

A Multidimensional Perspective on Corruption in Africa

Social

Violence/torture

Stigma

Denial of opportunities
grades

A Multidimensional Perspective on Corruption in Africa:

*Wealth, Power, Religion
and Democracy*

Edited by

Sunday Bobai Agang, Pregala Pillay
and Chris Jones

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PART 4:
YOUTH AND SOCIAL ACTION

CHAPTER EIGHT

YOUNG PEOPLE AS SOCIAL ACTORS: EMPOWERING YOUTH TO ADDRESS BAD GOVERNANCE AND CORRUPTION IN AFRICA

NATHAN HUSSAINI CHIROMA

Abstract

Social change could be defined as the process of shifting attitudes, values, and actions to address social problems in a positive way. Today's youth have both the power and the potential to change the world positively. Social change led by young people has proven to have a lasting impact (Andy & Cartmel 2006). Conventionally, the youth in Africa have been asked to keep away from politics and governance. It is, however, the case that good governance and the fight against corruption are realistic with youth empowerment. Demographically, Africa is the most youthful continent: it has more children and young people than any other continent in the world. This chapter focuses on how we can empower young people in the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa. The chapter argues that young people, if properly empowered, will play a central role in combating the threats and challenges posed by bad governance and corruption in most African countries. It further argues for the role of the youth in nation-building as a crucial element to good governance and a corruption-free society. Young people have been proven to be problem solvers, to have a positive influence on their peers and the nation, and are extremely ambitious. They have the ability to create an identity for themselves and move the nation forward. However, one thing is still missing: proper empowerment that will propel them to become the social actors they ought to be in the fight against corruption and bad governance.

Keywords: Civic responsibility; corruption; governance; social actors; social change; transformation; young people

8.1 Introduction

Young people who are victims of corruption are mostly left without the privilege or opportunity to voice their concerns, to help make positive changes, or to enhance their skills and become active citizens for a better future. Nevertheless, young people can play a principal role in the fight against corruption. Young people “have a propensity to be more open to wide-scale socio-political transformation and have less vested interest in maintaining the status quo” (Allen 2003). In fact, the ideals and attitudes of young people today will shape the values of the society tomorrow. The question is how to build on young people’s energy and propensity for novelty, and to endow them with the right kind of scaffold from which they can build that desired future. The pivotal role of young people, who are awash with fresh ideas and ideals, will help in promoting good governance that, in turn, fights corruption and bad governance.

Far too often, in Africa, young people have been side-lined from decision-making, given little or no say over the course of policies and actions that affect them. For this situation to change for the better, the power and the potential of young people must be tapped into and explored while empowering youths as agents of change and social actors whose contributions will bring benefits both to themselves and to society.

The central question that will guide the discussion in this article is “Given their powers and potentials, how can young people be empowered as social actors to fight corruption and bad governance in Africa?” The first section offers various definitions of the key terms used. The second section discusses the theoretical framework, while the third provides a historical perspective on the influence of young people’s involvement as social actors. The fourth section focuses on how to empower young people as social actors in the fight against corruption and bad governance. The implications and conclusions are dealt with in the fifth and final section.

8.2 Definitions

Youth: Various definitions have been offered regarding the notion of “youth” and “young people” in different cultures and countries. Some definitions are tied to the age bracket; for example, the US Centre of Disease Control defines young people as those between 13 and 19 years and 20 to 24 for young adults. Similarly, in Nigeria, the term “youth” refers to “young people” within the range of 13 and 34 years, while South Africa’s National Youth Commission Act (1996), defines “youth” as those from ages 14 to 35 years. According to Kenya’s National Youth Policy,

"Youth[s] are defined as persons resident in Kenya in the age bracket 15 to 30 years. This takes into account the physical, psychological, cultural, social, biological and political definitions of the term" (Awiti & Scott 2016:1). In some contexts, however, "youth" and "young people" are defined by social status. For example, in some parts of Nigeria, Cameroon and Ghana, every single (i.e. unmarried) person is defined as "youth" (Okafor 2011). In this chapter, "youth" and/or "young people" refers to people between the ages of 18-30.

Corruption: This term corruption cannot be easily defined in any single way, owing to the various dimensions and forms of its manifestations. However, there are several definitions that attempt to give a working definition that provides insights into the issue of corruption. Analytically speaking, Tanzi defines corruption as "the intentional non-compliance with the arm's-length principle aimed at deriving some advantage for oneself or for related individuals from this behaviour" (Tanzi 1998: 7).

Similarly, Ekiyor (2005: 304), in his expansive view of corruption, defines it as "the unlawful use of official power or influence by an official of the government either to enrich himself or further his course and/or any other person at the expense of the public, in contravention of his oath of office and/or contrary to the conventions or laws that are in force." According to Perkins (2007: 18), who shares a converging view with Ekiyor, "corruption is not typical of any one episode in political history nor of any one country, it is prevalent in both authoritarian and party systems of government". Further still, given evidence that the history of corruption is as old as society, Scott (2000: 21) is of the view that corruption "must be understood as a regular, repetitive and integral part of the operation of most political systems".

However, corruption can also be defined according to various categorisations. Here, Perkins (2007: 20) posits that the general nature or categories of corruption are "supply versus demand corruption, grand versus petty corruption, conventional versus unconventional corruption and public versus private corruption". In addition, Meagher et al. (2000: 378) contend that "there are other categories or ways of describing corruption, such as 'systemic' versus 'individual' or 'isolated', corruption by 'commission' versus by 'omission', by the degree of coercion used to perform the illegal act, and the type of benefit provided".

From the foregoing, it can be argued that no single definition of corruption is able to capture both the magnitude and the nature of corruption. There is, however, a convergence in all the definitions

regarding the common forms of corruption, among them bribery, embezzlement, fraud and extortion.

Bad Governance: Bad governance refers to the failure of those in leadership roles to provide adequate service delivery for the country's citizens. It is also the case that bad governance is often, if not always, tied to corruption because leaders or those in governance use public funds for personal gain at the expense of infrastructure and the common good of the citizens (Coker & George 2014).

Social Actor(s): Social actors are individuals who undertake social action for the common good. According to Leeuwen (2013: 75), a social actor "is a conscious, thinking individual who has the capacity to shape their world in a variety of ways by reflecting on their situation and the choices available to them at any given time".

8.3 Theoretical Framework

The chapter adopts Habermas' (1991) concept of the public sphere. Although several debates and responses have been postulated regarding this theory, it is not in the scope of this paper to discuss them here. Habermas' theory of public sphere is used to argue for the empowerment of young people as social actors in the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa. Directed against the absolute will of monarchs, the bourgeois public sphere came to light in the 18th century as a non-aligned social space independent of the public authority and was "made up of private people" gathering together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state (Holub 2013).

Habermas developed a normative model of the public sphere as "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed" (Calhoun 1992). Here, Habermas contends, a portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a "public body" (Goodnight 1992). When this happens, the public sphere depends both upon the quality of discourse and the quantity of participation. This being the case, it becomes imperative that such discourses be constituted "around rational critical argument", as argued for by Calhoun (1992), considering that "the more people participate as citizens in public affairs, the closer one comes to the ideal of a public sphere" (Schudson 1992). A clear example of young people's involvement in the public sphere can be seen in the youth participation in the shaping and deciding on democratic consolidation in Tunisia and Egypt (Anderson 2011: 49). A study on youth leadership, entrepreneurship and social innovation to promote employability,

sustainable livelihoods and poverty reduction in Kenya and Zambia alludes “to the fact that young people are a formidable force to reckon with if empowered to participate in the public sphere” (UNESCO 2018: 102).

8.4 Young People as Social Actors in Historical Perspective

Research from the Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS 2018) found that the youth were at the forefront of political change in many countries, often resulting from their frustration with high levels of unemployment, marginalization, and a sense of being under-represented both by and in government, as well as in other spheres of leadership. For example, young people at the vanguard of democratic campaigning in Africa in the late 1980s and early 90s met with great success in several African countries. In this regard, Richards interprets the violence that took place in Sierra Leone 15 to 20 years ago as issuing from what he describes as “a wider crisis affecting youth in a declining patrimonial state that could not cater to its young population” (1998: 106).

Historically, a number of the world’s foremost social movements with the greatest public influence have been initiated by self-motivated young people taking a stance against social violations emanating from corruption. Young people’s involvement in social movements can lead to momentous and pioneering insights, such as the appropriation of new social media tools that allow quick, cheap and easy access to a large number of people. It is indeed the case that social media tools have been used by youth movements and have played a significant role in the effective and speedy recruitment of new members into social movements, as was seen during the Arab Spring, the 2013 Gezi Park protests in Istanbul, and the 2014 Ukrainian “Maidan” Revolution of Dignity (Scoota 2003: 15).

In the wake of political and economic changes in the early 1990s, and the failure of effective regime changes toward democracy and equality, new armed conflicts have proliferated across Africa, with young people playing a prominent role in them. Here, the part played by university students in ideological contestation, in the absence of strong civil-society organizations such as labour unions, parties, religious groups or local NGOs, is remarkable (Bocock 1985: 79). A good example can be drawn from Ethiopia in the 1970s, where the students created a new leftist discourse of change and social re-ordering that had a huge influence on the army officers who took over power in 1974 (Balsvik 1985). It is noteworthy that students in Ethiopia have remained active in social discourses of change to this day. Another example of young people’s

involvement in social action is in Madagascar, where student uprisings led to the fall of two governments in the early 1990s (Sharp 2002: 71).

In the past few decades, Africa has also seen the materialization of reasonably powerful student movements in countries like Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire and Mali. That young people display agency in the public sphere and can become autonomous forces to be reckoned with, dominating social movements and setting the agenda of social action, was evident in South Africa during Apartheid (Rubin 2001: 2). More recently, from mid-2015, South African students were at the forefront of protests against the hiking of school fees (Kgatlé 2018). Although the higher education policy-makers had good grounds for raising the fees, in order to retain high-quality academics, ensure better utilities and cope with the increasing inflation rate, young people rebutted the changes, calling for free higher education. To this end, and in view of the foregoing, Kgatlé (2018: 6-7) challenges the church to consider its sociocultural role in transforming the welfare of the people by maintaining a "prophetic voice" and concentrating on the human dignity of all citizens.

Young people have consistently represented a formidable and powerful force in bringing about political change in various parts of Africa. Abdulrahman and Usman report that in most of the countries included in their study (Kenya, Zambia, Nigeria and Morocco), young people have been a driving force in mobilizing and demanding political change (2008: 24). Young voters have effectively changed political outcomes, as evidenced in recent elections in countries like Nigeria and Burkina Faso. Further instances in which youth pursue their own agendas can be found as well, with the nature of these efforts ranging from non-threatening to extremely confrontational.

The sub-Saharan region is rich in dynamic, creative youth groups with a public service focus, from theatre troupes dramatizing HIV/AIDS prevention techniques in Uganda to peace-building programs sustained by Tutsi and Hutu youth in Burundi. A case in point is the Kenyan University Students' Organization, which was a force to be reckoned with in the mid-1990s when it came to the demand for democratic change. The group challenged the ruling class and operated as an independent civil society actor (Macharia 2015: 90).

Similarly, youth-dominated armed groups in the Niger Delta became a revoking force not only in Nigeria but also around the world. Grippingly, former Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha's "2 Million Man March" in 1998 was, in a roundabout way, a turning point for youth activism in Nigeria (Gavin 2007: 220). A group calling itself "Youths Earnestly Ask for Abacha" ostensibly organized this display of support for the regime,

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though in reality, the government clearly directed the entire affair. Young people from around the country were bused to the gleaming capital city of Abuja to participate, where they saw state-of-the-art infrastructure and facilities, presumably financed with Nigeria's oil wealth. The contrast between the wealth on display in Abuja and the desperately poor oil-producing communities in the Niger Delta helped to radicalize a generation. Being used as Abacha's instruments drove the young people to develop and pursue their own agenda for the public good. No longer content to let local chiefs negotiate with the government or oil companies on behalf of communities, these young people formed pressure groups and, in many cases, armed militias (Ogbondah 2000: 68).

Elsewhere in Africa, some of the world's foremost religious movements, both Christian and Islamic, are promoted by African youth's passionate response to unconventional paths to empowerment (Olukotun 2002: 12). It is the case that religious movements offer prescriptions for how to improve one's life and transform society. In Africa today, these prescriptions have explicit political significance where revivalist Christian movements are thriving, as alluded to by Miller:

In most African countries, Pentecostal churches are encouraging young people to reject what might be considered as the 'old ways' that led to poverty and despair and to embrace a faith that promises social networking opportunities, promotes links to fellow worshippers around the world, uses mass media to impressive effect, and embraces the quest for prosperity. (Miller 2007: 34)

As this brief survey of youth movements has shown, it is evident that young people, if empowered, possess not only the potential, but also the ability to engage in public sphere and to spearhead positive changes in any given society. Given a chance, therefore, young people are a formidable force in the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa and beyond. The central question, however, remains: how do we empower young people as social actors in the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa?

8.5 Empowering Young People as Social Actors in the Fight against Corruption and Bad Governance in Africa

Young people in Africa have unique knowledge and important experiences that can be used in the fight against corruption and bad governance. The twin resources of knowledge and experience are very valuable for the creation of a corruption-free society that will be characterized by

sustainable social and economic growth, equality and justice. For this to happen, however, we must develop young people's knowledge and experiences, while at the same time empowering them as social actors in the public sphere where these twin resources can be utilized. In practice, this requires that young people be given ways and opportunities to influence the activities and matters that affect them. Creating such opportunities entails letting young people affect and champion the fight against corruption and bad governance in their own ways. Towards this end, many civil societies are increasingly working with young people and encouraging them to engage in public sphere discourses. For example, in its strategy for 2015, Transparency International makes it a priority to "develop greater resistance against corruption among youth and strong commitments by current and future leaders to stop corruption" (Pope & Vogl 2000: 49).

Young people can be empowered to become social actors in the fight against corruption and bad governance in the following ways:

8.5.1 Empower Young People's Independence

Good policy on public engagement, as advocated by Habermas, requires that public participation must be possible without fear of victimization. The period of youth is distinguished by successive developmental steps towards increased independence and self-sufficiency (Fraser-Thomas, Côté & Deakin 2005). Owing to many cultural practices in Africa, however, young people are often denied this independence in the public sphere—the independence that comes with their youthfulness, potential and abilities. It is indeed the case that young people's independence is often only recognized when their votes are needed; thereafter, they are supposed to be seen but not heard. Yet, if their independence is supported and they are protected from fear of recrimination or victimisation, young people are uniquely well placed to confront perpetrators of corrupt practices and use their networks and tech-savvy approaches to expose corrupt practices.

The independence of young people is a great tool that can be used in the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa. In order to successfully and sustainably develop the independence of African youth in the fight against corruption and bad governance, all facets of society must be involved (Vaeyens et al. 2008: 62). In other words, the government, the private sector, civil society and, most fundamentally, the family must all play their part in preparing Africa's youth for the transformation to a corruption-free continent. Young people have proven repeatedly that,

given the chance, their ability to bring about change in various sectors of society are formidable. Empowering their independence, therefore, goes a long way in the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa and beyond.

8.5.2 Empower Young People's Rights

To help in the fight against corruption and bad governance, young people must be assured access to power and welfare, not just in order to become a resource for society, but because power and welfare also represent rights. "The human rights of young people are to be protected and promoted" (Panter-Brick 2002: 113). Most young people are, however, afraid to join the crusade against corruption and bad governance, because they are afraid of what corrupt and venal politicians might do to them in retaliation. In the past, some young people who took a stand ended up in jail, while others were assassinated.

It cannot be overemphasized that young people have rights, and those rights need to be supported and protected by all concerned authorities, in order to help them take a stand against corruption and bad governance. In other words, the public sphere must not be a privilege limited to a few individuals. Instead, every young person must be allowed the right to public engagement. Thus, parents and others cannot quote their adult rights and beliefs to justify perpetrating the silence of young people in the public sphere (Wikström et al. 2012: 37). Although young people have the same basic rights as adults, in most instances, it is easier to trample on the rights of the young than those of adults. Adults have also been known to abuse and misuse the privileges of young people, to silence them, and to deny their role as social actors in the public sphere.

When young people are denied their rights, there are devastating consequences for their development and wellbeing. By implication, such denial has a negative impact on society as a whole, but the pervasive and long-lasting effects of not realizing or failing to protect young people's rights are often underestimated. It must, therefore, be emphasised that young people have the right to participate in the public sphere as social actors, especially in matters influencing their own lives, their local environment and the development of society at large. For this reason, youth empowerment through the protection of their rights can offer a new spin on the fight against corruption and bad governance. Indeed, the "willingness and ability to exercise [the right to participate in public sphere] and other duties of citizenship are formed early in life and, once formed, tend to be durable" (World Bank 2007: 9).

8.5.3 Empower the Differences in Young People

Young people cannot, and should not, be forced to fit into uniform templates when it comes to matters of public sphere participation and engagement. Empowering them to fight corruption means that we must accept that young people come from a wide range of backgrounds and conditions, “depending on amongst other things their sex, ethnicity, cultural or economic background, place of residence, sexual orientation and possible disabilities” (Butler 1992: 934). These factors, along with the multitude of lifestyles and values of young people, point to their diversity as a group. Consequently, these differences must not only be acknowledged and supported, but also used as a uniting factor to help them engage meaningfully in the fight against corruption and bad governance. These differences are valuable and should be recognized within the framework of public sphere engagement: all public sector activity for young people should promote this diversity while striving to achieve equal rights and opportunities for all.

Additionally, encouraging the expression of differences in the fight against corruption and bad governance recognizes young people’s right to participate in decisions that impact them and acknowledges the great skills and strengths they bring to the table (Phoenix & Tizard 2005: 98). Such recognition brings in young people as valued stakeholders in the creation of effective and inclusive policies, programs and environments that will thrive in the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa. As such, young people know what is valuable to their communities, and are able to fight and defend that which will add value to their communities. Rather than using their differences to divide them or pitch them against each other, their differences must be encouraged and nurtured in the process of empowering them to play active roles as social actors in the fight against corruption and bad governance.

8.5.4 Empower the Personal Power and Influence of Young People

Recognizing young people as social actors and empowering them to fight corruption and bad governance calls us to distinguish between their influence in the context of representative democracy and their influence in the various spheres where they spend time or are active. Habermas’ model of public sphere engagement demands that young people are given the same opportunities as others to actively participate across the entire society. This requires the realization that young people are among the most

powerful and important agents in the fight against corruption and bad governance. Although often overlooked in Africa, young people can use their power and influence to reshape norms. Dezensiki (2014: 52) rightly notes that:

Young people have the power to change the social and political dynamics that underlie a resigned acceptance of bribery and other forms of corruption. Connectivity makes it easier for influential voices to popularize a rejection of the status quo, and consequently provides a space for discussion that can lead to better opportunities to pursue structural changes in the system.

Indeed, young people have used their power and influence in many positive endeavours, notably, through social media. Social media has changed the ability of youth to network, mobilize and engage in public debate. Social media has also significantly changed the way in which young people interact with each other and engage in national debates and discourses. Although some experts (Knox, 2013:16, Blair and Lanham 2015:56) have cautioned that campaigning in the online space can be at the expense of other types of civic and political involvement, social media is generally viewed as a positive tool that enables youth to network, mobilize, broadcast, engage in citizen journalism, and enter into debates that were previously inaccessible (Bennett 2008: 368). Clearly, the fight against corruption and bad governance stands to benefit from incorporating social media, given its reach in empowering young people.

Furthermore, around the world, people are using social media to monitor the effectiveness of public services. In many African countries, including Nigeria, South Africa and Kenya, young people are using Facebook and Twitter to make official data publicly accessible in order to enlighten and mobilize their peers. This same gesture could be utilized in the fight against corruption and bad governance, by providing young people the opportunity to exert influence and participate in matters that affect them in the various public decision-making arenas at the municipal, regional and national levels, as well as in the areas of activity where they spend their time (e.g. with family, at school, at work and in various leisure contexts). At school and at work, the forms for participation in decision-making are regulated in legislation and ordinances.

8.5.5 Empower the Resources of Young People

Young people are endowed with many resources which, if explored, could become very handy in the fight against corruption and bad governance.

Today's generation is, arguably, healthier and more educated than preceding generations, and has extraordinary potential to become a strong force for development, accelerating the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa. However, young people still face difficult circumstances, as their resources are either untapped or under-utilized in many societies. The term "resources" here denotes both human and capital resources that are in excess of basic welfare but which are, nonetheless, of direct significance for young people's opportunities to exert influence within the various public spheres.

For the purposes of this chapter, young people's resources can be divided into three central types: namely, competencies, knowledge and networks.

Competencies: Young people have skills and proficiencies that can enable them to express their own interests and cooperate with others effectively. These may include the capacity to coordinate a group, to hold public meetings, or to express themselves in writing and formulate arguments, and the experience of how to influence opinions of others. Research suggests that when "youth develop greater knowledge and skills, also known as competencies, for becoming successful, healthy adults, they will arrive at better adult milestones, such as advanced educational attainment, greater employment, and higher levels of community participation" (USAID 2013: 15). These competencies need to be empowered to help young people engage actively in the fight against corruption and bad governance. When young people are allowed participation and engagement, they develop competencies as social actors in the public sphere. Furthermore, various studies (Sloam 2014; Haynes & Tanner 2015; Rabkin 2015) have shown that youth who engage in meaningful community activities in public spheres equip themselves to interact as adults socially and psychologically, and experience more positive social outcomes, including lower incidences of addiction, improved academic performance and higher rates of employment, to mention but a few. Nadeau et al. (2008: 24) sum it up well in saying that

a successful transition to adulthood requires much more than simply staying away from drugs, alcohol, early sexual activity, violence, and other risk behaviours.... It requires that youth be equipped with a number of positive attributes and skills or competencies.

Young people need to be equipped with leadership competencies in order to raise a new breed of leaders who will be able to tackle corruption and bad governance.

Knowledge: Young people are very knowledgeable in diverse public issues, even though they are often considered ignorant and passive. Arguably, young people have access to information and are also aware of corrupt practices that affect them and their communities. It is imperative, therefore, to tap into young people's knowledge and to engage them as active participants, while treating them as equal partners in the process. Empowering young people to be involved in the fight against corruption and bad governance presents a great challenge to adults and forces them to rethink how they have previously engaged with these issues. Fighting corruption and bad governance requires people from various age groups and community groups to work together. Young people must, therefore, be engaged as collaborators, not passive observers, in view of their wealth of knowledge in various spheres, which can be seen as a resource.

Networks: The third resource that young people bring is their social networks. When society promotes young people's participation in clubs and societies, it is often done with the aim of strengthening their social networks. These same networks can be a great tool to encourage others to join the fight against corruption and bad governance, especially considering that such networks cut across borders and boundaries. Internet technologies such as social media have the potential to reach large numbers of young people, easily and at very low costs. Many youth organizations communicate with their members and others through social media. Similarly, many young anti-corruption anti-bad governance activists started their projects through their Facebook pages or blogs.

In short, the resources that young people bring in the form of knowledge, competencies and networks highlight how useful they can be in the fight against corruption and bad governance. Youth participation and engagement needs to be prioritised if this battle for a just and equal society in Africa and beyond is to be won.

8.5.6 Empower Young People in Representative democracy

Young people need to be empowered to secure spaces of influence in the form of representative democracy. Johnston & Sahr (2005: 26) observe that

in order for the youth to become and remain engaged in anti-corruption initiatives, they need to feel included as stakeholders in any policy development and implementation of anti-corruption strategies, and perceive the ownership of the actions they are involved in.

It is indeed the case that the more young people are empowered to lead in the fight against corruption and bad governance, the more chance anti-corruption policies have to succeed. Young people's initiatives become even more productive when incorporated into bigger anti-corruption movements, where their active citizenship and participation in governance can provide significant value-addition to the fulfilment of government commitments, both at national and local levels.

Policy formulation must include young people's participation, as youth involvement in public policies can provide impetus and vision to the fight against corruption and to other policies, making a meaningful contribution to the growth of the community. The fight against corruption can be achieved in a greater measure if young people are empowered as social actors—history reminds us of the achievements of young people as social actors. They can be a powerful force, spear-heading social change, when empowered to be champions in the fight against corruption and bad governance.

8.6 Implications

It has been observed that young people are integral to the success of a cultural change in attitudes towards corruption and in the shaping of the values of tomorrow, since they represent the future of their countries (Lindh & Vesa 2010: 48). This is a key aspect of the case for the empowerment and engagement of young people as social actors. From the above discussion, we offer the following recommendations:

1. Young people should not only be seen, but must be heard by all sectors of the society;
2. Intentional anti-corruption mentoring strategies for young people should be encouraged by those involved in the fight against corruption and bad governance;
3. The power, potential and resources of young people must be optimally tapped into to enhance the fight against corruption and bad governance;
4. Educational curriculums aimed at changing attitudes towards corruption should be designed, with young people's participation, and implemented across all academic institutions; and
5. Traditional African practices that promote ethical and moral values, such as the naming and shaming of corrupt individuals, should be encouraged in all communities.

8.7 Conclusion

Empowering and engaging young people as social actors is essential for success in the fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa. Young people represent a significant percentage of the population and are generally more open to social change and political transformation, since they see the positive effects of change in the society. It has been argued here that young people have influenced societal change in the past decades and that much potential for curbing corruption lies untapped. The hope for a sustainable fight against corruption and bad governance in Africa rests upon the empowerment of young people as social actors in the present and next generations. Seeing that young people have the enthusiasm for accountable and transparent governance, our role is to fully empower them, to find effective ways to translate this enthusiasm into lasting action. Youth-led initiatives are essential for positive development, and we must provide more opportunities and resources for their empowerment and development, building today's young people into competent and experienced citizens capable of combatting corruption and bad governance in Africa and beyond.

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