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# Youth Perspectives in Africa: what are the most important issues for 18 to 35 year olds?

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## **Abstract**

Youth is a cross-cutting priority for the European Union and is particularly important for the Strategy with Africa and the European Consensus on Development. Against this backdrop, this report presents findings from a project examining the opinions of young Africans on a range of topics. The focus here is on the primary concerns of people aged between 18 and 35 years of age, analysing data from the Afrobarometer survey from 34 countries. Specifically, we examine the question: *In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address?* This analysis of the most important problems of young people in Africa provides a broad picture of the salience of different issues for different groups and countries.

## Key Messages

Africa has the youngest population structure and the fastest growing youth population of all continents. In 2017, the topic of the African Union-European Union Summit was 'Investing in Youth', and in 2020 Commissioner Urpilainen described Africa as 'a continent of youth brimming with confidence, full of potential' (European Commission 2020). Youth is a cross-cutting priority for the European Union and is particularly important for the Strategy with Africa and the European Consensus on Development.

But what are the opinions of young Africans on the problems their countries face and their possibilities for the future? This report takes a first step to addressing this question by providing insights on what young Africans consider to be the most important problems for their particular country. In particular, we find:

- Overall, problems related to the economy are most frequently considered the most important by young people in Africa. Half of all of those surveyed (50%) cited economic issues as the most important problem. This is more than for all other categories (environmental, infrastructure, social, political) combined together.
- The specific issue of greatest concern for Africa's young people is unemployment. Unemployment was the highest-ranked problem for young men and for young women, for those who reside in rural or urban contexts, with higher and lower levels of education and for people in work and people who were out of work.
- But there are also differences between places. Although unemployment was the highest-ranked issue overall, it was not the highest-ranked in every country of the survey. In four countries, food shortages were the highest-ranking problem, in two countries it was water supply, in two it was management of the economy and in two others it was health. Corruption, taxes, and crime and security were the highest-ranking problems in one country each.
- The survey responses highlight the importance of focusing on the economic concerns of young people in Africa whilst being aware of local specificities from place to place, especially between rural and urban contexts and according to people's education levels. In particular, food security and water supply are considered more important for young people who reside in rural contexts and for those who are the least educated.

Data for this study comes from the Afrobarometer survey, which is carried out by a network of partner organisations coordinated by Afrobarometer in 34 countries on a regularly repeated cycle. From 1999 to 2018, there have been seven full survey rounds, and the data can be freely accessed and used online.<sup>1</sup> For our analysis we use data from the latest round, which ran from 2016 to 2018.

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<sup>1</sup> For more information, see the dedicated website here: <http://afrobarometer.org/about>

# 1 Introduction

Youth is a cross-cutting priority for the European Union and is particularly important to the Strategy with Africa and the European Consensus on Development. Africa has the youngest population structure and the fastest growing youth population of all continents. With this in mind, in 2017, the topic of the African Union-European Union Summit was 'Investing in Youth' and in 2019 the South African President Cyril Ramaphosa stated at the World Economic Forum that 'this is Africa's century' (WEF 2019). Similarly, in February 2020, Commissioner Urpilainen described Africa as 'a continent of youth brimming with confidence, full of potential' (European Commission 2020).

This report presents preliminary findings from a project examining the opinions of young Africans on a range of topics. It will be followed by subsequent analyses of other thematic areas in more detail. These findings can be informative for future initiatives of the European Commission with Africa. The European Commission's Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council titled Towards a comprehensive Strategy with Africa (JOIN(2020) 4 final) recognises the significance of the continent's youth population and the opportunities presented by economic growth in African countries.

The focus of this report is on the primary concerns of young Africans. We examine these through an analysis of data from the Afrobarometer survey. The survey is carried out by a network of partner organisations coordinated by Afrobarometer in 34 countries on a regularly repeated cycle. From 1999 to 2018, there have been seven full survey rounds, and the data can be freely accessed and used online.<sup>2</sup> For our analysis we use data from the latest round, which ran from 2016 to 2018. The survey provides information on how respondents view politics, the economy, social issues and environmental issues and is geographically broad and nationally representative, so can provide insights into the views of young people across most of the continent.

Specifically, we examine the question: *In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address?* Respondents select one issue from a list of 42 possible answers as their primary concern. Questions formulated in this way are common in public opinion surveys (such as the Eurobarometer<sup>3</sup> and Arab Barometer<sup>4</sup> surveys) as a way to examine the salience of different issues. Salience can be simply defined as the extent to which an issue is important to the public. This includes two dimensions; a) the importance of issues themselves (i.e. how much thought people give to them), and b) the relative importance of issues compared to one another (Dennison 2019). Salience matters not only because it shows the degree to which people are concerned or personally affected by an issue, but also because it can suggest how people are likely to act (for example, who they might vote for in elections).

The analysis of the primary concerns of young people in Africa provides a broad picture of the salience of different issues for different groups and countries. In particular, we find:

- Overall, problems related to the economy are most frequently considered the most important by young people in Africa. Half of all of those surveyed (50%) cited economic issues as the most important problem. This is more than for all other categories (environmental, infrastructure, social, political) combined together.
- The specific issue of greatest concern for Africa's young people is unemployment. Unemployment was the highest-ranked problem for young men and for young women, for those who reside in rural or urban contexts, with higher and lower levels of education and for people in work and people who were out of work.
- But there are also differences between places. Although unemployment was the highest-ranked issue overall, it was not the highest-ranked in every country of the survey. In four countries, food shortages were the highest-ranking problem, in two

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<sup>2</sup> For more information, see the dedicated website here: <http://afrobarometer.org/about>

<sup>3</sup> For more information, see <https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm>

<sup>4</sup> For more information, see <https://www.arabbarometer.org/>

countries it was water supply, in two it was management of the economy and in two others it was health. Corruption, taxes, and crime and security were the highest-ranking problems in one country each.

- The survey responses highlight the importance of focusing on the economic concerns of young people in Africa whilst being aware of local specificities from place to place, especially between rural and urban contexts and according to people's education levels. In particular, food security and water supply are considered more important for young people who reside in rural contexts and for those who are the least educated.

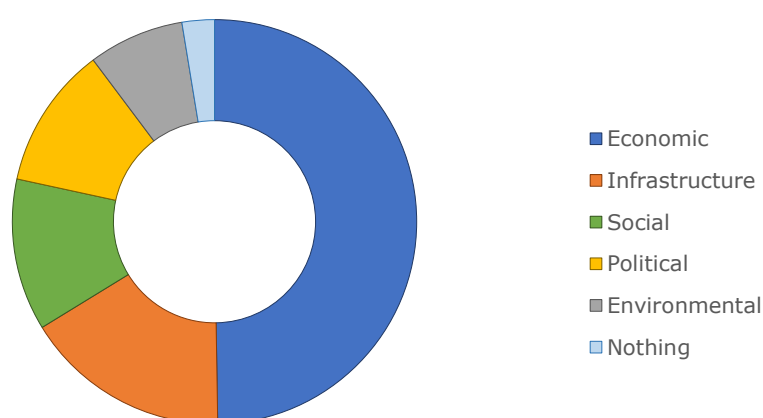
To gain a more detailed picture of opinions on particular topics, then other questions in the survey should be consulted. This will be the focus of subsequent analyses from this project.

The report is structured as follows. In the following section, we pool individual problems into broader issue categories (economic, environmental, infrastructure, social, political) and describe the salience of these across the whole population included in the survey. This is followed by a closer look at specific problems and similarities and differences between countries. The subsequent section looks at specific socio-economic groups within the sub-sample of 18 to 35 year olds, to draw out similarities and differences in concerns according to gender, rural or urban residence, education level, employment status and intention to migrate. Finally, we conclude with a short description of the main findings.

## 2 The big picture: economic issues predominate

In order to gain a general overview of people's opinions across the countries of the survey, we pooled individual problems into broad issue categories regarding the economy, politics, social issues, infrastructure and the environment (see Annex 1 for a definition of the categories). This shows that, overall, young people's concerns in the surveyed countries are most frequently related to the economy (Figure 1). This is despite a declining share of the population in Africa living in poverty during the 1990s and 2000s (Beegle et al 2016), and almost two decades of positive economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa from 1999 to 2016.<sup>5</sup> Half of those aged 18 to 35 (50%) selected problems related to the economy as being the most important. This is more than for all other categories (aside from 'Nothing') combined together: 8% of respondents cited problems related to the environment, 11% cited problems related to the political context, 12% cited problems related to social issues and 17% cited problems related to infrastructure (see also Map 1 in the Annex).

Figure 1. Salience of concerns for 18-35 year olds across all 34 African countries (%)



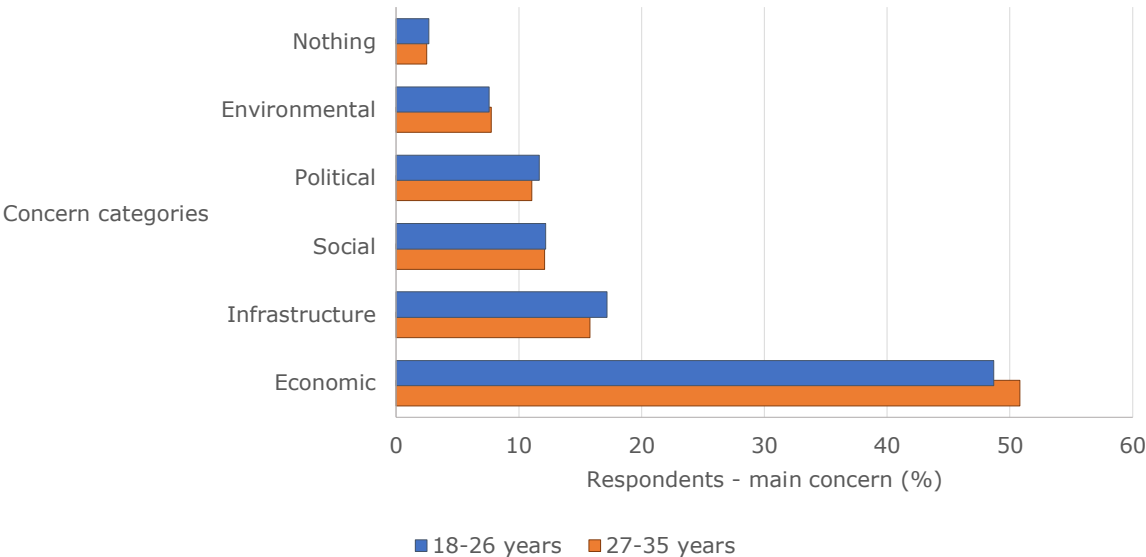
Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

Moreover, there is little difference between the most important problems for young people and for older people. Economic issues were also predominant for people above 35 years of age, albeit to a slightly lesser degree than for younger people (47% of respondents considered them the most important). Within the age range 18-35 there is also no difference between the views of those who are younger (18 to 26 years) or older (27 to 35 years), with economic issues cited as the most important problem for all (Figure 2). Across these age categories the ranking of the issue categories remains the same; economic issues are most frequently cited, followed by infrastructure, social issues, political issues and the environment.

<sup>5</sup> Data from: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data, GDP per capita growth (annual %) - Sub-Saharan Africa (available online at <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD.ZG?end=2018&locations=ZG&start=1997>, accessed 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020)



Figure 2. Salience of concerns for 18-26 and 27-35 year olds across all 34 African countries (%)

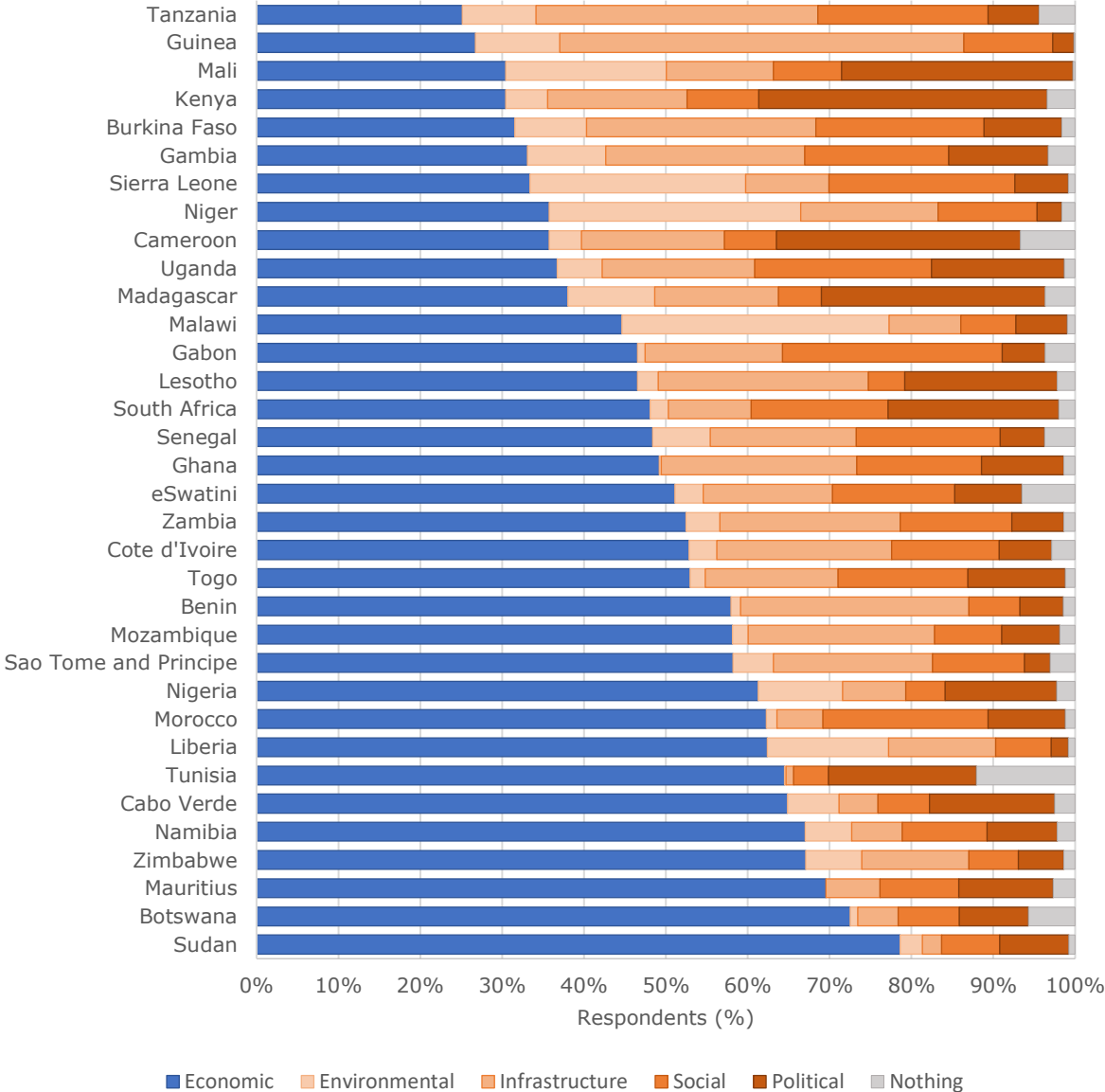


Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

The predominance of economic issues is also evident when we examine specific countries, albeit with some differences. Economic issues are cited by more people than the other issue categories in 31 of the 34 countries included in the survey (Figure 3). This is not the case in only three countries: in Guinea and Tanzania, problems relating to infrastructure are more frequently cited by young people, and in Kenya political issues are. Moreover, it should be noted that in these three countries economic concerns are also ranked second.

Nevertheless, there are differences across the countries regarding the *extent* to which economic issues predominate in relation to other issues (Figure 3). In 17 of the countries, economic issues are cited by over half (50%) of young people. The countries where the largest proportion of the youth population is concerned about economic issues above all others are Sudan (79%), Botswana (73%), Mauritius (70%), Zimbabwe (67%) and Namibia (67%). But in other countries a much smaller proportion of the youth population considers economic issues to be the primary concern. The smallest are in Tanzania (25%), Guinea (27%), Mali (30%), Kenya (30%) and Burkina Faso (31%).

Figure 3. Salience of economic and other concerns for 18-35 year olds in different African countries (% of respondents)



Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

Aside from the predominance of economic issues, the survey also shows the following:

- The countries where the largest proportion of young people consider environmental issues to be the most important are Malawi (33%), Niger (31%), Sierra Leone (26%), Mali (20%) and Liberia (15%).
- The countries where the largest proportion of young people consider infrastructure issues to be the most important are Guinea (49%), Tanzania (34%), Burkina Faso (28%), Benin (28%) and Lesotho (26%).
- The countries where the largest proportion of young people consider social issues to be the most important are Gabon (27%), Sierra Leone (23%), Uganda (22%), Tanzania (21%) and Burkina Faso (21%).

- The countries where the largest proportion of young people consider political issues to be the most important are Kenya (35%), Cameroon (30%), Mali (28%), Madagascar (27%) and South Africa (21%).

### 3 A closer look: unemployment is the most salient problem

In this section we go beyond the general categories described above, to examine how specific problems are ranked. In this respect, our analysis of data from the 2016-2018 round of the Afrobarometer survey finds continuity and difference regarding previous rounds, which highlighted in particular the salience of unemployment across the countries for which data is available, followed by health, education and infrastructure (Bentley et al 2015). This, researchers suggested, should be taken as a guide for directing attention to specific areas within the sustainable development goals (SDGs).

Pooling the data from all countries shows unemployment to be the single issue which young people in Africa most frequently cite as their primary concern (22% of respondents), followed by management of the economy (11%) (see Table 1). Together, unemployment and management of the economy account for one third of all responses to the survey by young people (33%). The fourth most salient concern is poverty/destitution, which is also related to the economy (7%). The remaining of the ten most salient concerns are related to infrastructure (water supply and infrastructure/roads), society (education and health) and politics (corruption and crime and security).

Table 1. Ten highest ranked concerns of young people in African countries (pooled answers from all countries)

<b>Concern</b>	<b>Concern category</b>	<b>% of respondents</b>
Unemployment	Economic	22
Management of the economy	Economic	11
Water supply	Infrastructure	7
Poverty/destitution	Economic	7
Food shortage/famine	Environmental	7
Infrastructure / roads	Infrastructure	5
Education	Social	5
Corruption	Political	5
Health	Social	5
Crime and Security	Political	4

Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

Looking at individual countries, we see that unemployment was the most salient problem in the most countries, but here too there are differences from place to place. In 21 of the 34 countries in the survey, unemployment was ranked first among the concerns of young people. But in the remaining countries there was greater variation. In four countries, food shortages were the highest ranking primary concern (Malawi, Mali, Niger and Sierra Leone), in two countries it was water supply (Guinea and Tanzania), in two it was management of the economy (Sudan, and Tunisia) and in two others it was health (Burkina Faso, and Gambia). Corruption, taxes, and crime and security were the highest-ranking concerns in one country each (corruption in Kenya, taxes in Liberia and crime and security in Madagascar).

## 4 Differences between groups and countries

While there is a high degree of consistency in the predominance of economic issues among the concerns of young people in Africa, there are also important variations to be taken into consideration. The 34 countries in the Afrobarometer survey represent a broad range of different social, economic and political realities. With this in mind, in this section we go beyond the general picture described above, to examine the salience of concerns for different social groups.

### 4.1 Gender differences

In terms of gender, there is little to distinguish between the problems considered most important for young men and for young women in the African countries we have data for. When pooling the data from across all countries, we see that unemployment and management of the economy are the two problems which are most frequently cited as most important for both (see Table 2).

Table 2. Five most-frequently cited concerns for young women and men (pooled answers from all countries)

Rank	Problems for young women	Problems for young men
1	Unemployment	Unemployment
2	Management of the economy	Management of the economy
3	Poverty/destitution	Water supply
4	Water supply	Infrastructure / roads
5	Food shortage/famine	Corruption

Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

However, there are some differences in the ranking of issues. For example, unemployment is the highest-ranking concern for women in 18 countries, management of the economy is in four countries and taxes are the highest-ranking concern in one country. For men, unemployment is the highest-ranking concern in 22 countries, management of the economy is in two and taxes are in one.

### 4.2 Urban-rural residents

The predominance of economic issues as the primary concern of African youth is also clear in both rural and urban contexts. Unemployment is most frequently cited as the most important problem for people in both urban and rural contexts, and management of the economy is also the second most frequently cited concern (Table 3). However, the salience of other problems varies for people who reside in urban or rural contexts. Unemployment is considerably more salient for urban dwellers (most important for 30% of respondents) compared to rural residents (most important for 16% of respondents), for example. For young rural residents, water supply and food shortages are highly salient, ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> overall and cited by 10% and 9% of respondents, respectively. By contrast, water supply and food shortages are less salient for urban residents, and were each cited by only 4% of respondents.

Table 3. Five most-frequently cited concerns for young people in rural or urban contexts (pooled answers from all countries)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Problems for rural residents</b>	<b>Problems for urban residents</b>
1	Unemployment	Unemployment
2	Management of the economy	Management of the economy
3	Water supply	Poverty/destitution
4	Food shortage/famine	Corruption
5	Poverty/destitution	Education

Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

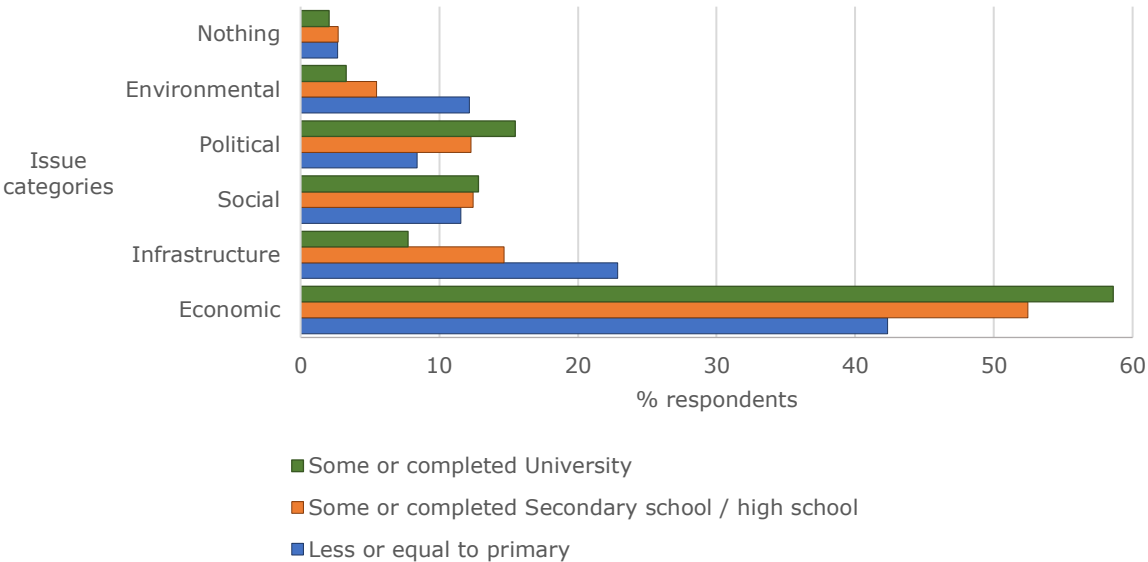
Differences are also visible if we examine the highest-ranking concerns for each country. Unemployment is most frequently cited as the most important problem for young people who reside in rural contexts in 17 countries. Moreover, in six countries water supply is the highest-ranking concern for young people in rural contexts, and in four countries the highest-ranking concern is food shortage and food supply. For those who reside in urban contexts, unemployment is the highest-ranking concern in 27 countries. Management of the economy is the highest-ranking concern in four countries, and taxes and poverty are both the highest-ranking concerns in one country. There is only one country where the highest-ranking concern of urban residents is not related to the economy: in Sierra Leone it is food shortages.

### **4.3 Education level**

In previous studies of the Afrobarometer survey, education has been highlighted as a vital area for African governments to increase funding to meet the SDGs (Bentley et al 2015). In our analysis we find education is less salient among young people compared to other issues, but there are important variations in young people's concerns according to their level of education.

Overall, the survey shows that economic issues are the most salient for young people in Africa regardless of education level. However, there are differences in the extent to which this is the case and in the salience of other issues (see Figure 4). Economic issues are considered most important for a larger proportion of the people who have higher levels of education; they are the primary concern for 59% of those who have studied at university level, compared to 52% of those who have studied at secondary school and 42% of those who have only studied at primary school. By contrast, problems related to infrastructure and the environment are considered to be the most important for a greater proportion of those who are less educated: 12% of those who have only studied at primary level consider environmental issues to be their primary concern and 23% consider issues related to infrastructure to be. By contrast only 3% of those who have studied at university consider environmental issues to be their primary concern and 8% consider infrastructure to be.

Figure 4. Salience of issue categories among young Africans by education level (pooled answers from all countries)



Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

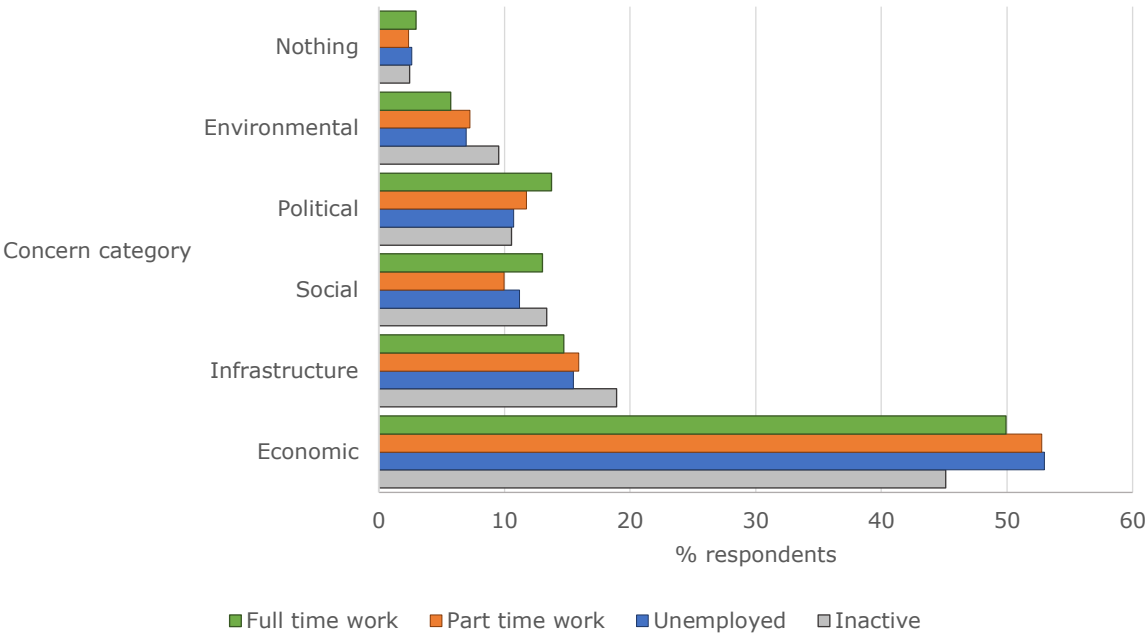
Across education levels, there are also similarities and distinctions in the salience of specific problems. Unemployment is the most salient problem for people regardless of their education level. But whereas the second and third most salient problems for those with a primary level education are food shortages and water supply, for people who have studied to secondary level the second and third most salient ones are management of the economy and poverty, and for people who have studied at university level the second and third most salient problems are management of the economy and corruption.

The distinction in the concerns of less and more educated people is further accentuated between those who reside in rural and urban contexts. Unemployment and management of the economy are the top two problems for people who reside in urban contexts regardless of their education level. They are also the top two problems for people who live in rural contexts and have studied at university or secondary level. But for those who have only studied at primary level and reside in rural contexts the top two primary concerns are food shortages and water supply. This reflects stark differences in the living conditions for rural and urban dwellers.

#### 4.4 Employment

Economic issues, and in particular unemployment, management of the economy and poverty predominate for young people in Africa regardless of their employment status (Figure 5). Economic issues are the primary concern for approximately half of all young people in the survey who are in work (50% of those employed full time and 53% of those employed part time) and who are out of work (53% of those who are unemployed or 45% of those who are inactive).

Figure 5. Primary concerns of young people in Africa by working status (pooled answers from all countries)



Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

Unemployment is the highest-ranking problem for those who are in work (full or part-time) and for those who are not in work (unemployed or inactive). On the one hand, this may reflect a lack of available employment, especially for those who are not working at the time of the survey. But on the other hand, it may also reflect the precarity of the available employment and a lack of opportunities for stability and future career development, as suggested by the high salience of unemployment, management of the economy and poverty even for those who are in work (Table 4).

Table 4. Five most-frequently cited concerns for young people by working status (pooled answers from all countries)

Rank	Problems for people in work	Problems for people out of work
1	Unemployment	Unemployment
2	Management of the economy	Management of the economy
3	Poverty/destitution	Water supply
4	Corruption	Poverty/destitution
5	Water supply	Food shortage/famine

Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

### 4.5 People considering migration

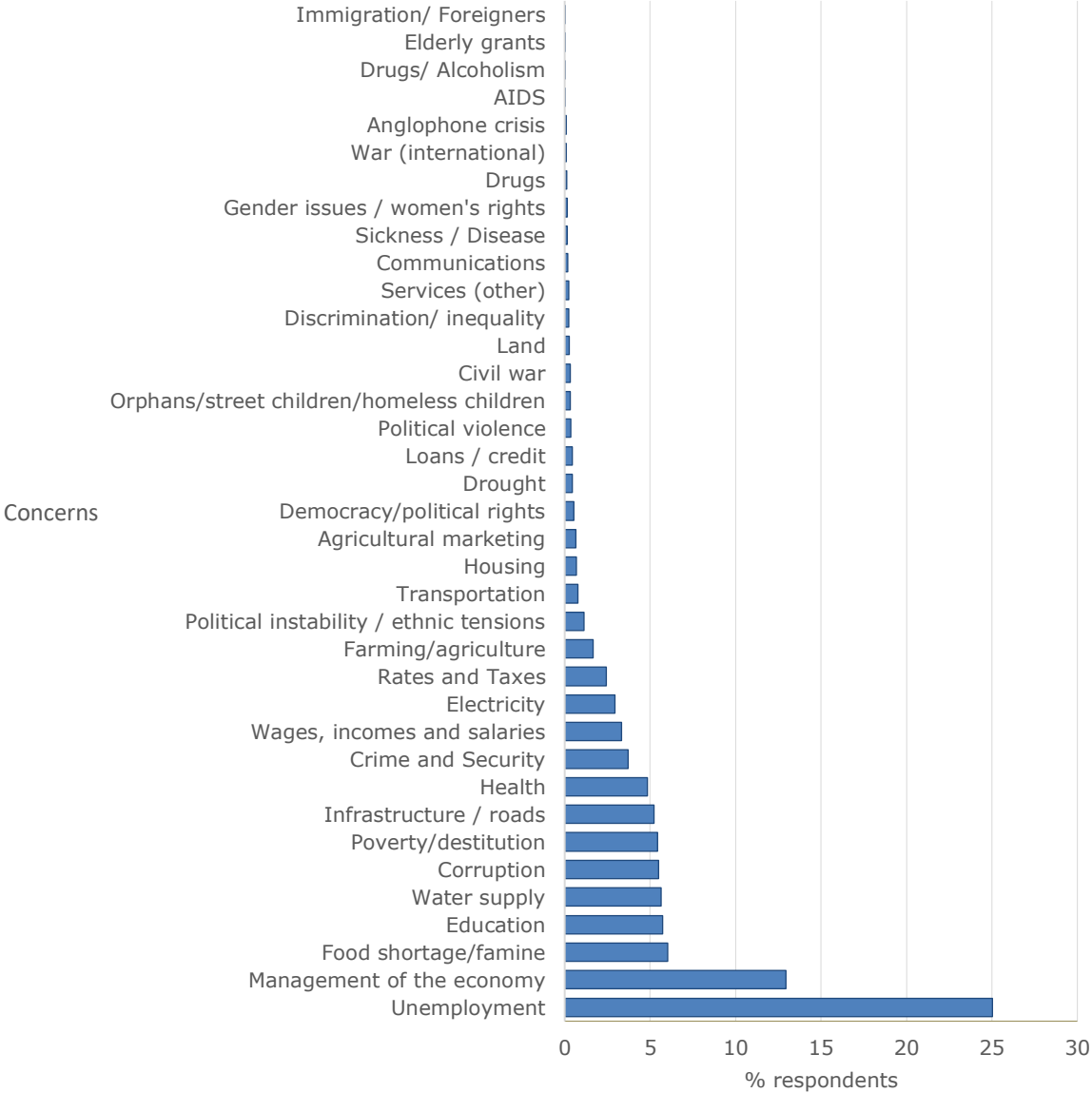
Recently, studies and commentary have suggested that Africa’s large youth population could lead to large-scale migration flows in the future if the countries they reside in struggle to provide sufficient jobs for their entry to the labour market (Smith 2019). People are also often more likely to consider migrating when they consider that their lives are getting worse where they currently reside (Migali et al 2018). For this reason, it may be insightful to understand what the primary concerns are of young people who are considering migration.

The Afrobarometer survey shows that the concerns of people who describe themselves as considering some form of migration do not vary greatly from those of the broader youth population (Figure 6). Unemployment (25% of respondents) and management of the economy (13%) are the two problems which are most frequently cited as most important



for this group, mirroring the ranking described above. This could suggest that economic concerns are important factors potentially shaping the decisions of young people to migrate. However, to make stronger conclusions would require a more detailed analysis.

Figure 6. Primary concerns cited by young people who are considering migration (pooled answers for all countries)



Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

## **5 Conclusions**

In this report we have described the salience of different issues for young people in African countries. This has enabled us to highlight which are the most important issues for young people, and how the salience of different issues compares to one another. We have found that economic issues are the most salient concern for young Africans, in particular unemployment. This is the case in a majority of countries and regardless of age, gender, urban or rural residence, education level or employment status. Nevertheless, we also found differences between places, especially in the salience of water supply and food shortages in rural contexts and for people with lower education levels. In this way, on one hand our analysis highlights the significance of a focus on employment for young people in Africa, but on the other hand it also underlines the importance of being aware of differences between places and social groups.

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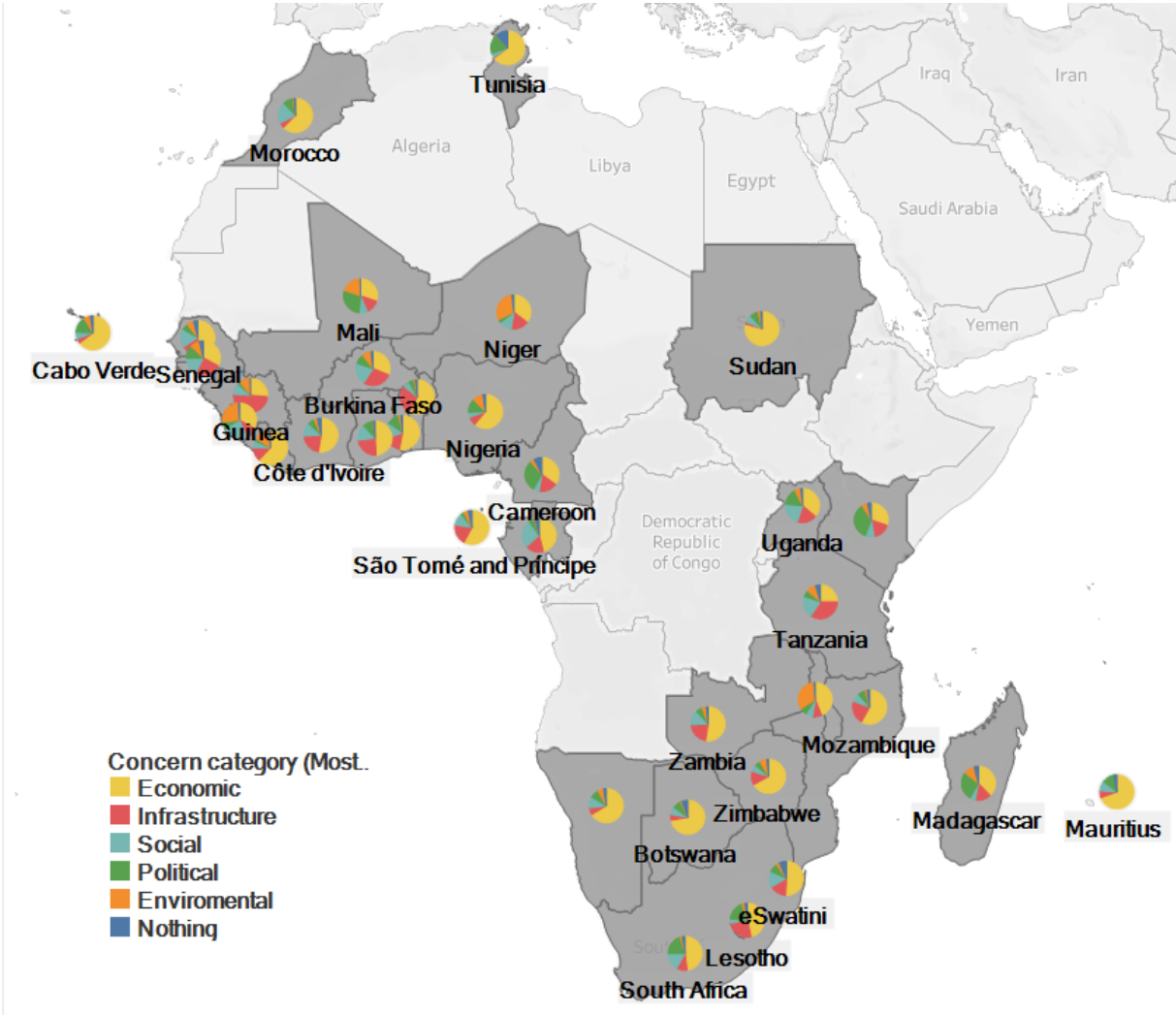
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## Annexes

### Annex 1. Categories of concerns used for this study

<b>Number</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Concern</b>
1	Economic	Management of the economy Elderly grants Wages, incomes and salaries Unemployment Poverty/destitution Rates and Taxes Loans / credit Agricultural marketing Farming/agriculture
2	Political	Political violence Political instability / ethnic tensions Corruption Democracy/political rights War (international) Civil war Anglophone crisis Crime and Security Immigration / Foreigners
3	Social	Discrimination / inequality Gender issues / women's rights Orphans/street children/homeless children Education Housing Services (other) Health AIDS Sickness / Disease Drugs Drugs/ Alcoholism
4	Infrastructure	Electricity Water supply Transportation Communications Infrastructure / roads
5	Environmental	Food shortage/famine Drought Land
6	Nothing	Nothing/ no problems Missing Other Refused Don't know

Map 1. Categories of concerns for 18-35 year olds in different African countries



Source: Afrobarometer, elaboration Joint Research Centre

## Annex 2. Most important problems

		The whole sample		Age group 18-35													
		Age group		Gender		Education*			Place		Migration intention		Labour market status				
		18-35	Over 35	Female	Male	Lower	Medium	High	Rural	Urban	Considers migration	Not consider migration	Full time	Part time	Un-employed	In-active	
Missing	Nothing	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%									
Nothing/ no problems	Nothing	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%	0.6%	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%	0.6%	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	
Management of the economy	Economic	11.5%	10.6%	11.5%	11.5%	9.3%	11.3%	16.7%	10.6%	12.5%	12.9%	10.3%	12.1%	13.2%	11.0%	11.1%	
Wages, incomes and salaries	Economic	3.1%	3.5%	3.4%	2.7%	2.5%	3.2%	4.1%	2.5%	3.8%	3.3%	2.9%	4.4%	3.5%	2.7%	2.6%	
Unemployment	Economic	22.4%	18.4%	20.4%	24.7%	13.6%	27.1%	29.8%	16.0%	29.6%	25.0%	20.2%	24.2%	23.8%	26.4%	17.0%	
Poverty/destitution	Economic	7.0%	8.1%	8.1%	5.8%	9.0%	6.3%	4.7%	7.4%	6.6%	5.4%	8.1%	5.1%	7.6%	7.0%	7.9%	
Rates and Taxes	Economic	2.0%	1.3%	2.1%	1.8%	1.8%	2.4%	1.5%	1.6%	2.5%	2.4%	1.6%	1.5%	1.2%	3.0%	1.5%	
Loans / credit	Economic	0.6%	0.5%	0.7%	0.4%	0.9%	0.3%	0.5%	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%	0.7%	0.6%	0.5%	0.3%	0.9%	
Farming/agriculture	Economic	2.2%	3.2%	2.2%	2.1%	3.9%	1.2%	0.8%	3.2%	1.0%	1.7%	2.6%	1.2%	2.1%	1.7%	3.3%	
Food shortage/famine	Environmental	6.8%	7.3%	7.7%	5.7%	11.5%	4.6%	2.2%	9.1%	4.2%	6.0%	7.5%	4.9%	6.3%	6.2%	8.6%	
Drought	Environmental	0.5%	0.7%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%	0.7%	0.3%	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%	0.6%	
Land	Environmental	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.7%	0.3%	0.5%	0.3%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%	
Transportation	Infrastructure	0.9%	0.9%	0.8%	1.0%	0.9%	1.0%	0.5%	1.0%	0.7%	0.8%	0.9%	1.0%	0.8%	0.8%	0.9%	
Communications	Infrastructure	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	
Infrastructure / roads	Infrastructure	5.4%	6.1%	5.0%	6.0%	6.6%	5.3%	3.2%	7.0%	3.7%	5.2%	5.6%	5.6%	5.3%	5.0%	5.7%	
Education	Social	5.3%	4.6%	5.3%	5.3%	4.2%	5.6%	6.9%	5.0%	5.6%	5.7%	5.0%	5.4%	3.6%	4.8%	6.3%	
Housing	Social	0.6%	0.8%	0.7%	0.6%	0.4%	0.9%	0.6%	0.3%	1.0%	0.7%	0.6%	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%	0.5%	
Electricity	Infrastructure	3.0%	2.9%	2.9%	3.1%	3.8%	2.8%	1.7%	3.6%	2.2%	2.9%	3.0%	2.5%	3.2%	3.0%	3.2%	
Water supply	Infrastructure	7.1%	7.5%	7.9%	6.2%	11.3%	5.5%	2.2%	10.2%	3.6%	5.6%	8.3%	5.5%	6.4%	6.5%	8.9%	
Orphans/street/homeless children	Social	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	
Services (other)	Social	0.3%	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	
Health	Social	4.9%	5.7%	5.0%	4.8%	5.8%	4.6%	4.0%	5.4%	4.3%	4.9%	5.0%	5.4%	4.6%	4.3%	5.4%	
AIDS	Social	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	
Sickness / Disease	Social	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	
Crime and Security	Political	4.0%	4.6%	3.8%	4.2%	3.4%	4.4%	4.1%	3.6%	4.4%	3.7%	4.2%	4.7%	4.2%	3.7%	3.9%	
Corruption	Political	5.0%	4.1%	4.2%	5.8%	2.6%	5.7%	8.1%	4.1%	5.9%	5.5%	4.6%	6.7%	5.3%	5.0%	3.8%	
Political violence	Political	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.6%	0.3%	0.5%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	
Political instability/ ethnic tensions	Political	1.1%	1.4%	0.9%	1.4%	1.3%	0.9%	1.4%	1.3%	0.9%	1.1%	1.1%	0.9%	1.3%	0.8%	1.5%	
Discrimination/ inequality	Social	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	
Gender issues/ women's rights	Social	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	
Democracy/political rights	Political	0.4%	0.6%	0.3%	0.6%	0.2%	0.5%	0.8%	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%	0.7%	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	
War (international)	Political	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	
Civil war	Political	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	
Agricultural marketing	Economic	0.9%	1.2%	0.9%	0.9%	1.4%	0.6%	0.5%	1.2%	0.5%	0.6%	1.1%	0.8%	0.9%	0.8%	1.0%	
Drugs/ Alcoholism	Social	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%		0.1%			0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		0.1%	0.0%	
Immigration/ Foreigners	Political	0.0%	0.0%		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
Drugs	Social	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%		0.0%	0.1%	
Anglophone crisis	Political	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	
Elderly grants	Economic	0.0%	0.0%		0.1%		0.0%	0.1%	0.1%		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		0.0%	0.0%	

Other	Nothing	1.1%	1.4%	1.0%	1.3%	0.8%	1.3%	1.4%	0.9%	1.4%	1.2%	1.0%	1.5%	1.1%	1.0%	1.0%
Refused	Nothing	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%
Don't know	Nothing	0.9%	0.8%	1.2%	0.5%	1.1%	1.0%	0.3%	0.9%	0.8%	0.6%	1.1%	0.6%	0.7%	1.1%	0.9%
	<b>Nothing</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>2.7%</b>	<b>2.7%</b>	<b>2.1%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>
	<b>Economic</b>	<b>49.8%</b>	<b>47.0%</b>	<b>49.6%</b>	<b>50.0%</b>	<b>42.5%</b>	<b>52.5%</b>	<b>58.7%</b>	<b>43.3%</b>	<b>57.1%</b>	<b>52.0%</b>	<b>47.7%</b>	<b>50.0%</b>	<b>52.9%</b>	<b>53.0%</b>	<b>45.3%</b>
	<b>Social</b>	<b>12.2%</b>	<b>12.9%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>11.7%</b>	<b>11.5%</b>	<b>12.4%</b>	<b>12.8%</b>	<b>12.0%</b>	<b>12.3%</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	<b>11.9%</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>11.2%</b>	<b>13.4%</b>
	<b>Political</b>	<b>11.4%</b>	<b>11.3%</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>8.4%</b>	<b>12.3%</b>	<b>15.5%</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>11.1%</b>	<b>14.6%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>10.7%</b>	<b>10.6%</b>
	<b>Infrastructure</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>17.6%</b>	<b>16.7%</b>	<b>16.4%</b>	<b>22.8%</b>	<b>14.7%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>14.8%</b>	<b>18.0%</b>	<b>25.9%</b>	<b>15.9%</b>	<b>15.5%</b>	<b>18.9%</b>
	<b>Environmental</b>	<b>7.6%</b>	<b>8.4%</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>6.6%</b>	<b>12.2%</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>10.1%</b>	<b>4.9%</b>	<b>6.7%</b>	<b>8.5%</b>	<b>19.4%</b>	<b>7.2%</b>	<b>7.0%</b>	<b>9.5%</b>

\*For education levels the following should be noted:

- Lower: Less or equal to primary
- Medium: Some or completed secondary school / high school
- High: Some or completed university

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