

Youth and Peacebuilding: Policy Implications of Conflict Resolution in Africa

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Abstract

Promoting sustainable peace is a major concern for world regions, especially one enmeshed in recurring conflict and violence, such as in Africa. Ethnoreligious conflicts, boundary disputes, genocide, resource-based conflicts, and youth restiveness characterize many African nations. This idea has been made intricate by a surge in the youth population, massive unemployment, limited education opportunities, and widespread poverty that makes youth key factors in the generation of conflict in Africa. Despite these challenges, the youth of many African nations have distinguished themselves as agents of peace and conflict resolution. On this premise, this article examines youth as agents of peace and reconciliation in Africa. The paper adopts a thematic approach within a qualitative framework and relies on secondary data from briefs, newspapers, conference papers, government reports, and peer-reviewed journal articles. The paper found that shifting focus from the stereotypical prejudice of youth as agents of conflict to agents of peace is instrumental to unlocking their potential as actors in Africa's peace process and conflict resolution. It was also found that youth promote peace and inclusion through advocacy and civic engagement. They use tools such as music, arts, sports, education, storytelling, and interfaith dialogue to build cohesion, resilience, peace, and trust in various parts of Africa. Resultantly, the article made practical policy recommendations such as the establishment of an African Youth Assembly (AYA), African Youth Parliaments (AYP), Youth Participation Commission (YPC), and Youth Empowerment Commission (YEC) – among others.

Keywords: Conflict, Governance, Inclusion, Peacebuilding, Youth



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I. INTRODUCTION

At least 15 sub-Saharan African countries were plagued with armed conflicts in 2019. These include Nigeria, Ethiopia, Chad, Niger, Burkina Faso, Somalia, Sudan, Cameroon, Burundi, Mali, South Sudan, Mozambique, and Kenya. The conflicts result from corruption, climate change, identity-based contestation, state weakness, marginalization, inequality, competition for control of natural resources, and ineffective delivery of basic services, among other things. Armed conflict in Nigeria, Cameroon, Mozambique, and Ethiopia has led to an increase in the killing of civilians and devastating human rights violations.²

It is believed that the attack on civilians due to the conflict between armed groups and the state has increased exponentially in sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, these forms of conflict permeate Africa's various regions, particularly the Sahel, West, South, East, North, and Horn of the continent. In West Africa, especially in Nigeria, Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso, violent extremist groups, secessionist groups, and other armed non-state actors have increased violence and tension in these countries. In the Southern region, the Cabo Delgado of Mozambique's extremist activities threatens peace. In the East, there have been reports of terror attacks and violence in Uganda, while the civil war from 2018 to 2019 experienced in Libya is evidence of conflict in the North of Africa. Meanwhile, in the Horn of Africa, the Ethiopia-Eritrea impasse over Tigray, the conflict in Darfur, Sudan, and the prolonged conflict in Somalia are pointers of a conflict-ridden region.³ These conflicts remain a major security challenge that frustrates Africa's desire for peace.

A major factor fueling violent extremism and terrorism in Africa is adulterated religious teachings and the availability of youth buying into such indoctrination.⁴ For emphasis, insurgent groups such as Boko Haram draws their members from disaffected youth. Meanwhile, the youths considering the role in promoting armed conflict in countries with a large share of these cohorts⁵, it is not surprising that there is a widespread and persistent armed conflict in Africa. To be sure, Africa is the world's foremost youthful continent, with a median age of 19.7 in 2020 compared to Asia (32.0), Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean (31.0), Europe (42.5), North America (38.6) and Oceania (33.4).⁶ Africa's

² Amnesty International, 'Sub-Saharan Africa: The Devastating Impact of Conflicts Compounded by COVID-19', 2021, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/04/subsaharan-africa-the-devastating-impact-of-conflicts-compounded/>.

³ Amnesty International; PSC Insights, 'African Conflicts to Watch in 2022. PSC Report', 2021, <https://issafrica.org/pscreport/psc-insights/african-conflicts-to-watch-in-2022>.

⁴ Freedom Onuoha, 'Why Do Youth Join Boko Haram?' (United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Special Report, 2014), <http://www.usip.org/publications/why-do-youth-join-boko-haram>.

⁵ United Nations, 'Resolution 2250. United Nations S/RES/2250' (2015), <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N15/413/06/PDF/N1541306.pdf?OpenElement>.

⁶ Camilla Rocca and Ines Schultes, 'Africa's Youth: Action Needed Now to Support the Continent's Greatest Asset', *Mo Ibrahim Foundation*, 2021, <https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/sites/default/files/2020-08/international-youth-day-research-brief.pdf>.

share of the global youth population is high and is projected to increase significantly in the following decades. African youth are projected to grow from 1.2 billion in 2015 to 3 billion by 2063, accounting for 46% of the continent's workforce in the same year.⁷ By 2050, one in every three youths will live in Sub-Saharan Africa.

This youthful population has implications for insecurity and violence. An increase in population – occasioned by a high fertility rate – with scarce resources (land, water), migration, poor governance, resource competition, and low mortality rates poses a significant risk to the security of any country.⁸ Youth challenges cannot be ignored, especially in societies prone to conflict, like Africa. The continued exclusion of youth from governance and decision-making processes, coupled with widespread unemployment and multidimensional poverty, makes youth particularly vulnerable to contributing to violence and conflict.⁹ In context, youth unemployment in Africa is over 60%.¹⁰ Indeed, many African youths consider unemployment the most significant problem.¹¹

Although youth have been at the epicenter of violent conflicts in Africa since the 1990s¹², most do not choose the path of violence. The incidence of youth-led violence in a surging youthful population often overshadows the notion of youth as agents of peace and conflict resolution. Therefore, attention and narrative must be shifted from youth as violent actors to youth as agents of peacebuilding and reconciliation. This paper adopts a thematic approach within a qualitative framework and relies on secondary data from peer-reviewed journal articles, briefs, reports, local and international newspaper articles, conference papers, and internet sources.

II. PEACEBUILDING: THE CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE

Building peace is a major concern for world leaders. It is imperative to institute a culture of peace if future generations are to be spared from the resultant pains and agony of war.¹³ The culture of peace refers to the rejection of violence and the acceptance of peace and justice. It aims to prevent conflicts and tolerance. A culture of peace emphasizes the behaviors and attitudes that uphold democracy and solidarity through dialogue and the guarantee of rights required to promote inclusion and cohesion in society.¹⁴ Three approaches to the study of

⁷ African Union, 'A Study on the Roles and Contributions of Youth to Peace and Security in Africa.' (Addis Ababa: AU, 2020).

⁸ Olawale Ismail and Funmi Olonisakin, 'Why Do Youth Participate in Violence in Africa? A Review of Evidence', *Conflict, Security & Development* 21, no. 3 (4 May 2021): 371–99.

⁹ UNDP, 'Youth and Violent Conflict: Society and Development in Crisis?' (New York: UNDP, 2006).

¹⁰ African Union, 'A Study on the Roles and Contributions of Youth to Peace and Security in Africa.'

¹¹ Rocca and Schultes, 'Africa's Youth: Action Needed Now to Support the Continent's Greatest Asset'.

¹² Ismail and Olonisakin, 'Why Do Youth Participate in Violence in Africa? A Review of Evidence'.

¹³ United Nations, 'Culture of Peace. United Nations A/RES/52/13' (1997), <http://www.un-documents.net/a52r13.htm>.

¹⁴ United Nations.

peace are discernible, viz: situational, relational, and ideational approaches.¹⁵ The situational approach is the most common method and views peace as a situation or condition where the people of society live in peace and resolve conflicts without involving violence.

In such a situation, peace is classified based on specific indicators that determine the form of peace prevalent in such a society, i.e., constitutional peace, democratic peace, or capitalist peace. Concerning relational peace, attention is drawn to the actor in the peace process – the relationship between actors in a conflicting situation. This concept provides an understanding of the resulting interactions from varying peace situations. The components of relational peace are behavioral interactions (non-domination, deliberation, and cooperation), attitude (mutual recognition, mutual trust), and the idea of a relationship (legitimate coexistence and friendship). The ideational approach to studying peace underscores ideas about how peace is understood and interpreted to engender political and social change. Put differently; it expounds on the notion of peace and the normative thoughts it connotes, how it shapes policy, and influences decision-making.

Peace is required to achieve cohesion and development in any society. Promoting peace and solidarity is an indubitable task for a society plagued by recurring conflicts and violence. Therefore, this process of sustaining and promoting post-conflict peace to prevent a relapse to conflict is referred to as peacebuilding. Peacebuilding refers to the efforts at engendering, strengthening, promoting, and consolidating peace to avoid deterioration and recession to conflict.¹⁶ Peacebuilding is different from preventive diplomacy; where the latter is aimed at avoiding a crisis, the former prevents its recurrence. Peacebuilding suffers from conceptual dissensus depending on the party defining it. Academics use the term to refer to the culmination of political, developmental, and security efforts from a post-conflict period to attaining sustainable peace and development. In contrast, diplomats and envoys use the concept to describe the consolidation of peace processes after a period of recovery.¹⁷

III. LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF YOUTH AS PEACEBUILDERS

The role of youth in peacebuilding and conflict resolution finds expression in different international legal documents, notably United Nations Security Council Resolution 2535, United Nations Security Council Resolution 2419, United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250, and Sustainable Development Goal 16 (Peace, justice, and strong institutions). These instruments underscore the legal framework guiding the operation of

¹⁵ Anna Jarstad et al., 'Three Approaches to Peace: A Framework for Describing and Exploring Varieties of Peace', *Umeå Working Papers in Peace and Conflict Studies*, no. 12 (2019), <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1375816/FULLTEXT02.pdf>.

¹⁶ B. Boutros-Ghali, 'An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-Making and Peacekeeping' (New York: United Nations, 1992), 823, https://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/89-92/Chapter%208/GENERAL%20ISSUES/Item%2029_Agenda%20for%20peace_.pdf.

¹⁷ Rahul Chandran, 'Conceptual Issues in Peacebuilding' (United Nations University Centre for Policy Research, 2015), https://collections.unu.edu/eserv/UNU:3219/unu_cpr_conceptual_issues.pdf.

youth and their recognition as enablers of peace, inclusion, cohesion, and equity by the international community.¹⁸ Other resources include United Nations Resolution 2282, United Nations Resolution 1325, Secretary-General Reports A/69/399-S/2014/694 and S/2010/466, Learning for Peace, the Youth Global Programme for Sustainable Development and Peace, The 2015 Global Forum on Youth, Peace, and Security, Practice Note on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding, Youth4Peace and the Working Group on Youth and Peacebuilding.¹⁹

United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 2250: This resolution was ratified at the 7573rd meeting of the United Security Council in 2015. The document builds upon previous resolutions of the UN: 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), and 2242 (2015) on Women, Peace, and Security and recognizes the efforts of youth (18-29 years) in promoting international peace and security and affirms that the cohort is critical to peacekeeping and peacebuilding.²⁰ The document maintains that a youthful population presents unique opportunities for peacebuilding. The cohort's demographic dividend can be used to shape sustainable peace and contribute to reconciliation and justice. This tall order is in response to the rise in youth involvement in radicalization, violent extremism, conflict, and terrorism. Therefore, an attempt to counteract youth's engagement in crime and exploit their capability as positive role models and agents of peace. To this end, states are enjoined to engage their youth in decision-making, enact peace treaties, and support local youth peace initiatives.

United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 2419: This resolution was reached at the 8277th United Nations Security Council meeting in 2018. The resolution, which primarily reaffirms the Council's commitment to implementing resolution 2250, is another legal framework guiding the role of youth in peacebuilding. The resolution reiterates the prominent role of youth in preventing and resolving conflicts. It recognizes youth as chief actors in peacebuilding, peacekeeping, and promoting inclusion.²¹ It also states the need for joint peacebuilding efforts among various stakeholders (government, civil society, academia, religious leaders, women, the private sector, and media) and the full participation of youth – devoid of discrimination – in the process. The resolution recognizes the contribution of sport and culture to youth empowerment and emphasizes the need to educate and train youth for capacity development.

¹⁸ Christian Cito Cirhigiri, 'Youth and Peacebuilding: Key Insights and Lessons from a Global Online Consultation' (Peace Direct, 2019), https://s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/peace-insight/wp-content/uploads/P889%20PD%20Youth%20LVP%20Report_V5.pdf.

¹⁹ United Nations, 'Resources on Youth, Peace and Security.', United Nations, 2017, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/youth/international-youth-day-2017/resources-on-youth-peace-and-security.html>.

²⁰ United Nations, Resolution 2250. United Nations S/RES/2250.

²¹ United Nations, 'Resolution 2419. United Nations S/RES/2419' (2018), <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N18/173/81/PDF/N1817381.pdf?OpenElement>.

United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 2535: To further reaffirm its commitment to resolutions 2250 and 2419, another resolution was reached at the 8748th meeting of the United Nations Security Council in 2020, dubbed resolution 2535. The resolution states that despite the role of youth as agents of change, they remain challenged by a lack of access to quality education and sufficient investment.²² The resolution, among others, affirm youth' right to education as a sine qua non for achieving peace and security; advocates for increase in youth representation and participation; encourages states to empower youth involved in peace and security matters; urges states to shield youth from violence; emphasizes compliance to international law and human rights law to strengthen youth resilience against radicalization; stresses the creation of social and economic projects for youth to contribute to peacebuilding; recognizes the role of digital space in enabling youth participation in peace dialogues; recognizes the role of youth in humanitarian activities; encourages states to implement policies to facilitate constructive youth engagement in security and peace; and advocates for states to fund youth-led security and peace programs.²³ The resolution is thus more comprehensive than the previous resolutions and extends the parameters of youth involvement in peacebuilding. It introduces a new language to reinforce the commitment to promoting peace and security agenda. The resolution is anchored on key areas such as inclusion, countering extremism, human rights protection in civic and political spaces, education for resilience, expanding the role of youth in peace processes, peace responsiveness, and delivery of the youth peace and security agenda.

Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16: Goal 16 of the United Nations SGD aims to promote just, peaceful, and inclusive societies. This instrument portends that the proliferation of conflict and insecurity is the bane of weak institutions, making sustainable development unattainable. Thus, it is expedient for states to reduce violence and abuse, strengthen national institutions, promote non-discriminatory laws and policies, and promote the rule of law and inclusiveness by 2030.²⁴ However, the attainment of SDG 16 is mainly dependent on youth. To be sure, youth can better articulate the challenges faced in their immediate communities and foster cohesion among their peers – a critical bridge-building effort required for peaceful coexistence. As advocated in UN Resolution 2250, youth are key actors in engendering international peace and security. Youth can better promote a just, peaceful, and inclusive society through local peacebuilding activities in their communities and the state. They are better positioned to promote strategic partnerships through sports, culture, education, arts, and other capacity-building programs. The SDGs

²² United Nations, 'Resolution 2535. United Nations S/RES/2535' (2020), <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N20/182/94/PDF/N2018294.pdf?OpenElement>.

²³ United Nations.

²⁴ United Nations, 'Goal 16: Promote Just, Peaceful and Inclusive Societies', United Nations, 2020, <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/peace-justice/>.

emphasize youth's ability to articulate their voices and worldviews in engendering social and political change.

Despite the relevance and comprehensiveness of these instruments, there have been gaps in their implementation. Cirhigiri²⁵ argues that there has been a growing disconnect and distrust between youth, their governments, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders. The incidence of social exclusion is increasingly pronounced in various countries. The resulting sense of distrust has not only birthed a 'policy panic' – policies made on preconceived prejudice of youth as agents of violence but has also increased the chances of policy myths and fear. There is also the challenge of "financial, logistical, and time constraints," which incapacitates youth as peacebuilders.

IV. HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES AND PEACEBUILDING

A fundamentally germane element of peacebuilding is the protection of human rights which is necessary for sustaining peace. Giving recourse to human rights helps a community to transition from a conflict situation to a post-conflict one peacefully. Article 55 of the United Nations Charter emphasizes this, which seeks to create "conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights".²⁶ This article is further buttressed in the United Nations resolution A/RES/70/262 that "development, peace and security, and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing".²⁷ This resolution stresses that a comprehensive and coherent peacebuilding approach considers human rights programs and appropriately emphasizes human rights dimensions of peacebuilding. According to the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNOHCHR) (2020), human rights and peacebuilding goals are intertwined. Human rights and peacebuilding aim to create a resilient, inclusive, peaceful society. States driven by human rights principles are better positioned to make policies that promote sustaining peace. More so, by guaranteeing the rights of citizens, inclusiveness, a prerequisite for peace, is promoted. Thus, inclusive societies guarantee participation and encourage peaceful coexistence. Ultimately, it seeks an end to violence and conflict while exalting the commitment to protecting human rights and deterring the likelihood of violence recurrence.²⁸

²⁵ Cirhigiri, 'Youth and Peacebuilding: Key Insights and Lessons from a Global Online Consultation'.

²⁶ United Nations, 'United Nations Charter, Chapter IX: International Economic and Social Cooperation', United Nations, n.d., <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-9>.

²⁷ United Nations, '70/262 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture. United Nations A/RES/70/262' (2016), <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N16/119/39/PDF/N1611939.pdf?OpenElement>.

²⁸ Eileen Babbitt, 'Conflict Resolution and Human Rights in Peacebuilding: Exploring the Tensions', United Nations, 2009, <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/conflict-resolution-and-human-rights-peacebuilding-exploring-tensions>.

V. YOUTH AND CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

That conflict is prevalent in Africa is an aphorism. The state of affairs in Africa reveals the one ensnared in recurring violent conflict.²⁹ The conflict in Ethiopia has led to bloodshed, and peace has been largely elusive. On the other hand, the Central African Republic (CAR) has been entangled in an intractable cycle of conflict for several years. The conflict in Cameroon, an offshoot of protests against marginalization and bad governance, has degenerated into a deadly insurgency leading to the loss of lives and a devastating humanitarian crisis.³⁰ The armed conflicts in the Sahel of Africa worsened in 2019 due to the proliferation of violent extremism, armed non-state groups, rural insurgent groups, armed Islamist groups, and intercommunal tensions. These groups have grown in number by exploiting the frustration and grievances of members of marginalized communities.³¹

Local actors are crucial in peacebuilding efforts, especially in Africa, due to their ability to command trust. This local actor is crucial because a peacebuilding process is hinged on using local voices to understand the root causes of conflicts and proffering solutions. To this end, local actors can better provide civil solutions to conflicts using local strategies.³² More so, violence in most African countries usually has a local undertone. For instance, as Liaga would have us believe, the violence in Sudan is:

"A volatile mix of local, interethnic, and intra-ethnic conflict infused with political maneuverings on a national and sub-national level. Other issues, such as cattle raids, attacks on traders, attacks on returnees and other violence, can also be indirectly related, and significantly so, to South Sudan dynamics, in which the violence plays out on the local stage" (p. 5).

Africa continues to experience the proliferation of violent non-state actors whose activities are driven primarily by youth. A prominent example is the Boko Haram insurgency which was started in Nigeria in 2002 by Muhammed Yusuf and was taken over by Abubakar Shekau – who, until he died in 2021, increased the viciousness of the group – has spread to neighboring countries, including Chad, Niger, Cameroon, and Mali. An insurgency is a form of armed conflict sponsored by organized groups to overthrow a government. Boko Haram has a penchant for armed conflict and is responsible for over 38,000 deaths between 2011 and 2020, including the destruction of properties. The group has, over time, targeted out-of-

²⁹ Isabella Osiemo, Florence Maranga, and Ruthie Chepkoech Rono, 'Situating the Role of Youth in Indigenous African Peacebuilding Interventions: The Question of Spoilers versus Menders', *AJCR* 2021/1, 2021, <https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/situating-the-role-of-youth-in-indigenous-african-peacebuilding-interventions-the-question-of-spoilers-versus-menders/>.

³⁰ PSC Insights, 'African Conflicts to Watch in 2022. PSC Report'.

³¹ SIPRI, 'Armed Conflict and Peace Processes in Sub-Saharan Africa.' (Sweden: Oxford University Press, 2020).

³² Emmaculate Asige Liaga, 'Towards Local Approaches and Inclusive Peacebuilding in South Sudan', *Resolve Network Policy Note*, 26 October 2021.

school children and youth – the majority of whom are ignorant, unemployed, illiterate, and disadvantaged.³³

Based on the premise above, examining the role of youth in promoting conflict in Africa is pertinent. Indeed, Africa's most valuable resource is its youth. Despite their strategic significance for development in Africa, they face a dilemma of moving from being instigators of violence to stakeholders in promoting a culture of peace.³⁴ They are often seen as perpetrators and enablers of violent conflict in Africa. They are stereotyped as victims of elite manipulation of African electioneering processes.³⁵ More so, the youth factor is an essential and non-negligible element in conflict situations which is assumed to be fueled by a persistent youth crisis. Despite this, the idea of a youth crisis is however confusing. UNDP³⁶ distinguishes between two scenarios: "(i) a crisis of society impacting on youth; and (ii) a crisis originating from youth and impacting on society at large."

To further grasp the role of youth in conflict situations in Africa, it is vital to know the term youth. It is often viewed from the age group, social construct, and gender dimension. When examined as an age group, youth refer to a particular age cohort, such as 15-24. The social construct of youth underscores the ascription of responsibilities (voting, wealth, marriage) to individuals transitioning into adulthood. In addition, the notion of youth has a gender dimension where the societal expectations of boys and girls begin to differ at the transition stage. At this stage, boys begin to experience expansion and freedom while, due to restrictions posed by cultural norms (stigma, puberty etc.), girls become the empirical situation subject to cross-cultural variation. Because youth connote a period of transition from childhood to adulthood, it is unsurprising that this age category is associated with the quest for self-determination, independence, experience, responsibility, and adventure. More so, the population, social vulnerabilities and clamour for social change by youth makes them particularly vulnerable to foment conflicts compared to older people.³⁷ To explain youth involvement in protests, demonstrations, and social movements – which degenerate into conflict and violence when not adequately managed.

Youth have been involved in political violence since the Revolutions of 1848. More so, the recruitment of young ones to international terrorist networks and the resurgence of

³³ Tope Shola Akinyetun, 'A Theoretical Assessment of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria from Relative Deprivation and Frustration-Aggression Perspectives', *African Journal of Terrorism and Insurgency Research* 1, no. 2 (2020): 89–109.

³⁴ UNESCO, 'Africa: Sources and Resources for a Culture of Peace. Retrieved From', 2013, <http://www.unesco.org/africa4peace>.

³⁵ Loise Ndegwa, 'The Role Of Youth In Peace And Conflict In Africa', *The Organization for World Peace* (blog), 2018, <https://theowp.org/reports/the-role-of-youth-in-peace-and-conflict-in-africa/>.

³⁶ UNDP, 'Youth and Violent Conflict: Society and Development in Crisis?', 12.

³⁷ Henrik Urdal, *The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000*, Social Development Papers, No. 14 (Washington, DC: Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction, 2004), 5.

political instability in the Arab world have been linked to the youth bulge.³⁸ Meanwhile, conflict is primarily made possible by the availability of youth willing to fight in it.³⁹ About 90-95 percent of the conflicts in Nigeria are driven by youth, while the activities of rebel groups such as M-23 (DRC), al-Shabaab (Somalia), and Revolutionary United Force (Sierra Leone) are enabled by youth.⁴⁰ These youth comprise a significant population of fighters and warriors in any conflict and are often motivated by their poor economic conditions to partake in it.⁴¹ This view is confirmed in the literature that Boko Haram comprises youth with a median age of 30. The cohort recruitment by the sect is influenced by the country's unemployment and destitution level.⁴²

There are two dominant logics of youth involvement in violence in Africa: political and economic. The involvement of youth in violence can be viewed as a result of the grievance, as a result of non-representation and marginalization from decision-making.⁴³ That is, the prevalence of exclusion from the governance processes leads to frustration and aggression, which increases the chances of youth participation in violent activities. The agitation of youth against inequality in Northern Mali, Kenya, and Niger Delta, as well as against marginalization from education and politics in Sierra Leone, indicates how the nuanced interpretation of how exclusion and frustration of youth engender violence.⁴⁴ That is, youth-restricted access to education, skill development, training, and economic opportunities constitutes a challenge to sustainable peace. Concerning education, more than half of the African countries recorded a decline in their quality of education, while a majority of their citizens (51.5%) lack access to lower secondary school education. Meanwhile, limited job prospects pose a significant challenge in areas where education is available.⁴⁵

Economically, unemployment, poverty, and relative deprivation are motivators of youth involvement in conflicts. More so, the state of the economy (i.e., recession, sustained inflation, and external shock) triggers internal conflict, while opportunistic agenda and greed move the political elite to promote conflict. The abundance of natural resources and the competition for their control may also be a reason for violence among youth. Meanwhile, such an opportunity for rebellion is heightened by weak and incapable governments.⁴⁶ Youth

³⁸ Henrik Urdal, 'A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence', *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (2006): 607–29.

³⁹ UNDP, 'Youth and Violent Conflict: Society and Development in Crisis?'; Urdal, 'A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence'.

⁴⁰ Ndegwa, 'The Role Of Youth In Peace And Conflict In Africa'.

⁴¹ Daniel Egiegba Agbiboa, 'Youth as Tactical Agents of Peacebuilding and Development in the Sahel', *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 10, no. 3 (1 December 2015): 30–45.

⁴² Onuoha, 'Why Do Youth Join Boko Haram?'

⁴³ Ismail and Olonisakin, 'Why Do Youth Participate in Violence in Africa? A Review of Evidence'.

⁴⁴ Ismail and Olonisakin.

⁴⁵ Rocca and Schultes, 'Africa's Youth: Action Needed Now to Support the Continent's Greatest Asset'.

⁴⁶ Urdal, 'A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence'.

unemployment in Africa in 2019 was 16 million; ironically, unemployment rose alongside increased GDP per capita.⁴⁷

There is no evidence that youth bulge at any defined level increases countries' chances of conflict and violence, but the combination of youth bulge with preexisting socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions makes youth bulge a recipe for disaster.⁴⁸ An abundant supply of youth without commensurate opportunities increases the motive for violence. As such, it is imperative to explore the various economic and political conditions that impel youth involvement and vulnerability to conflict escalation in Africa.⁴⁹ Indeed, economic conditions such as unemployment, lack of education, and deprivation are precursors to grievance-induced conflicts. The coexistence of these woes and an increasing youth bulge increases the chances of grievances, forcing youth to partake in conflict. Their economic conditions inform the vulnerability of young people to join rebellious groups. When denied employment opportunities, they become impoverished and are forced to cope with such situations, even if it requires joining rebel groups.⁵⁰ This submission is substantiated by Ismail & Olonisakin,⁵¹ that there is a correlation between unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, and violence among youth. For instance, the rise in Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and its spread to the neighboring countries in the Sahel is linked to poverty and deprivation. The youth violence in Dar es Salam, Tanzania, is linked with unemployment, while the menace of an urban gang and land conflict in Ghana is associated with unemployment. Thus, the disaffection of youth with the prevalence of poverty and unemployment are triggers of conflict.

In realizing their disadvantaged position, African youth are beginning to agitate for social change, inclusion, and increased participation through social media and other digital tools. The frustration of youth with the status quo in Africa has engendered social movements such as the #rhodesmustfall, #EndBadGovernanceInNigeriaNow, #feesmustfall, #Endsars, #Endswat, and #NassSalaryCut – among others. African youth are also increasingly involved in peacebuilding through programs focusing on partnership and disengagement, protection, prevention, participation, and reintegration.⁵² Observably, abandoning indigenous African conflict resolution mechanisms for modern alternatives has failed to guarantee peacebuilding in Africa and has contributed immensely to the recurrence of violence on the continent.⁵³

⁴⁷ Rocca and Schultes, 'Africa's Youth: Action Needed Now to Support the Continent's Greatest Asset'.

⁴⁸ Urdal, *The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000*.

⁴⁹ Urdal, 'A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence'.

⁵⁰ Urdal, *The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000*.

⁵¹ Ismail and Olonisakin, 'Why Do Youth Participate in Violence in Africa? A Review of Evidence'.

⁵² Akinyetun, 'A Theoretical Assessment of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria from Relative Deprivation and Frustration-Aggression Perspectives'; Ndegwa, 'The Role Of Youth In Peace And Conflict In Africa'; United Nations, Resolution 2250. United Nations S/RES/2250.

⁵³ Osiemo, Maranga, and Rono, 'Situating the Role of Youth in Indigenous African Peacebuilding Interventions: The Question of Spoilers versus Menders'.

VI. YOUTH, PEACEBUILDING, AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Against the common notion that youth are susceptible to violence and extremism, there are reasons to believe that not all young people fit into such prejudice. Indeed, most youth play active roles in engendering constructive and progressive change.⁵⁴ There is no gainsaying that young people, particularly women and children, are the most visible victims of protracted conflict and violence⁵⁵; such experiences often have long-lasting impacts on the psychological and social development of this cohort and how well [or not] they adjust to the society. This view is held by Bhatia & Sedra that the need to fulfill physical and nonphysical responsibilities often pushes youth to partake in criminal activities and to join armed groups in the hopes of accessing the protection and economic advantages it promises. Nonetheless, the role of youth in society is dynamic; they are problem aggravators and problem solvers. Engaging youth as critical stakeholders and peacemakers is instructive in ensuring a peaceful and safe environment. This idea is not unconnected with their virility, openness to change, innovation, and commitment to learning.

Globally, youth are regarded for their technological acumen, intellectual curiosity, resourcefulness, and general dexterity. Thus, adopting youth as transition agents in a post-conflict society is not misplaced. This, Murray, Cohen & Mannarino⁵⁶ argue, is necessitated by youth's listening and communication skills, emotional intelligence, and conflict management skills—requisites for managing tension and recovering from conflict-inflicted trauma. A similar view is held by World Bank⁵⁷ and the Department for International Development-Civil Society Organization⁵⁸ that engaging youth in peacebuilding programs is significant because:

- It enables the exercise of citizenship
- It allows for youth-centered policies and services
- It advances development and peacebuilding goals

Arising from the above submissions, when adequately involved in peacebuilding, youth can promote civic engagement and help to properly articulate and aggregate the

⁵⁴ J. Rogan, 'Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding: A Practice Note', 2016, <https://www.youth4peace.info/system/files/2016-10/PRACTICE%20NOTE%20-%20Young%20People%27s%20Participation%20in%20Peacebuilding%20%282016%29.pdf>.

⁵⁵ Etienne G. Krug et al., 'World Report on Violence and Health' (Geneva: World Health Organization, 5 October 2002).

⁵⁶ Laura K. Murray, Judith A. Cohen, and Anthony P. Mannarino, 'Trauma-Focused Cognitive Behavioral Therapy for Youth Who Experience Continuous Traumatic Exposure', *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 19, no. 2 (2013): 180–95.

⁵⁷ World Bank, 'World Development Report 2007' (Washington, D. C: World Bank, 2007).

⁵⁸ Department for International Development-Civil Society Organization, 'Youth Participation in Development: A Guide for Development Agencies and Policy Makers' (London: Youth Working Group, 2010).

complaints of their cohort and demand for improvement. For instance, youth can constitute a formidable arm that puts the government on its toes and act as a challenging opposition. More so, they can assist in creating a platform for their cohort to perform other civic duties such as tax payment, participating in an election, campaigning, voting, activism, and increasing awareness. More so, they can checkmate the activities of the state and ensure that the government is held accountable and transparent with its policies. As an active cohort, youth can positively shape government decisions and promote development, particularly in addressing inequality, poverty, marginalization, and exclusion. They can support themselves through social inclusion and poverty alleviation programs, wealth creation, job opportunities, human capital development, and cohesion.

According to Nesterova & Ozcelik⁵⁹, young people are peacebuilders and peacemakers who can help to:

- Promote social unity and harmony within and outside their immediate environment;
- Stimulate inclusiveness devoid of prejudice for background and foster a youth alliance for peace;
- Campaign against violence and espouse human rights;
- Contribute to the healing of victims of violent conflicts and advance their reintegration into society;
- Empower youth in capacity building and skill acquisition; and
- Push for an unbiased and all-inclusive peace process through negotiation and mediation.

VII. YOUTH, PEACEBUILDING, AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA

Despite the challenges they are confronted with, the youth of many African nations have distinguished themselves as agents of peace and conflict resolution. The United Nations 2250⁶⁰ resolution recognizes the role of youth in preventing conflicts, shaping lasting peace, and promoting economic prosperity. African youth are contributing their quota to addressing various social issues such as famine, electoral violence, and terrorism. They are advocates of civic engagement and community development. Youth in Nigeria used their social media platforms to campaign against Boko Haram's abduction of over 200 schoolgirls from Chibok, Borno State, using the #Bringbackourgirls.⁶¹ The technology adoption in campaigning for the return of the schoolgirls called the attention of Nigerians and the

⁵⁹ Yulia Nesterova and Asli Ozcelik, 'Youth Has a Key Role in Peace Processes', *Impakter* (blog), 2021, <https://impakter.com/youth-role-peace-processes/>.

⁶⁰ United Nations, Resolution 2250. United Nations S/RES/2250.

⁶¹ Agbiboa, 'Youth as Tactical Agents of Peacebuilding and Development in the Sahel'.

international community to the atrocities of the Boko Haram sect. It pressured the Nigerian government to intensify its offensive against the group.

Youth in the Democratic Republic of Congo, under the aegis of The National Partnership of Children and Youth in Peacebuilding (NPCYP), are using arts to promote peace and build cohesion. They build trust and encourage healing from disaster through music, poems, and artistic expressions emphasizing mutual trust and peaceful coexistence. In South Sudan, youth are using sports to build trust and peace, while in Nigeria, youth use cultural exchanges and interfaith events to promote peace and enhance dialogue that seeks to reduce inter-religious violence. The program also encourages religious tolerance and de-escalates the Boko Haram narratives.

Concerning Boko Haram, youth mobilized themselves and provided tactical support to the Multinational Joint Task Force. They gathered intelligence and acted as community police to complement the efforts of the MJTF. In other areas, such as Maiduguri, they formed a Civilian Joint Task Force to track Boko Haram members and mount several checkpoints – acting as partners to the security forces. The support provided by these civilian and vigilante groups helped in the fight against Boko Haram as they identified members of the sect and cooperated with security agents to improve civil-military relations.⁶² Meanwhile, in Northern Mali, where violence, separatism, rebellion, uprising, and assassination of civil servants have been recorded, some youths have decided to promote peace despite being challenged by elite corruption, exclusion and lack of gainful jobs. They promote entrepreneurship by popularizing blog writing, graffiti making, hairdo, marketing of clothes and jewelry, arts and music, and repairing electronic devices.⁶³

African youth have organized various programs to curb violent extremism, build cohesion and resilience, promote peace, and resolve conflicts. The programme according to African Union⁶⁴ include: Sweet@rt'frica (a youth peace art consortium in Yaoundé) – which promotes tolerance among young people through the use of arts; Association for Community Awareness, Cameroon – that raises consciousness on the essentials of peaceful coexistence both at home and in the community; The Women for a Change, Cameroon – which promotes resilience building among girls and young women in conflict-ridden communities; The Batwa Development Organization, Uganda – which promotes peaceful coexistence through reconciliation and capacity building; Global Peace Chain, Chad – which promotes harmony between communities through education sport and art; the African Youth Initiative Network – which emphasizes leadership development and peace education; LifeAID, Cameroon – which engages youth in peacebuilding through dialogue and inclusion; and the South Sudan Youth for Peace, Development Organisation, South Sudan – concerned with girls' empowerment, peacebuilding and community reconciliation.

⁶² Aghiboa.

⁶³ Aghiboa.

⁶⁴ African Union, 'A Study on the Roles and Contributions of Youth to Peace and Security in Africa.'

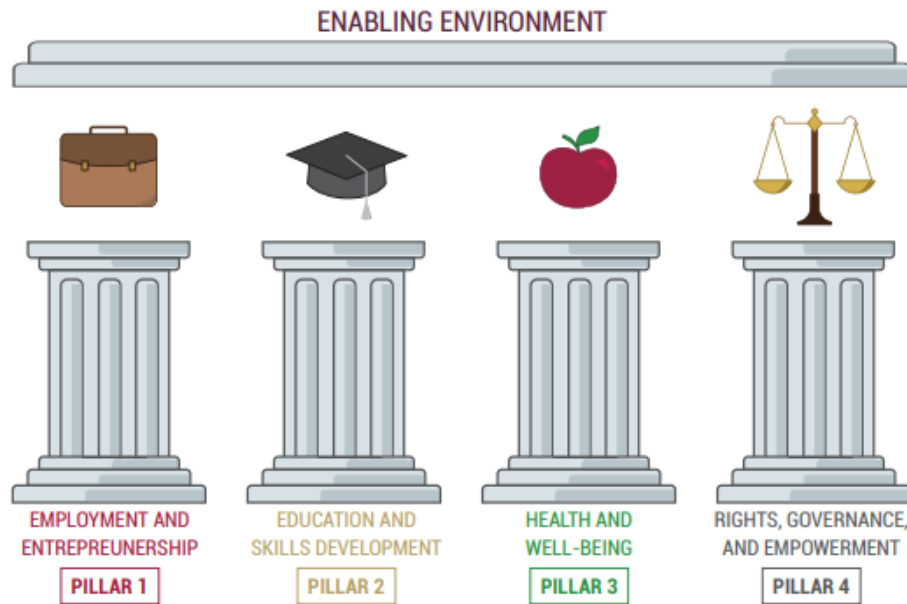
There is also the Stories from Algeria in Algeria – that trains youth in using storytelling to deal with identity; the Mashehad Association in Tunisia – that uses art to promote expression, engagements, empowerment and restoration; The Tafat Cultural Media Foundation – that promotes the culture of peace through public enlightenment and the media; The Youth Forum for Democracy and Citizenship in Morocco – that addresses unemployment and empowers young people to be self-reliant; the Hindu Youth Movement, South Africa – that counters gender violence and xenophobia violence; the National Youth Parliament, The Gambia – uses radio to promote civic rights, advocacy, participation, accountability and transparency; Olho do Cidadão in Mozambique – that uses social media to monitor governance through its Txeka App; the Young Peace Brigades in Ghana – that emphasizes the need for mediation and leadership skills; and the Muslim Scouts of Mali – whose actions are centered around education and interfaith dialogue for peace.⁶⁵ In the Central African Republic, youth promote peace through the Birds of Peace initiative through formal education, drawing, and storytelling. The youth in Somalia contributes to security through community policing.⁶⁶

Given the role of youth in promoting peace, as expounded above, an enabling environment that advances their course must be provided. Such an environment must be characterized by empowerment and investment. After all, investments in today's youth will determine Africa's development tomorrow— defining the continent's trajectory, positioning it as a global leader, and creating a thriving, united, and peaceful Africa.⁶⁷ Perlotto adds that an enabling environment for African youth should be based on: governance, rights, empowerment, employment, entrepreneurship, skills development, health, education, and well-being. This model is further collapsed into four pillars (see figure 1).

⁶⁵ African Union.

⁶⁶ Ndegwa, 'The Role Of Youth In Peace And Conflict In Africa'.

⁶⁷ Sydney Perlotto, 'Africa's Future: Youth and the Data Defining Their Lives. Status of African Youth Report' (African Union, 2019).

Figure 1: Creating an enabling environment for youth

Source: Perlotto⁶⁸

Taking a cue from the above diagram, an environment that allows youth to act as agents of peace must guarantee employment and entrepreneurship opportunities. When youth are gainfully engaged and can meet their financial needs, their vulnerability to join rebel groups will reduce while their involvement in promoting violence will diminish. However, because gainful employment requires skills, it is equally important that youth are educated and acquire the relevant skills required to adjust to the dynamic labor market. In addition, the health and well-being of youth must be ensured. Since Africa is a young population projected to intensify soon, the cohort must be healthy to contribute to economic growth and development and ensure a demography dividend. African youth must be continuously sensitized to the dangers of anti-social behaviors such as substance abuse and alcoholism. The growing incidence of diseases, including HIV/AIDS and other transmittable diseases, must be discouraged. Lastly, there is no denying that the exclusion of youth from governance and the decision-making process contributes to their engagement in violence. Thus, youth must be empowered to exercise their political rights by participating actively in governance.

⁶⁸ Perlotto.

VIII. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AFRICAN NATIONS

As a result of the findings of this paper, the following recommendations are proffered:

The institutionalization of an African Youth Assembly (AYA) and African Youth Parliaments (AYP) is located in various countries in Africa. Establishing these forums will prepare youth to learn the art of governance and decision-making while being equipped with leadership knowledge. These bodies should not only be constituted by African youth but should also be connected across the continent. This potency will enable African youth to solve youth-based challenges plaguing their countries. They will also be poised to share ideas on improving their standard of living and promoting the ideals of a united Africa. These bodies should have various units: one of which will be a conflict resolution arm. With this arm, youth in other parts of Africa can contribute meaningfully to conflict resolution and violence de-escalation in other countries.

Youth must become involved in governance and decision-making in their various immediate communities. This will enable them to imbibe the governance culture and empower them to find quick solutions to conflictual situations before it escalates. In addition, attention must be paid to improving local governance in various communities. It is advised that governments in Africa create a Youth Participation Commission (YPC). The Commission will be responsible for making policies to improve youth representation in various governments by stipulating a threshold for the youth population in all elections or elective posts at various levels of government; local, state, and federal. With this, youth in government positions and cabinets will improve significantly. The Commission should also be empowered to strictly adhere to such policies to discourage the government from backtracking.

Peace Education must be made compulsory in students' curricula across various levels of education (primary, secondary, and post-secondary). When pupils and students are exposed to peace education and the need to promote peace at an early stage, there are chances that such knowledge will be applied early and will reduce the chances and occurrence of conflicts or youth crises. African governments must begin to sponsor peace programs and encourage cultural exchange programs among their countries. This scenario will build cohesion through exposure to other cultures and facilitate a united Africa.

Establishing a Youth Empowerment Commission (YEC) must also be encouraged in Africa. This Commission will be responsible for education sponsorship, a transfer program, policy internship, and fellowship programs for African youth within Africa. These partnerships will reduce the chances of brain drain and ensure that the knowledge acquired is saturated within Africa. Other arms of the Commission should be saddled with wealth creation through increased investment in technopreneurship, agropreneurship, and entrepreneurship. In cases where international non-government organizations sponsor the program, youth should be facilitators, liaisons, coordinators, and implementers rather than

governments. Meanwhile, a specific arm should be concerned with women's empowerment to reducing the gender disparity among youth.

IX. CONCLUSION

The progress of any society rests largely on the opportunities available to its youth because this cohort holds great potential for unlocking the wealth of any nation. The role of the youth in Africa, the largest in the world, in development is worthy of a scholarship. However, this cohort is often associated with negativity, such as complicity exacerbating the incidence of conflict and violence in the continent, while some view them with mixed feelings. Indeed, scholars are divided on a youth bulge's implications for Africa. Such contradictions are expressed in terminologies such as demographic bomb vs. demographic dividend, spoilers vs. menders, and agents of destruction vs. agents of peace.

Even though the narratives of linking youth with the occurrence of conflicts in Africa have been emphasized in the literature – albeit with little evidence, it is imperative to shift focus from such stereotypical prejudice to a nuanced and granulated stance rooted in evidence of youth contribution to the peace process and conflict resolution in Africa. This article explored the role of youth in engendering peace and inclusion through advocacy and civic engagement. There has been an unprecedented use of social media platforms by youth to organize peaceful social movements and aggregate demands. Campaigns for peace, articulation for involvement in decisions making, and constructive criticism of autocratic governments have become one of the prominent uses of digital tools by African youth.

For youth to play an increased role in promoting peace and conflict resolution, an environment that guarantees good governance, health, employment, entrepreneurship, rights, skills development, education, well-being, rights, and empowerment must be provided. Moreover, African youth build cohesion, resilience, peace, and trust through the sponsorship of music, arts, sports, education, storytelling, and interfaith dialogue. In other instances, African youth have organized themselves as vigilantes and community police units to complement the efforts of the security forces in intelligence gathering and securing their immediate environments from attack by extremist groups. Youth also promote economic prosperity through programs that emphasize entrepreneurship and wealth creation. These various roles played by African youth in peacebuilding are still largely yet to be seen in many countries. This, the article concludes, is a result of the absence of an enabling environment.

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