opportunities for youngsters to develop programs" (20, male, Addis Ababa). Yet another respondent noted the youths' bent to be business people rather than politicians in "Hope I will be a business man or investor and politician, most of my peers want to be business men rather than politicians" (25, male, Addis Ababa).

3.2.9 Environmental conservation and sustainability

Only 3.9% of Ethiopian youth listed environmental sustainability, and access to safe water, as one of aspects for the better future for Africa.

One respondent wished "To see a bright and green Africa" (18, female, Bishoftu), while another opted for sustainable development as expressed in "Hope by uniting Africa to promote sustainable development" (24, male, Addis Ababa).

There was a concern about the effects of climate change and environmental degradation. As one respondent put it "I need to see Africa better in economy, peace and green. Africa, which is beautiful, without the effects of global warming and hospitable, industrious people" (21, male, Addis Ababa). Another respondent said "To create a green Africa, free of global warming, to create fresh air for Africa" (15, female, Addis Ababa). Concerns regarding droughts and famine were raised in "I want Africa to be clean from drought, famine and from ecological problems" (16, male, Addis Ababa). Environmental conservation efforts such as afforestation are one youth's aspiration: "To see planting of trees and a green environment" (22, male, Sendafa).

3.3 Conclusion

Ethiopian youth voiced peace and stability, good governance and economic development as their chief visions for a better future. There was a good understanding that peace and security, good governance and economic take off will create sustainable grounds for the reduction of poverty in all its dimensions, as well as social development.

4. UGANDA

Introduction

The initiative in Uganda was conducted in partnership with Inter-Faith Action for Peace in Africa – Youth Desk. The initiative was launched on 6 March 2013 at Makerere Business School. There was extensive popularisation of the campaign through social media and other popular media channels. Youths were engaged in online and offline events. The key popularisation activities included:

- Presentation about the initiative at the annual Secondary Schools Student Leaders Convention. Pictures were shared on the Voice of Africa's social media
- Participation in the New Perspectives on Post-2015 event hosted by Restless Development.
- Secured collaboration with UNESCO Youth Desk, National Youth Council, National Students Union, Allied Youth Initiative and other local youth organisations.
- Presentation on VAF to the National Youth Working Group (NYWG), on invitation by the national organising committee. NYWG is representative of youth organisations across the country which meets monthly to share information on programmes, success stories and challenges.

4.1 Cross-cutting Themes

The categories analysed below are couched within the two cross-cutting themes of youth empowerment and self-development, and African advancement.

4.1.1 Youth empowerment and self-development

The importance of youth empowerment and opportunities to enable them to actively engage in the political, social and economic life of their country came out strongly. For example, inputs from a 30-year-old male from Masaka, noted the importance of having "A socially, politically and economically empowered youth". Another 25-year-old from Kole supported this by highlighting the importance of having "A better and integrated Africa where African youths can have better opportunities to improve on their standards of living so as to help the needy outside and within Africa."

An enabling environment required for youth empowerment and self-development, such as an education system a that empowers youth self-development, was expressed in "A reduction in poverty and increase of growth rates, a more practical/ technical education system that benefits the youth, a less dependent on donor aid Africa" (28, female, Kampala) and "Africans should acquire entrepreneurship skills to reduce vulnerability" (29, male, Lira).

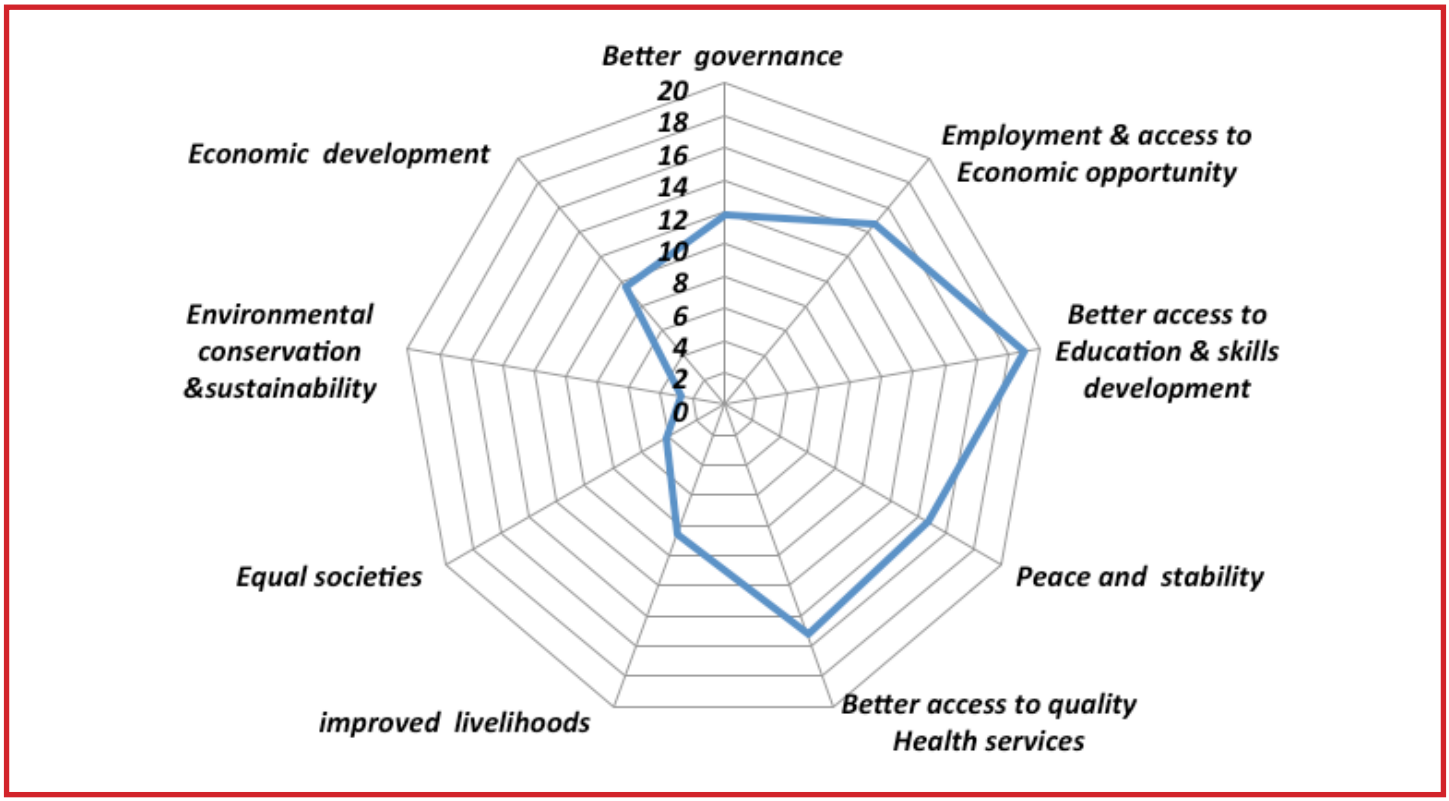
The self-drive was apparent as youth took it up to themselves to uplift Africa. For example, a 22-year-old from Kibaale indicated that he hopes "To be among the top five recognised people that have contributed to the reduction of poverty in Africa by any measure." A 24 year male from Kampala reiterated that "I hope to start up a commercial farm where I can employ more than 20 people and also produce food commercially. Africa should take on commercial farming".

4.1.2 African Advancement

There was a sense of hope and resolve that Africa's re-emergence should become a reality. Ugandan youth indicated willingness and hope "To create a corruption-free, democratic, God-fearing, hardworking and development-oriented integrated community for Uganda and Africa at large" (24, male, Budaka). There was sense that inequitable global development and governance posed challenges for this economic and social renaissance, as highlighted in "Africans should reject neo-colonialism in order to achieve the political and economic development" (27, male, Lira). The vision of a united Africa was transcending. For example a 23-year-old male from Lira noted that "Unity for Africa so that Africa is able develop economically, socially, politically and be able to preserve the environment so as to provide a better future for the next generation".

4.2. Category Results

The outcomes are plotted below:



Source: Data set from the youth opinion survey, 2013

4.2.1 Access to quality education and skills development

This was the most important aspiration with 19% of Ugandan youths confirming its importance for the better future of Uganda and Africa. This category focused on access to and successful completion of education starting from early child hood education, through primary and secondary schooling up to tertiary education, including vocational and technical education and skills development programmes.

Regarding the rural-urban divide, respondents noted the importance of ensuring those in rural areas have access to high quality

education just as those in urban areas do. Education access in terms of gender quality was also highlighted, with a focus on ensuring that "Education for a girl child should be key in all countries" (22, female, Buikwe).

The quality of the education system both in terms of relevance as well as completion was reflected as important by Ugandan youths. This was simply expressed as "Improving quality education" (21, female, Apac) and "Better education" (24, male, Oyam).

There was emphasises of vocational education and skills development as respondents noted "Train, impart vocational skills to the youth so as to be self-employed and creators than job seekers" (27, male, Bushenyi) and "Starting a vocational training" (25, male, Alebtong).

Literacy and numeracy were referenced as part of better future for Africa as "Having a world of all literate people, free from violence", (28, male, Lira) and "better education for all to achieve ignorance-free nations and sustainable development" (25, female, Padder).

4.2.2 Access to quality health services

Access to quality health services was noted as the second most important aspiration by 15.2% of the Uganda youths. By definition this concept also refers to adequate access to health services. This includes access to health services and control of epidemics (HIV, malaria, and TB) and a focus on child and maternal health including access to reproductive health and family planning.

Ugandan youths interpreted this to mean "Better and free health services" (26, female, Wakiso/Najeera) and "Free health insurance" (28, female, Kampala).

Under quality health, HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria were noted as deserving special attention. Some of the youth voiced this as "I hope people with HIV/AIDS will directly get involved in the fight against AIDS and reduce the spread by 75 percent by 2015" and "More effort to fight HIV/AIDS; prevention and more access to care for the positive victims" (29, female, Kampala) and "To see an HIV-free and peaceful Africa" (24, male, Wakiso).

The focus on maternal and child health was another aspect of better health the respondents emphasized. They pointed to the need for "More medicine in hospitals to save mothers and children" (30, female, Kampala) and "Improved maternal health" (25, female, Mbale) which should be "Free for any antenatal for pregnant mothers and children below five" (25, female, Jinja).

4.2.3 Peace and stability

This was the third most important aspiration as confirmed by 14.7% of Ugandan youths. This category entails a peaceful and stable Africa that is free of conflict and fragility. The concept includes a sense of unity and harmonious co-existence among various social and religious groups, and freedom from all forms of violence, especially violence against women, children and other vulnerable groups, and control of crime. Emphasis was on "Ensuring peace and stability through democratic governance and intolerance to corruption" (24, male, Kxenjojo) to create an Africa where "Each and every person respects each other" (24, male, Kampala).

Enduring peace was seen as bringing lasting prosperity and increased standard of living as noted by 18-year-old male from Padder "There should be peace that will lead us to prosper in our lives."

Another aspect a peaceful Africa was an end to conflict, wars and fragility. This was reflected in youth voices as "To see a war-free Africa" (21, male, Lwengo); "United Africa with no terrorism", (35, male, Bukedea) and "I want a peaceful Africa, free from wars", (22, male, Lira). The aspect of tribalism in the context of peace was introduced as "Africa as a whole should stop tribal racism and become one united continent for blacks" (22, female, Kole).

There was an urgent need to end violence against woman and children as a key aspect of peaceful co-existence.

4.2.4 Access to employment and other economic opportunities

Employment creation was cited as the fourth most important aspiration for a better future for Uganda youths. Under this category as youth respondents indicated the need for "More job opportunities for youth" (28, male, Kampala).

In addition, 14.6% of respondents referred to youth employment and self-employment and broader access to economic opportunities in the form of entrepreneurship (business start-up and ownership) in the formal and informal sectors. Respondents also pointed out the need to view youth as part of employment creation in order "To produce job creators and not job seekers only" (29, male, Kampala).

Thirty percent of respondents in this category cited youth entrepreneurship and wider access to economic opportunities as another facet the better future for Africa. The importance of young entrepreneurs addressing unemployment problems and food insecurities at national and continental levels was highlighted. For example a 28-year-old male from Bweyogerere noted that "I hope to have a big farming business to be able to feed the nation and also be able to help the less privileged all over Africa."

4.2.5 Better governance

Better governance as a key aspiration for a better Uganda was referred to by 11.8% of respondents. Within this category the quality of leadership and corruption was an overriding concern (54%). This sentiment was reflected as "A corrupt-free Africa, rule of law and democracy" (25, male, Gomba). A male respondent from Jinja (27) pointed out "My hope is to see Africa with stable economy and see a corrupt-free society with a democratic governance and respect in constitutionalism". There was a push for term limitations for leaders as expressed in "Leaders should have term limits in Africa in order for new persons with new ideas" (29, male, Kiruhura).

Twenty-nine percent of respondents emphasized the importance of democracy in terms of conducting fair and free elections and the smooth transfer of power. Twelve percent emphasised human rights and hoped that human rights should be upheld and "… respected by the leaders and police" (24, male, Jinja).

4.2.6 Economic development

Economic development was noted as the seventh most important aspiration by the Uganda youth, with 9.6% of respondents agreeing to its importance. Respondents often referred to this concept as "Growth and modernisation of my community and Africa" (29, male, Lira) or "To see Africa develop in all aspects" (16, male, Jinja).

In addition, Ugandan youth also referred to sustainable development as the type of development they aspire to see in Africa. A 22-year-old male from Jinja called this "A one Africa with a strong economic power and sustainability" while referred to "Growth and development for sustainability" (22, female, Entebbe).

The youth aspiration for industrialisation and technological advancement was reflected as

> *To see Africa as one of the industrialized continents in the world and my hope is to have a politically stable Africa, free of wars and corruption, where economy is booming such that young people may have equal opportunities to become self-reliant (28, male, Arua).*

Access to markets and regional integration, and infrastructure development were also deemed important, as expressed in "More common and free market access for agricultural goods" (27, male, Sironko).

4.2.7 Improved livelihoods

Improved livelihoods were the fourth most important aspiration for a better Uganda, with 8.6% noting its importance. By definition, this category refers to elimination of poverty and improved livelihoods where households have access to sufficient

food, clean water, sanitation facilities and housing. The youth aspiration was to see "A future where all people have access to nutritious food and are above the poverty line" (21, female, Kampala) supported by "Extreme-poverty-free Africa" (23, female, Isingiro) and "Poverty eradication" (28, male, Mbale).

Eighteen percent of Ugandan youth referred to food security which they related to agricultural development. There was a call for government to put more resources into agricultural development as expressed in "More government funding for agriculture", (25, female, Masaka). A further 17.9% indicated an improved livelihood that included housing, water and sanitation and household electrification as an aspiration. This was expressed as "Free safe water for all and electricity at lower cost by 2015" (22, female, Wakiso).

4.2.8 Equal society

Equal societies were the eighth most important aspiration for the Uganda youths as voiced by 4.2% of the respondents. There was emphasis on equal opportunities, as in "Equal opportunities in all spheres of life" (27, male, Gulu) and "A democratic, free from corruption Africa with equal opportunities" (29, male, Kampala). In some cases respondents were specific about the link between equality in education and employment. As one said "To have a democratic Africa where human rights are totally respected, equal job opportunity for all citizens and society with a developed technology among others" (34, male, Arua).

Equal distribution of resources was inked to equal access to opportunities, as in "Transparent, equal distribution of resources, respect from the west, democratic and peaceful Uganda and Africa" (27, male, Bugiri).

Discrimination against minority groups and attention to vulnerable groups were also noted as key elements of equal societies. Protection of orphans was addressed in "Orphanages in almost all African countries to give hope to disadvantaged children" (25, male, Kampala).

4.2.9 Protection and sustainable use of environmental resources

While some Ugandan youths recognised environmental sustainability and access to safe water as one of the aspects for the better future for Africa, this was important to only 2.8% of respondents. Those who recognised it said "Ensure sustainable and independent livelihoods", (24, male, Kampala) and "Provide a sustainable environment for all" (19, female, Dokolo).

Youth were appreciative of conservation efforts and called for "Planting more trees for environmental conservation both in my area and Africa at large" (26, male, Lira) and noted "People should avoid cutting down trees and burning bushes" (25, male, Oyam). There was also a call for mitigation of the effects of climate change in "Combating climate change" (30, male, Sironko).

4.3 Conclusion

Ugandan youth voices are more focused on socio–economic development and the requisite of creating an enabling environment in terms better governance and peace and stability. There was recognition among youth voices emerging from Uganda for the need for solid economic base, social safety nets, environmental concerns and as well equal access to opportunities to reach higher levels of human development.

5. KENYA

The initiative in Kenya was conducted in partnership with International Youth Council. The project was launched on 13 April at the Nairobi University and was joined by students and partners. The key activities, round tables and consultation which took place during the period included:

- Establishing a partnership with key youth networks and organizations including Youth Alive! Kenya, Network of Youth Advocacy, United National Millennium Campaign (UNMC), Joint UN Programme on Youth and Organisation of African Youth among other. Partners agreed to support technically and in mobilising the youth voices.
- Partnering with Mercy Corps for SMS advertising using their database. Approximately 6,800 young people were reached using the advertising.
- Hosting the Kenyan Youth Post-2015 Synthesis Workshop 30th–31st May which gathered 60 youth participants from around the country. This provided the opportunity for engagement and resulted in synthesizing some of the major youth consultations outcome documents. The mobile campaign was shared. The Kenya Position Paper on the Post-2015 Agenda was released at this workshop.
- Beyond 2015 Kenya Civil Society Organisations (CSO) Consultation was held on 3–4 June. This provided a platform to share some of the data gathered from the mobile campaign to date and an opportunity to invite further youth participation.
- Participating in the National CSO Forum on the Post-2015 Agenda, convened by the Ministry of Planning on 10–11th June, where recommendations on creating employment for young people and the visions emerging from the mobile campaign were shared. Participants agreed to promote awareness.
- Participating in the final national consultation on the Post-2015 Agenda, at the National Stakeholders Forum, convened by the Ministry of Planning on 20–21st June. The recommendations on youth that will be included in the national report were shared. The government applauded the effort to use mobile technology to gather youth voices at the local level.

5.1. Cross-cutting Themes

The categories mentioned below are couched within the two cross-cutting themes of youth empowerment and self-development, and African advancement.

5.1.1 African Advancement

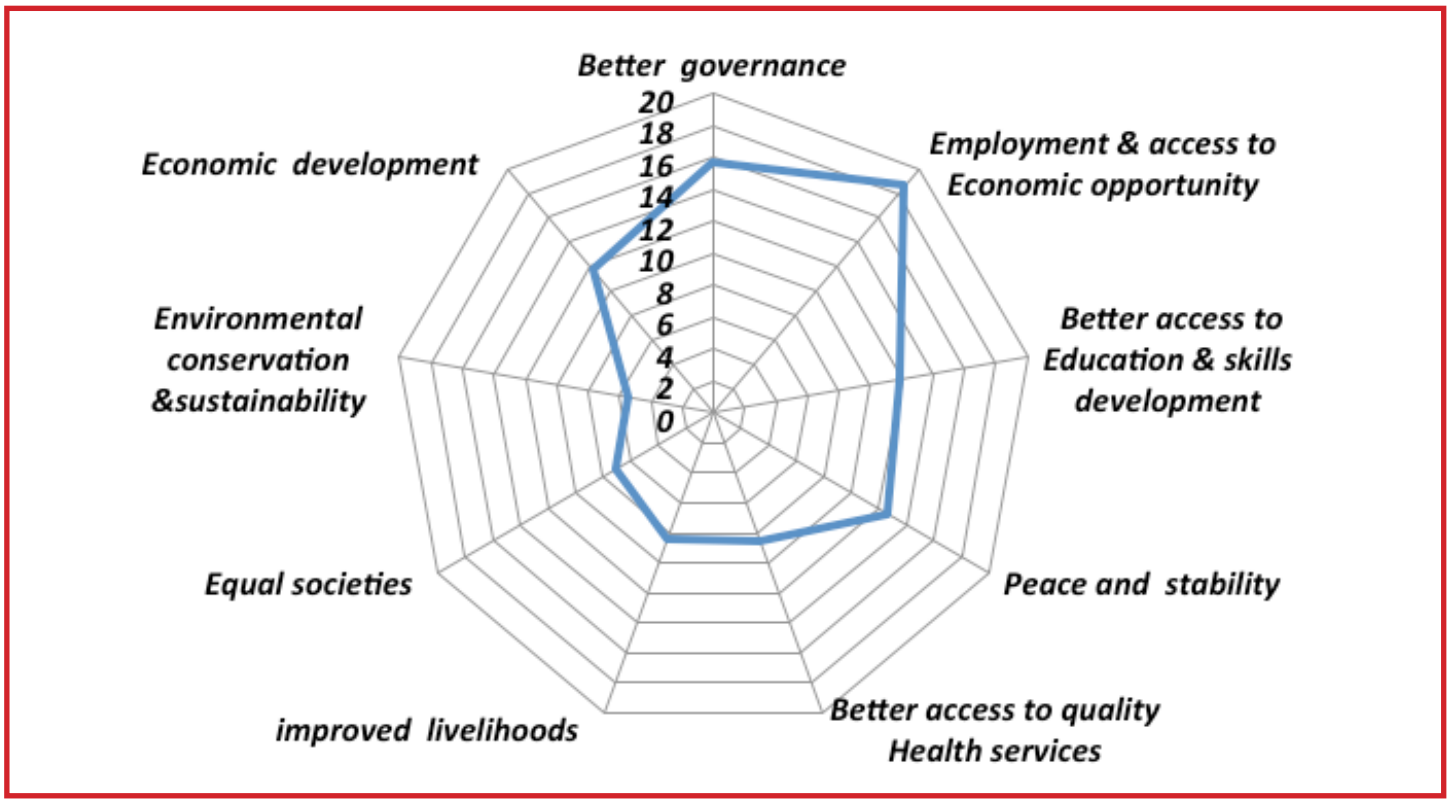
Kenyan youth support for a better future for Africa advancing in the political, social, cultural and economic spheres and promoting its African identity, culture and value system was overwhelming. This was summed up as "Better continent free from human suffering, where human rights are enjoyed and classed as basic rights ... a just and free society" (34, male, Eldoret) and "My hope is a continent free of corruption and western colonisation, full of peace and prosperity, a continent with good leadership and leaders" (21, female, Nairobi). Others wished for "A self-reliant Africa where we don't depend on international aid, we have massive natural resources and human resources to achieve the best economy" (25, male, Vihiga). The youth also out pointed the importance of economic development, increased cottage industries and improved infrastructure as being important for Africa's development.

5.1.2 Youth empowerment and self-development

Kenyan youth seemed willing to participate in political life and elections to ensure a better Kenya, and proposed leadership roles for the youth, as confirmed by respondents who said "Youth to be in leadership from top to grassroots" (34, male, Kiambu) and "Better get qualified young leaders to lead this country of Kenya" (26, male, Busia County).

5.2 Category Results

The results of the survey are plotted below:



Source: Data set from the youth opinion survey, 2013

5.2.1 Employment and access to economic opportunities

For 18.7% of Kenyan respondents, this was the most important concern/priority for their futures. They viewed youth employment and self-employment, and broader access to economic opportunities in form of entrepreneurship, as key to their own and Africa's development. According to a 19-year-old male from Ruiru, the vision was "Not to have unemployed youth".

Entrepreneurship and creation of an enabling business environment was seen as crucial to fostering youth-owned businesses. A 24-year-old female from Nairobi noted "I would love it if talent would be nurtured from a young age. This will encourage invention and innovation and in future it will reduce unemployment".

5.2.2 Better governance

This was the second most important aspiration for the Kenyan youth, with 15% confirming its importance. Respondents referred to this issue as "Promoting just and democratic governance" (33 Nairobi) and expressed a clear vision that

> *Better democracy. Injustice and corruption are the main devils affecting African nations. To avoid that, let the leaders play their roles. Let the law courts perform their duties without interference. And humans be given their rights (22, male, Busia).*

The overriding concern for 44.7% of respondents was the progress on electoral democracy, safety and fairness of elections. One respondent wished for "An Africa that has peace with peaceful elections and proper transition between governments without adverse interference in the social and economic environment of a country during times of election" (23, male, Nakuru).

Corruption, the quality of leadership and the transparency and accountability of institutions were areas where Kenyan youth sought progress, as evidence by the statement "I want a future in Africa where poverty, corruption, nepotism, unemployment, environmental degradation is eradicated, where all people are treated as equal in terms of justice in our legal system" (23, female, Nairobi).

5.2.3 Peace and stability

This emerged as the third most important concept as confirmed by 12.7% of respondents. This was expressed as "I hope for an African continent that is peaceful, economically stable and self-sustaining" (28, male, Vihiga County). The concept includes the sense of unity and harmonious co-existence among social and religious groups. This was expressed as "Peaceful co-existence for African communities" (33, male, Nairobi) and "To see Africa out of civil wars" (23, female, Kirinyaga).

5.2.4 Quality education and skills development

For 11.9% of Kenyan respondents this was the fourth most important aspiration. There was strong focus on access to quality education, as reflected in "I hope for a future where we will have universal access to quality education for all" (28, female, Nairobi). Free education was also mentioned, in "Seeing a Kenya where every child has free education up to secondary that was of high quality" (23, male, Nairobi). This was supported by a call for the Kenyan government to put more resources to education: "The government to invest more in education at all levels for it is the key to every door of success" (32, male, Nyamira).

Equity in accessing education was also noted as being important, as in this statement by a 23-year-old respondent from Embu: "My vision especially in Kenya is to achieve universal primary education not based on how many marks they score but on the knowledge they are able to gain during the eight years they are in school."

Enhancing skills development was strongly supported. A 28-year-old male from Homabay asserted that "I want government to initiate youth vocational training institutions at local level" The key by product of the education system was seen to be skills and ideas to push Kenya and Africa ahead. This was clearly articulated in "A better Africa where every child goes to school till university level, where people come up with entrepreneur ideas and implement them, where no corruption exists in government offices" (20, female, Nairobi).

5.2.5 Economic development

This was cited by 11.3% of respondents as the fifth most important issue. By definition this concept focuses on economic

growth, industrialisation and technological advancement, and infrastructural development and provision of an enabling environment for investment. This was reflected in "Economic growth, sustainable and independent Africa" (29, male, Bungoma).

Industrial development and technological advancement were the most important aspects of this category. For example a 20-year-old female from Nairobi aspired to "The transformation of Africa through technology and industrialization, to the developed category." There was also a focus on infrastructural development as youth in Kenya want to see African which has the necessary economic infrastructure, as in "Infrastructure for a better environment" and "Super highways" (22, female, Meru).

Economic stability and national planning were linked as "Economic planning", (28, male, Bungoma) and "My vision is economic stability, democracy, independent and corruption-free Africa" (23, male, Nairobi).

5.2.6 Quality health services

This was the sixth most important aspiration for Kenya youths as 8.6% of respondents wanted to see progress in the provision of health services as part of their vision for better future for Africa. The most important aspect of better health was access to health services, including better healthcare, infrastructure and drugs. This was expressed as "Health services for young people", (28, female, Nairobi) and "Better healthcare" (22, female, Nairobi). The notion of a right to health was highlighted and affordability of health services also came through in the youth voices as "Affordable health care to all youths" (30, male, Nandi County), "Health rights for all" (30, male, Laikipia) and "Africa where every citizen has access to medical health" (21, female Nairobi). Child and maternal health were also noted as important. For example, a 24-year-old male from Nairobi's goal was "To reduce child mortality rates". Progress in controlling and reducing HIV, malaria and TB drew the attention of Kenyan youth, as expressed by "I wish to have an Africa free of HIV/AIDS and better health care" (23, male, Machakos) and "Aids-free Africa" (20, female, Kitui).

5.2.7 Improved livelihoods

Seven percent of respondents cited this as the seventh most important aspiration for a better future for Africa. The youths aspire to "Universal development such that no citizen lives below the poverty line, especially the youth" (22, female, Mathioya). They also hope to "Eradicate poverty in Africa" (22, male, Molo). Equally important were the improvement of livelihoods, as voiced in "To improve the living standard of the poor" (29, male, Busia) and access to safe water and sanitation; as a 33-year-old male from Marakwet expressed it, "Water and sanitation."

The challenge of ensuring food security was highlighted in "A food secure, peaceful and economically empowered me, and a developed aggressive Africa" (35, male, Kakamega) and "Free from hunger and diseases" (31, male, Kisii).

5.2.8 Equal society

This was noted as the eighth most important issue by 5.4% of respondents, who wanted to see progress in reducing inequality and marginalisation. This was expressed in "A continent where people embrace empathy rather than sympathy, hence equality. Be it there are 'haves' and not 'have nots'. My hope and vision is the destitute have a voice and are respected" (33, male, Kisumu) and "I want an equal and just society where the youth can develop socio-economically and get out of poverty" (30, male, Nandi). In addition, the youths aspired to "Prosperity and all people have equal opportunities to succeed" (21, male, Migori) and "I like to see an Africa where justice and equality was the order of the day" (23, male, Nairobi County). There was also focus on gender equality as well as equality for the marginalized (disabled and orphans) in that they hoped for "A future where we realize negative masculinity is nurtured in the family set up, and the consciousness of both men and women is raised to address issues of gender equity" (25, female, Nairobi).

A 23-year-old male from Busia aspired to "Improve Life for the orphans and disabled persons."

5.2.9 Environmental sustainability and conservation

Kenyan youths did recognise environmental sustainability and conservation as part their vision for better future, as 3.5% of them raised these issues. They shared their vision in statements such as "Better life with sustainable development" (20, male, Nairobi) and "Better climate, smart agriculture and protection of natural resources" (27, male, Migori). The importance of "wetland conservation" was also underscored.

5.3 Conclusion

Kenyan youth were focused on economic opportunities and an enabling environment in terms better governance, and peace and stability. They viewed human capital development as desirable in itself and as a solid basis for economic development.

6. GHANA

Introduction

The Voice Africa's Future initiative in Ghana was rolled out in partnership Youth Advocates Ghana (YAG) and Text to Change. It was launched at Nsawam-Adoagyiri District Assembly Conference Hall on 8 March, 2013. A range of civil society organizations participated in the launch including the United Nations Development Programme, Ghana government institutions, and youth groups. Six media houses (FAWE FM, Peace FM, Sena FM, Agoo FM, Eastern FM and UTV) also attended.

There was extensive popularisation of the campaign through youth engagements and other activities that generated voices, including:

- Pre-launch sensitization activities were broadcast on Radio Universe (an Accra-based radio station, and FAWE FM (based in Nsawam) to sensitize the youth on the MDGs, Post-2015 agenda and the Voice Africa's Future campaign.
- A stakeholders forum to launch officially the Voice Africa`s Future project in Ghana. Officials from UNDP Ghana, Ministry of Youth and Sports, National Youth Authority, Universities, senior high schools, civil society groups, youth organizations and the general public attended the forum.
- Meeting with Hon. Frank Annor Dompreh, Member of Parliament of Nsawam Adoagyiri Constituency in the Eastern Region of Ghana.
- Attending the UNDP national consultations and using the platform to popularise Voice Africa's Future.
- Sensitization and popularisation events were held, at:
    - Wesley Methodist Church: Youth meeting at Larteh to sensitize youth on the MDGs;
    - Nsawam Prisons Stadium: to popularize the text codes among sportsmen and spectators. A contest was introduced to award five people with free tickets to watch a football match the following Sunday;
    - Assemblies of God Youth Week Celebration meeting at Nsawam, to sensitize youth on the MDGs, the Post-2015 process and the VAF initiative;
    - International Royal Vision Youth Club at Nsawam, to educate the group on the current global survey and the VAF initiative;

- St. John`s Roman Catholic Church, to popularize the text codes. Instant voting was not possible because of time constraints. Members were however encouraged to send their visions to the short codes;
- University of Ghana in Accra, to popularize the text codes among the students and encourage greater participation of university students in the campaign; and
- Social media such Facebook and Twitter were also used to popularize the campaign among young people.

6.1 Cross-cutting Themes

The categories analysed below are couched within the two cross-cutting themes of youth empowerment and self-development, and African advancement.

6.1.1 Youth empowerment and self-development

The importance of youth empowerment and opportunities to enable them to actively engage in political, social and economic life of their country came out strongly. There was an understanding that youth should be at the centre of development, as explained in "An Africa where the people are united via one language and an industrialised economy in which the youth are at the heart of the country with an increase in literacy and technology rate" (24, male, Accra). There was a call for youth action and a proactive mentality in respect of African development, which was expressed as "My hope is to reach out to the youth by instilling the right mentality, that Africa is the solution the world desires by acting locally with Africa" (21, male, Accra). The respondents showed readiness to use their talents and ambition for self-development; for exao become a biochemist. And through this I will develop new drugs and better manufacturing processes to help prevent post-harvest losses and famine" (16, female, Lapaz) and "My hope is to be a governor of the Bank of Ghana and have a long-term plan. Plans that will have good effect on the other coming generations" (21, male, Akyem Abuakwa).

6.1.2 African Advancement

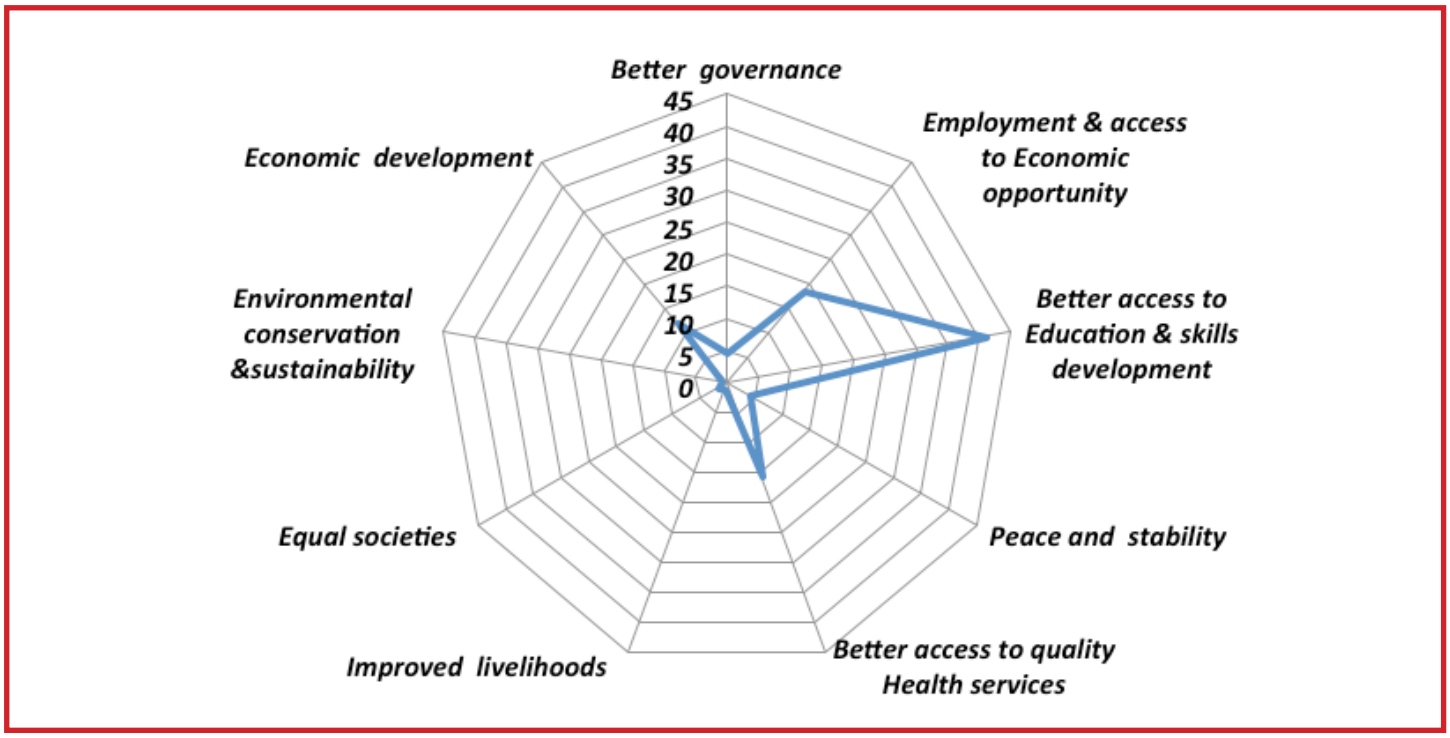
Ghanaian youth aspiration for a better future for Africa encapsulates progress in the economic, political and social dimensions. This was expressed as "I want to see the growth of Africa in terms of financial development and political freedom. I think Africa was blessed with a lot of resources which when fully employed Africa will develop" (19, male, Accra). There was call for African awakening and action, as noted in "Africa don't need dreams and hope; it rather needs to wake up and face the whole world, showing it what it has hidden inside and now wants to show"(21, female, Cape coast).

African unity was strongly highlighted in "I want to see Africa united" (16, male, Nsawam) and

> *I hope that one day we will all become one, we will all live in peace as one people, no matter where we all come from, our tribe or the country we are from, we are all one people and Africans" (19, female, Nsawam).*

6.2 Category Results

The results are plotted in the figure below:



Source: Data set from the youth opinion survey, 2013

6.2.1 Quality education and skills development

Forty-two percent of respondents noted this as the most important aspiration affecting youth in Ghana. Key aspects identified as important were quality of education, free, universal access and reliability of education. The main concern was having a "Well-structured educational system that guarantees good jobs for the youth of our country and prevents the uncertainty associated with one securing a job after university education" (23, male, West Akim).

Quality education and its access were strongly linked to job opportunities, implying that education was only viewed as significant as long as it was relevant to job opportunities. This pointed more to the need to make education more practical and relevant. On this, a 19-year-old female from Abelempke noted "The educational system should be stabilized and made more practical than it is now".

6.2.2 Employment and economic opportunity

This issue was ranked second most important by 17.5% of respondents. The key aspect repeatedly stated was "More jobs", "Better jobs", "Better job opportunities". Employment and economic opportunity was seen as leading to high standards of living and, ultimately, a better life. A significant number of respondents also pointed to the importance of "Better job opportunities after school, better education system, better financial and security systems". These aspirations on employment and economic opportunity were strongly linked to social sector development and seen as important in addressing social ills: it was seen as a means of "Moving Ghana to the next level" (22, male, Tarkwa).

6.2.3 Health services

For 16.4% of respondents this was the third most important aspiration for the post-2015 MDGs. The dominant concern of

respondents was having better healthcare leading to better development. Here the components of "better" included affordability, access and universality. This is succinctly captured in the response of a 29-year-old female from Tamale who aspired to "Affordable healthcare for everyone". The healthcare issues were strongly linked to concerns around basic services such as water and sanitation. Because of these challenges in healthcare, many respondents indicated aspirations to be doctors, nurses and health professionals so that they could address the health challenges in their communities.

6.2.4 Economic development

This issue was ranked as the fourth most important by 11.7% of respondents, with most viewing access to reliable energy as key in promoting economic development, given the electricity blackouts Ghana had been experiencing for some time. On this issue a 25-year-old male from Adenta Municipal Association pointed out the importance of putting "A stop to the energy crisis, a better educational system and access to better health care". A 25-year-old female from Tema gave her vision for Ghana as "Access to quality and reliable energy". Other visions of an economically developed Ghana, and Africa, touched on technology and industrialization.

6.2.5 Peace and stability

Peace and stability was cited by 4.6% of respondents, making it the fifth most important aspiration for the post-2015 MDG. With Ghana being one of the most peaceful countries in Africa, the youths aspirations centred on peaceful and stability for the African continent. For example a 20-year-old male from Akuapem South aspired to "An end to civil wars and prevailing peace for Africa".

6.2.6 Better governance

This was ranked as the sixth most important aspiration by 4.3% of respondents. The low ranking for this concept, as with Peace and Stability, can be explained by the fact that Ghana is well governed. This has led to its stability over time. Key governance priorities for the interviewed youths included good leadership, honest and responsive government, political freedoms and responsible governments.

6.2.7 Improved livelihoods

Improved livelihoods were the seventh most important aspiration for a better Ghana. By definition, this category refers to elimination of poverty and improved livelihoods where households have access to sufficient food, clean water, sanitation facilities and housing. One respondent articulated this as "Reliable water and electricity, better education, availability of food" (25, male, Nsawam). The reduction of poverty was referred to in "My hope was that there will be peace, freedom and no poverty in the future to come" (18, female, Koforidua). Food security was another issue where youth from Ghana would like see progress, as explained in "An honest and responsive government and affordable and nutritious food" (22, male, Accra).

6.2.8 Equal society and environmental sustainability and conservation

Respondents recognised equal society and environmental sustainability and conservation as aspirations for them, with 1.4% and 0.5% of respondents respectively listing these categories.

6.3 Conclusion

Youth in Ghana were enthusiastic in voicing their concerns on post-2015 MDGs. They clearly want to see rapid progress in access to quality education and skills development, employment and economic opportunity, better health services and economic development. There was an emphasis on the need for adequate infrastructure as well as utilities such as provision of reliable energy, water and sanitation facilities. There was less emphasis on aspects that would provide an enabling environment such as governance and peace and security; and even less on equal society, livelihoods and environmental conservation.

C. CONCLUSION

Africa's youth has been dubbed its 'demographic dividend'. Their voices, heard collectively through the first phase of the Voice Africa's Future initiative to provide input to the post-2015 process, push for a holistic assessment of Africa's future challenges and opportunities. One senses from these voices that African youth are aware of the opportunities and potential for an African renaissance and are optimistic about the coming 15 years, with the caveat that present day challenges, namely governance, peace and stability and social and economic structures, will determine the shape and pace of human development. The youths' voices and their participation, have the utmost relevance for post-2015 processes and inter-governmental negotiations for post-2015 development goals.

The voices were mapped into 11 broad categories and were ranked according to frequency of reference to the concept. The resulting concept map gives an indication of the weight attached to each concept and it should not be taken as conclusive. A lower ranking does not imply the category is less important for promoting a fully functional society, just that it at the time of the survey it was perceived by the respondent as being less necessary. In a country affected by war for instance, peace and stability is likely to rank highest on a list of youth aspirations at that point in time. Simply put, youth may feel they need peace before education. Thus, the weight differences per category per country do reflect country-specific challenges and opportunities. With this caveat, the two overarching themes and nine categories are summarised below.

A confident African youth voice supporting African advancement emerged - an aspiration for a united and independent Africa entering a period of renaissance. This was accompanied by a strong sense of youth empowerment and drive for self-development.

The youth voice indicated that inclusive and accelerated development, that provides better employment and economic opportunities for society broadly, should be the basis for human development. This includes youth employment and self-employment and greater access to economic opportunities in the form of entrepreneurship (business start-up and ownership) in both the formal and informal economies, including the agricultural, manufacturing and services sectors. These economic opportunities can only exist on solid economic development, that is, a growing economy with industrial and technological advancement, within an adequate infrastructural and institutional setting. In sum, African youth are seeking economic opportunities within rapidly growing economies, in a more equitable global economic dispensation.

The need to ensure social development and human wellbeing from 2015 onwards, through better access to quality education and health services was underlined. Better access to equitable and quality education was unequivocally underscored, starting from early childhood education, through primary and secondary schooling to tertiary education, and including vocational and technical education and skills development programmes. The youth understood better access to health services to include a special focus on child and maternal health (including access to reproductive health services and family planning), strengthening of health systems and the control of epidemics (HIV, malaria, and TB).

The youth voices also attested to the reality that development post-2015 cannot be realised without systemic change in governance practices, and ensuring peace and stability. There was a view that quality of governance, at country and at global levels, shapes development. Corruption and weak leadership were referred to as causes of poverty and human deprivation. Youth voices qualified the type of governance they would like to see in Africa as: a democratic state, based on a free and fair electoral system, that is participatory and responsive, with transparent and accountable government institutions, led by a corruption-free political leadership. According to the youth voices the future development agenda needs to be anchored on peace and stability. There was a clear call for a peaceful and stable Africa, free of conflict and fragility. This included the sense of unity and harmonious co-existence among social and religious groups; freedom from all forms of violence, with emphasis on reducing violence against women, children and other vulnerable groups; and control of crime.

The youth emphasised that development goals in the post-2015 development framework need to result in improved livelihoods, to eliminate human deprivation, hunger and poverty. The future development goals should be embedded on equal societies,

which promote gender equality, the reduction of income inequalities and elimination of all forms of exploitation, marginalisation and discrimination against the aged, disabled, children and other vulnerable groups.

Finally, there was recognition of the importance of environmental conservation and sustainability. There were indications that African youth have felt the direct effects of climate change in the form of droughts and environmental degradation, and there was a desire for future development to take environmental conservation and sustainability into consideration.

Participating organisations

YOUTH
#POST 2015

Voiceafricasfut Voice Africas Future

www.africayouth2015.org