

МОНГОЛ УЛСЫН ИХ СУРГУУЛЬ  
ШИНЖЛЭХ УХААНЫ СУРГУУЛЬ  
НИЙГМИЙН УХААНЫ САЛБАР

ᠮᠣᠩᠭᠣᠯ ᠤᠯᠤᠰ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠰᠤ ᠰᠤᠷᠭᠠᠭᠣᠯᠤ  
ᠰᠢᠨᠵᠢᠯᠡᠬᠡ ᠤᠬᠠᠠᠨ ᠰᠤᠷᠭᠠᠭᠣᠯᠤ  
ᠨᠢᠶᠢᠭᠮᠢᠶᠢᠨ ᠤᠬᠠᠠᠨ ᠰᠠᠯᠪᠠᠷ

# ПОЛИТОЛОГИ

ЭРДЭМ ШИНЖИЛГЭЭНИЙ БИЧИГ



МУИС ПРЕСС ХЭВЭЭНИЙН ГАЗАР

# Politilogy



1

## **POLITOLOGY**

Special issues of International Academic conference on

“Democracy, power and identity in Asia”

2

Organized by IAPSS

In partnership with the Department of Political Science, National University of Mongolia,  
Department of Political Science-2020

ISSN 2227-6904

Key title: Politology

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor in chief: Turtogtokh Janar, National University of Mongolia

Secretary: Batbold Tserendash, National University of Mongolia

Board members: Ganbold Tseren, National University of Mongolia

Bazarpurev Sambuu, National University of Mongolia

Munkhtsetseg Tserenjamts, Strategy Academy

Tuguldur Yanjiv, Mongolian University of Science and Technology

Tsend-Ayush Galsanpeljee, National University of Mongolia

Undrakh Davaadorj, National University of Mongolia

Bumdari Dagva-Ochir, National University of Mongolia

Myagmarsuren Dashtsevge, National Academy of Governance

Technical Editor: Badamdash Dashdavaa, National University of Mongolia

Yesukhei Tumurbaatar, National University of Mongolia

Address: Department of Political Science, School of Arts and Science, National University of Mongolia, Zaluuchuud avenue, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

Volume: Conference proceedings

2021

ISBN: 978-99929-3-550-2

National University of Mongolia

Department of Political Science

3



Conference proceedings

ACADEMIC CONFERENCE DEMOCRACY, POWER AND IDENTITY IN ASIA

- Wendt, Alexander. Anarchy is what state makes of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1992), pp. 391-425. The MIT Press.
- Explained Desk. Explained: Why another Charlies Hebdo cartoon is fanning Turkey France tensions. <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-why-another-charlie-hebdo-cartoon-is-fanning-turkey-france-tensions-6909228/>. October 30, 2020. The Indian Express. Website.
- Bostock, Bill. Charlie Hebdo, whose cartoons sparked terror attacks in France, published a cutting caricature of Turkish President Erdogan amid his feud with Macron. <https://www.businessinsider.com/charlie-hebdo-cartoon-turkey-erdogan-macron-feud-2020-10>. October 28, 2020. Website.
- Wikipedia. The Social Dilemma (Documentary) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Social\\_Dilemma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Social_Dilemma). Website.
- Wikipedia. The Great Hack (Documentary). [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Great\\_Hack](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Great_Hack). Website.
- The UN Security-General's Global Initiative on Education. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/gefi/home/>. Website.
- UNICEF. <https://data.unicef.org/topic/education/literacy/>. 2012-2018. Website.
- Asia's fragile democracies struggle to tame illiberal forces. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Asia-Insight/Asia-s-fragile-democracies-struggle-to-tame-illiberal-forces>. June 25th, 2019. Nikkei Asia. Website.
- Asia's fragile democracies struggle to tame illiberal forces. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Asia-Insight/Asia-s-fragile-democracies-struggle-to-tame-illiberal-forces>. June 25th, 2019. Nikkei Asia. Website.

17

## **LANDSCAPE OF DIGITALIZATION IN DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION: ESTABLISHING THE FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW ERA OF ALTERNATIVE YOUTH POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT**

Authored by:

1. Abdulmumin Edidi is a civil engineering graduate, youth and community development advocate, and emerging policymaker from South Western Nigeria. He believes in establishing policy and data driven solutions to social problems and mobilizes young people to get involved in development via creating social enterprises, and social impact projects. Abdulmumin is an African Future Leaders Fellow, multi award-winning personality, and enjoys the affiliation of various youth organizations.

Email: [edidiabdulmumin@gmail.com](mailto:edidiabdulmumin@gmail.com)

2. Amine Tabsissi is a young screenwriter & producer of short movies from Casablanca, Morocco. He is currently in his senior year and also enrolled in the Yale Young African Scholars Summer Camp where he is working on projects aimed at creating a platform

where young people can voice their opinions regarding socio-economic issues.  
Email:aminetabsissi@gmail.com

Ayesha Katpar from Karachi, Pakistan, completed her Bachelor of Sciences degree in Economics 3. and Mathematics from the Institute of Business Administration, Karachi, in 2017. Ayesha seeks to pursue her career in the Central Superior Services of Pakistan. Her aim is to aid in the socio-economic development of Pakistan along with helping it progress into the 21st century amidst the changing geopolitical landscape.  
Email:ayeshakatpar100@gmail.com

4. Harshana Ghooorhoo, from Mauritius, is currently pursuing her undergraduate degree in Diplomacy and International Relations, Russian, Arabic, and Philosophy at Seton Hall University, USA. She works as a Research Assistant at the Diplomacy Lab in the School of Diplomacy, where she is performing research on Yemen's civil war. Harshana's interests include international security and the rise of artificial intelligence, nuclear security, and political rapprochement in conflict states. Email: harshanaghooorhoo33@gmail.com

Supervised by: Fatima Zahra Outaïss from Morocco holds a Master's degree in Embedded Systems and Industrial Computer Science Engineering and an Executive Education Certificate from the Moller Institute, Cambridge University, in leadership and public policy. She operates as a full-time leader of an auto mobile project and has a passion for vocational skills such as debating and public speaking. She is currently a debate adjudicator and a master facilitator at Young Mediterranean Voices Program. She is also an alumni of the Youth Innovation Summit, Future Leaders Connect, MEDAC's Leadership Seminar and New Narratives co-creation lab. Fatima has represented the Moroccan youth in a different exchanges with world leaders such as Princess Mary of Denmark Mr. John Bercow, Speaker of the House of Representatives in UK Parliament. Mr. George Vella, President of Malta and many others.

Email: fatimazahra.outaïss@gmail.com

Note: This research paper was produced and submitted by the researchers mentioned above under the Youth Center for Research's Summer Research Program 2020. The Youth Center for Research is an independent youth-led think tank based in Pakistan. It facilitated and provided the platform for youth engagement in order to enable this research to be conducted over a span of six weeks. For more details, visit [youthcfr.com](http://youthcfr.com)

18

## **Abstract**

This paper analyzes the relationship between the youth and their role in politics and policy making. Digital

technology was examined as an emerging driving force behind alternative means of youth political participation, accentuating a drift from conventional engagement. Our study critically examined the transforming movement of youth interest in politics as there has been a noticeable decrease in formal participation. Structural and individual obstacles have led young people to engage in alternative means such as demonstrations which are not often welcomed by governments as effective participation. Data was collected through an online survey distributed across four continents in six countries: Pakistan, Brazil, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Kenya, and Nigeria, targeting young adults aged between 18-35 years. Qualitative data was amassed through interviews conducted with eight politicians/policymakers from the target countries. Based on an in-depth result analysis,

recommendations pertaining to civic education, campaign financing, and youth training centers were put forth.

Key words: conventional means, political participation, youth and political engagement, unconventional means

## **Introduction**

Engagement of young people in the political sphere has become an indispensable priority worldwide. More than a third of the 16 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are directly related to the empowerment and participation of the youth in political and socioeconomic domains (Youth participation in National Parliaments: 2018, 2018). Accounting for 16% of the world's population, the importance of involving the youth in formulating and implementing strong and inclusive policy structures has widely been accepted as a prerequisite for allowing accountability, transparency and intersectionality in sustainable policy making (Youth and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, 2019). Over the course of history, youth as agents of social change and the force bearing the potential to adapt to new technologies has been very pronounced. In this paper, our aim is to identify and analyze the relationship between the youth and their role in policy making and social change as well as how technology may be the driving force behind new means of youth political participation. By studying the obstacles and limitations they face while engaging in politics, we seek to analyze the trans-disciplinary nature of digital technologies and their role in shaping the political future of emerging young leaders.

Youth political participation can be understood as “different ranges of activities in which youth engage to project their voices on the issues that affect them within the political processes of their countries” (Weitz-shapiro, 2008). It is often claimed that the youth is unaware of the prevailing political intricacies and thus, are incapable of formulating and designing policies, as the idea of gerontocracy remains prevalent to this day. Hence, the objective of this research is also to examine the possibilities through which the participation of youth can be/is enabled.

The idea of enabling the youth also presumes the possibility that the participation of youth in the political arena is deliberately kept limited. Regime typologies play a crucial role in dictating and deciding the participation of youth. Young people have created and invented alternative and innovative ways for their own emancipation in the political arena.

The study also aims to shed light on the different aspects of the topic: To what extent are the youth adequately represented in politics? What factors account for the disenfranchisement young people face? What are the new emerging sources of political dissent and resistance among the youth? How are alternative means of engaging in politics shaping the future of politics? What about the anomalies in different political regimes? The study incorporates secondary data to correlate the variables in developing democratic and semi-democratic countries as well as conduct an online survey and interviews around the world to obtain primary data. The policies may, however, not be a one-size fits all approach as the nature of its implementation, application, context, and thematic substance is largely dependent on the level of political

19

and socio-economic stability. A comprehensive study and research on the future of youth engagement in politics is therefore necessary to acknowledge that the experiences, knowledge and perceptions of the youth are crucial in finding solutions to the challenges being faced by the Global Commons today.

## **Rationale**

With the advent of Globalization and Neo-Liberal Capitalism in the 20th century, socio-economic prosperity has transformed the 'youth bulge' into demographic reality today. However, there has now been an increasing consensus on viewing young people as vital assets and potential torch bearers of social change. This has time and again been demonstrated by social and political movements fueled by young activists such as in the Civil Rights movement in the 1960's and the Arab Spring in 2011; the roots of which were embedded in structural inequality and socioeconomic displacement of the youth.

However, youth membership and participation in policy making and political institutions has remained distinctly limited and constrained. Voter turnout and electoral participation has fallen in all democracies since the 1980's with a decline concentrated amongst the youth (World Youth Report 2016: Youth Civic Engagement, 2016). Also, just 2% of the world parliamentarians constitute of young people who are under the age of 30 while only 28.1% of the world's Members of Parliament are under the age of 45 (Youth participation in National Parliaments: 2018, 2018). This under-representation exists due to the prevalence of obstacles which can be demarcated at various levels (ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, n.d.).

Despite the presence of various interlinked obstacles, youth engagement in politics has metamorphosed to further include a more robust political approach. Young people are now engaging in global demonstrations to make public their perceptions of reality and how their conceptions of politics vary from the previous generations. From the protests in Hong Kong, Lebanon and Sudan for political freedom to calls for structural and socio-economic changes via movements such as Black Lives Matter and the Extinction Rebellion, the youth now seems to have shifted away from a covert and cognitive participation in politics to a more active one. Means of engagement have emerged through the exigencies of social norms taking on alternative means such as signing of petitions, participating in political demonstrations, writing of political articles and making use of digital technologies to disseminate their view of the future (Barret &

Zani, 2015). Thus, this phenomenon has led many researchers like us to:

1. Explore the representativeness of various political systems (Evidence from democratic regimes)
2. Analyse the disenfranchisement of young people.
3. Understand what the notion of the youth being politically engaged means for the future. Amidst the backdrop of the global challenges being faced today, a bottom-up approach involving the presence of the youth in evaluating and formulating policies, organizations and systems essentially designed to serve them is of paramount importance. It not only requires a commitment from governments and various political parties but also the embracement of intersectionality to ensure altruistic decision making.

## **Organization of Literature**

While an exhaustive amount of literature has been present on the transformation of youth engagement in politics, few key contributions have been surveyed. The center of focus for studies in the past has been on the exploration and identification of structural and social factors that exclude youth engagement in politics. These factors can be bifurcated by examining the 'supply-side' and 'demand-side' factors which explain the gap between youth engagement in politics. (Hay, 2007). The supply side explores the 'intergenerational



democratic deficit' that stems from a feeling of disconnect from mainstream politics. It also incorporates the rejection of party nominated electoral politics which the youth perceive as having failed in representing their aspirations and interests. (Berry, 2012). The 'demand-side' factors on the other hand are ingrained in changing values, and individualized lifestyles which allow young people to embrace alternative forms of political action. In many developing countries, youth tend to participate less in political and civic life despite holding a large portion of electorates globally (Aaron Azelton, 2019). Conventional and legal measures such as lowering age to vote, intra-party policies, and additional public measures such

20

as adopting national youth policies already exist within policy-oriented government frameworks (et al., 2019). However, the efficacy of these measures remains a subject of research.

Our study aims to contribute towards the theory of 'Youth-Inn' in the Sociology of Youth and Sociology of Politics which has been examined by Muhammad Saud (2020) as well. The theory of Youth-Inn is described as "the regular participation of youth in democratic practices, social activities, student campus involvement, representation as a political agent, discussions in public spheres, family involvement in political affairs, and participation in demonstration or protests for political rights." The ethos of which states that youth are potential forces of change due to their transient nature and diverse skills. For this purpose, we have selected 6 countries for our research from 4 continents: Pakistan, Brazil, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Kenya, and Nigeria. These countries have been selected based on their high youth population. The literature has been examined on each country individually while exploring the shift towards alternative means of engagement driven by technology.

## **Pakistan**

In Pakistan, many young people follow the belief that it is their responsibility as citizens to engage in political activities (Muhammad Saud, 2020). Over 64% of the population in Pakistan is below the age of 30. According to the Durr-e-Nayab (2006), Pakistan's youth bulge and demographic transition has been projected to last between 1990 and 2045. Hence the views and opinions of this age group regarding the state machinery and policy making are important factors in shaping and determining the socio-economic development of the country. However, young people in Pakistan are disappointed with mainstream politics. A study conducted by Lall (2014) on the political participation of young people in light of the 2013 elections analyzed how the absence of political education has deprived the youth from understanding the power of their vote. The word 'participation' has been observed to have different meanings in different contexts. For most young Pakistanis, being aware of the country's politics through electronic or print media was equivalent to being 'politically active.' Under the changing geo-political landscape, new emerging means of political engagement have been prevalent in Pakistan as well; however, they are short lived. The Lawyer's movement in 2009 was successful in ousting General Musharraf from power but it did not maintain momentum. Protests over the slow response to the floods in 2010 and economic turmoil over the years has time and again emerged as a show of discontent with the government.

In recent years, the use of digital technology has been taken advantage of by young people to advance their socio-political views. Masiha et al. (2018) explored the significance of social media in enabling political participation. It explored how the motivation from online political discussions lead Facebook users to engage in off-line political participation. There

are numerous reasons which have led the youth to adopt alternative means of disseminating their political view instead of formal conventional channels. Structural exclusion embedded in the political system heightened by corruption and nepotism is one of the main reasons. Lall (2014) observed the general view held by the youth regarding politics which was considered 'dirty' and 'complicated.' The political system in Pakistan is democratic in nature yet it is subject to the influence of international forces, feudal aristocrats, political leaders, bureaucrats, and organizations. Democratic elections often result in reshuffling of the same political leaders under the umbrella of gerontocracy (Muhammad Saud, 2020). According to Ali (2011), in the 2002 general election, the requirement placed on the need for holding a graduate degree to enter politics unlocked gates of enormous corruption as false degrees were obtained from local and international universities. The prevalence of nepotism and familial ties also creates a natural barrier to entry as political membership in Pakistan rests on patronage and kinship ties as stated by Lieven (2011).

Against this backdrop, a growing trust deficit between the youth and relevant stakeholders in politics fosters itself within the society. Even though they may be included in the political and decision-making process it is merely a ceremonial position. Despite the creation of a Youth Parliament in 2007, young Pakistanis avoid engaging in politics, as a result of the lack of interest that the government has in investing in the youth. This is often seen via the allocation of budget for the youth and the failure to implement a 'National Youth Policy.' Respondents in Muhammad Saud's study (2020) too indicated dissatisfaction over insufficient budget/policies for the youth. Adding to their woes, the youth felt their

21

concerns were not reflected in political parties' manifestos in the run up to the 2013 elections except for the two major parties - the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf and the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) who promised seats to the youth in their programs (Lall, 2014). In the study conducted by Lall (2014) findings from fieldwork done in schools and colleges across Pakistan depicted that young people understood their rights and responsibilities but lacked conception of democratic institutions and processes to voice their opinions. Those who had taken political sciences courses in university were more politically aware. Even though Civics was taught in schools as a subject till the 1980s, political literacy has been low due to the long history of oscillations between military dictatorship and democracy in Pakistan. The presence of feudal elites proves to be a major obstacle in establishing formal channels of education as well. The motive behind doing so stems from the fear of their power and influence being dissolved.

Lastly, ethnic, religious and class divisions are deeply rooted in Pakistan's society. Coupled with violence and politicization of platforms such as student unions which are established for disseminating interests of young people has become one of the main reasons why young people do not identify with politics. According to Kugelman, ethnic and religious fault lines are too diverse and overtake the Pakistani identity to collectively unite the masses. The Centre of Civic Education (2009) has made multiple suggestions on how to improve political participation by the youth and improve the image of politicians and politics itself.

Ultimately, for the youth to engage in active political participation, political education and awareness is of paramount importance. It not only promotes strong and inclusive political institutions but strengthens the political and economic structures which are vital for a country like Pakistan to establish a solid democracy.

## **Brazil**

The prevailing and past socio-economic inequalities in Latin America have played a key role in understanding young people's approach and involvement with new forms of political activism. Independence of many Latin American countries in the 20th century left a legacy of 'coloniality of power' upon the institutional framework led by the domestic elite. According to Sonia et al. (2000) in Brazil, too, this has time and again been referred to as the 'internal colonialism,' where many underprivileged and marginalized groups with limited access to education, including the youth, view politics as the 'business of elites.' According to Mario (2005), over the years, the youth in Brazil have mobilized themselves around numerous political and socio-economic issues under the umbrella of what he refers to as youth hood. There has been a rise in decentralized and informal channels of political participation that has stemmed from the rejection of conventional means as they are considered insensitive to the interests of young people. Respondents in Conceic's study (2015) chose to distance themselves from conventional politics as they believed many politicians made populist appearances in poor communities during election periods to secure votes.

Political demonstrations exhibiting graffiti, lyrics, drawings, and dances are now seen as a reflection of disappointment towards political parties for their failure at addressing their socioeconomic concerns. Mexi and Boursier (2017) examined the role of young people in the 2013 mobilizations in Brazil and provided a comprehensive analysis of the factors affecting political engagement and their impact on youth grievances and activism. The mass mobilizations were due to the impossibility to express discontent through traditional forms of social representation, inefficient and inadequate conventional methods of engagement for the youth to represent their communities and discontent with the status quo. Apart from this, the trust deficit of the youth towards the political system, and the increased usage of the internet and social media platforms played a key factor as well. Stuenke (2014) believes demonstrations empower young Brazilians and magnify their interests in political engagement.

Ruediger et al (2014) comment on the role of the internet and social media as a unifying principle to protest socio-economic injustice. Similarly, a survey conducted by Box1824 in 2014 captured young Brazilians' attitudes towards political engagement, with more people believing that the responsibility of achieving social change rested in the hands of the youth. 79% of the youth in Mexi and Boursier's study, too, believed that young Brazilians should directly and formally participate in political decisions to

22

positively impact larger communities and implement policies which support their livelihood. Conceic (2015) conducted a survey which examined how young people perceive an extended meaning of political action. Some participants preferred not to view their activism as falling within the realm of political action. For them it was a process of 'solidarity engagement' which they named as 'conscientization.' On the other hand, some saw politics as not just a regulated practice confined to legitimate institutions but an important aspect of everyday life. This study also embarked upon how ideologies of the left and right had lost importance among young people in Brazil and collective groups were formed on the common interest to seek new experiences.

However, attempts have been made to bridge this growing trust deficit. In August 2013, the Brazilian Parliament enacted the Youth statute, which aimed at promoting autonomy of the youth which it defines as between the ages of 15-29. Apart from this, the Youth Parliament project in Brazil too has played a role in engaging students in lectures, workshops, and conferences, after which they are given the opportunity to vote on proposals that are to be sent as a bill to the Minas Gerais State Assembly. Mario (2012)

examined the impact of the youth parliaments program in increasing the level of confidence towards Minas Gerais State Assembly amongst the youth. They found that the Youth Parliament was effective in transmitting political knowledge, stimulating dialogue, and creating awareness on local politics. Those who were part of the program were fifteen times more likely to be familiar with markup procedures and knew more about the legislative procedures and the state representatives than the control group.

## **Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Since the 1992-1995 war, Bosnia's political system has undergone many changes. Bosnia's population is comprised of 40% of young citizens. According to Dudić et al. (2019) young people's participation in either formal or informal political actions have considerably dropped. Their study also found high levels of distrust towards political institutions, implying a clear dissatisfaction with democracy in the country. A study performed by Dudić et al. (2019) analyzed the issue of political orientation "in light of extensive globalization and rising illiberal politics" in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Access to the internet served as the primordial tool for young people to remain aware of better practices of governance outside their country, potentially driving them away from their own stagnant institutional setting. Youth's disengagement from politics has led them to resort to social media and the internet as their main source of information. Merima et al. (2020) focused on the impact of technology or new media on politics in their study.

Based on their research, they identified two distinct groups of young citizens regarding their political involvement. The two classes were clubbed as being 'outsiders,' which supports the claim made by Hooghe et al. (2016) that same economic, political, and social environments can enable differing types of views and norms on citizenship. The outsiders were observed to be exceedingly separated from legislative issues. Moreover, they were unlikely to partake in flighty exercises (signing a request, taking part within the open exhibit). However, they displayed a high possibility of participating in voting, propositioning that for them voting was a fundamental building block of good citizenship.

In the study conducted by Dudić et al. (2019), 50% of respondents were unaware of political issues. Young Bosnians have a clear sense of their "role in legitimizing representative democratic rule" but are unaware of or uninterested in other means of formal involvement. The results of this study pointed to the fact that government elites have done little to implement policies encouraging young people's participation. Merima et al. (2020) have suggested various means to improve the inclusion of the youth, such as updating instructors, curriculum-developers, and schools to disseminate civic education. They also suggest establishing youth centers/committees and parliaments at the various hierarchal levels of society to help build social and leadership skills. With the popular use of the internet and social media, feedback can be collected by governmental organizations to improve youth engagement and create youth sensitive and targeted information that promote democracy and tolerance.

## **Egypt**

23

There are an estimated 20.2 million young people aged between 18 to 29 in Egypt, which is 21% of the population (CAPMAS, 2018). According to Sika (2016), starting with the Sadat regime in the 1970's till the one today, young people have been perceived as both a force for development as well as a major challenge to their rule. Egyptian politics has witnessed a radical change in the government structure over the years, particularly following the 2011 Arab Spring.

Only those young individuals who agreed to align with the workings of the authoritarian system were included in formal and public participation opportunities while those who were perceived as too 'liberal' in the eyes of the regime prior the Arab spring were marginalized and excluded.

According to Shehata (2008), an important feature of the uprising was the use of information technology and social networking to mount up mobilization and organizational strategies. These movements manifested their opinions against the political parties by protesting government policies rather than engaging in the formal political sphere by participating in parliamentary elections (Sika, 2012). It also raised the question of what the political attitude and behavior of the youth is now, given that the government has transitioned into a democracy and the level of political engagement of the Egyptian youth.

However, under a transforming regime, young people take more incentives, understand that their voice will have significant impact and this dual motivation theory (Sika, 2016) demands more consideration. In Sika's study (2016), activists argued that the media does not promote the ideas, roles, and opinions of young individuals as they are perceived as agents of the West. Many of whom the security apparatus feels pose a political threat are directly excluded from participating in political arenas. Legal restrictions on the workings of human rights organizations are placed to restrict their power capacity and ability to hold the state accountable for human rights abuses. Many young people commented on how they were prevented from joining student unions by security forces or their highly politicized nature. Within the family, many argued that their views are not taken seriously, preventing them from expressing themselves freely on political matters. People in authority treat the youth as children and view young artists as people with loose morals. Many activists in the study referred to this as the closure of shrinking of public sphere and stated that initiatives by the youth are shut down as well. High educational and socio-economic standards and level of networking played an important role in how the government and organizations supported, regulated, and endorsed new initiatives by young people. Hence, activists are either not taken seriously, marginalized, and excluded from the political processes or are considered dissidents and imprisoned. Therefore, they develop their own parallel universe and sub-groups which have the same views as them.

Following the Arab Spring and the government transition to democracy, several transformative policies have been adopted to engage the youth in the public sphere. Abdel Fatah al-Sisi's ascendance to power acknowledged how the youth were an important asset towards forming a 'new Egypt' and would have more opportunities in political, social, and cultural spheres through the establishment of a National Youth Council. This was however interpreted by many as a clear message to the youth that their involvement in national projects depended upon the set rules and methods. Under the 2013 Protest Law, many young activists were imprisoned for participating in demonstrations that take place without prior permission. Apart from this, the Social Networks Security Hazard Monitoring operation included mass surveillance of digital activity as the internet was perceived as a threat and tool which could be used by terrorist groups to further their interests. (Sika, Youth Civic and Political Engagement in Egypt 2016, 2016). The survey of young people in Egypt by Roushdy (2014) shows that young people retain the belief that their activity on social media networks is an effective form of political participation, with consequent effect on government decisions. Sika (2016) proposes creating channels to allow youth's participation in governmental programs and allowing them to communicate their opinions to their government through social media. Those who are included in various workshops and forums are used ceremonially to pretend their interests are being considered when, in reality, they are excluded from the decision-making process.

Due to this, political activists advise the need for young people to network more and develop free spaces to discuss their problems and find solutions. Thus, absence for hope in the regime to truly include them, has pushed the youth in Egypt to lean on developing small youth clusters, based on varying interests and specializations.

24

## **Kenya**

Kenya has a high youth population, with those aged between 18 and 35 making up approximately 75% of the country's population. Unfortunately, a large percentage of this population is unemployed and feel marginalized in terms of access to opportunities, representation, and participation. David et. al (2016) observed that the youth were not effectively engaged in the political field. A survey conducted by Kamau (2017) showed that social networking sites were effective for consumption and propagation of political news. Some youth, however, indicated difficulty in objectively engaging in or debating on political issues due to strong partisan positions which sometimes degenerate into personal attacks.

According to The Carter Center (2018), political participation of youth in Kenya based on knowledge of political engagement, interest to engage as voters, and expectations of leaders were effective ways to raise awareness about youth engagement and promote opportunities to participate in civic affairs. They emphasized the importance of education in enabling youth participation as candidates, voters, and citizens while stressing on the importance of financial security. The study recommended allocating sufficient resources to support staff members and strengthen the capacity of institutions to protect and improve youth participation. Furthermore, it was advised to implement continuous civic educational programs during periods of electoral cycles to encourage reform policies in political parties aimed at encouraging youth participation.

The support of friends and family in encouraging civic and political involvement of the youth is also an important factor in defining the level of civic engagement. Nuangchalerm, (2014) too noted that when students are trained to increase their perceived self-efficacy, they are more likely to engage in civic activities. Political attitudes and social opinions are formed through social interaction, political discussion, and personal reflection. These processes are of a higher quality when people are exposed to dissimilar perspectives (Mutz and Martin 2001). Sunstein (2002) argues that "democracy requires both a range of common experiences and unanticipated, unchosen exposures to diverse topics and ideas."

## **Nigeria**

Over the course of history, Nigerian youth have actively shaped the political sphere of the country. From the struggle for independence from colonialists to crafting the political set up postindependence, they have always been at the center of Nigerian politics. Today, The youth in Nigeria are legitimately regarded as partners as well a great investment for the country's development (National Youth Policy, 2019). A major highlight is the National Youth Policy where the age classification of youth was revised to 15 to 29 years (Ibanga, 2018). The 2012 National baseline youth survey states that the population of youth aged 18 to 35 years is 52.2 million. In Nigeria, youth are often recruited into the electoral process through mentors. The prevalence of prebendalism in Nigeria has hindered democratic consolidation and deeply penetrated the political system despite socio-economic development. Coupled with corruption and monetary incentives, the aim and process for the youth to gain wealth via any mean possible is overlooked (Joseph, 1987). This growing corruption has manifested itself in youth programs as well which are

opportunities to embezzle funds by political elites. Thus, to truly reap benefits from youth programs, political and economic emancipation is needed.

On the other hand, many young people are indirectly recruited as militants to perform covert operations and are used as tools to perpetuate violence during political campaigns and elections. Their involvement stems from vulnerability and loss of interest and faith in the political system (N., 2005). Youth are rarely appointed into mainstream political positions (Ibanga, 2018). Factors such as unemployment have been identified as possible reasons of unrest in Nigeria and why youth are involved in electoral violence, which ultimately affects the margin of youth who vote (Jimoh Amzat, 2016). Poverty also plays an important role in this as the youth can be easily influenced with monetary incentives and enticed into illegal activities. Similarly, the constant disturbance posed by Boko- Haram in north-western Nigeria has further exacerbated violence and confusion. Okey (2007) observed how young people are now expressing their views and concerns via community services and social activism especially around issues of employment, the environment, unfavorable policies, and instability. Students, particularly, consider political engagement to be an effective way of solving issues that surround their community and the region. Civic activists in

25

Nigeria have resorted to the use of the internet, including social media platforms such as Facebook to advocate causes. Arguably, the various cause-oriented political actions enabled by use of internet are as important to democracy today as traditional participation such as voting during the elections (Norris, 2007).

Prior to 2016, the administration cabinets were not 'youth friendly' even though the youth have been instrumental in bringing about social change and been acknowledged for their dynamic and creative skills. Aged politicians take up most of the cabinet positions and their average age is usually over 50. Between 1996-2016 there was no minister of youth who was a young individual. Now, however, the government has established programs at improving socio-economic standing of the youth. This objective expands across three realms: vocational/technical skills, life skills and entrepreneurship. According to the Next Generation

project (2009) Nigeria will remain a country with young individuals throughout most of the 21st century. Hence, to enhance the developmental potential of Nigeria, youth participation at all levels of political change is imperative.

## **Research Methodology**

Young people are often perceived as a homogenized group, and this is seen in the lack of largescale studies in the demographic (Sloam, 2019). Drawing upon large samples of youth from different democratic countries and expanding the age range would allow us to examine the dynamic relationship between several underlying factors such as education, access to technologies, political literacy, influence of the society among others which are considered to shape young people's political opinions. The limitations of online surveys have time and again questioned the representativeness of the population. According to Boulianne (2009), the exclusion of non-internet users may distort data and over-estimate the significance and magnitude of the phenomena being studied. Hence, our methodology was divided into the collection of primary quantitative and qualitative data via an online survey and interviews and secondary data from previous literature to support our analysis and recommendation. Primary data was collected through an online survey distributed

across four continents in six different countries: Pakistan, Brazil, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Kenya, and Nigeria.

The total targeted sample collection was 600 young adults aged between 18-35 years old, out of which a random sample of 463 people responded to the survey. Apart from this, in depth qualitative data was collected via eight interviews. The interview participants are professionals from the political sphere or policy-making hailing from Pakistan, Brazil, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Kenya, and Nigeria:

Table 1: Interviewee Details

Name of interviewees Title

Mr. Yousuf Talpur Member of the National Assembly, Pakistan People’s Party,

**Pakistan**

Mr. Asad Umer Member of the National Assembly, Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf, and Federal Minister for Planning, Development, Reforms and Special Initiatives, Pakistan.

Mr. Vladimir Adolfo Italiani Lawyer & political campaign organizer, Brazil Anonymous Egypt

Mr. Daniel Orogo Young Political Leader in Kenya, Contestant for MP in 2019 elections, Kibra

Mr. Cosmas Ayieko Vice-President JCI Kenya Chapter, President of Youth for Peace Forum

Rt. Hon Mubarak Mijinyawa, Speaker Nigeria Youth Parliament Honourable Higara Olalekan Leader Legislative Council, Ibeju-Iekki Local Government. Lagos State, Nigeria

The following chart displays the share of responses from each country:

**Figure 1: Responses**

Regarding our survey, the target population was 600 respondents, i.e., 100 per country. Responses were low for Egypt since politics is a controversial topic and individuals who were reached out to were hesitant to share the online survey. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kenya, there was a language barrier. Hence, the interviews filled in the gaps from the primary data.

**Examination**

Our aim is to observe the current and potential methods of political engagement and which means are viewed as conventional and non-conventional. Questions regarding amalgamation of various means via incorporating changing digital technologies and non-conventional procedures or updating and improving existing conventional means were also examined. However, the extent to which this should be included remains to be argued upon.

Theocharis et al. (2015) question whether these ‘new’ means of engagement are to be categorized as a mere extension of the existing forms of participation that have an offline equivalent. On the other hand, Sander and Putnam (2010) have dwelled on whether ‘virtual’ forms of civic political engagement count as credible and applicable to the real world and if they are sufficiently instrumental.



## **Data Analysis**

### **Level of trust and motivation**

When asked to describe the political set-up of their country, 69% said their country was incompetent and 71% said the system was corrupt. This reflects on the level of dissatisfaction the survey sought to collect. Survey analysis further revealed that 67% of total respondents were dissatisfied with their government while only 9% were satisfied and 24% were neutral. The survey also questioned what motivated young people to participate in politics, to which 74% responded that they want to participate in socio-economic progress of their country. There is a negative relationship between corruption and political stability as proven by Baghdasaryan (2019). Our survey data showed that 51% of respondents viewed demonstrations as a favorable means of political engagement and 35% intend to actively engage through these channels.

Therefore, people's dissatisfaction with their government is a contributing factor motivating them to join politics to impact social change. The ripple effect of corruption can be seen to embed itself in the structure of the society and create obstacles for engagement (at the macro level). 70% of respondents in our survey stated that financial limitation was one of the biggest obstacles facing the youth while trying to engage in politics. In our interview with Honorable Higara Olalekan, he stated that the biggest challenge facing young people while wanting to engage in politics was "the capital and moral support from the people." This view

was also endorsed by Mr. Cosmas Ayieko, Vice President of JCI Kenya Chapter, who highlighted the presence of financial limitations for the youth while trying to engage in politics.

He further stated that "cultural beliefs" too pose as a challenge along with the setup of leadership in the country.

Evidence from our interview with a young Brazilian lawyer, Mr. Vladimir Adolfo Italiani, actively involved in the political processes/campaigns also provided insight on how campaigning for political positions is "extremely expensive" in Brazil. Struggle to obtain access to financial resources led to the investigation into Operation Car wash in 2014 where politicians were exposed for embezzling funds for vote buying and campaigning. Therefore, the level of trust in the government plays an important factor in how young people view the political set up and choose to participate. The growing trust deficit results in disinterest or feelings of hopelessness, serving as a negative factor in youth political participation (Torney-Purta J. H., 2004).

### **Political Activity**

Verba (1995) describes political activity as any "activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies."

Youth are largely perceived as apathetic or disengaged from politics in many parts of the world, but this is largely imprecise. What is defined as politically active is a topic hotly contested upon.

The graph below shows what young people perceive as being politically active entails:

**Figure 2: Political Activity**

Similarly, respondents were asked what they viewed as “effective conventional” means of engagement since there is no clear-cut demarcation between what is conventional and nonconventional. When asked on

27

what is defined as either, MNA Pakistan, Mr. Yousuf Talpur stated, “it is all natural and part of practical way of politics. According to me, nothing is unconventional.”

MNA Mr. Asad Umer from Pakistan also stated, “the two means of engagement morph into each other. On the other hand, Honourable Hagara Olalekan stated:

“Nonconventional means of political engagement do not conform with norms and customs and does not have the backing of law, e.g. boycott in an election, protest, demonstration, etc., while unconventional political engagement is said to be the same with nonconventional political engagement as they are both not conventional.”

Rt. Hon Mubarak Mijinyawa, Speaker of the Nigerian Youth Parliament stated that, “unconventional means of engagement are becoming more acceptable and relevant as young people are being deprived of their rights or when there is chaos in the country and the issue of security.” Our interviewee from Egypt stated that the country, “is not a very free system and that is why some people don’t want to be part of this system, so they just find alternative means of participation.”

The graph below shows what young people perceive as the biggest obstacles to political engagement:

Figure 3: Obstacles

### **Political Literacy and Training**

Pertaining to the level of civic education, only 40% responded to having received mandatory civic education in school while for 38% it was optional and 22% received no civic education. 52% stated they had sufficient knowledge to understand the political set up of their country and 63% viewed themselves as agents of social/political change. This reflects how political literacy does seem to influence the political knowledge base of the students as well as impact their political interests and attitudes (Maitles, 2003). High level of engagement in politics was marked at holding a political position which comprised of 4% of the total respondents, majority of which fell between the ages of 18-30. On the other hand, 54% of the participants responded to having low levels of political engagement, which was categorized as discussions and posting views online, etc. This was despite 82% of the respondents having their level of education equivalent to a Bachelor’s degree. Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry explain this as “education inflation,” justifying why there may not be a rise in civic and political participation despite rising education levels (Nie, 1996).

This lack of efficient dissemination of political education coupled with lack of training opportunities were posed as an obstacle while trying to engage in politics or policy making. 61% of the respondents felt lack of training opportunities was the biggest structural obstacle while trying to engage in politics. In an interview with the policymaker from Egypt, it was stated:

“It took me a whole year to understand how to get about in the system and what the chain of work and command is like. The first obstacle to getting in any job, be it in politics is actually the skills and education which is actually currently under a lot of reform. It is not helping people exercise their full potential.”

Similarly, Mr. Yousuf Talpur provided insight on how he entered politics at a young age of 19. He emphasized on the importance of entering “practical politics” after receiving education and gaining experience via political opportunities such as student unions and movements. He shed light on movements and organizations he was actively engaged in which shaped his political career at a very young age i.e. the Anti-One Unit Movement of which he was a leading figure in 1967 and the Jeaye Sindh Student Federation which he helped establish in 1969.

### **Use of digital technologies**

The data gathered supports the notion made by many researchers that social media and mobile devices play an important role in how political information is obtained. 86% of the respondents in our study claimed that they obtain political information via social media (Facebook/Instagram/Twitter). 60% state social media does influence their political opinions.

The use of social media to penetrate the 6 countries that we chose for our study, helped provide political information and perspectives which Carpenter (2010), defines as “raw political content.” While offline

28

political opinions are often limited in expression and may require a level of observance to politeness and self-censoring, the sense of anonymity online puts individuals at ease.

In Brazil, Mr. Italiani described a ‘political war’ that was unfolding between the Right Wing and Left Wing. The benefit of anonymity online allowed Brazilians to provide us with raw information. One respondent from Brazil explained the lack of motivation to engage in politics as:

“I do not feel comfortable in this environment. I am always aware of the political scenario but rarely expose my personal thoughts. Brazil is currently polarized in excess (maybe more than the US republicans/ democrats).”

Similarly, one respondent from Egypt stated the reason for not engaging in politics as follows: “Political engagement is useless because of oppression, only supporters of regime can engage. So, I don’t intend to put myself in jail.”

However, an unusual observation was made in Egypt despite the presence of anonymity.

It did not help in acquiring the desired response rate from Egypt. According to Ekström (2016), young people are hesitant while expressing political views online if they fear being questioned, exposed, or disdained without having the opportunity to explain their stance. This fear was observed among young people in Egypt who were reluctant to circulate the survey due to its core idea being based on politics which is a controversial topic to discuss openly. Moreover, even though social media helped us access young populations from different countries, it was also one of the limitations of our study. The responses are subject to those sections of societies which have access to and are able to operate technology and the internet. This digital divide leaves little room for majority people to voice their views and furthers the ideas of the “elite” class who are skilled in the digital arena to make contributions to the media or society in their own interest (Baumann, 2012).

“Social media is expanding and will keep expanding, hopefully to a level ultimately where majority of people will join it as they should.” - MNA, Mr. Yousuf Talpur.

Nevertheless, the positive impact of social media was widely acknowledged by our interviewees as follows:

“You will find people trying to change policy and some problems or things that they don't like in the country and some decisions by social media. Because I consider this the most powerful tool for the youth.” - Interviewee from Egypt

### **Youth Inclusion**

Today, the world is going through many crises, issues, and changes, leading to the belief that elders have failed to meet the challenges of today. Political discourse has been always run by elders, as they are thought to be more experienced and wiser. Honourable Olalekan, in our interview stated that older politicians have knowledge, and “Knowledge is key. They (older politicians) have more experience and provide with assistance. This doesn't mean we shouldn't allow young people; we want them to learn and assist as well.”

The same view was endorsed by Mr. Asad Umer who stated that “you cannot trade their (older candidates) experience and expertise for a lot of things, so their presence is also important.” The preliminary data in our study regarding, if politics should be left to old candidates or should the youth also be allowed, shows that 91% of our respondents believe that young people should be involved. Similarly, concerning if the legal age to run for office should be reduced the country, 40% said yes. Yet 28% of the respondents were not aware of the legal age to start running for office in their country. MNA, Mr. Yousuf Talpur encouraged the inclusion of young people “because they can play a better role and they will definitely have the modern thinking and our thinking is definitely influenced by our background.” Mr. Italiani too suggested motivating young people to join politics by making young people “understand how they are important and can change society”. It was further highlighted that young people need to be empowered while keeping in mind that are not a homogenous category:

29

“But again, which youth? That's the question. Which young generation are you listening to? People have different preferences and different backgrounds. All this has to be taken into account when looking at the issue of empowering youth.”

### **Policy Recommendation**

#### **Political Literacy/Awareness**

One of the main tenets of our survey was examining the level of political literacy among young people, their access to various mean of obtaining political information and how it shaped the ideas and opinions of young people. Of our survey response, 36% stressed on the need for providing political education/awareness. This recommendation has been divided into two sections: promoting civic education and preparing digital citizens.

#### **Promoting Civic Education**

Putnam (2000) states that “education is one of the most important predictors...of many forms of social participation—from voting to associational membership, to chairing a local committee to hosting a dinner party to giving blood.” There is a growing consensus that pupils do not just learn democracy, they live it. Thus, having political awareness is the first step towards creating sociopolitical change. Preparing and equipping young children to be able to exercise altruistic citizenship in the future is crucial to help them make better sense of the political world.

**What does civic education include?**

Norms, values, beliefs, and cultures vary from society to society making young people a nonhomogenized group. The IEA Civic Education Study, conducted over 8 years in around 30 countries define civic education to include the following: (Torney-Purta J., 2002)

Foster meaningful knowledge about the political and economic set up of the country  
Recognize the strengths and weaknesses of democracy and the attributes of good citizenship

Encourage respectful discussions on controversial issues

Create awareness of civil society organizations

Develop interpretative and political communication skills

Ensure participation in civic exercises before reaching voting age e.g. mock elections in schools

**Method of pedagogy**

It is important to account for two important aspects while promoting civic education:

1. Policy makers need to account for not absolute but rather relative models of education which account for the average education level under a specific society. This takes into consideration how the people with whom one competes with on a social economic and political sphere differs from one society to another (Nie, 1996).

2. The nature, rather than the frequency of open discussions in classrooms matters more. Open classroom which encourage equality, unity and respectful exchange of ideas and opinions have a positive impact in instilling knowledge about democracy. Hibbing and TheissMorse (2002) stress on the importance of the exposure to political conflict in the classroom (which is mediated/regulated) in ensuring development of a greater appreciation for the role of conflict in the democratic political system.

**Limitations/Relevance**

However, it is important to note that civic education has certain anomalies and limitations which need to be considered. In Brazil for example, the nomenclature of civic or political education is not welcomed. The Escola Sem Partido is a reflection of the politicized and polarized opinions on political literacy in schools in Brazil. Mr. Italiani suggests integrating civic skills/knowledge in other akin subjects such as geography, history, sociology in a non-civic, neutral, and de-politicize manner. This model can be adopted by other democratic countries with polarized opinions on the adoption of civic education such as Pakistan.

30

**Preparing Digital Citizens**

Political socialization caters to how individuals socialize under different social environments and develop as responsible, active and democratic citizens (Carlsson, 2019). With the increasing amount of misinformation and deep-fake videos circulating online, political socialization is facing numerous challenges. Visual contents (images, audio, and videos) have stronger persuasive power than text. While this can be used as a pedagogy to better equip students with political knowledge, it can also pose as a serious threat. Individuals

process visual information directly; hence, misleading visuals such as 'deep fakes' are more likely to generate false perceptions.

How to promote 'digital citizenship' to better fulfil civic duty (Baumann, 2012)

1. Formal trainings by schools and academic institutions on how to use digital technology responsibly and effectively and decipher misleading/false information.
2. Expansion of broadband availability, accessibility, and affordability to narrow the level of polarity in society and ensure a level playing ground for young people to fall under the realm of becoming digital natives.

### **Allocation of resources and capital funds**

Having access to sufficient funds and resources is the backbone of any successful political campaign, and the same applies for young people aspiring to join the political arena by standing in elections. Elections are highly competitive and fierce, for example, in Brazil parties are organizationally weak (Samuels, 2001). Lacking financial resources severely restricts many candidates' competitiveness. Money is an indispensable component in enhancing candidates' viability, especially when politicians lack other tools to spread their message to voters (et al., 2001).

In assessing potential recommendations, policymakers need to consider:

1. Enforcing spending limits and political financing regulations. It is an accepted fact such regulations are often lacking in most countries (Ohman, 2016). Transparency and the fairness on the role that money plays in elections are all important outcomes of robust regulatory policies.
2. Facilitating public funding. Access to funding is the backbone of any political campaign and the lack of it is often a barrier to the entry of young candidates. Therefore, the provision of regulated public funds magnifies the chances of candidates with limited personal access to funds. For example, in Brazil the Public Electoral Funding by the government allows young people to have access to funds for campaigning. Even though many Brazilians are critical of this provision while poverty and inflation are sky-high, Mr. Italiani suggests the importance of educating people on the long-term sustainability of this provision.
3. Encouraging non-government organizations and third-party support. Our primary data reveals that big parties are often funded by the government while younger candidates lack such support unless they are backed by influential families or connections.

Therefore, the suggestion for third-party support was also endorsed by Mr. Orogo and Mr. Asad Umer from Pakistan. Mr. Umer also stated that, "the electoral process itself is becoming more and more expensive and to be able to participate, they (youth) have to be exceptional leaders." He highlighted how talented young faces of the party he belongs to were "financed by people from around the world, the Pakistani diaspora and the political parties."

### **Access to Training and Youth Centers**

Throughout the course of our research, data from respondents revealed that 91% want youth to be included in policy making. Beyond adoption of policies targeted at youth inclusion, implementation is more important (Mengistu, 2017). There have been various

policies aimed at training and preparing youth for political inclusion. Some of these include the establishment of the Commonwealth Youth Council through the Commonwealth Charter, Brazil's Statute of Youth and the African Youth Charter by the African Union. The youth councils, youth parliaments, and student unions are all democratic platforms for young people to practice positive youth development and civic engagement, by forming their own government in order to engage with government officials on issues that affect the youth and the nation.

31

Despite the existence of youth and student councils/parliaments/unions in our focus countries (which already have the mandate to incorporate existing resources and technologies for youth development), many have not been able to fully meet their aims due to various problems such as poor financing, undue external interference, indiscriminate proscription by government authorities, etc. Mr. Umer endorsed student unions as they provide great opportunities for the youth to experience the political process first-hand and enable the youth to gravitate towards political and civic issues. However, some of the ways to address the problems, and ultimately improve youth access to political trainings include:

1. Ratification and implementation of all outstanding youth strategy policies/plans.
2. Enactment of laws and regulations to ensure independence of youth councils, parliaments, and students' union from undue external interference - imposition of directives, leadership candidates, and restriction of activities by government authorities.
3. Establishment of exclusive funds as means of financing Youth councils, youth parliaments and students' union activities by institution authorities and government at all levels. This fund should be included in the annual government budgets.
4. Provision against indiscriminate proscription of youth councils, youth parliament and students' unions by government and authorities.
5. Inclusion of youth councils, youth parliaments, and students' union in all decision-making processes.

Allocation of positions for young people at district/local government levels

Withdrawal and apathy are some of the inaccuracies attached to young people when it comes to politics. Through active participation at all levels including local government, youth can learn the political process while creating an impact to develop the community. These grass root politics is fundamental, and would help the youth identify with the masses and the environment which results to political maturity (Oghator, 2013).

The grassroots offer the youth an opportunity to actively participate in the development of the nation, owing to their energy, agility, innovativeness, and nearness to the people. It is important to dedicate political leadership at the local/district level of government majorly to young people.

This is also evident in Brazil where the legal age to contest for the office of councilman and mayor is 18 and 21 years, respectively. This would allow maximum participation of youth in elective governments and serve as an ideal opportunity for young people. Allowing for a more proportionate inclusion of youth also needs to be coupled with the mentorship and training from older and experienced politicians. Mr. Daniel Orog, young political leader from Kenya stated that lowering the elective age to 35 was hypocritical because the youth

are generally believed to be between 18-35 years of age. Hence, people who are 35 and above are not youth and thus the process cannot be described as youth inclusive. He further questioned how the views of young people can be incorporated if the composition of the parliament does not reflect diversity or majority of the youth.

## **Empowerment of youth**

In our interviews, majority of the politicians endorsed the empowerment of young people which includes motivation and encouragement to engage in political activities. As stated by Mr. Italiani, young people should be motivated to enter politics by advising them on how they can change society through their involvement and beliefs. He also suggested the need to instill beliefs in the youth community through public debates, dialogues, and appreciating and recognizing their efforts. This was also echoed by Mr. Orogo who mentioned the importance of instilling values in youth pertaining to integrity, honesty, and determination. He believes this will help the youth achieve their goals and be successful agents of social change. The Center of Civic Education (2009) suggests improving the image of politicians and politics. This can be done by increasing communication between older politicians and young people which would help build trust between the youth and politicians and encourage meaningful dialogues.

Creating awareness of success stories of young leaders:

1. Accounting for different experiences and levels of exposure in different societies. For example, young people all over the world are playing active roles in influencing social and political change. From Kim

32

Kataguiriri to Alexandrio Ocasio Cortez to Sanna Marin, there has been an emergence of young political leaders showcasing exemplary leadership and competence. Mr. Orogo stated that the lack of motivation stems from misdirection and lack of mentorship. He gave examples of how there was mentorship for leaders like John Lewis and Martin Luther King which unfortunately is lacking today.

2. Establishing workshops between the youth and former or current politicians who have been able to affect the political realm efficiently can help bring both sides together. This can serve as a way of empowering and providing leadership training to the young people. Mr. Mijinyawa suggested training platforms for young people around robust leadership because without it, the country will always struggle to progress.

## **Conclusion**

While the word 'youth' is used daily, it remains a hotly debated topic as it comes with political, legal, sociological, theoretical, and even demographical dimensions. The demographic strength has widely been accepted to instigate socio-political change as the youth comprise of one of the most enviable assets in the world. Hence, the youth want to be leaders of today, not tomorrow. This, however, urges one to enquire whether governments have recognized this factual reality and to what extent the demographic dividend has been tapped. Due to various obstacles faced by the youth at the macro and micro level, many have resorted to using emerging alternative means of political engagement. This has been made possible through digital technology, particularly social media to voice concerns. It has given rise to the belief that social media possesses the ability to influence political beliefs and actions of young people worldwide.



This has raised concerns over whether conventional methods have sufficiently interwoven young people in political engagement or whether these alternative forms of engagement such as using social media to mobilize forces or disseminate political information need to be amalgamated. While youth policies and organizations are present on paper, they have struggled to translate into on-ground reality. The need to introduce robust and effective policies aimed at providing civic education and equipping the youth for effective and responsible use digital technology is the first towards ensuring sustainable youth inclusion. Provision of financial capital, leadership skills can then ensure implementation of effective and altruistic policy decisions aimed at addressing the challenges of today.

## References

- Aaron Azelton, B. B. (2019). Raising Their Voices: How effective are pro-youth laws and policies?
- Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening .
- ACE Electoral Knowledge Network. (n.d.). Retrieved from
- <http://aceproject.org/aceen/topics/yt/yt10/yt210/young-people-in-political-decision-making>
- Ali, S. Z. (2011). Role of ICTs in creating awareness about rights – a step towards true democracy in Pakistan. University of Auckland.
- Baghdasaryan, A. (2019). The Effects of Corruption, Female Political Participation and Youth on Political Stability. . The University of Texas at Dallas. .
- Barret, M., & Zani, B. (2015). Political and Civic Engagement, Multidisciplinary perspectives. London.
- Baumann, P. (2012). Civic Engagement through Digital Citizenship: Engaging Youth in Active, Participatory Citizenship through Digital Media. The Progress of Education Reform.
- Berry, D. C. (2012). The rise of gerontocracy? Addressing the intergenerational democratic deficit. Intergenerational Foundation.
- CAPMAS, C. A. (2018). Retrieved from World Population Review: <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/egypt-population>
- Carlsson, U. (2019). Understanding Media and Information Literacy (MIL).
- Center, T. C. (2018). Youth and Women’s Consultations on Political Participation in Kenya: Findings and Recommendations.
- Checkoway, B. a. (2013). Four forms of youth civic engagement for diverse democracy. School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109, United States.

33

- Conceição Firmina Seixas Silva, L. R. (2015). Brazilian Youth Activism: In Search of New Meanings for Political Engagement? Alternatives: Global, Local, Political.
- David Lackland Sama, b. R. (2016). Civic engagement and participation among Ghanaian and Kenyan students and their correlates. The Kenya Youth Survey Report. East Africa Institute,.

- Dudić, A. K. (2019). Youth Study in Bosnia. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Durr-e-Nayab. (2006). Demographic Dividend or Demographic Threat in Pakistan. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.
- Ekström, M. (2016). Young people's everyday political talk: a social achievement of democratic engagement. *Journal of Youth Studies* .
- Hay, C. (2007). Why we hate politics. . Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hibbing, J. R.-M. (2002). Stealth democracy: Americans' belief about how government should work. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hooghe, M. O. (2016). A comparative analysis of 'good citizenship': A latent class analysis of adolescents' citizenship norms in 38 countries. *International Political Science Review*.
- Ibanga, U. A. (2018). Youth Perception of Politics and Electoral Behaviour in Nigeria: A Survey of Uyo,
- Ikot Ekpene and Eket, Akwa Ibom State. *Journal of Political Science and Leadership Research* . James Sloam, M. H. (2019). The Silent Revolution in Youth Political Engagement. Youthquake 2017. Palgrave Studies in Young People and Politics.
- Jimoh Amzat, A. A. (2016). Youth and Political Change in Nigeria: Historical Note and Critical Discourse . *AFFRIKA: Journal of Politics, Economics and Society* .
- Joseph, R. A. (1987). Democracy and prebendal politics in Nigeria: The rise and fall of the Second Republic. Cambridge University Press.
- Kamau, S. C. (2017). Democratic Engagement in the Digital Age: Youth, Social Media and Participatory Politics in Kenya,. *South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*.
- Lall, M. (2014). Engaging the youth – citizenship and political participation in Pakistan. Institute of Education, University of London.
- Lieven, A. (2011). Pakistan: A hard country. London: Penguin.
- Maitles, H. (2003). Why are we learning this?: Does political literacy learning lead to better informed citizens? European Conference on Educational Research, University of Hamburg.
- Maria Mexi and Tristan Boursier. (2017). Multi-level Factors of Youth Exclusion and Inclusion in Brazil. University of Geneva.
- Mario Fuks, G. A. (2012). Trust and Political Information: Attitudinal Change in Participants in the Youth Parliament in Brazil . *Brazilian Political Science Review*.
- Masiha S, H. U. (2018). Exploring the Link between the Use of Facebook and Political Participation.  
*Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*.
- Mengistu, M. M. (2017). The Quest for Youth Inclusion in the African Politics: Trends, Challenges, and Prospects. Yaounde, Cameroon: Institute of Governance, Humanities and Social Sciences, Pan African University.

- Merima Činjurević, E. A.-M. (2020). Latent class analysis of 'good citizenship' forms among youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina,. Economic Research.
- Muhammad Saud, R. I. (2020). Democratic practices and youth in political participation: a. International Journal of Adolescence and Youth.
- Mutz, D. P. (2001). Facilitating Communication Across lines of Political.
- N., N. E. (2005). State, youth and electoral violence in Nigeria. Onu,G. and Momoh, A. (Eds.) Elections and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Nigerian Political Science Association. (2019). National Youth Policy. Federal Republic of Nigeria.
- Next Generation Nigeria Project. (2009). Nigeria: The Next Generation Report, .
- Nie, N. H.-B. (1996). Education and Democratic Citizenship in America. . Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

34

- Norris, P. (2007). Digital Divide: Civil engagement information poverty, and the internet. Cambridge,UK: Cambridge university press.
  - Nuangchalem, P. (2014). Self-efficacy and civic engagement in undergraduate students: Empirical results of a service learning program in Thailand. International Journal for Service Learning in Engineering.
  - Oghator, S. O. (2013). Youth in Political Participation and Development: Relevance, Challenges and Expectations in the 21st Century. Institute of Public Administration and Extension Services, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria.
- Ohman, L. (2016). Political Party Financing and Equal Participation of Women in Kenyan Electoral Politics: A Situation Overview.
- Okey, O. E. (2007). Youth activism and the electoral processes in Nigeria: A critical appraisal. HOHONU: A Journal of Academic Writing 5.
  - Pakistan, C. o. (2009). Political participation of youth in Pakistan.
  - Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon and Schuster .
  - Roushdy, R. a. (2014). Panel Survey of Young People in Egypt (SYPE). Generating Evidence for Policy, Programs, and Research, Cairo, Population Council.
  - Ruediger, M. A. (2014). June Journeys in Brazil. From the Networks to the Streets, Draft. APSA Annual Meeting, Washington . S, B. (2009). Does Internet use affect engagement? A meta-analysis of research. Political Communication.
  - S, C. (2010). A study of content diversity in online citizen journalism and online newspaper articles. New Media & Society.
  - Samuels, D. (2001). Money, Elections and Democracy in Brazil. Latin American Politics and Society, 43 (2), 27.
  - Shehata, D. (2012). "Youth Movements and the 25 January Revolution", in Bahgat Korany and Rabab ElMahdi, eds., Arab Spring in Egypt. Revolution and Beyond. American University in Cairo Press.

- Sika, N. (2012). Youth Political Engagement in Egypt: From Abstention to Uprising. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies.
- Sika, N. (2016). Youth Civic and Political Engagement in Egypt 2016. American University in Cairo.
- Sonia Alvarez, E. D. (2000). "O Cultural e o Político nos Movimentos Sociais Latino-Americanos," in Cultura e Política nos Movimentos Sociais Latino-Americanos:. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Editora UFMG.
- Stuenkel, O. (2014). Protests, Young Activists and Political Engagement in Brazil: Alive and Kicking. PostWestern World.
- Sunstein, C. (2002). Republic.com. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Theocharis Y, L. W. (2015). Using Twitter to mobilize protest action: online mobilization patterns and action repertoires in the Occupy Wall Street, Indignados, and Aganaktismenoi movements. Information. Communication & Society .
- Torney-Purta, J. (2002). The School's Role in Developing Civic Engagement: A Study of Adolescents in Twenty-Eight Countries,. Applied Developmental Science.
- Torney-Purta, J. H. (2004). Trust in Government-related Institutions and Political Engagement among Adolescents in Six Countries.
- Verba, S. S. (1995). Voice and equality. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Verba, S. S. (1995). Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Weitz-shapiro, R. &. (2008). Political participation and quality of life . Washington, DC: InterAmerican Development Bank.
- (2016). World Youth Report 2016: Youth Civic Engagement. UN-DESA.
- (2019). Youth and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. United Nations.

35

- (2018). Youth participation in National Parliaments: 2018. Inter-Parliamentary Union.

## Appendices

Figure 1: Responses

Figure 2: Political Activity

Figure 3: Obstacles

## **COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS FOR THE IDENTITY OF MONGOLIAN DEMOCRACY BY GLOBAL DEMOCRACY INDEXES**

Research team of Center for Democracy Studies, NUM

Leader- Dr.Turtogtokh Janar /Chairman, Professor, Department of Political Science, Center for Democracy Studies, National University of Mongolia/