PYPA

PROGRAM FOR YOUNG POLITICIANS IN AFRICA

Programme Evaluation Report
Final version 2019-06-10

Programme for Young Politicians in Africa
2016-2018

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Acronyms

AER	Annual Evaluation Report
CIS	Centre Party International Foundation
Eccola	The external evaluators commissioned for carrying out on-going research on the PYPA programme
ETU	Education Training Unit (South Africa)
HRBA	Human Rights Based Approach
IGD	Institut Général Tiémoko Marc Garango pour la Gouvernance et le Développement (Burkina Faso)
KIC	Christian Democratic International Center
GF	Green Forum
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
OPC	Olof Palme International Center
PAO	Party Affiliated Organisations (*Sw: Partianknutna organisationer*)
PER	Programme Evaluation Report
PYPA	Program for Young Politicians in Africa
Sida	Swedish international development cooperation agency
SC	Steering Committee - the KIC coordinator and representatives from the PAOs

Summary of the Programme Evaluation Report 2016-2018

This is the Programme Evaluation Report (PER) 2016-2018 for PYPA, Programme for Young Politicians in Africa. PYPA is a multiparty programme run by four Swedish Party Affiliated Organisations (PAO) and their regional partners in 16 countries in West, East, Southern and South Eastern Africa. The programme is financed by Sida, the Swedish international development cooperation agency through the strategy "Special Democracy Support through Political Party Affiliated Organisations" under the multi-party support component (VO2).

The overall programme objective reads: *"Programme participants have increased their participation within politics and work for democracy and rights".*

The PER builds mainly on information retrieved from questionnaires filled out by PYPA alumni from 2012-2014 and 2016-2017, as well as semi-structured interviews carried out by the evaluators in 2017 and 2018.[1] The three Annual Evaluation Reports (AER) 2016, 2017, 2018 are other important sources used.

Outcomes and outputs 2016-2018

PYPA has done well with the expected outcomes and the overall programme-objective has been achieved. This is a general result for participants in WA, SA, EA and SEA.

As participants assess their own action, influence and participation on a 1-4 scale[2] in our questionnaires,[3] the percentage of respondents checking the "quite a lot" or "yes, a lot", is generally high, hence showing a good result for PYPA's overall adequacy and capability to empower young politicians in their social-political contexts. Numbers are also confirmed by good examples of applied knowledge.

Below, the results from participants' self-assessment questionnaires for outcomes 1 to 3 are presented for 2016, 2017 and 2018.[4]

Expected outcome 1: 55 % of participants have increased their participation and/or influence in political parties.

The proportion of participants who report having increased their **participation** in their political party thanks to PYPA was 90% in 2016 (85% for the women and 96% for the men), 82% in 2017 (82% for the women and 81% for the men), and 98% in 2018 (98% for the women and 97% for the men).

In 2016, 86% of the respondents (79%f/93%m) reported to have increased their **influence** in their political party thanks to their participation in PYPA. The result dropped slightly in 2017, when the average was 77% (73% f/81% m). In 2018 we noted the highest percentage of all three years: 90% (88% f/91% m).

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[1] Alumni from 2012-2014 and 2016-2017 participated in the interviews.
[2] 1= No, not at all, 2= A little, 3= Quite a lot, 4= Yes, a lot
[3] The self-assessment questionnaire was filled out by participants at the last training-session 2017.
[4] The quantitative average for outcomes and outputs for 2016, 2017 and 2018 are reported in Appendix II. The numbers correspond to the summarised total percentage of answers rated 3 or 4 on the 1-4 scale.

Expected outcome 2: 70 % of participants have worked for democracy and rights within youth wings and/or political parties and/or other organisations.

The percentage of youth who report having worked for democracy and rights was, in 2016: 73%, (71%f/75% m). The result dropped some in 2017, when the percentage was: 71 %, (68% f/71% m). In 2018, the percentage of the population was: 70 %, (63% f/77% m) but the difference between women's and men's practical work for democracy and rights was higher as compared to the rest of the years.

Expected outcome 3: 50 % of participants have cooperated with other political parties and/or youth wings outside the PYPA training.

The target for this expected outcome has been met throughout 2016-2018, although the percentage dropped gradually from 85% (82% f/88% m) in 2016 to 69% (68% f/71% m) in 2017 and 63% (64% f/62% m) in 2018. This can at least partly be explained by the fact that the evaluators were stricter about only including examples from **outside PYPA** from 2017 onwards. It should be mentioned here though, that the most elaborated examples have been provided by participants in 2017, when the evaluators attended the session when questionnaires were filled in.[5]

As the reader will see in the concluding recommendations, the evaluators suggest that the long term sustainability of networks among PYPA alumni should be monitored also in PYPA 2019-2020, but that it is of less relevance to ask participants of multiparty activities *outside of* PYPA while they are still attending the basic training sessions.

PYPA's overall adequacy and capability to empower young politicians in their social-political contexts is confirmed by the good results above. Plenty of examples from questionnaires and interviews can be found on how the core content of the PYPA training is implemented. Learning, experiences and skills from PYPA are used as a "toolbox" to apply, so that strategies and approaches best fit the political and societal context and the target group(s).

However, it is possible to make improvements in the programme and how it is implemented. Some reflections and recommendations for the future are summarised below.

Recommendations

PYPA training

The current basic training in PYPA works well and is perfectly in line with the challenges indicated in the participants' baseline questionnaires. The PYPA partners have engaged in important learning processes, and several important tools have been developed and refined along the way. Some minor regional adjustments have been made. Mini-projects have been integrated as important practical training contexts.

Our recommendation in relation to the basic PYPA training is to keep what is already being done, and to continue the important dialogue among PAOs and regional implementers about what works and what works less well.

The group should continue to monitor and self-assess trainings in aspects such as gender and anti-corruption as well as the broadened human rights perspective.

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[5] In 2016, we noted that the practical examples were few, although participants checked the "3" or "4" in the self-assessment. In 2018, the evaluators did not attend the self-assessment session, and we have looked through all of the questionnaires, to check closely whether respondents who have checked 3 or 4 in the questionnaire actually mention PYPA activities as examples of *collaboration outside of PYPA*.

The programme is already quite intense, and there are indications from some participants in all four regions that sessions are sometimes too busy, and time is too short. Therefore, we encourage PAOs and implementers not to add new topics to the basic agenda.

The economic development discourse in PYPA is closely intertwined with the issue of sustainable development. These issues need to be linked together in a more evident way during the PYPA training.

We strongly recommend that the integration of issues such as human rights and anti-discrimination, anti-corruption, and – last, but not least - sustainable/economic development are integrated throughout the policy section in the trainings.

Alumni and mother party activities

Our recommendation to the PYPA partners in relation to the alumni activities is to develop a strategy for alumni and mother party activities in PYPA. PYPA partners should continue to be innovative and flexible in adjusting their alumni and mother party approaches to the regional (and local contexts). Keep up the good work in exchanging thoughts on why things are done, what the main target groups are, methods and tools as well as expected outcomes.

The recommendation for PAOs and implementers in relation to mother party activities is to keep up the good work with maintaining the good relations and dialogue with mother parties.

The evaluators would also appreciate a dialogue with PYPA partners on how partners conceive of the overall long-term objective for PYPA alumni and how we can collaborate with PAOs and regional implementers in the monitoring and evaluation of progress.

Exchange among PYPA partners

The only recommendation that we can give on this matter is for PAOs and implementers to keep up the good work to maintain this excellent arena for learning, reusing what works, and removing what does not, so that it becomes sustainable over time.
The exchange of "good practice" should be a standing item on the agenda of the annual Partnership meetings.

As for "good practice" at the participant level, we strongly recommend that PAOs and regional implementers analyse some cases of good practice that could be used for disseminating to new groups of participants in their own region as well as to youth in other PYPA regions.

We would like to thank the PAOs, implementers and facilitators, mother party representatives and, of course, the most important; the young participants and alumni themselves for granting us unlimited access to PYPA during 2016-2018. We now look forward to following the PYPA-journey on new exciting endeavours!

10 June 2019
Monica Johansson and Elin Ekström

1. BACKGROUND

The background description below, as well as sections 1.1-1.6 are summaries. In Appendix I, the reader will find a thorough description of the Background to the programme, Theoretical framework, Methodological cornerstones, Sources of information and how we collected, organised and analysed data 2016-2018.

Three party affiliated organisations (PAO) - the Christian Democratic International Center (KIC), the Olof Palme International Center (OPC) and the Centre Party International Foundation (CIS) in collaboration with Green Forum, (GF) - developed the capacity-strengthening 'Program for Young Politicians in Africa - PYPA.' The Swedish PAOs and their local partners implemented the programme in eleven countries in East, West and Southern Africa between 2012 and 2014.[6] Approximately 400 active members of political parties under the age of 35 participated in the programme during those three years, and all attended four weeks of regional training, over a one-year period, as well as national mini-projects and alumni activities.

The programme was elaborated according to the multi-party system support strategy developed by the Swedish government, with the overall aim to contribute to rendering political systems more representative and less discriminative.

PYPA received funding from Sida, through the strategy "Special Democracy Support through Political Party Affiliated Organisations" under the multi-party support component (VO2), and went on throughout 2015, thanks to continued funding from the same strategy. The 2015 programme was designed to build on the achievements of the 2012-2014 programme (generally called PYPA first phase) and to consolidate the objectives of PYPA. It therefore did not include any new participants.

In 2015, the four PAO that founded PYPA, applied for and were granted funding for a new PYPA phase (2016-2018) from the "Special Democracy Support through Political Party Affiliated Organisations". This report is, hence the third and last Programme Evaluation Report (PER) for this second phase of three years.

In 2016, one new region was added to PYPA. The region Malawi-Zambia (Southeast Africa, abbreviated SEA) held their opening session in November 2016. Graduations took place in October 2017. Yet another cohort graduated in September 2018.

In PYPA WA, Senegal, Togo and the Ivory Coast entered the programme for 2016-2018. No new participants were recruited from the four countries making up PYPA WA during 2012-2014: Mali, Niger, Benin and Burkina Faso. Alumni-activities were, however, arranged in 2016, 2017 and 2018 inviting all graduated students from WA PYPA 2012, 2013 and 2014.

PYPA now counts a total of 16 countries (12 in 2016-2018 in EA, SA, WA and SEA, plus 4 in WA Phase I). 459 participants (232 w/227 m) have graduated from the programme during this second phase. In PYPA 2012-2014 a total of 379 participants (181 w/198 m) graduated. All in all, PYPA has, hence, trained and graduated 838 PYPA participants throughout 2012-2014 and 2016-2018, who have now become alumni. At the time of training, participants were all under the age of 35.

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[6] WA: Niger, Burkina Faso, Mali and Benin, SA: Mozambique, South Africa and Namibia, EA: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

1.1 Long-term collaboration for continuous improvement and learning

During the second phase of PYPA, 2016-2018, KIC continued to have the overall programme responsibility as well as the responsibility for the programme component in East Africa (EA). OPC remains responsible for the programme component in Southern Africa (SA), CIS for West Africa (WA) and Green Forum (GF) for the new PYPA region, South Eastern Africa (SEA).[7]

Each PAO also collaborates closely with one or more local partner in the regions to share the responsibility of implementation and to strengthen the grass-root support of the programme. This collaboration has been a major key to the overall success of the programme ever since the beginning and up until today, as all four regions have had highly qualified, competent partners with extended contextual knowledge. These partners are also expected to contribute to the long-term sustainability of the programme over a longer time period in the future.

Representatives for the four PAOs and the coordinator from KIC make up the Steering Committee for PYPA. KIC is the commissioning body for the on-going learning evaluation and, hence, also for this AER.

The 2016-2018 PYPA programme continued to build on the human rights-based approach (HRBA) and applied youth and gender perspectives. The 'youth perspective' permeates all aspects of PYPA. The approach acknowledges young people as important social actors in their own right. They should not only be considered tomorrow's leaders, but also the leaders of today. The youth perspective is founded on youth's democratic right to participate in, and influence social and political processes. The HRBA elucidates the fact that youth politicians are both 'right-holders' (belonging to a discriminated group) and 'duty-bearers' (belonging to organisations - political parties - that govern, or try to govern, the state).

To this end, the programme objective is: *"programme participants have increased their participation within politics and work for democracy and rights"*.

1.2 Main components and activities PYPA 2016-2018

PYPA 2016-2018 has three main components: PYPA training sessions, Alumni activities and Mother party activities.

1) PYPA training sessions: Training sessions were held in all four regions as according to the PYPA programme. Sessions were organised in EA, SA, WA, and SEA with approximately 40 to 45 participants per region.[8] The so-called mini-projects through which participants get a chance to practise what they have learned during PYPA are an integrated part of the training. A training manual covering the PYPA curriculum has been developed jointly by all four PYPA regions.

It was thoroughly revised and went through an important update in 2016.[9] A total of 462 participants (232 w/230 m) graduated from the programme during this second PYPA phase.

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[7] SEA encompasses Zambia and Malawi.
[8] Appendix III is a summary of the number of female/male participants and the parties represented in PYPA 2018.
[9] The original version in English has been translated also into French and Portuguese.

2) Alumni activities: Alumni activities, together with activities targeted towards mother parties, are important cornerstones in the strategy for safeguarding long-term sustainability in PYPA. The opportunities related to becoming "alumni" are now well known among PYPA graduates, who are indeed keen on keeping up their networks with other alumni as well as with implementers and facilitators of PYPA. Monitoring and evaluation activities of alumni have been carried out throughout 2016-2018. Results and tendencies from alumni evaluations have been integrated into this PER. Regional accounts of alumni activities 2016-2018 have been attached in Appendix V.

3) Mother party activities: PAOs and regional implementers have been working with mother parties to support the participation of PYPA youth in the mother party since 2012. Regional accounts of PAOs' and regional implementers' collaboration with mother parties 2016-2018 have been attached in Appendix VI.

1.3 Expected outcomes and outputs PYPA 2016-2018

The programme objective reads: *"Participants have increased their participation within politics and work for democracy and rights."* The objective encompasses two significant aspects. One refers to the intrinsic aim of increased participation of youth in all spheres of politics (right holders). The other aspect refers to the importance of participants serving as democratic leaders promoting human rights (duty bearers).

In addition to the programme objective, there are three expected outcomes:
1. 55 % of participants have **increased their participation and/or influence** in political parties.

2. 70 % of participants have **worked for democracy and rights** within youth wings and/or political parties and/or other organisations.

3. 50 % of participants have **cooperated with other political parties and/or youth wings outside** the PYPA training.

Each of the three expected outcomes is complemented by three outputs, so as to enable monitoring of gradual changes throughout the entire programme period.[10]

1.4 Theoretical framework

The programme, and the learning evaluation in PYPA is theory driven. PYPA's Theory of Change (ToC) was elaborated and further developed in 2013. The ToC is based on earlier research on empowerment and power in theory and practice and focuses on the participants' (the 'for whoms'/target groups) progressive movements in relation to their own starting points. In Appendix I, the reader will find more thorough descriptions of the theoretical framework, as well as of the methodological cornerstones, and of how we collected, organised and analysed data 2016-2018.

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[10] See Appendix II for the PYPA result matrix 2016-2018.

1.5 Methodological cornerstones

The methodological framework – a participatory action approach and its rights- and gender integrated youth perspective - permeates the programme and its implementation. The PAOs responsible for the PYPA programme also emphasise the quality of Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E), by defining performance indicators in a Programme Result Matrix (Appendces I and II) and using ongoing learning evaluation and implementation research.

The 'PYPA-platforms' in the four regions offer a space for interactive participation and open reflection among participants and facilitators (and others) who provide entries into further reflections, learning and actions during, in-between and after PYPA.

The on-going evaluation builds on a learning approach, aiming at continuously improving and re-cycling what works, and improving or taking out wat works less well. The evaluation design and methodological approach have been systematically developed and implemented during 2012-2014 and 2016-2018.

We use various tools in our study as we follow up on the participants and other actors involved in the implementation of PYPA. We look for indicators regarding whether and how the training in PYPA has effectively delivered results in terms of: (I) participants' (increased/deepened knowledge, (II) objectives and modes of *using* knowledge and skills in PYPA participants' own contexts of political leadership, (III) social and political interactions in which our young politicians engage with the objective to increase young people's involvement and influence in political processes and organising policy.

1.6 Main sources PER 2016-2018

The evaluators have been given numerous opportunities to gather information regarding the programme and its implementation throughout PYPA 2016-2018. Semi-structured individual interviews were important tools.

We have been granted access to alumni, the Steering Committee and its representatives, the coordinator, alumni-representatives, implementers in the regions and other key-persons.

We have continuously monitored, studied, analysed and reflected on what we have seen, and provided feedback in discussions with PYPA key-actors. In addition, we have studied a number of documents, such as the implementers' regional reports.

In 2016-2018 we have collected approximately 20-30 pages of field-notes per year, carried out observations and engaged in dialogue with implementers and facilitators, mother party representatives and key informants.

This report builds on information gathered from mainly two sources: alumni questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with alumni 2012-2014 and 2016-2018.

Monitoring alumni 2012-2014 and 2016-2018

In 2016, since we carried out a thorough study of alumni activities and outcomes from PYPA 2012-2015 in the AER 2015, we decided, together with the PAOs not to focus particularly on analysis of alumni in our AER 2016.

However, we felt it was important to offer alumni the opportunity to keep us informed on any changes that had occurred in the 2012-2014 cohorts.

We hence decided to distribute and collect alumni questionnaires, mainly from WA and EA, where alumni meetings were organised in 2016.[11]

In 2017 the main focus for monitoring of alumni was on alumni from 2016. Since West Africa (WA), East Africa (EA) and South Africa (SA) still keep in touch with and work with alumni from 2012-2014, and Southeast Africa (SEA) has an alumni group who graduated in 2017, we also follow up on the relevance of the PYPA training, as well as progress among alumni from those cohorts. During 2017, one evaluator attended the Women's Grand Alumni Conference in EA in December 2017. One evaluator also attended the alumni meeting for the 2016 cohort in WA. Alumni questionnaires were collected, and a few interviews were carried out on these occasions. The total number of interviews in 2017 were 20[12]. The total number of collected questionnaires were 53 in 2017.[13]

In 2018 the main focus of the study visits was on evaluating the alumni. We attended two WA alumni meetings in Mali and Burkina Faso, the SA alumni meeting in Johannesburg, three mother party youth wing workshops in South Africa and Namibia, and two alumni/youth meetings in Zambia and Malawi. Last but not least, one of us visited Tanzania, to attend one out of three national alumni workshops about "Money in Politics".

In the AER of 2016, 2017 and 2018 the evaluators have recommended PYPA partners to measure and report on approximately how many PYPA alumni remain in politics, as well as to follow up on how many alumni had been elected into political posts or hold (executive) posts within the party at local or national levels. The monitoring activity has been carried out and is being finalised as we write this. The results will be shared in AER 2019.

Alumni questionnaires

An alumni questionnaire, with a few open questions was handed out and collected by regional implementers and facilitators at alumni events during 2016-2018. Alumni from 2012-2014 and 2016-2018 were also selected randomly by evaluators, and approached via email. The questionnaire (with the same questions for all respondents) was made available on the Internet (or sent via email) for alumni who had been targeted.

Questions mainly aimed at finding out more about alumni's activities since graduation: remaining challenges, whether alumni's positions and tasks in politics changed and whether respondents felt that their relation with the mother party changed with and after their participation in PYPA. There is also a question about what parts of the training alumni still find most useful. Since we also wanted to know whether the (multiparty) networks still exist, we asked questions about alumni's collaboration with representatives from other parties.

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[11] 56 questionnaires were collected from alumni 2014-2016 in WA (26 w/30 m). 6 questionnaires were collected from alumni in SA (2w/4m) and 56 from EA (25 w/31 m). Very few of the questionnaires were filled out with care, and the information that we could get from reading the short answers on activities were, in most cases, inadequate. This did, however, not worry us. We have kept on following alumni along with the ordinary PYPA training, and have taken measures together with the implementers, to improve internal monitoring as well as external evaluation.
[12] From SA: (2012-2014): 4; SEA: No interviews, no questionnaires, since SEA joined PYPA in 2016; EA (2012-2016): 7; WA (2012-2016): 5; WA (2016): 4.
[13] From: SA (2012-2014): 7; EA (2012-2016): 7; WA (2012-2016): 4; WA (2016): 35.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured individual interviews were important tools in the evaluation work. The questions posed were similar to those of the questionnaire, but interviewees could talk freely about the issues that they found most important. We also had the opportunity to ask for suggestions on how to improve PYPA's design and its content. The evaluators did the selection of interviewees among the alumni. Throughout 2016-2018 a total of 66 (34 w/ 32 m) alumni interviews were conducted with alumni from 2012-2014 and 2016-2018 from all four PYPA regions.[14]

Additional sources

Results from the **Baseline questionnaires** collected from all participants on one of the first days of the PYPA training, and the **Annual Evaluation Reports (AER)** for 2016, 2017 and 2018 are also part of the sources for this PER.

The dialogues with PAOs and implementers in the regions in learning seminars and Partnership meetings are also important sources for our evaluation work. Besides creating excellent opportunities for exchange and learning, it is also an important forum for the evaluators to provoke thoughts among PAOs and implementers about our evaluation findings. It also enhances our understanding of PYPA from the point(s)-of-perspectives of the practitioners.

Five "learning seminars" have been were held with the PAOs at steering committees. The two first were held in 2016, and focused on "Internal monitoring/external evaluation" and "Long-term sustainability in PYPA". In 2017, two "learning seminars" were carried out with the Steering Committee. The first focused on "Good practice", while the theme of the second was "Mother party and alumni activities". The last, and only seminar of 2018, was carried out with the Steering Committee in early December 2018. The topic of the seminar was "Recommendations from AERs 2016 and 2017". This topic was brought up as a central topic also during the Partnership days 2018, as a result of the evaluators' dialogue with the KIC coordinator on the importance of PAOs and implementers presence at learning seminars.

PAOs and implementers from the four regions engaged in thorough dialogue during the partnership days in February/March 2017, 2018 and 2019. One or two evaluators participated for a few of the days at the annual meetings, and one entire day was generally dedicated to evaluation.

Furthermore, we have carried out **interviews with mother party representatives** from all four regions throughout 2016-2018. These interviewees have been indicated by regional managers.

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[14] The total number of alumni questionnaires collected in 2018 from WA: 53 (Niger, Mali, Burkina and Benin), SEA: 15 (only from Malawi); EA: 75; SA: 24. The total number of alumni interviews per year: 2012: 4 2013:12 2014:12 2016: 20 2017: 18.

Our objectives for following up with the mother party representatives are mainly to give mother parties feedback about the long-term impact of PYPA, and to let them give us feedback and share reflections on PYPA and what it means to participants and their parties.

Yet another aim is to verify and compare with statements provided by participants, PAOs, implementers and facilitators. Narratives from mother party representatives have mainly been integrated into PER 2016-2018. Interviewees represent ruling as well as opposition parties in the two regions. A total of 19 interviews have been conducted with mother party representatives during Phase II.[15]

A few interviews have also been carried out with key informants from WA (4), EA (1) and SEA (1). Key informants have been indicated by regional managers and can, for instance, be facilitators, role models or even alumni who have reached influential positions. The reasons for conducting these interviews were mainly to verify, confirm and/or complement threads, assumptions and tendencies of the evaluation.

2. BASELINE

Baseline studies have been carried out annually since 2012, the first PYPA-year. At the first day of training, all participants are asked to fill out a questionnaire. Questionnaires are then sent off to the external evaluators for analysis. An extensive baseline report, as well as a reduced mini-report of the baseline was published in 2013. After the first year, the questionnaire was revised, and the number of questions was reduced.

Also, in 2016-2018 baseline questionnaires have been collected. In 2017 the evaluators read and analysed all of the questionnaires and delivered a written summary to PAOs and implementers of the four regions, and summaries were discussed at Steering Committee meetings with the PAOs. The written summary delivered to the Steering Committee and the implementers in the regions, was concluded with a small quality check of the correlation between the findings of Baseline 2016 and the PYPA application to Sida for PYPA 2016-2018. The evaluators have not provided any such summary during the final programme year. Instead the baseline study is an integrated part of AER 2018.

The main objective for carrying out the baseline study is to collect information about experiences, main challenges and expectations before the start of PYPA among the participants. As a matter of fact, this information is to be compared to descriptions of experiences, learnings and skills that participants provide as they attend PYPA, as well as after graduation.

Furthermore, the questions serve as a tool for preparing and opening up the minds of participants and relate the topics of the PYPA training to their own political and societal context, before the training begins. PAOs, regional managers and facilitators also get an idea of the challenges and expectations that will need to be faced during the training, in order to assist and continuously evaluate the progress of the individuals as well as the group. Last, but not least, all PYPA actors get the possibility to confirm annually, whether the content of the programme is relevant.

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[15] Interviews with mother party representatives 2016-2018: SA: 6, EA: 4, SEA: 1 and WA: 8

In 2016, 2017 and 2018 we have verified that PAOs and implementers have been capable of meeting the relevancy criterion. The content of PYPA correlates well with the challenges, opportunities, needs and demands narrated in the base line study by the target-group(s).

The main challenges, as stated by participants in PYPA 2012-2015 (and presented in the Baseline Report of 2012, as well as in the Annual Evaluation Reports of 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015) are cited in the PYPA programme (application to Sida) as follows:

- lack of influence and marginalisation of youth in society and political life in general, as well as in mother parties
- lack of influence and marginalisation of women in society and political life in general, as well as in mother parties and in the families of young female politicians
- corruption
- lack of knowledge and political training among (young) politicians and the electorate in general
- discrimination of ethnic groups, tribalism,
- unequal distribution of wealth (i.e. poverty)

We concluded that the challenges faced by newly recruited participants of PYPA 2016, 2017 and 2018 and their fellow young men and women in their respective regions are roughly the same as they were in 2012-2014. In AER 2018, we suggested that "Sustainable Development" should be added as one "baseline value", since we noted a growing concern among participants and alumni regarding the exploitation of natural resources and wildlife. Conflicts have not been brought up in the list above. In AER 2018 we have stressed that this challenge is kept as a "baseline value", although it has not been brought up as an output in the result matrix for 2019-2020.

3. RESULTS AND OUTCOMES

Expected outcomes, outputs and indicators are specified in the Results Matrix. When participants assess their own action, influence and participation on a 1-4 scale[16] in our questionnaires, the percentage of respondents checking the "quite a lot" or "yes, a lot", are generally (very) high, and the numbers are also confirmed by good examples of applied knowledge.

Below, the results from participants' self-assessment questionnaires for outcomes 1 to 3 are presented for 2016, 2017 and 2018. The numbers correspond to the summarised total percentage of answers rated 3 or 4 on the 1-4 scale. The quantitative outcomes 1-3 (average for 2016, 2017 and 2018) are also reported in Appendix II.

Expected outcome 1: 55 % of participants have increased their participation and/or influence in political parties.

The proportion of participants who report having increased their **participation** in their political party thanks to PYPA was 90% in 2016 (85% for the women and 96% for the men), 82% in 2017 (82% w/81% m), and 98% in 2018 (98% w/97% m). Average for the three years: 89% (88 w/91 m).

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[16] 1= No, not at all, 2= A little, 3= Quite a lot, 4= Yes, a lot

In 2016, 86% of the respondents (79%w/93%m) reported to have increased their **_influence_** in their political party thanks to their participation in PYPA. The result dropped slightly in 2017, when the average was 77% (73% w/81% m). In 2018 we noted the highest percentage of all three years: 90% (88% w/91% m). Average for the three years: 84% (80% w/88% m).

Expected outcome 2: 70 % of participants have worked for democracy and rights within youth wings and/or political parties and/or other organisations.

The percentage of youth who report having worked for democracy and rights was, in 2016: 73%, (71%w/75%m). The result dropped some in 2017, when the percentage was: 71 %, (68% w/71% m). In 2018, the percentage of the population was: 70 %, (63% w/77% m) but the difference between women's and men's practical work for democracy and rights was higher as compared to the rest of the years. Average for the three years: 71% (67% w/74% m).

Expected outcome 3: 50 % of participants have cooperated with other political parties and/or youth wings outside the PYPA training

The target, 50%, of this expected outcome has been met throughout 2016-2018, although the percentage dropped gradually from 85% (82% f/88% m) in 2016 to 69% (68% f/71% m) in 2017 and 63% (64% f/62% m) in 2018. Average for the three years was: 72% (71% w/73% m).[17] This drop can at least partly be explained by the fact that the evaluators were more strict about only including examples from **_outside PYPA_** from 2017 onwards.

As the reader will see in the concluding recommendations, the evaluators suggest that the long term sustainability of networks among PYPA alumni should be monitored also in PYPA 2019-2020, but that it is of less relevance to ask participants of multiparty activities *outside of* PYPA while they are still attending the basic training sessions.

PYPA's overall adequacy and capability to empower young politicians in their social-political contexts is confirmed by the good results above. Plenty of examples from questionnaires and interviews can be found on how the core content of the PYPA training is implemented. Learning, experiences and skills from PYPA are used as a "toolbox" to apply, so that strategies and approaches best fit the political and societal context and the target group(s).

While the expected targets for outcomes and outputs have been met, there is of course still room for improvement. The challenges have actually remained quite constant over the time period 2016-2018.

In the AERs of 2016, 2017 and 2018 one of the main challenges which came to the fore in the quantitative analysis of the questionnaires was that few participants are able to give good practical examples of how they have practised anti-corruption in their work. (This output relates to outcome 2.) The output in terms of numbers is lower than the objective set for PYPA (50%) and stays around 31-33% of participants.

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[17] In 2016, we noted that the practical examples were few, although participants checked the "3" or "4" in the self-assessment. The most elaborated examples have been provided by participants in 2017, when the evaluators attended the session when questionnaires were filled in. In 2018, the evaluators did not attend the self-assessment session, and we have looked through all of the questionnaires, to check closely whether respondents who have checked 3 or 4 in the questionnaire actually mention PYPA activities as examples of *collaboration outside of PYPA*.

In AER 2018, we have particularly stressed the importance of observing the differences in answers from female participants as compared to men. These differences actually apply to the whole program period. For most of the outputs of Outcome 1 and Outcome 2, women report lower results than men. For instance, the tendency of not being given responsibilities or being consulted by seniors is stronger among women. (This output relates to outcome 1.) However, when it comes to the outputs of Outcome 3, which are related to contacts, exchange of experience and activities carried out with youth from other parties or organisations outside of PYPA, women generally report higher results than men.

Challenges that still need to be dealt with will be discussed more extensively in the respective outcome sections below as well as in the concluding section of this report.

In the sections 3.1-3.5 below, we will analyse outcomes over time, with the help of narratives and indications in questionnaires collected and interviews conducted in 2016-2018, mainly with alumni, but also with some mother party representatives and so-called "key informants". Findings from dialogues with PAOs and regional implementers have also been included in the accounts.

3.1 The programme objective

The programme objective for PYPA phase II 2016-2018 is stated in the application to Sida as follows: **During the programme period, 60% of participants have increased their participation and influence within politics and work for democracy and rights.** This is a long-term-objective, that was expected to be achieved gradually through the fulfilment of outcomes 1-3 (below). Outcomes have therefore been measured each programme year during 2016-2018, and the achievement of the overall programme objective is traced and reflected upon from 2016.

Based on this evaluation, PYPA 2016-2018 has achieved its expected outcomes. The overall programme-objective for the full programme period of 2016-2018 has been met. This is a general result for participants in WA, SA, EA and SEA.

The qualitative indicators of the programme objective refer to participants':

… increased participation and/or influence in political parties and/or in politics.
… actions taken to promote democracy and rights.

It is clear that for this objective to be achieved over time, the participants need to get back to their parties, to start implementing their toolbox of skills and experiences from PYPA.

Many use their mother party as a greenhouse where they can slowly cultivate their political skills and start reaching out toward the larger society and other groups in civil society after some time.[18] This stepwise, long-term work has been described by participants 2012-2014/2016-2018 as well as by alumni (2012-2014 and 2016-2018) in questionnaires as well as in personal interviews.

Alumni report to have increased their participation and/or influence. Several examples of increased participation and actions taken to promote democracy and rights will be provided in this report, especially under item 3.2-3.4. below.

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[18] AER 2015, p. 15-16

The fact that we find such good examples not only shortly before graduation from PYPA 2016, 2017 and 2018, but also among alumni who graduated as far back as 2012 provides good evidence for this.

3.2 Narratives related to outcome 1: Participants' increased participation and influence

Increased involvement and acceptance in mother parties' activities

During the first phase of PYPA, 2012-2015, in the first two years in particular, many participants (especially young women, but also young male politicians) shared their experiences of having difficulties as they got back to the mother parties after the PYPA training. Senior members would try to block young members from achieving influence within and outside of the party, and from developing their leadership capacities. PYPA alumni used to narrate, especially in the beginning of the PYPA training, that they would have to "shout" in order to get other party members to listen to them.

During the alumni year 2015 and onwards, we have seen a positive change on this note. PYPA youth stated that they had found ways to talk to senior members, and several alumni referred to the skills required through PYPA being put into action. They reported to have noticed a more respectful attitude of seniors and/or the party management. Throughout the years, we have also found many examples of collaboration between participants and alumni, and collaboration among alumni.

Many participants emphasise the importance of forming a critical mass of young people with the necessary awareness and skills to advance their cause. They work together in order to change conditions within the parties. Interviewees – (participants as well as alumni) from SA, EA, SEA and WA 2016-2018 have mentioned the importance of forming a group within the party, building on PYPA alumni and other youth within the party, then training other youth inside and outside of the party to move national politics towards policy-making in regard to unemployment and stimuli for self-employment, as well as improved access to education and human rights issues in general. Training others, mainly youth, is considered as one of the most important actions that participants plan to undertake as they get back to their parties after the last training session. It is also one of the most common activities that alumni report to have been involved in after graduating from PYPA.

A clear majority of alumni report to have changed their role and/or position in their political party since they joined or graduated from PYPA and state to have improved their relation to the mother party. Tasks have changed and influence has increased:

"Now after several years I am a councillor at regional level, and it is all due to PYPA – I could never have done this without PYPA. I got knowledge and skills in strategic planning, resource mobilisation that were crucial for my empowerment and campaign work. It hasn't been easy though. When we organised political activities at the university, they used to punish us by beating us up, but I succeeded in partly protecting us by having a French reporter come and write about our activity. Another example: As I got back to my village after training and communicated that I was going to run for the position as a councillor, the elders looked at me and said that I was not mature enough to stand for such a post." The same interviewee about influence: *"I cannot say that I'm fully satisfied yet. We must always move on – and I dream of being a member of parliament. Over the last few years I have organised, trained and recruited many other youth. If I left the party now, many fellow young members would follow me."* (Man, WA, 2014)

"Yes, I have advanced since I joined PYPA. Since last year I'm the general secretary for my party. In my role, I organise meetings and monitor the activities of other secretaries and help them carry out their tasks. PYPA really helped me a lot. I didn't know anything about strategy before enrolling with PYPA. I feel accepted as a leader, although it is always difficult to reach and keep these positions as a woman, since people will start talking, and they suspect that you have been successful because you have engaged in intimate relationships with an influential man." (Woman, WA, 2014)

"When I joined PYPA, I was secretary general for the youth, and I'm in the County Assembly for now I am on the executive for the national executive branch. I am in a working committee for policymaking. I did not get here because of what I did on my own. It was a teamwork. Several other PYPA participants assisted me. I also learned many things in PYPA – how to draft and communicate a message, how to get and to handle media exposure: how to talk to journalists and go on a TV-show and speak up for myself. These are all things that I got from PYPA. I would say I was already mature when I came to PYPA, but the training built on my backbone. It shaped my life and helped me brand my person for a life in politics. (Woman, EA, 2012)

"When I started PYPA, I was working at the youth wing as a member of the youth wing executive council with administration. Two years after graduation I contested for a position as an MP. The PYPA programme was really relevant to me. It changed me 100%, and it was a prerequisite for me to contest for the position. I met with the facilitator Tomislav and other professionals and was trained by them. I thought I was in a good position, but my party constituency was not quite there. In the previous elections my party had only got 2% of the votes. I didn't make it to parliament but got more than 48% of the votes. The relation to the mother-party has definitely improved. The guys from our party take us more seriously now, we are involved in planning who is going to be sent to PYPA, and we don't only want to send politicians who already have a role.
If you look at most people who were sent to PYPA, they come back ready to take on leadership. This is something that is also being recognised by the leaders of our party. It's no longer 'business as usual'. (Man, EA, 2012)

"I'm the national youth coordinator in the party. When I joined PYPA I was just an ordinary member. Along the way I was appointed to the position – and it is the position that I currently hold. the PYPA training has helped me when it comes to advancing my political skills. Knowledge is one of the factors that may contribute to achieving a position. You will represent the party wherever you go, also in TV and on the radio. In my position, I feel that I have a good insight, and that I can also influence on party decisions, because I work very close with the Secretary General, and he is now even a Member of Parliament. I have a desire to become and MP too one day but am also looking at other opportunities in case I would never be elected. I still want to serve my people as best I can, and you don't have to be an MP to do that –the most important thing is to be relevant." (Man, SEA, 2017)

"After PYPA I changed positions. I'm now a central committee member. I improved greatly with my PYPA participation, especially in my personal performance. I can now speak up in front of bigger groups and talk on behalf of my people. I'm convinced that I got the position thanks to PYPA. I believe that I can inspire other young people who are hoping to be able to get out of unemployment. Now they can see that there is potential. My dream is to be a leader at national level, to lead my people and stand for them, and be able to speak on their behalf. Next year, I would like to contest for a position with the local authorities in my region. I know I will have to target everyone locally in the campaigning. I'm already known, because I used to work with them, and I believe that I can get the support." (Woman, SA, 2016)

The overall tendency speaks in favour of more influence to PYPA alumni, and of young people generally, within their political parties. A number of examples have been provided in AER 2016, 2017 and 2018.

One of the explanations to this positive change might, as suggested by PYPA alumni themselves, be that they have learned to speak to power in a different way. They are less aggressive and more tactic than before the PYPA training. They also reflect on how to present their suggestions to the seniors/party management.

A small critical core of alumni has built up within the parties since 2012 (or, since 2016 for the new PYPA countries in WA and SEA). The majority of alumni confirm to know some or all alumni from earlier PYPA cohorts. They also collaborate with alumni colleagues. The most common activities are working together on the mother party programmes and/or policies, training other youth and working with outreach and campaign activities (especially in rural and/or remote areas) such as "awareness raising" and registration of voters.

A few of the questionnaires collected in WA indicate that executives in the mother parties gradually involve youth who are still on the PYPA training, by first letting them collaborate with and learn from alumni. Examples (quotes) have been provided in AER 2016, 2017 and 2018.

We know, from interviews carried out with mother party representatives, that PYPA is a well-known and highly regarded programme, seen as training a new generation of leaders, who can promote politics in community and among other young people. Also, several PYPA alumni have reached important influential positions at regional and/or national levels, hence serving as credible models among youth themselves, and building trust and respect in mother parties.

A senior party representative from WA describes his view on the relation with the younger politicians as follows: *"It has meant a lot for us in the party that they bring in new knowledge and experiences. They inspire us[…] After the coup in 2016 the youth showed us how important they are. They were the ones who held their heads high and defended the values we share in the party."*

In earlier AERs (2012-2015), we have observed that youth from some countries in WA face more significant challenges related to getting the chance to implement and practise what has been learned in PYPA, as compared to participants in SA and EA.

Youth from Burkina Faso, Niger, Benin and Mali (PYPA Phase I 2012-2014) generally referred to the mini-project as the one and only forum for implementation. This changed somewhat during PYPA 2015 and 2016-2018, and alumni reported on increased acceptance and improved possibilities of responsibilities in the mother parties.
During 2016-2018, some still refer to the mini-project as *the* arena to implement what they had learned in PYPA, especially the Togolese (WA) and some of the Namibians (SA) as well as some youth from Tanzania (EA). In SEA the focus has been put on alumni projects from the start, and the programme has only been running since 2016. This makes it a bit more difficult to evaluate whether there would have been opportunities for youth to run their own activities if PYPA (and by extension CYLA) would not have been there. The Ivorian participants (and also some of the Senegalese) report to have well-developed relations with the mother bodies of their parties.[19]

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[19] This tendency has been checked and confirmed also by facilitators from WA.

CIS and the regional manager of WA has commented on our findings in relation to the presumed difficulty that participants from some WA-countries face, and emphasise that differences are related to the fact that it is generally more difficult for young people to get a position of responsibility in the party or in the youth wings in WA than in other regions (particularly in SA). On the other hand, CIS states: "The lesser opportunity to implement within the parties is partly compensated for by activities through the alumni networks in those countries where they are really active (such as Niger and Cote d'Ivoire). As a consequence, WA alumni seem to have had more influence on national policies, such as adoption of quotas, than in other regions.." In addition, the regional implementer wants to call our attention to yet another aspect that should be taken into account, and be included into our analysis: "Except for Senegal, it is more difficult for the alumni to gain a position and to apply their skills in strong parties than in smaller parties. This distinction between strong and smaller parties is lacking in the analysis." We welcome these reflections and confirm that we have not paid particular attention to strong vs weak parties. Perhaps this could be one interesting track to take up in the monitoring and evaluation of PYPA 2019-2020?

However, youth will be able to take on responsibilities and carry out activities on behalf of their parties only if they are given the space. We recognise mother parties being important gatekeepers, and potential facilitators for PYPA participants' prospects for actually using the knowledge and skills from PYPA.

PAOs and regional implementers are working to ensure that participants and alumni get to practice what they have learned in PYPA, that they get the opportunity to influence policies and structures through a full participation in their mother parties. The important PYPA components of alumni activities and PAOs and regional implementers interactions with mother parties are dealt with in Chapter 4, "Long term sustainability".

3.3 Narratives related to outcome 2: Work for democracy and rights

Youth, gender and other rights issues

In the AERs of 2016, 2017 and 2018 we have checked back on what has been stated in the baseline analysis related to the most difficult challenges that youth face, and whether these challenges are being approached in the PYPA curriculum. This is to make a quality check on whether the programme is relevant. We can conclude that the themes and the activities provided to PYPA participants is highly relevant, and that results are being achieved in PYPA in relation to all challenges that the programme is striving to counteract.

In the baseline studies, some of the most commonly mentioned challenges relate to the **youth-issue** and (lack of) **gender equality**. PAOs and regional implementers have gone through impressive learning processes, and continuously improved the curriculum and methods used. We will get back to the latter in the concluding chapter of the report.

The youth issue

Youth are excluded in society in general. It is difficult to get a job, even for those who have managed to get a university degree. Youth in politics are in need of empowerment and skills to fight the exclusion from the side of seniors.

Also the mother party representatives confirm the unequal power distribution between seniors and youth in politics and society:

"The youth represents 50% of our population but in the political sphere they are not well represented. The 30% marked for women [on the lists] are mostly respected but they put the women at the bottom, then they fall off because the rule about percentage only applies to the lists. The fight now is about reserving spots on the lists for youth […] We also need to change some laws, not just give them [the youth] training. We talk a lot about changing things for the youth but in the end it's the senior party leaders who make the decisions. We have different age limits for different occasions and in different institutions, you can be 40 and still be considered a youth in some contexts while in others the limit is 35 and - for example - a man has to be 20 years-old to get married, but a woman has to be 18." (Man, Mother party rep.)

Another senior party leader narrates how youth are still marginalised or viewed with suspicion in the party:

"It is very difficult for a young person to advance in the party. Partly because they lack financial means but also because the elders still block the positions and refuse to let them in. I have myself been told that I am too young for my position. They all think that youth are unexperienced and irresponsible." (Man, Mother party rep.)

Some narratives from alumni related to remaining **youth issue** challenges

"Most youth are unemployed, and we have problems to raise our issues since we are underrepresented in most decision-making structures." (Woman, SA, 2018)

"Access to information especially if you are living in a rural area. Lack of education and low self-esteem/self-confidence. Lack of money to fulfil party activities." (Man, SA, 2017)

*"The first challenge that we have **as young people is the lack of capacity** to be able to exhibit the right leadership potentials. PYPA has given me the exposure to understand my roles properly and how I can use and show my capabilities as a young person in my personal life, in my community and in my political roles."* (Man, SEA, 2017).

*"Challenges do, of course still exist, but if I think of the challenges that I faced as I started PYPA some years ago, I can see that I did get very good skills to work on them. **For instance, when you are young you don't think that what you say is going to do that much difference, so you must learn about your rights,** and understand that it is possible to be strategic about what you communicate and how. A senior person or a journalist is not going to give you more than a couple of minutes, so you must package what you have to say in a smart way, and make sure that you make a good impression and that they don't forget about you and your message.*
PYPA also teaches us tolerance and prepares us on how to deal with the sometimes very violent political situations, hopefully we can impede people from dying during political campaigns!" (Woman EA, 2013)

*"**For us young it is about lacking leadership skills** and the communication barriers between youth and seniors. PYPA helped me and my colleagues engage in the party, and operate not only as youth. Another difficulty for us is that there are many conflicts and power struggles within the parties. PYPA provided some practical tools for us that we are still using, which helps us to go on instead of getting caught up in arguments."* (Man, EA, 2013)

*"As we started in PYPA, we had challenges because we **wouldn't believe in ourselves. Seniors keep saying tomorrow, tomorrow you will get the opportunity to influence decisions.** That's a challenge that we are tirelessly working on…"* (Woman, SEA, 2017)

Several alumni have talked about the importance of knowing what you want or having a mission in order to be taken seriously by the mother party, one female alumni from WA (alumni from 2013) explains:

"The relation with the mother party seniors is good. I was in the youth organisation before PYPA, and after graduation from PYPA I moved over to the national headquarters. It is easy to advance but on the condition that you show them that you are dynamic, and you must participate, show your commitment, engagement and your knowledge, otherwise you can expect nothing."

The gender issue

Gender has, through the years, been particularly appreciated as a topic by the female participants. Most female participants describe gender and/or gender equality as one of the most appreciated topics in the training. Throughout 2016-2018, we observed a slight increase of male participants who also express an interest in gender issues and women's rights. Several young men reported that they were working for gender equality and some chose to "step back", to give space to a female colleague.

Throughout 2012-2014 and 2016-2018, we have many examples from all PYPA regions on participants' work for gender equality in our reports. Some narratives are included also in the next section below, as examples of work for human rights.

However, each PYPA year we have also included examples of women's particular challenges and remaining difficulties from all PYPA regions. Women are discouraged from engaging in politics by their families and (male) friends, who say that if they participate in that "dirty game", they will never find a man who will want to marry them. Youth – especially young women - are told that politics is dangerous, and that they should think of getting married, and/or a good education and a job instead.[20] Below are a few examples among many similar:[21]

"I still feel that politics is more accommodating to men as compared to women. As a young woman in leadership structures, I feel like I don't have enough support and men don't respect us as young women." (Woman, SA, 2018)

"Women do not have the right to speak, the woman will keep to the background, she will listen and follow. In the cities it's better but in the villages it's very difficult. We have forgotten the villages, that's were people don't vote. Usually the women are the ones who vote and since they don't understand people give them clothes or things to make them vote for a special party. We have more women than men in this country, if they were to engage themselves [politically] they would gain much power." (Woman, WA, 2013)

"One of the big difficulties is being a woman I have two children. This has impeded me from carrying out some of the activities that I would have liked to do. I believe that many of my female colleagues have the same situation. Many times, it is the men who impede us. They believe that we are forced to prostitute ourselves in politics.

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[20] See AER 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018 and PER 2012-2014
[21] The issue of gender equality was often brought up in our interviews as we visited Mali and Burkina Faso in 2018 to meet alumni from 2012-2014. The narratives are, however representative for a majority of the female participants and alumnae of PYPA 2016-2018.

Many women who get married resign from politics. Sexual harassment does exist, and so does exploitation of women, as they know that you are fragile. My spouse is from another West African country. He supports me and thinks I'm brave. We do activities together too - training of the youth for instance." (Woman, WA, 2014)

"Just to be a woman creates obstacles. The meetings are scheduled late in the evenings, if your husband does not understand he will accuse you of abandoning the children. It's hard to combine married life with politics. I'm not married. Men do not like to see women in politics. But this is slowly changing, the mentality is changing when we see women like Angela Merkel for example." (Woman, WA, 2013)

This latter narrative suggests that the situation is slowly changing. During 2016- 2018 (but also in PYPA Phase I), PAOs and regional implementers have worked continuously to improve the content and impact of PYPA training and mini-projects related to the expected Outcome 2. As we will see in the section below, alumni continue to work, applying what they learned in PYPA, as they apply the HRBA-approach. Many examples relate to the gender issue.

Human rights

A majority of PYPA alumni, both male and female, confirm to have applied what they have learned in PYPA related to human rights, gender/youth perspectives and democratic leadership in their work.

In the alumni interviews, one of the questions posed regards the core issue/s or policy areas of the political work of alumni from graduation in PYPA up until now. The most common answers relate to human rights, particularly the rights of youth and women, but also activities carried out with the objective to sensitise inhabitants in communities to politics, and the importance of getting involved, at least as a voting citizen.

"For me, to work with human rights means to work for the youth and for the women. The presidency of the national party expressed the need for me to leave the youth and join the women's section. I wasn't interested in going to the women's league, because I think I can make more use of myself in the youth league. The women in the women's league are the age of my mother, and they will not listen to me. In the youth section, I am the only female that has been through a training this kind. I can make more out of myself there." The same interviewee continues: *"I have had the opportunity to work with a woman from the house of representatives of my country to propose the concept of fixed number for women on political posts. This was later implemented during the last electoral campaign. We have the rule of 30% women on political posts now, and we have not quite achieved the full objective, but we are at 25%-27%."* (Woman, WA, 2014)

"I work for other youth in my daily work – the main foci are advocacy and lobbying. First advocacy to get them to focus on and communicate about the most important issues, then it is lobbying to help them implement. For instance, in our PYPA network we met all the candidates who wanted to run in the next elections and told them about the needs of youth. Another issue that I have been working on in politics are human rights – especially the right to express and engage yourself politically. I cannot stand seeing injustice. For instance, I have seen militants being withdrawn from political activity, deprived of their right to be active within their parties. Some leaders forced their wives to withdraw from political activity. Whenever I can, I address these cases of injustice and try to suggest that legal measures are taken. Unfortunately, I have not been very successful. Yet another thing that I have done and continue to do for other youth is training other youth in entrepreneurship, to support youth in sustaining themselves." (Man, WA, 2014)

I work a lot with identifying young women with potential. I have discovered that women love politics, they just don't know well how to get involved. I didn't get the post that I wanted but had the County Assembly position instead. I'm happy with it for the time being. I was invited to a lot of bedrooms but didn't fall into the trap. There are so many of us just lamenting and being impatient, but I believe that if you keep out of distractions and work patiently towards your target, you will get there." (Woman, EA, 2012)

"I'm working with my mother party with planning and strategy. *I didn't make it in the last elections, but I'm going to run again. I'm participating in different economic activities in order to develop empowerment programmes like entrepreneurship and trainings. I believe I will make it in the next elections. After all, I got 48% of the votes! …It will be easier this time. Before I was alone, … but now the PYPA fellows, the alumni are all struggling together to make sure that the activities are done. …. We have made a new policy document for the party and done research that will support the activities for the coming elections. We are implementing a plan of training of trainers in our party, where we reach out in different regions and local communities of our country. We are preparing the local candidates for the local elections that are coming up very soon. We are preparing a good environment for winning the local elections and work together for the next step – the national level."* (Man, EA, 2012)

"I ran for a post as councillor, but I lost. Now I'm building trust and support for the next elections in a couple of years. Obviously, I would like to reach a higher position, like an MP-role. I work very hard together with the constituency, especially with the youth. We also meet with seniors. I take home trainings from PYPA, we sit under a tree and we discuss issues that are of interest to us, and I work for building trust – my present and future political ground. As I got back after PYPA, I went to the Secretary General and a lady who is no longer in the party, and together we organised a capacity building workshop for almost 100 people in our party! I still use the PYPA training manual as a bible when I go to meet my groups. I often talk about young people in politics and about gender. I now also know how to target groups of female students, and female students always give me a platform to give a speech. I would have liked to hand out photocopies of the PYPA manual, but I cannot, because of financial restrictions." (Man, SA, 2016)

"In my position I recruit members, I go to schools, community playgrounds and try to convince youth to join us so that we can change from there, from right where you meet them. I believe it is very important to impede parties to use us youth as their instruments for their own purpose, and political knowledge and training is key. I'm continuing this mobilisation with youth from my own party now, but the issue is just as important in CYLA (alumni network, editor's note). Through the training in PYPA we have also connected with a number of donors that we hope will continue to strengthen our work, and the CYLA platform for youth. I see CYLA as a powerful platform because it is a common forum for working with one difficult challenge i.e. the senior structure seeing us as enemies who want to come and take their seats. We organise meetings at local level also with fellow youth from other parties. It is also a great platform to work in, towards peaceful elections. (Woman, SEA, 2017)

"I feel that advocacy is the most important experience and skill that I take away from PYPA. I use my knowledge about advocacy as I speak to journalists and participate in TV and radio broadcasts, but I have mainly been using it to work with youth. Young people is a majority of our population, but many are not interested in politics, they don't buy in on ideology and so on. When I speak to young people, I always encourage them to learn more about the constitution, so that they can know about their own legal rights and understand in what way they are being discriminated in society. I go there and share issues that are relevant to youth, such as education and employment – but I also try to explain how these issues are related to politics, and their participation in politics. I use examples from other African countries to try to push policy in favour of youth also in my country." (Man, SEA, 2017)

"As a woman I hope that I can serve as an example, when women are discriminated against. People think that you sleep with men to get positions. I'm in a position and was elected by the Congress – and I'm proud of saying that I have never seen that happening in my party. I work together with alumni and other young members of my party. We work in local communities and go around to talk to the young people in schools. One important target is young girls in the rural areas. In the part of the country where I was born, we have a high rate of teenage pregnancy. We visit schools and are trying to teach them about the bad and the good about involving in sexual activity, and make sure condoms are available. Some of the people in the villages don't have access to the clinic, and it is very far away, so the government have employed people to work in the village just to offer education about HIV and other diseases affecting the community, so what I'm doing with my party colleagues is a way of enhancing the Government policies and do good for youth, especially women."
(Woman, SA, 2016)

As shown above, alumni undertake a number of activities that target the youth and gender issues. As a matter of fact, when we ask alumni to explain how they are working with human rights, most of the examples are about youth and gender. Other discriminated groups such as poor, certain ethnic groups, disabled persons, etc. are mentioned by a few.

We are aware of the fact that PAO and implementers hold that it is important that politicians understand the multifaceted society that they are going to represent, and that the PYPA training already does take on a wide Human Rights Based perspective. We would, however, like to remind PAOs and implementers of the importance of keeping up their important work in this respect.

In AER 2016, the evaluators used the intersectionality perspective in our dialogue with PAOs and regional implementers, so as to convey the importance of not aligning groups such as youth, women, ethical groups, albinos, rural populations, etc. vertically, but instead conceiving of them as groups with many different needs and identities.

In the AER of 2016, we also called for a widened conceptualisation of human rights and discrimination so that it embraces not only youth and women but also, for instance, inhabitants in rural areas, LGBTQI-persons and disabled. We also observed the importance of facilitators conveying the concepts of charity vs. applying a Human Rights Based Approach. We stressed that aspects that regard charity, duty-bearing and the link between political participation and policy should be emphasised in PYPA-training.

In 2018 we did not carry out interviews with participants from 2018 in EA, SA or WA. Therefore, we have had less possibilities to ask more detailed questions regarding whether the HRBA has been widened, so as to include other discriminated groups as well as LGBTQI perspectives.[22]

In most PYPA countries, LGBTQI issues are utterly sensitive, in some even illegal. During training sessions, it is not unusual that some participants dismiss constructive dialogue. Every PYPA-year, a few of the respondents answer the question about whether there was something that participants did not like in PYPA by expressing their disapproval of including LGBTQI in the gender-session, and 2018 makes no exception. There is hope, however.

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[22] The 7 interviews carried out with participants from SEA 2018, clearly indicate that the LGBTQI issue has been integrated.

As stated by the regional implementer in SA: *"There have been changes in some regions. In Southern Africa, the issues have been dealt with openly as workshops are held in South Africa where all have legal equality. Two of the countries in our region have very conservative 'Christian' positions but are prepared to discuss and debate the issues. In 2015, Mozambique became the second country in the region to ban discrimination based on sexual preference."*

Corruption and money in politics

Corruption, bribery and the commercialisation of politics clearly represent strong threats to democracy. Corruption has also been mentioned as part of the underlying causes to the disinterest and mistrust in politics, not least among youth.[23] Furthermore, corruption is an obstacle to political influence for youth, since they dispose of less financial resources during elections, hence they are being excluded.

Already in the baselines 2016, 2017 and 2018 many examples are given of what corruption is, as well as of its negative impacts on society. A few out of many examples are: buying votes, using political power for one's own gain, taking party funds for private purposes and giving positions and jobs to persons who don't have the required education or skills.

Corruption and money in politics has been indicated as a difficult challenge by participants since PYPA first started in 2012, and the accounts of PYPA 2016-2018 participants do not mark any change on this note. One example from an alumni interview with a man from WA:

"Illiteracy and poverty is a big challenge. The youth want to be active, but corruption is widely spread because of the poverty and unemployment, it limits young people a lot. When you have eaten you can engage in politics but otherwise it's food on the table that is the top priority, no matter how you get it." (Man, WA, 2013)

Another example about how money can buy influence in politics:

"Corruption is widespread in our country and in politics in general. I feel like most of the young people - I really can't afford to get involved with corruption. It's different for the seniors, they don't care – and this clearly creates an unequal playground in politics for us and them." (Woman, SEA, 2017)

The nomination fees a candidate must pay for getting on the list when vying for a position may impede them from being candidates themselves. High nomination fees tend to exclude young leaders who lack the financial income to pay the fees themselves. This, in turn, make young leaders more vulnerable both to the temptation of taking bribes to gather the funds and paying bribes to cut corners.

Corruption in government and political parties hampers democratic processes and undermines confidence and interest in politics in society in general. Corruption and the commercialisation of politics make young politicians vulnerable and dependent on donors or patrons.

As we carried out interviews with Malian and Burkinabe alumni in 2018, some interviewees touched upon the fact that it is impossible to make progress in the party without having a "mentor". This mentor or patron also contributes financially to the career of the young. *"But nobody talks about it, it goes without saying"*, says one of the interviewees.

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[23] AER 2016, p.26-27

Another interviewee on the same note: *"Although I am working as a parliamentary assistant, it is impossible to make a living of my job. Money is really a problem. You must look for your own financial means to be able to run for elections. You can get a small amount through the party, or through what we call mentorship, and the latter involves financial assistance, although not officially."* (Woman, WA, 2014)

In 2016-2018 several participants have particularly emphasised their own incapability to function as role models, due to their difficulties to get a job and sustain themselves. Narratives have often indicated that there is a high risk for youth in general as well as young politicians to fall prey to influential "sponsors", hence indirectly being caught up in corruption.

In the AER 2016, 2017 and 2018 several participants describe how they work against corruption and some have given us examples of situations where they have been the whistle-blowers in their own parties. However, observing participants' self-assessment in the questionnaire, respondents from EA, SA and WA generally provide few concrete examples of applied knowledge when asked if they have practised anti-corruption in their work.

In the alumni questionnaires of 2017 and 2018, no specific questions have been posed about whether participants have carried out activities to cope with corruption or the commercialisation of politics.

The theme has, however, not been omitted in the alumni training. One of the evaluator's observations from a visit in SA 2018 reads : *"One of the interesting discussions related to "handouts", and some of the participants would not understand how politics could be carried out at all without the opportunity to hand out money, flour, rice or any other supplies that the future voters might need."* Another part of the field notes, this time from Malawi: *"One part of the lecture was about the Malawian Political Parties Bill, which was passed by the Parliament on 1 December 2017. It prohibits giving handouts to voters during electoral campaign. It was interesting to listen to a few of the participants not knowing how to deal with 'people's real needs', as they toured the region. One woman said: 'Please, can you provide us a list of the items prohibited by the bill, and is it really possible that we cannot give flour or rice to people who are in need?'"*

The alumni training - a series of three workshops at national level - in 2018 in EA was held on the topic: "Money in Politics: What does it mean for youth participation?". Each national session included a concluding session with the participants' own suggestions on what youth can do. Two examples: *"To fund your political campaign you can start a small community-based fundraising effort, calling out to the youth. You can fund politics the same way you are funding weddings."* and: *"Identify where you are likely to get money and service in donation. Don't just look for money. Service and in-kind contributions are also important."*[24]

We will get back to perspectives on money in politics and corruption and how PYPA has worked on the issue in the concluding chapter.

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[24] Money in Politics – What does it mean for youth participation? Event Report 2018, KIC

3.4 Narratives related to outcome 3: Cooperation with peers from other political parties

Exchange of experiences and organising activities with peers from other parties conflicts (outputs 3.1 and 3.2)

Throughout PYPA 2016-2018 the evaluators have discussed Outcome 3 with PAOs and implementers at several occasions. From the evaluator's point of view, the expected outcome that PYPA participants have collaborated with other parties *outside of the PYPA training* was a bit too ambitious. The PYPA training facilitates real sharing and learning between opposing parties and has a very positive influence on attitudes and hostilities between parties. This is often carried over into work at country level where youth from different parties cooperate on common issues. Examples are in Youth Councils that campaign for economic and educational access reforms in Southern Africa, and on election reforms in East Africa and Zambia.

In the baseline questionnaires, many participants had expressed themselves in quite negative terms when describing other parties in their own country. For many participants, PYPA gave them a very first opportunity to meet and speak to youth from other parties. Some interviewees told us that they had travelled to another country for the first time in their lives, and that they had never even met young people from their own African region.

These were some of the reasons why we suggested that PAOs and implementers should not have too high expectations on this particular outcome. In 2017, as the answers of the questionnaires were analysed, we saw that some respondents had provided affirmative answers to this question that were actually referring to activities carried out as a part of PYPA (such as mini-projects or alumni-projects), while PAOs had set indicators for outcomes and outputs for activities carried out *outside of* PYPA.

After having discussed with PAOs, we went through all of the questionnaires again, and adjusted the percentage of participants who had checked 3 or 4 in the self-assessment, hence claiming to cooperate with other parties *outside of PYPA*. We picked out the examples that were clearly relating exclusively to PYPA activities. Nevertheless, the percentage remained high: 69%, (68% w/71% m). In 2018 the percentage was 63%, 64% f/62% m). The expected value was 50%, hence the objective has been met with good marginal throughout 2016-2018.

As we go through the alumni questionnaires and analyse the narratives of alumni 2012-2014 and 2016-2018, we conclude, once again that PYPA participants do continue to work with youth from other parties outside of the PYPA context, even several years after graduation, which is an excellent result.

A majority of the alumni respondents answer "yes" to the question: "Have you cooperated with representatives of other political parties outside of PYPA since you graduated from PYPA? - If yes, describe how and on what occasions. (Please do not include examples of events within PYPA such as alumni meetings or mini projects)."

We learn that there are several examples of collaboration between PYPA peers, even after a few years. The most common examples of collaboration are rallies, exchange of experiences at national (and regional/international) level, exchange of advice and assistance in campaigning. There are several examples (especially from EA and SEA, but also some from WA) of collaboration made possible through NGOs or other donors.

The latter are often trainings with other youth and/or women. The youth perspective is explicit in examples from EA and SEA. In AER 2016-2018 there are also several examples of participants calling for non-violent campaign and electoral procedures, and as we have seen, security and conflict prevention is also a concern among participants as well as alumni.

There are less examples of collaboration after graduation from South Africa. Quotes from Namibia and Mozambique are also less concrete as compared to those from EA, SEA and WA.

A few examples from questionnaires:

"Yes, whenever there is a youth agenda or there is an agenda which would affect the public, we have been organising meetings and press conferences together, and expressing our opinion." (Woman, EA, 2012)

"Yes, there's an interparty youth forum where I participate. We are currently working on a proposal to do a clean up exercise in Nairobi county, we have created social media pages which we use to brainstorm on different issues that affect the youth. We have met in trainings organised by other organisations such as NDI or another donor from Oslo, Norway." (Woman, EA, 2014)

"I was recently recruited as a mentor through CMD (Center for Multiparty and Democracy). It is a programme where five political parties represented in parliament has chosen youth below 45 years-of-age. To attend a six-months-training. We have been told to recruit members who would be trained but who will also follow us mentors during our political journey. I have also been collaborating with women from other parties who are doing campaigning including women aspirants. WOLREC (NGO: Women's Legal Resources Centre) – a capacity building programme for aspiring councillors." (Woman, SEA, 2018)

"Yes, we have cooperated during various campaigns on issues that affect society, for instance age-limits and corruption." (Man, SEA, 2017)

"Yes, I have worked with PYPA graduates from other political parties after graduation on various issues." (Man, SA, 2017)

"Yes, we are in touch. I have not yet used the network in a more concrete way, but it is no longer strange to us to work together as teams, not only as political parties." (Woman, SA, 2017)

"I took part in the creation of a young political network of my country. I was appointed secretary in charge of youth training. This network gathers youth from various political parties." (Woman, WA, 2016)

"Yes. During presidential campaign, we worked together to support our joint candidate and we are still working together to promote his political agenda." (Man, WA, 2012)

"Yes. I collaborated with representatives of other political parties during the creation of a coalition of parties and civil society organisations in order to support candidate x for the upcoming presidential elections." (Woman, WA, 2013)

Knowledge (and practise) on how to prevent and manage conflicts

As has been shown above, PYPA represents a good forum for collaboration and tolerance among politicians from various political parties. Outcome 3 in the PYPA programme also contains an output regarding participants preventing and managing conflicts.

Participants and alumni generally consider this an important and among the most useful topics in PYPA. Knowledge and skills about conflict prevention and conflict management are used to face conflicts within parties and in the society in general. Many narratives are also about preventing or managing conflicts during electoral campaigns and elections.

During our alumni interviews in WA 2018, some Malian interviewees (including one of the mother party representatives) kept returning to the difficulties related to insecurity that the Malians have been forced to face, due to terrorist attacks in the northern regions. Concerns were mainly about the challenges faced by political parties that try to reach out to the entire country, hence also to rural areas in the north.

Furthermore, interviewees mentioned that the most important common challenge for the political parties in Mali now, should be to come together and think about taking measures for improved safety. *"It doesn't matter how much we learn and keep on talking about human rights, if ordinary people cannot feel safe. After all, that is a basic human right",* said one male Malian alumnus.

An alumna from Malawi (2017) narrate about her planning to prevent violence during elections by approaching unemployed "desperate" youth (especially in rural areas) who are easy and cheap targets for political parties wanting to disturb public order and peaceful elections. She says: *You see, lots of times poor youth who don't have a job just sitting around in towns will be given handouts and sometimes even arms by parties to provoke and take part in violent conflicts. I really hope that we can organise meetings and train them so as to influence them positively – I live in a rural area, and I really think that there is a future in working with these things at local level, I know how we can go about to handle it. Those guys carrying guns and sticks in times of campaigning are mainly desperate youth from rural areas, without any proper training. I really hope that we can organise meetings and train them so as to influence them positively – I live in a rural area, and I really think that there is a future in working with these things at local level, I know how we can go about to handle it."*

Another alumna from EA also talks about PYPA as a platform where youth have built networks for peace and learned *"…how to deal with the sometimes very violent political situations."* She states: *"Hopefully we can impede people from dying during political campaigns!"*

In AER 2018, the evaluators stated: *"We would just like to remind PAOs and implementers that conflicts within parties, between parties and among different groups such as tribes, religious followers, ethnical groups, etc. are indeed frequent. Especially during election periods conflict do afflict and concern PYPA participants and alumni. It is important to maintain this topic on the PYPA curriculum since it is a widely recognised problem. We could always argue that youth will never be able to influence bigger, national conflicts stemming from deeply rooted divergences, but as in the case of national policies, we must assume that the youth will take on leadership if they have not already done so, and that they have to start practise now."*

Since PYPA started, there have been several instances of programme participants/alumni working together for peaceful elections and conflict settlement in times of political unrest.

For instance, in 2014, in Mozambique several PYPA youth report to have had the opportunity to apply their knowledge on conflict resolution directly during the electoral campaign. PYPA youth refused to participate in military conflict and to be used as militia at a time when Renamo (Opposition party of Frelimo, that eventually won the elections) was threatening to take up the civil war again.[25]

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[25] PYPA Programme Evaluation Report 2012-2014

In the same year: *"During the popular uprising of October 2014 in Burkina Faso which led to the President stepping down, some participants played a vital role; e.g. xx name (PYPA 2013) and xx name (PYPA 2014) from the leading opposition party. They were among the ones who convinced the opposition leaders to demand the resignation of President Blaise Compaoré."* Also, in the general elections of 2016, the alumni of Niger implemented a project promoting non-violent elections with the support of the UNDP.[26]

In 2018, some PYPA participants from Zambia (SEA) took the initiative to organise a 'Solidarity March' against political violence in conjunction with a by-election in Chilanga, a small town outside Lusaka. During the march, members from different parties dressed in their respective party regalia and marched side by side, accompanied by a live band and handed over a petition to the Electoral Commission of Zambia and Zambian Police. The event was initiated and fully organised by the participants and got a lot of positive media coverage.[27]

3.5 Mini-projects

Mini-projects have become an integrated part of PYPA training in all regions and provide important opportunities for implementing tools and skills from PYPA in a "real life context". Many of the projects in the first phase of PYPA, 2012-2015, focused on capacity building through training, mainly youth within the parties, women and students, and several replicated the PYPA curriculum. In 2016, 2017 and 2018 there has been more of this. There are also examples of mini projects taking on a wider scope such as campaigns against female genital mutilation, child marriage, conflict management, registration of voters, anti-corruption, youth-issues in society and/or political parties, quotas for youth/women on electoral lists, civic education, etc. A summary of PAOs and regional implementers accounts on mini projects 2016-2018 is attached in Appendix IV.

We consider mini-projects a very important component of the training, and our recommendation throughout the years has been that PYPA participants should have the opportunity to carry out mini and/or alumni projects also in the future, so that participants would get a chance to implement what they have learned. Mini-projects have indeed been carried out in all of the countries in EA, WA, SEA and SA in 2016-2018. In EA, SEA and WA, multiparty national groups are formed, while in SA the youth from each party runs a project.

In previous AERs, we have mentioned the importance of contextualising and operationalising the theoretical concepts dealt with in the lectures in general, so that the participants can transform them into tools in their everyday socio-political contexts.

Mini-projects are also important for participants to train accountability and integrity, and to walk their talk, also when it comes to financial management and fund raising. For many participants, mini-projects represent the first experience of budgeting and managing funds.

Regional implementers have also used the projects for training in integrity, transparency, anti-corruption, and accountability using mini-projects as practical examples.

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[26] United Nations Development Programme
[27] Green Forum, Annual Regional Report 2018

4. LONG TERM SUSTAINABILITY

Alumni activities, together with activities targeted towards mother parties, are important cornerstones in the strategy for safeguarding long-term sustainability after participants' graduation in PYPA.

4.1 Alumni activities

The opportunities related to becoming an "alumni" are now well known among PYPA graduates, who are indeed keen on keeping up their networks with other alumni as well as with implementers and facilitators of PYPA.

The evaluators have encouraged alumni activities in PYPA since the start and we have always considered alumni and mother party activities as the most important PYPA components for long term sustainability of the programme. The idea of the alumni networks is to keep the processes of the programme going, also beyond graduation, and to continue to work towards the common programme objective: youths' increased participation and influence within politics and work for democracy and rights.

The work with alumni has been an important learning context for PAOs and managers in PYPA through the years. PYPA Phase II started after one year fully dedicated to alumni with several alumni projects dealing with themes related to human rights, the youth and gender issues and conflict resolution and advanced training events for PYPA alumni about leadership, campaigning, economic development, etc.

The results from the alumni activities have been, and continue to be, rewarding indeed for the programme as a whole.

In 2016-2018, participants as well as alumni express that they wish to get continuous support from fellow young politicians as well as from PYPA staff and facilitators, to keep developing and learning, exchanging experiences, knowledge and advice as well as support in campaigning or running for offices.

Many participants mention that they would like continuous training and "technical support" in order to have enough knowledge as politicians and good leaders. Training in all topics that are already part of the PYPA curriculum are requested. More training in campaigning in the year or the years before elections is one of the most commonly requested topics. One need that is recurring (since 2012) is knowledge on and training in self-sufficiency (entrepreneurship) and fundraising.

Many participants and alumni emphasise that it is important that PYPA keeps monitoring and evaluating their progress and activities. Interviewees continuously ask the PYPA management to hold them and other alumni accountable. Some alumni have indicated that the continued contact with PYPA, colleagues and facilitators is empowering them in their relations with the mother party.

In 2018, some of the participants have asked for assistance from PYPA facilitators in training their own party members in the youth section. This is an approach that has also been tested in the mini project and alumni/mother party work in SA and SEA in 2018 as well as in Kenya 2016. An advanced training was organised in late 2016, directed towards alumni *and* youth working at the party secretariats in interparty dialogue in front of the upcoming elections.. We will get back to this later.

Space for regional (and local) diversification

The alumni component is an important complement to the basic trainings and is a particularly interesting aspect of the evaluation for several reasons. One of the reasons is that while the basic curriculum has remained mainly the same in all of the PYPA regions, the alumni component has left more room for diversification and adjustment to fit regional contexts. The diversification has been subject to several discussions with PAOs, regional managers and implementers, not least at the partnership days. Concerns have been raised by PAOs and implementers themselves on whether they are doing the right things, and whether they are doing things in the right way. The team of evaluators have also observed and commented on the progress and challenges of the alumni networks.

The contexts as regards youth organisation are quite different in the different regions: from SA on one extreme, where the youth wings of the main political parties are political actors in their own right, and WA on the other, where the youth wings have very little autonomy, if they exist at all (with the exception of Senegal), and EA and SEA somewhere in the middle. This has consequences on the way the regional PYPA implementers look at alumni activities. Where WA sees the alumni networks as a crucial way of providing fora for youth to organise and advocate for youth issues, SA has chosen not to encourage the creation of alumni networks since they would constitute a duplication of, and even a competitor to, the party youth wings and to the national youth councils, which also are stronger actors in SA than in the other regions.

In Appendix V, the reader will find a summary of alumni activities 2016-2018. Below is an account on some of the most important differences in how activities were planned and organised:

In **EA**, the content and the approach of the alumni activities has changed since 2015. There was a strong focus on alumni projects and many good results and positive experiences reported from the alumni teams up until 2015. Since then, KIC and the regional implementers in EA have reflected on the best way of doing something useful for a bigger group of alumni. KIC also wanted to avoid competition among a large number of project proposals with a restrained budget and the opportunity of carrying out an alumni project. The KIC representative states: *"In EA in 2015, we received 42 applications from teams of alumni, and there was only money to carry out 9. This has made us change our approach, and during 2016-2018 we have worked more with events accessible to all alumni than with alumni projects or building on the structures as such."*

In 2017 and 2018, two of the alumni activities have been used by the evaluators in the AERs to exemplify how issues that are particularly relevant for PYPA youth can be emphasised also at the alumni-stage. The alumni conference in 2017 was an event organised exclusively for female alumni from the three PYPA-countries in EA. The alumni activity in 2018 was carried out as three workshops in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania themed "Money in Politics – what does it mean for youth participation". From the EA Regional report 2018: *"Priority was given to those alumni who are active in the structures of the national youth leagues of the participating parties and those working in the party secretariats. The workshops were not just an opportunity to network across cohort years, but also a space to share experiences about the use of money within politics and create a shared awareness on the magnitude of the problem. During the workshop, strategies on how to deal with money in politics as an impediment to youth full participation in the governance of their respective parties and countries were agreed on and shared. An event report covering the three workshops was elaborated and published."*

In **WA** in 2017 and 2018, alumni sessions have been organised the year after graduation for the 2016 and 2017 alumni from the second phase countries Ivory Coast, Togo and Senegal. In the first phase countries Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali, national two-day sessions have been organised in each country in 2016, 2017 and 2018. Also, in each of the four countries and each year, the alumni from Benin, Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso were given the opportunity to carry out alumni projects funded and supported by PYPA. One example of such a project is the two-day training session carried out for 30 young politicians on political ideology, democratic leadership, good governance and gender (Niger 2018). Two additional examples are the alumni projects in Mali and Benin 2017. They consisted of a "Foire des partis politiques", a political "fair" or exhibition where all political parties were invited to present their political programmes with a view to sensitise the population about party politics. It was the third edition in Benin and the second one in Mali. The idea is to create a space for debate between politicians and citizens about democracy, development and politics. The seven PYPA alumni networks also continue to carry out activities independently of events coordinated by IGD and CIS.

In May 2018 the regional management in WA delivered a working paper for PYPA 2019-2020. One of the sections about alumni reads: "*IGD believes it is necessary to revise the strategy regarding the alumni networks. To start with, the alumni were encouraged to formalise the networks and mobilise resources for implementation of activities. This strategy has had positive effects as it has allowed to consolidate the interparty dialogue in all the countries. But today we observe that the alumni networks are becoming civil society organisations in their own right, and that the networks have become too institutionalised. This is starting to have a negative effect on the alumni's political commitments within their parties, as they devote more and more time to mobilise resources for and carry out activities with the alumni networks. This is particularly true for the alumni who are members of the small political parties.*
Some leaders of the alumni networks are now more active in the alumni networks and some are no longer active in their parties at all. Some alumni are more known in their countries as leaders of civil society organisations than as politicians. Leaders of some mother parties have started complaining, arguing that PYPA alumni are now more active in the networks than in the parties.

It is a matter of choice and priority: what is the most important for PYPA? Is it to create and maintain an interparty dialogue which can advocate for changes on a national level? Or is it to create influential young politicians who can effectively represent youth and advocate for changes both within their parties, and influence policy on a national level? IGD argues for the second option because interparty dialogue is no longer an urgent issue in most of West Africa due to the changes in the political landscape since 2012. It was relevant in Burkina Faso under President Blaise Compaoré, for example, or today in Togo. But in countries like Benin, Niger, Senegal, etc., the most important is to assist young politicians to be more influential in their parties and to evolve as national or local politicians.

IGD thus recommends that alumni networks should be modest in their ambitions and play the role of an informal platform for networking and exchange of experiences rather than becoming formal structures mobilizing their own resources and implementing their own activity plans."

In **SEA**, the alumni work and the ordinary training sessions and mini projects have been tightly intertwined. From the Regional report 2018: "*In both Zambia and Malawi, participants have initiated, and registered multi-party youth organisations called Centre for Young Leaders in Africa (CYLA), one for each country. Although these organisations resulted from the first PYPA academy in 2016, they are now independent from the programme and is showing steady signs of professionalisation.*

In Zambia, CYLA has received support from NDI, the National Institute for Democracy related to organisational development. In Malawi, CYLA has been accredited by the Malawi Electoral Commission to conduct civic education in the run up of the national elections in 2019. CYLA Malawi has also managed to get all political parties to sign a communiqué where they commit to increase youth participation in their structures. In both countries CYLA have engaged with national institutional platforms for interparty dialogue; Centre for Multiparty Democracy Malawi (CMD:M) and Zambia Centre for Interparty Dialogue (ZCID) respectively."

We recall that there were discussions at Steering Committee meetings and at the Partnership meetings, in which representatives of SA, EA and WA as well as the evaluator team were providing good advice to the implementers of SEA, building on experiences mentioned above. At the Partnership meeting in March 2019, the GF implementers hold, however, that the two new structures are being successful.

In **SA**, the regional implementers have followed a somewhat different strategy than the rest of the PYPA regions regarding the multi-party approach as well as the alumni-structures. Regional implementers take care not to build new multi-party structures (consisting of PYPA alumni) outside of the national youth councils that exist already to bring civil society and political party youth together, in order not to duplicate, and to avoid conflict or competition with mother bodies. Instead there has been an ambition, especially during 2018 to link the PYPA programme more directly with the leadership of the full youth wings executive (board) of the mother parties. The PYPA management tried a new approach in PYPA, by training the youth wings of seven parties. The workshops were organised for all executive members and were not announced as "alumni meetings", but at each meeting one or more PYPA alumni would attend. Meetings were held in: South Africa (DA and ANC) and Namibia (SWAPO and PDM). 295 persons were trained through these workshops.

It is clear that the work with alumni has been a learning process for PYPA partners, and that contributes to the fact that they are better at planning in a more strategic way how to deal with the limited economic resources, and how to best work towards the objectives of alumni.

Comparing strategic choices

In WA and EA, PYPA has been used to build networks that were not there before. During PYPA Phase II, the strategy of PAOs and implementers has been to continue to work with alumni for long-term sustainability, but that experiences and learning processes along the way have made it necessary to move away from the thought of assisting alumni structures from PYPA. As we have seen, this does not mean that there are no alumni activities for long term sustainability in WA and EA, but that PYPA partners have adapted a different strategy. In EA, one of the working methods has been conferences (one conference on the empowerment of women in 2017 and one on money in politics in 2018). In WA, partners are moving away from "formal (alumni) structures mobilising their own resources and implementing their own activity plans" towards "informal platforms for networking and exchange of experiences".

If we compare the approaches of the three "original" PYPA regions, we can see that the PYPA management in SA has decided against working with alumni networks as structures, since national multiparty structures already existed. In WA and EA, PYPA networks that were not there before, have been built.

During PYPA Phase II, the strategy of PAOs and implementers has been to continue to work with alumni for long-term sustainability, but that experiences and learning processes

along the way have made it necessary to move away from the thought of assisting alumni structures from PYPA in EA. In WA, the alumni networks have been stable and active since 2012.[28]

As we have seen, this does not mean that there are no alumni activities for long term sustainability in WA and EA, but that PYPA partners have adapted a different strategy.

In SEA, the newest PYPA region, participants together with PYPA partners saw the need of establishing alumni networks, which have been given the name CYLA. GF have explained their thoughts about the importance of assisting Zambian and Malawian youth in building their platforms, since no such multiparty fora were available before. GF also reports on how a number of activities (mainly the mini- and alumni projects of 2017 and 2018) carried out through the CYLA networks promote youth issues, and permitted for the participants and alumni to work together in applying the Human Rights Based Approach. As one of the evaluators' interviews a Zambian alumnus who was among the participants strongly sustaining the idea of building the CYLA platforms, he narrates: *"At one of the first sessions I made friends with a colleague in Malawi. We both really enjoyed PYPA and none of us had attended such a useful training before. It covered so many things that we felt that we really needed. I talked to my colleague and said to him: 'They are investing in us in this way, and then what? Is all this just going to end? There should be a longer-term ambition in this project.' He answered: 'Hey, they are donors, that's what they do. They come here, give us this training and then they go back. We can't expect anything else from them.'"*

As the interview continues, the evaluator describes some of the difficulties encountered in WA and EA related to alumni networks and we discuss what the CYLA can possibly do to avoid and/or solve some of these difficulties. The interviewee confirms that also in SEA there have been initial conflicts related to leadership and positions as well as to the accountancy of one of the mini/alumni projects, but that most of them have been overcome by now. Policies and administrative procedures are being put in place which makes CYLA more solid. *"It makes it easier for us to position ourselves as we collaborate with other organisations, such as donors, but it also defines the policies for us, the youth who bear the responsibility to continue to build and maintain it"*, he says. As for the risk of mother party representatives feeling excluded, the interviewee confirms that senior executives from mother parties have been included and that the mother parties have welcomed and supported CYLA from the start.

In the case of WA, we have seen that the priority has been set as to: "create influential politicians who can advocate for changes both within their parties, and once they have reached influence, on a national level". It is not clear to the evaluators whether the rest of the PYPA regions would describe their priorities with the same words. We will return to this discussion in our concluding remarks in Chapter 6.

4.2 PAO and regional implementers' interaction with mother parties

The relationship between the PYPA management and the mother parties is crucial for long-term sustainability.

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[28] Comment from CIS: "The situation is very variable from country to country. Some networks , like Niger, actually have their own headquarters. Others like Côte d'Ivoire are more informal but very active. At any rate, all seven countries have actual networks with elected boards, but only a few (like Niger) are recognized legally, while others like Senegal and Benin are less formal."

PAOs and regional implementers have carried out mother party meetings annually throughout PYPA Phase II. The aim of these meetings is to present PYPA and its objectives to mother parties; to get feedback from the mother parties on how to improve the program, and to share PYPA partner's needs and inform them how they can assist the program. In Appendix VI, the reader will find an account on meetings and involvement of mother party representatives in PYPA 2016-2018 from the Annual regional reports 2016, 2017 and 2018.

Also, the evaluators have followed up on mother party representatives with the aim to give mother parties feedback about the long-term impact of PYPA, and to let them give us feedback and share reflections on PYPA and what it means to participants and their parties.[29] Yet another aim is to verify and compare with statements provided by participants, PAOs, implementers and facilitators. Narratives from mother party representatives have mainly been integrated into PER 2016-2018.

In 2018, CIS and the regional manager from WA reports: "Most of the mother party leaders are very enthusiastic about involving the alumni in trainings within the party and associating them in political campaigns... *"All parties were enthusiastic about the program and consequently collaborated during the selection process" "… Increasingly, mother party leaders are becoming more open about political rights: they are no longer rejecting for example the age criterion used in PYPA or blaming the youth. Their interest in the programme has been growing as well as their willingness to give more space for the youth. 86% of the PYPA alumni from 2017-2018 also attended the annual meetings with mother parties."*

The concern about alumni not getting the opportunity to apply what they have learned in PYPA, and hence not emerging as leaders in their mother parties has been raised by PYPA partners at the annual PYPA Partnership meetings. There is consensus among PYPA partners that the regional implementers must keep vigilant of the risk that the alumni networks become alternative platforms for youth who are tired of trying to get influence in their parties. At the Partnership meeting 2019, one of the implementers emphasised the importance of stressing this matter as regional implementers speak to the mother party representatives, keeping in mind the important learnings from alumni network building in EA, WA and SA over the years.

At the same Partnership meeting, the PYPA partners recall their limited possibility to effectively influence the actions of mother party seniors. PYPA partners will continue to do what they can as they meet mother party representatives, but participants and alumni bear the duty to "walk their talk" as they come back to their mother parties after graduation from PYPA, and as they take on positions.

Like with the alumni activities, the regions have had the possibility to adjust the mother party approach to the regional and national contexts, and the approach differed some among the four regions.

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[29] In 2016-2018, we have carried out interviews with 19 mother party representatives representing majority as well as opposition parties in the three regions.

SA is the region which has had the most focus on mother party activities from 2012 and onwards. In 2018, SA has organised training activities that were integrated in the youth wing activities by training the executives of youth wings of seven parties.[30]

Although SA's approach to mother party collaboration is a bit different than that of the other three regions, some similar initiatives have been taken also in SEA, EA and WA. I.e. training has been offered to participants and/or alumni and mother party and/or youth executive party representatives at the same time also in the other PYPA-regions.

In SEA, some party representatives (mainly members of the youth wing but also some from the youth wing leadership) participated at the two alumni events in Malawi and Zambia. The SEA regional management announced that they have the ambition to continue to organise more alumni meetings in collaboration with mother parties, hence inviting non-PYPA alumni youth also in the coming two years. In EA, youth executives have been invited and participated for several years at the alumni sessions. In WA, mother party and youth executive members are also invited to attend some of the basic training sessions, as well as alumni-projects.

In SA, mother party youth leagues were contacted, and offered the following themes for workshops: Strategy and policy to increase economic participation of youth; Impactful leadership and communication skills;
Essential candidates training: for party and country elections; Increasing youth wing impact on party policy and leadership and Mobilising youth: community, workers, students and civil society.

The workshops were organised mainly for the national youth executives of the parties, and were not announced as "alumni meetings", but at each meeting a few PYPA alumni would attend. Some of the workshops were also attended by a few representatives from the senior leadership.

One of the evaluators attended three of these workshops, and we would like to share a part of our fieldnotes from one of them: *"The facilitator and I both found the majority of the group somewhat arrogant, not respecting the schedule, sometimes on the phone and speaking during the session. Nevertheless, as I spoke to participants during breaks, they confirmed that the content was very interesting. During the concluding part of the 1 ½ day session, several participants (especially the female) confessed that they recognise that the knowledge and skills would be very useful, if only the party seniors would let them practise what they had learned. Only two PYPA alumni were present, and whenever their party colleagues would not pay attention, they would call for order, and excuse the behaviour of the group to the facilitator and to me. These two participants were clearly the most educated, serious and skilled individuals in the group. We like to think that PYPA has made this difference to them as leaders, as they themselves described it when I got the opportunity to talk to them during interviews. I could confirm, together with the facilitator, that the two PYPA alumni had a more reflective and modest attitude than their fellow party comrades."*

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[30] In SA 2017, ETU trained 30 leaders from the governing parties in Namibia, Mozambique, Tanzania and South Africa through a separate project co-funded by OPC and SIDA. Interviewees who represented the mother parties in evaluation-interviews referred to the training as "PYPA training".

Another quote on the same note, from a West African alumna, who has paid attention to the difference between PYPA youth, and youth who have not had the opportunity to attend:

"I collaborated with alumni as part of the German Foundation Konrad Adenauer activities, and in that collaboration PYPA participants stood out in comparison with other participants." (Woman, WA, 2013)

5. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Learnings and tools developed – the basic PYPA training

As shown earlier in this report, the regional implementers and the facilitators can now confidently refer back to experiences from several years of activities. There is also plenty of evidence that the basic training generally works well. Some of the approaches that did not work so well have been refined and adjusted and PAOs and facilitators now know better where difficulties might occur, how to bring concepts closer to the everyday life of the young politicians, what skills and tools will be most useful for participants in the future, etc. The basic training can obviously be improved, but there is now a good exchange between PAOs and regional implementers. The training follows a common programme with very few regional adjustments.

As we browse through AERs from PYPA 2012-2014 the discourse in the PYPA partner group dealt mainly with questions, exchange of experience and recommendations related to the basic training as well as the facilitation and interrelation between mainly the implementers/facilitators and the participants.

PAOs and implementers have used the PYPA basic training modules and the manual as an important point-of reference in the operative work. To provide political training to a large amount of youth has been and continues to be a central focus for all of the PYPA regions from the very start of the programme.

The update of the course manual in this period led to much more coherence in terms of the teaching done in different regions. The manual has doubled in size and has become more of a learning aid, as well as a take-away resource for ongoing use and for teaching others in parties.

The youth and the gender perspectives

The **youth perspective** permeates the entire PYPA programme, which means that practically anything done to improve the basic training is done to achieve the long-term programme objective. We will not discuss learning and tools developed in relation to the youth issue here, but will instead focus on the gender activities, and measures taken, so as to widen the human rights perspective.

Gender

Issues related to gender are – just like the youth perspectives - at the very core of PYPA, is an important part of the ToC as well as the PYPA curriculum.

In AER 2016, we raised the issue of **gender** equal representation and opportunities during the training sessions.

We have talked at Partnership meetings and Steering Committee meetings about the importance of giving women and men equal time and equal attention when speaking in front of the group or in group discussion, equal amount of responsibility in group work etc. We have also indicated that the guidelines on gender, with practical suggestions on how to monitor and handle gender issues[31] elaborated by one of the PYPA colleagues at KIC can be used as a tool by facilitators. In 2018 we also encouraged a stronger gender mainstreaming of mini projects. The WA partners suggested that a gender-mainstreaming checklist could be produced by PAOs and implementers, shared among the four regions and used in mini-projects.

Women's meetings (during training sessions) is another way of giving extra support to female participants. They are appreciated by female participants in all regions. Women still report being sexually harassed by male colleagues within the political field or having their competence questioned simply because they are women. In these exclusively female forums however, they get the opportunity to share and discuss how to tackle the challenges they face as female politicians. Facilitators get a chance to stimulate solidarity, collaboration and empowerment among women.

During 2017, a *Grand Alumni Women's Conference* was organised in EA for three days in December 2017. All female alumni from PYPA EA 2012-2014 and 2016-2017 were invited. 36 women representing all three program countries, 15 parties and all PYPA cohorts from 2012 and onwards participated in the event. Participants reflected on the common challenges that (young) women share in politics.
The need for women to support each other and join forces to change unfavourable conditions was emphasised by the entire group. One of the highlights of the conference was the contribution made by Honourable Miriam Matembe[32], who spoke much on integrity and female leadership in politics, and became a role model for the conference participants. Several of the alumnae present at the conference also hold posts within the youth leagues, women's leagues or the mainstream party. Some participants hold or have held elected political positions.

The importance of **role models** has been emphasised also in WA, where women politicians have been invited regularly to hold inspirational speeches during training sessions since PYPA Phase I.

At the end of the last PYPA session of 2017 in WA, one alumnus Mr Moussa Baldé had been invited to tell the story of how he served as the PR and campaign manager for his wife during the 2017 parliamentary elections, and assisted her with knowledge and skills that he had acquired in PYPA. She is now the youngest member of parliament of Senegal.

In SA, the 2018 academy for the first time achieved over 60% female representation and facilitators noted that this made a big difference to the participation of women and the level of tolerance and openness in debate, especially around gender and human rights.

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[31] One simple tool suggested in the guidelines is observing the number of women, and the number of men who talk during sessions, and for how long they talk. Guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming PYPA, Elisabeth Kring, KIC 2013

[32] Mrs Miriam Matembe participated in the process of making the Ugandan Constitution 1995. She was also a member of parliament and represented Uganda at the Pan-African Parliament and was the first Ethics and Integrity Minister.

A widened human rights perspective

Regional implementers and facilitators have been encouraged in the AERs 2016-2018 to widen the HRBA, so that it would continue to integrate not only youth and women, but also other groups and perspectives that risk being marginalised. Examples of such groups: LGBTQ-persons, people with disabilities, albinos, rural populations and individuals belonging to certain ethnic groups and/or clans.

In 2016, the evaluators emphasised the importance of relating the PYPA students' field-visits at shelters for women and children (WA and SEA), orphanages (EA), destitute homes (EA), elderly homes (EA), the Apartheid Museum (SA) and a degraded neighbourhood (SA) to the module on discrimination, inequalities and human rights. We also stressed that these visits and the discussions lead to concrete policy suggestions on how to make a positive impact.

In 2017 we followed up on what measures had been taken in the three regions (plus the new PYPA region SEA) and found that visits had been improved by an introductive and preparative talk, as well as a follow-up session in the regions. We therefore recommended regions to keep up the good work.

The **LGBTQI issues** have been dealt with at length in 2016 and 2017 at the PYPA partnership meetings though, since they are often subject to heated discussions at training sessions. In the interviews with PYPA 2018 participants from SEA, the issue was brought up by several interviewees. Again, just like in previous years, some interviewees reflect in an openminded way, while others indicate that LGBTQI issues represent values in the northern hemisphere of the globe.
Representatives of the latter opinion argue, just like earlier years and in the rest of the PYPA regions that these issues contravene with "traditional African" values.

PAOs and implementers have discussed how to deal with such situations, and now come more prepared for doing that. The dialogue continues, however, and in the AER of 2017, the evaluators conclude: "*PYPA's group of facilitators can be described as highly multi-cultural, skilled and experienced. However, when external facilitators are used, implementers need to remember that PYPA has been a tremendous learning journey for all involved. The implementers and PYPA facilitators clearly have knowledge and skills that external facilitators may not possess. Our recommendation… is that implementers and facilitators take care to pass on their knowledge whenever external facilitators are involved and continue to be mindful when providing own examples.*"

The recommendation was made, so as to encourage facilitators to use examples that are close to the everyday-context and hence within conceptual reach of youth.

Corruption and money in politics

Examples of measures that can be taken, so as to facilitate participants' training, and providing tools for fighting corruption regard exchanging and spreading good examples on anti-corruption from previous PYPA years across the regions and paying attention to that so that as many opportunities as possible are given to practical training about anti-corruption (mini- or alumni projects are good fora for practice).

Furthermore, the concept of integrity has been used successfully in the training in anti-corruption in EA 2016 and 2018 and might be one feasible tool for other regions to consider. Several interviewees linked corruption to the integrity of politicians in general as well as to their own personal integrity.

Participants talked about integrity in terms of standing up for political ethics and democratic values in the face of corruption. Women also talked about integrity in terms of protecting themselves from bad reputation or blackmailing by not putting themselves in difficult situations, dressing or behaving in a certain way, or associating with certain groups or persons.

In 2018 in EA, the three alumni workshops organised on the topic "Money in Politics – what does it mean for youth participation?" and the event report containing key points of the discussion and suggested strategies to boost youth participation was one of the tools tested.

One of the key informants who teaches campaigning emphasised that it is important that the facilitators take care to spread good examples and encourage constructive thoughts about how youth can actually do good in elections, even without big sums of money. The interviewee says: *"One important question is: How can you be sure that people who receive handouts will vote for you and not for somebody else?"* He continues: *"Youth are so convinced that if they only get that money, they will succeed, and if they don't, there is no way they are going to make it. I try to give constructive examples that show how you can succeed without having money, to change that negative outlook."*

A request has been repeated by participants every year from 2012, about PYPA organising training in entrepreneurship and/or fundraising. The idea would be to fight young politicians' dependency on older and more influential politicians. We have discussed it with PYPA partners. We respect the reply given by PAOs and implementers in dialogues, and fully understand that there is no possibility to extend the PYPA curriculum as for now. We have, however suggested that partners consider collaboration with other organisations. Maybe an alumni-activity about self-employment, fund raising and/or entrepreneurship can be organised in the future? The regional manager from WA suggests that an advocacy campaign could be organised as a mini project or an alumni activity, to plead for public financing of young candidates? He states: *"In WA, governments provide financial support for parties and candidates, but only party leaders are benefiting from it. To have a special fund for young candidates would be a good option."*

We also learn from answers to the self-assessment questionnaires from 2018 that a session on fundraising (resource mobilisation) is already included in the WA programme. In the report on the workshops about "Money in politics" mentioned above, some suggestions about how resource mobilisation can be done can also be found.

Conflict prevention and management

Participants and alumni have had the opportunity to practise the issue of conflict prevention and conflict management in various ways. This training module has been much appreciated, and participants and alumni confirm that it is useful for them in their everyday socio-political contexts. In real life conflict situations experienced in Kenya, Zambia, Burkina Faso and Mozambique, PYPA alumni played a constructive role in managing and ending conflict.

One important tool that permits for participants to put conflict prevention, and all of the rest of the perspectives above into practice are the mini- (and alumni) projects.

Sustainable development

In 2018, we have noticed a general concern among PYPA participants to find solutions to the challenges related to **sustainable development**, the environment and natural resources. The concern can be discerned in some of the alumni interviews in 2018.

Alumni speak of the threats to the environment, natural resources, wildlife and the subsequent climate change as important societal and political challenges that they consider crucial to address. There is also a growing concern that regards governments selling natural resources to foreign states.

Though this has not been a challenge explicitly mentioned in the baseline questionnaires, it should be added to the general context background in PYPA. Sustainable development is already part of the PYPA curriculum and this year it has been indicated as one of the most commonly mentioned (especially in SEA, but also in WA and EA) as we ask participants what parts of the PYPA training they appreciated particularly.

Recommendations related to the PYPA content

PYPA carried out with the current basic training works well and is perfectly in line with the challenges indicated in the participants' baseline questionnaires. The PYPA partners have engaged in important learning processes, and several important tools have been developed and refined along the way. Some minor regional adjustments have been made.

The great majority of participants (and alumni) are indeed very happy with the way the training is carried out, and with the facilitators.

Our recommendation in relation to the basic PYPA training is to keep what is already being done, and to continue the important dialogue among PAOs and regional implementers about what works and what works less well. The group should continue to monitor and self-assess trainings in aspects such as gender and anti-corruption as well as the broadened human rights perspective.

The programme is already quite intense, and there are indications from some participants in all four regions that sessions are sometimes too busy, and time is too short. Therefore we encourage PAOs and implementers not to add new topics to the basic agenda.

Although sustainable development is already part of the PYPA curriculum in all regions, PAOs and implementers can work more on exchanging experiences, ideas and methods on the topic. We also encourage implementers and facilitators to remember that the economic development discourse in PYPA is closely intertwined with the issue of sustainable development. Perhaps these two sessions could be linked together in a more evident way also during the PYPA training? In 2017 and 2018 a facilitator from SA assisted in EA and SEA PYPA to build the links between sustainable development and economic development especially in terms of infrastructure and agriculture.

We strongly recommend that the integration of issues such as human rights and anti-discrimination, anti-corruption, and – last, but not least – sustainable and economic development are integrated throughout the policy section in the trainings.

5.2 Long term sustainability – alumni and mother party activities

The learning processes of PYPA partners have been dealt with at length in section 4.1. We will therefore not dwell on them here.

PAOs and implementers know their own regional settings very well, and there are numerous differences in regional and national socio-political contexts. Furthermore, contexts are everchanging.

The four regions have been innovative in trying various components and contents in the alumni activities. Some of the topics that PAOs and regional implementers found particularly relevant and important for alumni to be trained in, have been integrated into the alumni training (for instance economic development in SA 2018, Money in politics in EA 2018 and politics and social media (including fake news and negative use and effects)/conflict management/the role of political parties in elections in SEA 2018.

We believe that a clearer and more strategic approach to alumni and mother party activities from the PYPA management in the four regions, would facilitate monitoring and evaluation of progress and learning processes among PAOs and regional implementers. This would also help PAOs and implementers to prioritise activities and spending so that they become more efficient and targeted depending on what the objectives are.

Evaluators also recognise our important responsibility here, since we will operationalise the expected outcomes in the long-term-perspective and transform them into questions to be posed to alumni in interviews and questionnaires. For instance: in AER 2018 we have suggested that questions related to participants' multiparty collaboration *outside* of PYPA should be omitted from questionnaires and interview guides while participants are still attending their basic training in PYPA.

From the evaluators' perspective it appears more relevant to follow this up at alumni level, to see what (multiparty) networks live on or are created several years after graduation from PYPA. But for us to follow this and other threads at programme level, a clearer shared strategy would definitely be of help.

At the Partnership meeting 2019, we used the strategy example from WA to illustrate what we meant, though we do not recommend to try to simply "copy and paste". Neither do we mean that this needs to be a lengthy formal document. Maybe PAOs and regional implementers (and evaluators) could revise the long term sustainability part of ToC and/or have a closer look at the Result Matrices 2016-2018 and 2019-2020 to confirm objective(s) and strategies in a longer-term perspective.

We, hence. encourage PYPA partners to ponder on what the overarching objective of alumni (and mother party) activities are, according to them, and what strategies and activities they are planning to use in order to work in that direction.

In the AER of 2016, 2017 and 2018 the evaluators have recommended PYPA partners to monitor approximately how many PYPA alumni remain in politics, and whether they are getting positions from which they can change structures and influence policy. This monitoring activity has been carried out and is being finalised as we write this. The results will be shared in the coming reports.

We find the idea of carrying out trainings in collaboration with the youth wing, the way it has been done in SA interesting. It can contribute to empowering the PYPA alumni in their own youth structure, but most importantly it gives youth wings the possibility to choose a topic that they need to be trained in, and more youth can reap the benefits from at least a part of the PYPA training.

One of the evaluators attended meetings in SA and SEA where youth party representatives and members as well as alumni were present, hence the groups were "mixed".

At the PYPA Partnership meeting of 2019, the regional manager and the evaluator reflected together on the fact that implementers should not underestimate what PYPA participants learn in their PYPA training, in terms of leadership, tolerance, conflict management, respect and teamwork but also knowledge about the topics that are being discussed. Organising trainings attended by alumni and other party members/youth executives may present challenges that facilitators may want to reflect on prior to conducting the training. Perhaps, when (youth) executive meetings such as those arranged in SA in 2018 are organised, the regional implementers could try see to that more than just one or a few alumni to attend, so that there would be a clearer link with PYPA? After all, meetings are funded with PYPA money.

Recommendations – long term sustainability

Our recommendation to the PYPA partners in relation to the alumni activities is to develop a strategy for alumni and mother party activities in PYPA. PYPA partners should continue to be innovative and flexible in adjusting their alumni and mother party approaches to the regional (and local contexts). Keep up the good work in exchanging thoughts on why things are done, what the main target groups are, methods and tools as well as expected outcomes.

The recommendation for PAOs and implementers in relation to mother party activities is to keep up the good work with maintaining the good relations and dialogue with mother parties.

The evaluators would also appreciate a dialogue with PYPA partners on how partners conceive of the overall long-term objective for PYPA alumni and how we can monitor and evaluate progress.

5.3 Exchange among PAOs and implementers in the PYPA regions

A dynamic exchange of learning experiences and knowledge is taking place in the group of PAOs and implementers.

It is, indeed, interesting and encouraging to observe the gradual change that the group has gone through in terms of learning and exchange. Exchange-visits are taking place. The regional manager from EA, has been engaged to facilitate some of the sessions in SEA, and EA invited the regional manager from SA to do the same. Youth representatives from CYLA, (the two alumni networks of SEA) have met and exchanged experiences with PYPA alumni network representatives in EA, etc. There are however fewer exchanges with WA, mainly due to language barriers.

As we meet at the PYPA Partnership days, implementers confidently tell the rest of the group about good practice, but they also share experiences about challenges and problems. The Partnership meeting in March 2019 was introduced by PAOs and regional implementers sharing a "good practice" from each region. This became a quite concrete exercise, and PAOs and regional implementers focused on approaches and contents at the overall organisational level.

In 2017, in a "learning seminar" we had a dialogue with PAOs on "good practice". We then also covered good practice at participant level, i.e. examples of mini-projects or other activities carried out by participants and/or alumni related to any of the PYPA topics and expected outcomes. The evaluators encouraged PYPA partners to disseminate some of these examples in their respective regions, so that PYPA participants could be inspired by these "good practices".

We now see how regions unite in one common "PYPA spirit". They use the Sida application as their common document. The Result Matrix is used as one of the important cornerstones for evaluating whether the expected Outcomes and Outputs are achieved. As we have seen, the curriculum does differ a bit among the four regions, as Regional Managers have become more confident, after continuously having enhanced "what works" and adjusted what did not work so well. Some regions emphasise certain topics or tools more than others. The work with alumni (and mother parties) is the part of the programme where we as evaluators see that the approach differs the most between the regions.

We see this as an exciting development potential in PYPA and are looking forward to continue to follow the different approaches, learning processes and learning experiences that will come out of that.

Recommendations about exchange among PYPA partners

The only recommendation that we can give on this matter is for PAOs and implementers to keep up the good work to maintain this excellent arena for learning, reusing what works, and removing what does not, so that it becomes sustainable over time.

The exchange of "good practice" should be a standing item on the agenda of the annual Partnership meetings.

As for "good practice" at the participant level, we strongly recommend that PAOs and regional implementers analyse some cases of good practice that could be used for disseminating to new groups of participants in their own region as well as to youth in other PYPA regions.

We will get back to all issues discussed above in our dialogues with PYPA partners in 2019-2020.

We would like to thank the PAOs, implementers and facilitators, mother party representatives and, of course, the most important; the young participants and alumni themselves for granting us unlimited access to PYPA during 2016-2018. We now look forward to following the PYPA-journey on new exciting endeavours!

10 June 2019
Monica Johansson and Elin Ekström

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Con Trust, *Annual Evaluation Report 2012*
Con Trust, *Annual Evaluation Report, Short Version 2012*
Con Trust, *Annual Evaluation Report, 2013*
Con Trust, *Alumni Report PYPA, 2014*
Con Trust, *Annual Evaluation Report, 2014*
Con Trust, *Program Evaluation Report 2012-2014, 2015*
Con Trust, *Annual Evaluation Report, 2015 (Alumni year)*