YOUTH CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

UNITED NATIONS

WORLD YOUTH REPORT

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UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

World Youth Report

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Technical Note: In this publication, unless otherwise indicated, the term "youth" refers to all those between the ages of 15 and 24, as reflected in the World Programme of Action for Youth. The term "young people" may be used interchangeably with the word "youth".

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THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat is a vital interface between global policies in the economic, social and environmental spheres and national action. The Department works in three main interlinked areas: it compiles, generates and analyses a wide range of economic, social and environmental data and information on which Members States of the United Nations draw to review common problems and to take stock of policy options; it facilitates the negotiations of Member States in many intergovernmental bodies on joint courses of action to address ongoing or emerging global challenges; and it advises interested governments on the ways and means of translating policy frameworks developed in United Nations conferences and summits into programmes at the country level and, through technical assistance, helps build national capacities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

ANNEX

BOXES, FIGURES AND TABLES

EXPLANATORY NOTES

The terms "country", "more developed regions", and "less developed regions" are used for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgement as to the developmental stage of a particular country or area. More developed regions are comprised of all countries in Europe and Northern America, as well as Australia, New Zealand and Japan. The term "developed countries" refers to countries in the more developed regions. Less developed regions are comprised of all countries of Africa, Asia (excluding Japan) and Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. The term "developing countries" is used to designate countries in the less developed regions.

The following abbreviations have been used in the *Report*:

CNCS   Corporation for National and Community Service

CPRR   Process Approach Model for Community Peace, Recovery, and Reconciliation

CV   curriculum vitae

DDOS   distributed denial of service

EU   European Union

FATA   Federally Administered Tribal Areas

FIFA   Fédération Internationale de Football Association

FIJE   Federación Iberoamericana de Jóvenes

GEM   Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

G20 YEA G20 Youth Entrepreneurs' Alliance

HPA   Harry Potter Alliance

HRC	Human Rights Campaign	**SFCG**	Search for Common Ground
ICT	information and communications technology	**SMS**	Short Messaging Service (text messaging)
ILO	International Labour Organization	**UNESCO**	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ITF	International Transport Workers' Federation	**UN-Habitat**	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation	**UNICEF**	United Nations Children's Fund
IVS	international volunteering and service	**UNOY Peacebuilders**	United Network of Young Peacebuilders
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa		
LSE	London School of Economics	**WAM!**	Women, Action and the Media
MENA	Middle East and North Africa	**WPAY**	World Programme of Action for Youth
NEET	not in employment, education or training	**YBI**	Youth Business International
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development	**YLC**	Youth Leadership Council (Tunisia)
PATRIR	Peace Action Training and Research Institute of Romania		

CHAPTER

1

INTRODUCTION

THE *World Youth Report on Youth Civic Engagement* has been prepared in response to growing interest in and an increased policy focus on youth civic engagement in recent years among Governments, young people and researchers. It is intended to provide a fresh perspective and innovative ideas on civic engagement and to serve as an impetus for dialogue and action. The objective of the *Report* is to provide a basis for policy discussions around youth civic engagement in order to ensure that young people are able to participate fully and effectively in all aspects of the societies in which they live.

SITUATION OF YOUTH

The transition from youth to adulthood marks a key period characterized by greater economic independence, political involvement, and participation in community life. However, the socioeconomic and political environment in which young people live can have a serious impact on their ability to engage.

Unemployment is a concern almost everywhere, affecting more than 73 million young people around the world in 2014.[1] Although the global economy has shown fairly consistent growth over the past two decades, young people entering the labour market today are less likely to secure a decent job than labour market entrants in 1995. Economic growth has in many places not translated into sufficient levels of jobs creation, especially for youth. In addition, in some parts of the world, young people's ability to engage and become economically independent has been affected by the 2008/09 economic crisis and, more recently, by a slowdown in global economic growth.

In some developed countries, the youth unemployment rate has climbed above 50 per cent.[2] In low- and middle-income countries, underemployment in the informal sector is the primary employment challenge faced by young people. Statistics for 2013 indicate that an estimated 169 million employed youth were living on less than US$ 2 per day, and 286 million lived on less than US$ 4 per day. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), an estimated 600 million jobs would need to be created over the next decade to absorb the current number of unemployed young people and provide job opportunities for the approximately 40 million new labour market entrants each year.

A staggering number of young people are not in education, employment or training, and many of those who do find work are employed in precarious and/or informal situations, delaying their full socioeconomic integration. The lack of effective economic and employment policies and insufficient job creation has left many young people with no option but to accept part-time, temporary or informal work.

At the same time, outdated education systems are ill-equipped to meet the changing and diverse needs of today's labour market. Inadequate training and skill obsolescence translate into limited job prospects for youth—even when the economy improves.

Further exacerbating the situation, many Governments have responded to the economic slowdown by cutting

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1 International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015: Scaling Up Investments in Decent Jobs for Youth* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015). Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_412015.pdf.

2 Ibid. Examples include Spain (53.2 per cent) and Greece (52.4 per cent).

spending on social services and provisions, often with little transparency or accountability. Such actions have led many youth to question the legitimacy of those in power. The resulting trust crisis has revealed itself online and in the streets via protests and demonstrations—often youth-led—that demand more open and effective governance.

ADDRESSING THE POLICY CHALLENGES

Addressing youth unemployment and underemployment has become a priority for Governments worldwide. A number of Member States have developed targeted youth employment policies and strategies aimed at promoting job creation and strengthening youth skill development and training. In many cases, actions aimed at combating the youth unemployment and underemployment challenge constitute a central element of Member States' national youth policies, strategies and plans.[3]

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3 President of the General Assembly, "Summary of the key messages, initiatives and proposals from the High-Level Event of the United Nations General Assembly to mark the 20th Anniversary of the World Programme of Action for Youth (WPAY) and to highlight Youth Priorities in the Post-2015 Development Agenda, held in New York on 29 May 2015" (New York, United Nations, 24 June 2015). Available from http://www.un.org/pga/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2015/08/240615_Summary-of-key-messages-for-High-Level-Event-to-mark-the-20th-Anniversary-of-the-World-Programme-of-Action-for-Youth.pdf.

In spite of such efforts, young people remain three times more likely than adults to be without work.

Policymakers have responded by focusing attention on alternative approaches that place greater emphasis on young people's role in creating their own employment opportunities. Increasingly, Governments are moving towards the promotion of youth entrepreneurship and the creation of internship programmes for young people to acquire marketable skills.

National policies and programmes are also being developed to promote youth involvement in volunteering and sporting activities. Such activities are seen as a means of integrating young people into their communities while also allowing them to develop skills and attributes that prepare them for life. They also create an environment in which young people may be less likely to engage in negative and risky behaviours. However, while such programmes have value, they have so far fallen short of meeting the real challenge of creating decent jobs for young people and ensuring their meaningful involvement and representation in governing structures and decision-making bodies.

YOUNG PEOPLE TAKING ACTION

The failure of Governments to effectively address many of the challenges facing young people has led to widespread discontent among youth. Young people often feel disenfranchised and have become disillusioned with governing structures incapable of providing them with the opportunities and support they need to progress from youth to adulthood. Stuck in a period of "waithood" (a time of stagnation in the transition from youth to adulthood), growing numbers of young people are initiating protests and demonstrations, demanding change. Such protests have largely been driven by young people demanding a greater say in governance and policy development, better economic and employment opportunities, and equal participation in society. Youth are calling for increased transparency, greater inclusion, and enhanced engagement. Their efforts are being bolstered by the use of new information and communications technology (ICT) and social media, which have been used to drive and effectively reshape activism both within and across borders.

Well-intentioned policies are often inadequately funded or face delays in implementation, leaving young people disappointed, disillusioned and frustrated. Youth demanding change have responded to this reality by becoming proactive in addressing the challenges themselves. Engaging at the grass-roots and community level, young people are addressing structural and systemic problems through volunteering and peacebuilding activities. Similarly, through various entrepreneurial endeavours, youth are actively creating their own employment opportunities where Governments have failed. At the same time, the changing nature of employment contracts and conditions has changed the playing field for youth when it comes to internships and engagement in trade unions.

Within this context, the World Youth Report examines the positive and negative aspects of both traditional and emerging forms of civic engagement in the economic, political and community life of youth. It is intended to contribute to the dialogue on how youth civic engagement can serve as an enabling force for young women and men in the development and formulation of youth-related policies.

HEIGHTENED INTEREST IN YOUTH CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Over the past two decades, youth civic engagement has acquired some prominence in research, policy and practice in many parts of the world. At the international level, the World Bank has identified the exercise of active citizenship as one of the most important activities for a healthy transition to adulthood for both the youth of today and the next generation.[4]

Interest in civic engagement has been spurred by a range of factors, including concerns about the perceived decline in the levels of civic and political engagement among young people worldwide and about the potential negative impact of this decline on the governance of society. The focus on youth civic engagement is driven in part by the assumption that young people who are more involved in and connected to society are less likely to engage in risky behaviour and violence—and are likely to stay engaged as they grow older.

Youth engagement may be considered an end in itself, but it is also a means to achieve other objectives and benefits in society. Its potential to contribute to the personal development of young people, to improve their welfare, and to address injustice in society also provides an impetus for promoting civic engagement as a component of youth work and youth action.

Interest in youth civic engagement is also linked to increased public awareness of the right of children and young people to have their voices heard. Growing numbers of adults are coming to recognize the need to support and encourage youth participation and social action. There has essentially been a paradigm shift in how adult society views the role of young people—one that challenges age-old stereotypes of youth efficacy and commitment. It calls on societies that have traditionally viewed youth as "adults in waiting" to be open to the engagement of young people as active contributors to social change.

FOCUS AND STRUCTURE OF THE *REPORT*

The *World Youth Report* comprises five chapters; an introduction and overview is followed by three sections respectively focusing on the economic, political and community-based engagement of youth, and a final chapter offers key conclusions and recommendations.

Each chapter provides a thematic overview followed by expert opinion pieces on the highlighted topic[5]. The contributing authors, who include esteemed youth researchers, activists and academics, address specific aspects of youth-driven forms of civic engagement (see below). Each section is intended to stand alone and concludes with recommendations and suggestions for further reading. It is intended that these thought pieces be used to promote and inform policy dialogue and discussion between young people and Governments.

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4 World Bank, *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation* (Washington, D.C., 2006). Available from http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2006/09/13/000112742_20060913111024/Rendered/PDF/359990WDR0complete.pdf.

5 Disclaimer: The views expressed in the contributions to this publication are those of the individual authors and do not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of the United Nations or of the organizations with which the authors are affiliated.

Introduction (chapter one)

The current introductory chapter provides a broad overview of the topic of youth civic engagement. Pat Dolan and Mark Brennan explore various discourses to civic engagement such as engaged citizenship, positive youth development, belonging, care and social justice. They set out key recommendations for successful youth civic engagement programming.

Economic engagement (chapter two)

Chapter two of the Report examines changing trends in economic participation among youth and the relevant policy context, focusing primarily on the period since the global economic crisis. The chapter addresses the impact of the crisis on the economic life of young people and explores the normative shift from stable and permanent employment to flexible and part-time work. The authors describe how young people are responding to this changing context through engagement in internships (Gianni Rosas), entrepreneurship (Claudia Pompa), and trade unions (Amy F. Huziak).

Political engagement (chapter three)

Chapter three focuses on changing trends, policies and patterns relating to young people's political participation. It addresses the reasons for declining levels of youth involvement in institutional politics (including voting, running for office, and participating in party politics) and examines alternative approaches to political participation that have emerged among youth—exploring how traditional forms of political expression such protests and demonstrations have merged with ICT and social media to create a new form of political engagement. The authors analyse how emerging forms of youth political engagement are shaping the political landscape, focusing on topics ranging from their involvement in legitimate governance structures to their participation in extremist activities. The opinion pieces in this chapter highlight youth electoral participation (James Sloam), transitions in power (Nur Laiq), negative engagement (Akil N. Awan), and digital activism (Erhardt Graeff).

Community engagement (chapter four)

Chapter four explores the various ways young people participate in and engage with their communities, specifically through voluntary activities (Sarah Huxley), peacebuilding initiatives (Lakshitha Saji Prelis), and participation in sports for development (Selina Khoo and Andre Matthias Müller). The chapter explores the evolution of community engagement among youth, highlighting both the increased recognition of the value and skills young people contribute to community development and the benefits accruing to youth themselves from strengthened community connections.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: AN OVERVIEW

Pat Dolan and Mark Brennan

Civic engagement is not a neutral concept, but rather encompasses a variety of forms and perspectives surrounding relationships between the individual, the community and broader society. Various discourses and viewpoints carry particular messages and reflect differences in understanding with regard to the purpose and nature of youth as citizens. To fully understand the significance of civic engagement to youth and society, it is necessary to examine how particular forms of civic engagement relate to the experiences and social positioning of young people and what the objectives are.

Throughout the research and literature on youth civic engagement, five key discourses present youth civic engagement/action as desirable activity in their analyses and underlying assumptions about youth and the purpose of their engagement. While these discourses are not mutually exclusive, they each contain dominant strands demonstrating their distinctiveness. An overview of the five discourses is provided in table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1. DISCOURSES INFORMING CIVIC ENGAGEMENT			
DISCOURSE	**KEY AIM**	**CONCERN**	**DESIRED OUTCOME**
Engaged citizenship	Participation	Recognition; voice; human rights	Engaged in decisions and influence
Positive youth development	Idealized adulthood	Adaptation; behavioural/ cognitive/moral adaptivity; acquisition of life skills	Becoming more socially adapted individuals for future adulthood; social conformity; less risky behaviours
Belonging	Cultivation of affective social inclusion	Increasing attachments to place and others; building social capital (trust, networks, norms); finding spaces for a sense of inclusion	Stronger connectedness; better interactions; stronger youth-adult interdependencies
Care	Strong social support and resilience	Building strengths in adversity; preventing escalation of problems; increasing protective factors	Supportive/more effective networks; relevant programmes
Justice	Understanding and addressing injustice	Acknowledging root causes of structural inequality	Social justice

ENGAGED CITIZENSHIP

The discourse on engaged, democratic citizenship views citizenship primarily in terms of how political and civic identities are activated through engagement and influence in the public sphere. The literature on engaged citizenship therefore revolves largely around opportunities for youth to demonstrate their capacities to participate as political and social actors in society. It suggests that civic engagement begun in adolescence is more likely to continue throughout the life course. Because of this, it is argued that civic attitudes, beliefs and skills should be nurtured among young people.[6]

With engaged citizenship, civic education and civic skills development, focused both on the exercise of rights and responsibilities, are seen as the basis for active engagement among youth in policy processes. Schools play an important role in this approach as the primary venue for developing the skills, values and behaviours needed to participate in public life. This is achieved both through formal civic education and through extracurricular and community-related after-school activities. It is also argued that schools may serve as a learning ground for understanding and practising participation and social responsibility and for exercising rights. While this traditional framework offers the fundamentals, it is generally acknowledged that the potential of civic education and civic skills development has not been fully tapped in either the formal or the informal education and learning system as a means of engaging youth in developing more responsive policies and services.

A more direct mechanism for linking young people to community needs and developing the sensitivities required for greater political participation can be found in programmes that involve participants in projects incorporating elements of deliberation, decision-making, and political advocacy or activism.

POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

In the early 1990s, several Western countries began moving away from a problem-prevention approach to youth issues—fixing problems such as substance abuse was no longer seen as enough—towards a positive youth development framework that emphasized skills development and competency-building. There is a wide body of literature supporting the theory that civic engagement activities constitute an effective means of strengthening the development and capacity of individual youth at the emotional, cognitive, academic, civic, social and cultural levels.[7]

The positive youth development approach focuses on making young individuals stronger and more resourceful, as reflected in their behaviour and mindset. Positive youth development is linked to five key characteristics:

1. Competence
2. Confidence
3. Character
4. Connection
5. Caring

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6 Ruth Lister, "Why citizenship: where, when and how children?" *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, vol. 8, No. 2 (2007), pp. 693-718. Available from www7.tau.ac.il/ojs/index.php/til/article/viewFile/650/611.

7 Karen J. Pittman and Marlene Wright, "Bridging the gap: a rationale for enhancing the role of community organizations in promoting youth development", Commissioned Paper #1 (Washington, D.C., Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, February 1991). Available from https://archive.org/details/ERIC_ED364804.

Proponents of the model assert that increased strength and resourcefulness among youth lead to enhanced community engagement, which further contributes to positive youth development—and the cycle continues.

Positive youth development frameworks are designed to benefit young people and society simultaneously; young men and women with sufficient skills, a sense of belonging and attachment, and clearly defined roles in the community are better prepared for adulthood and find themselves empowered to act on behalf of their societies.

BELONGING AND COMMUNITY CONNECTEDNESS

Against the backdrop of what is viewed as an increasingly individualized society, civic engagement is sometimes seen as a way for youth to strengthen connections with others in the places they live and in the spaces in which they interact, including online spaces such as social media, increasing their sense of social attachment and belonging.

There are two key theoretical positions supporting this discourse: social capital and interaction theory.

Social capital is the collective value of the benefits accruing from social connections and trust between people.[8] Empirical research has shown that the factors contributing to social capital, such as social support networks, civic engagement in local institutions, trust and safety, and the quality of schools and neighbourhoods, are associated with positive outcomes for children and young people.[9] One

conclusion that may be drawn from social capital research is that community connections are important to adolescent well-being because they broaden networks and provide opportunities for interaction with others, often through local groups and activities. Intergenerational relations are one important component of this dynamic. Children and youth need positive adult attention to feel a sense of safety and security—to feel that they are cared about and cared for. Relevant studies suggest that the incidence of child neglect is higher in neighbourhoods with a poor social capital base.[10]

Social capital comprises not only the value of an individual's social relationships but also the quality of the groups, networks, institutions, communities, and societies in which these relations are developed. Civic engagement is viewed, then, as that which builds and strengthens trust, a sense of safety and security, support networks, and information sharing—as constitutive elements of social capital—effectively providing young people with a feeling of belonging in a society in which they have a stake. Engagement and interaction and corresponding youth development can take place in a variety of formal and informal settings, including those in which governance, education, and cultural and recreational activities occur.

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8 John Field, *Social Capital*, 2nd ed. (Oxon, United Kingdom, Routledge, 2008); Alejandro Portes, "Social capital: its origins and applications in modern sociology", *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 24, No. 1 (August 1998), pp. 1-24; and Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2001).

9 Kristin M. Ferguson, "Social capital and children's wellbeing: a critical synthesis of the international social capital literature", *International Journal of Social Welfare*, vol. 15, No. 1 (January 2006), pp. 2-18.

10 Gordon Jack and Bill Jordan, "Social capital and child welfare", *Children and Society*, vol. 13, No. 4 (September 1999), pp. 242-256.

Interaction theory posits that the behaviour of young individuals is largely influenced by social relations and the strength or weakness of the social bonds within their respective communities.[11] The emergence of community is viewed as a dynamic process of bringing people together by focusing on the general and common needs of all residents. The key component of this process is diverting action that would otherwise be invested in more individual interests towards the creation and maintenance of channels of interaction and the development of informal positive relationships among groups. Through these relationships, individuals interact with one another and develop a mutual understanding of their common needs. Where this can be established and sustained, local adaptive capacities increase, resiliency becomes possible, and community can emerge.[12]

As community residents and groups interact over issues of importance to all of them, they develop what has come to be known as community agency, or ways for local action and resiliency to emerge.[13] Community agency reflects the building of local relationships that increase the human capacity of local people. Agency can therefore be seen as the capacity of people to manage, utilize, and enhance those resources available to them in addressing issues in the local community. The application of agency can be seen in civic engagement at all levels. Of particular importance is the fact that such engagement and interaction can define a clear place for youth in local society, strengthening their sense of self and identity. Enabling youth to be visible and empowering them to be active constitute a key component in community development efforts.

CARE AND RESILIENCE

A fourth discourse—which has received less attention but is currently gaining momentum—sees civic engagement as a means of creating a more caring, empathic and supportive environment in the lives of young people, especially those who are vulnerable. Whereas the positive youth development discourse applies to all young people, the care factor is particularly relevant to those experiencing challenges such as poverty, health issues, disability and exploitation. Traditional youth services typically emphasize the need to address young people's problems (such as poor academic performance or social isolation) before they deem them ready to take on leadership roles or engage collectively with others to bring about social change. Proponents of the care approach argue that the assumption that young people need to be "fixed" before they can be developed runs counter to what is known about human motivation and adolescent development. They believe that all youth need to be challenged as well as cared for, and that there is a need to weave together opportunities to develop and engage. In particular, they assert that civic engagement offers

11 Wilkinson, K. *The Community in Rural America*. (New York, Greenwood Press, 1991).

12 M.A. Brennan, Rosemary V. Barnett and Eboni Baugh, "Youth involvement in community development: implications and possibilities for extension", *Journal of Extension*, vol. 45, No. 4 (August 2007). Available from http://www.joe.org/joe/2007august/a3.php.

13 Wilkinson, 1991; A.E. Luloff and Jeffrey C. Bridger, "Community agency and local development", in *Challenges for Rural America in the Twenty-First Century*, David L. Brown and Louis E. Swanson, eds. (University Park, Pennsylvania, Penn State University Press, 2003), pp. 203-213; and M.A. Brennan and A.E. Luloff, "Exploring rural community agency differences in Ireland and Pennsylvania", *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 23, No. 1 (January 2007), pp. 52-61.

14 Pat Dolan, "Youth civic engagement and support: promoting well-being with the assistance of a UNESCO agenda", in *Child Well-Being: Understanding Children's Lives*, Colette McAuley and Wendy Rose, eds. (London, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2010), pp. 111-126.

a means through which the needs and rights of vulnerable young people can be addressed.[14]

The study of resilience focuses on how some individuals exposed to a series of adverse experiences manage to escape serious harm.[15] Longitudinal studies of risk and resilience have shown that many young people cope well and demonstrate positive outcomes in adulthood despite having been exposed to serious risks during childhood. These studies have attributed such resilience to the presence of protective factors that help mitigate against the effects of early disadvantage. Significant protective factors include problem-solving skills, external interests or attachments, support from non-familial adults, and a defined purpose in life and sense of self-efficacy.[16] Social or political activity among youth—or, more specifically, their engagement in civic action about which they feel passionate—can act as a protective factor that supports young people becoming resilient to the challenges they face in life.[17]

SOCIAL JUSTICE

The social justice approach is distinct from other forms of youth development in that it calls for explicit acknowledgement of the seriousness of the socioeconomic challenges facing young people. It includes elements of youth development frameworks such as emotional and social support as well as positive adult relationships, yet it also encompasses a sociopolitical element linked to a critical understanding of the root causes of social and community problems. The social justice approach derives from the proposition that youth can be active agents of social and political change in their own environment once they are equipped with the sociopolitical competencies necessary to articulate social and community problems and propose solutions.

Social justice youth development includes practices and programmes that foster a positive sense of self through exploration of one's racial, ethnic and sexual identity; increase social awareness through the acquisition of knowledge about social issues; and strengthen skills that promote inquiry, analysis and problem solving. More succinctly, this approach can be used not only to identify problems, but also to activate mechanisms through which adversities can be addressed in real and tangible ways.

ADULT VIEWS AS A CHALLENGE TO YOUTH CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Adults tend to have low and often negative expectations of young people, focusing on their risky behaviour, destructive peer influences and resistance to adult authority; few see youth as individuals with the positive motivation and skills to contribute to their communities. A body of research highlights how young people sense that their participation is not valued in society, which makes them less likely to engage in collective activity in the first place. The extent to which young people feel they can influence their local school and community experiences reveals much about their level of recognition as

15 John C. Coleman and Leo B. Hendry, *The Nature of Adolescence*, 3rd ed., Adolescence and Society Series (London, Routledge, 1999).

16 Michael Ungar, "Resilience across cultures", *British Journal of Social Work*, vol. 38, No. 2 (2008), pp. 218-235.

17 UNESCO Child and Family Research Centre, *Citizenship: The Foróige Youth Citizenship Programme—Evaluation Report* (Galway, Ireland, May 2012). Available from https://foroige.ie/sites/default/files/citizenship_evaluation_report.pdf.

social actors. It has been argued that young people, especially those from low-income backgrounds, are conditioned to believe that nothing they do will make a positive difference in society.

Another obstacle to the civic engagement of young people is "adultism", or the tendency of adults to control the nature and content of youth civic engagement. Typically, civic engagement among young people replicates the structure of adult democratic institutions and tends to be based on adult notions of what constitutes appropriate forms of participation for youth. As a result, marginalized youth and other young people lacking the "necessary" qualifications and resources are less likely to volunteer. Studies have found that some young people see "volunteering" as something imposed upon them by adults rather than as something they really want to do.

There is ample evidence from research indicating that while young people are capable of developing projects that can bring significant positive change to society, they are not encouraged to do so because these projects may challenge existing institutions. Hence, prevailing forms of civic engagement often focus on the maintenance of these institutions rather than promoting action for change. This may contribute to the apparent reluctance, or even unwillingness, of youth to engage in the existing civic and political framework.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMMES: FIVE KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

It is worth noting that it is widely acknowledged that organised efforts are required to promote youth civic engagement. Research suggests that young people are more likely to become civically engaged when they are in setting such as schools, workplaces and community organizations where they are asked to take part because their friends are, or because they learn about issues that concern them (Flanagan and Levine, 2010).

The following recommendations are set out for the development of both policy and youth civic engagement programmes, practices and interventions. They can be adapted to the community, national and international levels. These recommendations should be included in any, and all, youth programmes where a legitimate desire for youth involvement exists. Regardless of whether these are designed at the local, regional, or national level, and are deemed as promising or proven in terms of evaluation and renown, a youth voice and representation is essential. However to maximize effectiveness programmes should be implemented locally. These local efforts can utilize consistent curriculum/methods designed at extra-local levels (Universities, Governments, NGOs), but it is essential that youth in the context of their environments help decide how these are delivered and implemented based on their unique needs.

This approach benefits Member States and localities that embrace youth in such a manner. Examples where this approach has effectively worked include *Youth as Researchers*[18] (where groups of youth raise issues, answer these through rigorous research, and communicate the results to a wider audience, and add to body of knowledge), *Leadership for Life*[19] (where local youth defining problems and how to develop plans to address these), and the *Communities that*

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18 Youth as Researchers: http://www.childandfamilyresearch.ie/youth-researchers

Care[20] (this UK program focuses are developing local civic engagement to address unique local needs).

Be explicit regarding the degree of youth participation. Some studies have emphasized the importance of involving youth in all aspects of programme design planning, development and execution, which can provide them with opportunities to practise their leadership skills, determine the responsiveness of the programme to the needs of all its beneficiaries, pursue social justice, and understand methods for effective implementation. All allow for increased youth ownership of the process and the long term commitment of young people to such efforts. It is argued that a youth-driven or youth-led model will yield the most tangible results in terms of youth development and youth empowerment.[21] A youth-driven model may not necessarily be run by youth, but the adults administering the programme can ensure that many aspects are shaped by youth and that there is a significant level of youth ownership. It is important that civic engagement initiatives explicitly define the degree of youth ownership and the decision-making authority young people have with regard to programme activities. Successful civic engagement programmes, as widely recognised

best practice, include youth involvement in monitoring and evaluation. This should be included as a norm in all youth engagement efforts.

Be relevant to young people's own interests and lived experience. Young people are more likely to be engaged by and passionate about issues that are relevant to their own culture and lived experience. This does not suggest that youth should be driven to action by carefully selected information given to them by adults. It is about youth being more likely to be committed to something that directly impacts their well-being and individual passions. The knowledge youth possess must be valued, and young people need an enabling environment that allows them to develop a certain level of expertise on the issues that influence their lives. This approach is consistent with Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which affirms the right of children to express their views freely and to have those views taken into account in all matters that affect them.[22]

Be action-oriented. Research has shown that young people are committed to social justice but often do not consider themselves responsible for the injustices they see, nor do they believe they are in a position to do anything about them. Therefore, it is important that the ideals of civic engagement programmes are grounded in action and in the establishment of processes for ensuring action. Organizations and agencies working with youth on civic engagement initiatives should clearly specify the civic goals they wish to achieve and provide real opportunities for young people to engage in action directed towards meeting those objectives. They must also ensure that youth engagement is

19 Leadership for Life: https://foroige.ie/our-work/youth-leadership/foroiges-leadership-life-programme-overview

20 Communities that Care: http://www.communitiesthatcare.net

21 Andrea Edelman and others, *Youth Development and Youth Leadership: A Background Paper* (Washington, D.C., Institute for Educational Leadership, National Collaborative on Workforce and Disability for Youth, June 2004); and Lauren Kahn, Sarah Hewes and Rushanara Ali, *Taking the Lead: Youth Leadership in Theory and Practice, The Young Foundation* (London, Crown, 2009), available from youngfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Taking-the-Lead-October-2009.pdf.

22 United Nations, Convention on the Rights of the Child. Available from http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx.

real, substantial, and significant. If engagement is "tokenistic" it will not propel further involvement. Similarly when assessing the success of engagement efforts it is important to understand that the success of establishing a process for engaging youth in long-term activities matters. Establishing the process, framework, and methods is the measure success. This allows for long-term capacity building and sustained engagement, not just one off activities that are abandoned after a single success or failure.

Value and foster analysis and reflection.

While action is essential in developing civic skills and experience, the importance of reflecting on civic activity is also emphasized in the literature. For example, young people may be trained and engaged in designing, implementing and evaluating research, conducting surveys and interviews of their peers, and presenting findings and solutions in public forums.

Provide opportunities for youth-adult partnership.

While youth ownership of civic action is important, this does not mean adults should not play a role. Youth leadership emerges out of a complex set of skills, behaviours, actions and attitudes that are best developed through apprenticeships and other experiential processes requiring close partnerships between youth and adults.[23] Adults often play a key role as mentors and motivators in youth leadership programmes.[24]

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23 Linda Camino and Shepherd Zeldin, "From periphery to center: pathways for youth civic engagement in the day-to-day life of communities", *Applied Developmental Science*, vol. 6, No. 4 (2002), pp. 213-220.

24 R.B. Woyach, "Five principles for effective youth leadership development programs", *Leadership Link* (Colombus, The Ohio State University Extension Leadership Centre, 1996).

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CHAPTER

2

ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT

THE transition to the world of work marks a crucial stage in young people's lives. It extends the possibility of independence, the application of academic learning, and social and economic productivity, and it sets the stage for defining an individual's potential in terms of earning capacity, job options and possibilities for advancement. When and how young people enter the labour force can have life-long implications for their employment experiences and can impact the well-being of those individuals as well as their relationships with family, friends, the community and society.[25]

25 *World Youth Report 2011—Youth Employment: Youth Perspectives on the Pursuit of Decent Work in Changing Times* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.12.IV.6).

Young people typically experience the greatest difficulty finding work. Youth are three times more likely than older adults to be unemployed. Their relative lack of skills and experience puts them at a disadvantage, but it is also often the case that in times of economic hardship it becomes easier for employers to retain existing older staff than to hire new, often younger, workers.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT

Young people have been disproportionately affected by unemployment, underemployment, vulnerable employment and working poverty. Even during periods of robust economic growth, the labour market is often unable to assimilate large numbers of youth. In recent years, the situation has been exacerbated by the lingering effects of the global financial and economic crisis, with declining numbers of youth able to find decent work.[26]

Recent estimates indicate that 73 million youth, or 13 per cent of all young people worldwide, were unemployed in 2014.[27] While joblessness is a concern almost everywhere, in low- and middle-income countries it is underemployment in the informal sector rather than unemployment in the formal sector that constitutes the primary employment-related challenge faced by youth.

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), an estimated 600 million productive jobs would need to be created for young people over the next decade to absorb those currently unemployed and provide job opportunities for the 40 million youth expected to enter the labour market each year.

REGIONAL DISPARITIES

In many respects, the economic crisis is global in nature; regardless of a country's level of income or educational attainment among youth, young people are being disproportionately affected. However, worldwide figures mask wide-ranging regional differences in the employment challenges facing young people.

Although since 2012 there has been a decrease in youth unemployment rates in many regions, this has not been the case everywhere. In 2014, youth unemployment was highest in the Middle East, rising from

26 According to the International Labour Organization, "decent work sums up the overall aspirations of people in their working lives". The ILO Decent Work Agenda comprises four strategic objectives: promoting jobs, guaranteeing rights at work, extending social protection, and promoting social dialogue, with gender quality as a cross-cutting objective. See http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/decent-work-agenda/lang--en/index.htm.

27 International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015: Scaling Up Investments in Decent Jobs for Youth* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015). Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_412015.pdf.

27.6 in 2012 to 28.2 per cent in 2014 and in North Africa, rising from 29.7 to 30.5 per cent during the same period. Increases also occurred in South-East Asia and the Pacific (12.7 to 13.6 per cent).[28]

At the same time, the youth unemployment rate decreased in: Central and South Eastern Europe (non-EU) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (17.4 to 17.2 per cent), Latin America and the Caribbean (13.5 to 13.4 per cent) and sub-Saharan Africa (12.1 to 11.6 per cent).[29] The lowest youth unemployment rates are found in South Asia (9.9 per cent) and East Asia (10.6 per cent).[30]

When broken down the statistics highlight diverse regional and national situations and challenges when it comes to youth unemployment.

In developing countries, a particular challenge is the large numbers of youth who, working irregularly in the informal sector, cannot escape from working poverty. In 2013, it was estimated that 286 million employed youth were living on less than US$ 4 per day, and 169 million were subsisting on less than US$ 2 per day.[31]

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28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

BOX 2.1.
YOUTH NEET

Increasing use is being made of the NEET rate—the proportion of young people not in employment, education or training—to measure and gauge the economic participation of youth who are the least educated and most likely to be socially excluded.

According to the International Labour Organization, the NEET rate for Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries as a group rose 2.1 per cent between 2008 and 2010, to 15.8 per cent, which translates into one in six young people not engaged in work, academic pursuits, or skills acquisition. Particularly affected have been Spain, Ireland and Denmark, with youth under the age of 25 and young women identified as the most vulnerable. Although the figure remains high, the share of young NEETs in the European Union has declined in recent years, falling from a high of 13.1 per cent in 2012 to 12.4 per cent in 2014.

Source: International Labour Organization, Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015: Scaling Up Investments in Decent Jobs for Youth (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015). Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_412015.pdf.

Meanwhile, developed economies have been among those hit hardest by the global economic crisis. As noted, while youth unemployment rates have started declining in the European Union, they continue to exceed 20 per cent in two thirds of EU countries.[32] Indeed, the aggregate youth unemployment rate of 16.6 per cent across the EU's 28 Member States masks wide ranging differences between countries. In 2014 youth unemployment levels were still at worryingly high levels in Spain (53.2 per cent), Greece (52.4 per cent), Croatia (45.5 per cent), Italy (42.7 per cent) Cyprus (35.9 per cent) and Portugal (34.8 per cent).[33]

Sustained high rates of unemployment and underemployment have had a serious impact on young people's economic engagement, and with

employment trends likely to continue in many parts of the world,[34] prospects for the full economic participation of young people seem bleaker than ever.[35]

Addressing youth unemployment is difficult because the problem is multidimensional in nature. It is driven by both job scarcity and skill scarcity (skill mismatches and shortages). Too few jobs are being created for new entrants to the labour market, and many young people, including those with a tertiary education, do not possess the skills required to meet today's labour market needs.

DECENT JOBS

With more than 87 per cent of the world's youth living in developing countries, efforts to address employment challenges must include not only generating more job opportunities for young people, but also improving the quality of work and working conditions. As noted previously, many youth in developing economies are underemployed, working in the informal economy and often holding multiple part-time or temporary jobs in precarious conditions for little pay; this is particularly true for young women (see box 2.2).

Even with a job in hand, many young workers continue to experience job vulnerability and instability. Youth may find few opportunities for skills development and advancement, and they are often

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32 Ibid.

33 International Labour Organization, *World of Work Report 2014: Developing with Jobs* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2014). Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_243961.pdf.; see the interactive map at http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/multimedia/maps-and-charts/WCMS_244259/lang--en/index.htm.

34 International Labour Organization projections for the period 2015-2019 show no change until 2018, when a slight jump from 13.1 to 13.2 per cent is expected (ibid.).

35 International Labour Organization, *World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends 2015* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015), p. 21. Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_337069.pdf. 35 International Labour Organization, *World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends 2015* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015), p. 21. Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_337069.pdf.

BOX 2.2.

GENDER DISPARITIES IN YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

Although important gains have been made in education worldwide, labour market prospects continue to be more unfavourable for young women than for young men virtually everywhere. Women are also disproportionally involved in part-time and/or informal and precarious work and are overrepresented in sectors with exploitative working conditions and low labour union density. While the male-female pay gap is closing in certain developed contexts, persistent earning disparities between young men and young women in some regions continue to interfere with women's full economic engagement.

Globally, young women are also less likely than young men to become entrepreneurs, in part due to cultural and societal barriers in some countries, which further limits the employment options for female youth.

Sources: (a) *International Labour Organization, Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015: Scaling Up Investments in Decent Jobs for Youth* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015). Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_412015.pdf; and (b) Jacqui Kew and others, Generation Entrepreneur? The State of Global Youth Entrepreneurship (London, Youth Business International and Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2013). Available from http://www.youthbusiness.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/GenerationEntrepreneur.pdf.

subjected to long working hours; insecure, informal and intermittent working conditions; and periods of joblessness.

In low-income countries, nine in ten workers are employed in the informal sector. At least three in four youth are irregularly employed, frequently combining own-account and family work with casual, and often part-time, paid employment.[36]

ILO school-to-work transition surveys conducted in 28 low- and middle-income countries show that three quarters of young workers aged 15-29 years are engaged in the informal economy as either wage earners or necessity-driven self-employed. The incidence of informal employment is even higher among young women. [37]

Job quality is a concern in developed countries as well. A marked erosion in employment conditions—including a shift from long-term employment contracts to short-term and/or part-time contracts and temporary work, the loss of entitlement to insurance and benefits, and longer working hours—has changed the playing field for young labour market entrants, compounding the youth employment challenge.

Most developed countries have experienced an increase in both voluntary and involuntary temporary and part-time work among youth. The proportion of

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36 International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015*.

37 International Labour Organization, "Informal employment among youth: evidence from 20 school-to-work transition surveys" (4 February 2014). Available from http://www.ilo.org/employment/areas/youth-employment/work-for-youth/publications/thematic-reports/WCMS_234911/lang--en/index.htm.

BOX 2.3.

TRAINING AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT: PASSING THE COST-BENEFIT TEST

When equipped with relevant skills and education, young people become better positioned to secure decent work. Investment in skills training and development is an increasingly popular programmatic and policy response to tackling the youth unemployment challenge. However, the costs of developing skills training programmes versus the benefits gained, particularly in times of long-term and persistent youth unemployment, are a consideration.

For example, a delayed transition from school to work can lead to the erosion of skills, resulting in decreased benefits from skills development schemes. The International Labour Organization notes that overeducation and overskilling coexist with undereducation and underskilling, in that so far as long-term unemployment is the norm for young people, their skills and education gradually become obsolete.[a] Ensuring that skills training programmes

are linked to job placement is therefore a facet of successful skills programmes, and this may balance the cost-benefit equation as well as ensure that the skills mismatch is reduced.

In conflict and fragile State situations, this is also the scenario. A study looking at entrepreneurship programmes in poor and fragile States concluded[b] that it was difficult to find a skills training programme passing a simple cost-benefit test, and that the injection of capital, in the form of cash, capital goods, or livestock, had a greater positive impact on long-term earning potential and the tendency towards entrepreneurship than did skills training programmes.

Sources: (a) International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2013: A Generation at Risk* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2013), p. 13. Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_212423.pdf; and (b) Christopher Blattman and Laura Ralston, "Generating employment in poor and fragile states: evidence from labor market and entrepreneurship programs" (19 July 2015).

young people working less than 30 hours per week increased from 21 to 30 per cent in OECD countries between 2007 and 2014, with the average for the 28 European Union countries reaching 43.3 per cent.[38]

MITIGATING THE IMPACT: ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGES

Persistent unemployment among young people can have a lasting impact on society. Relatively high levels of youth unemployment are linked to reduced economic

growth and in many places have led to civil unrest and the disruption of traditional power structures.[39] However, the costs of joblessness go beyond macroeconomic considerations and interference with the status quo. Long-term unemployment and underemployment can also adversely affect young people's health, well-being and self-esteem and can diminish their future earning potential and employment prospects.

38 International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015*.

39 This is explored in some detail in chapter three of the present publication, which focuses on youth political participation.

Many Governments have acknowledged the devastating long-term consequences of unemployment for both young individuals and society and have placed dealing with the youth unemployment crisis at the top of both national and international agendas in a bid to keep the possibility of a "lost generation of young workers" from becoming a reality. Investing in skills development and training, establishing internships, and promoting entrepreneurship have been identified as key tools in addressing the crisis.

Although legitimate efforts are being made to mitigate the effects of the crisis through the types of targeted programmes and schemes mentioned above, many young people still fall through the cracks and are left to navigate the employment landscape themselves. The present chapter highlights how through internships (Gianni Rosas), entrepreneurship (Claudia Pompa), and participation in trade unions (Amy F. Huziak), young people are navigating their engagement in a changing labour market.

INTERNSHIPS

Young people are increasingly turning to internships as a gateway to the labour market. With limited employment opportunities available, internships can provide an excellent opportunity for young people to gain occupational knowledge and develop skills and capabilities to better equip them for a career in their desired field.

Historically, internships have been linked to either educational or policy outcomes, with many youth undertaking internships as part of their educational curriculum. In such placements, a primary focus is placed on the learning outcomes for the young person.

In recent years, the economic crisis has brought about a shift in the role internships play within the employment framework in many areas. Increasing numbers of companies and organizations are offering, often full-time and unpaid, internships for recent graduates. In such incidents, the internship is not necessarily linked to specific educational outcomes, and in many cases the work of the young intern is replacing that of regular staff.

In developed countries in particular, would-be interns are facing a new dynamic. Whereas traditionally an internship would have been the first step towards a paying job within a company or organization, there has been a trend in recent years for employers to offer unpaid internships with no possibility of career progression within the organization.

Today, it is not uncommon for young people to undertake numerous back-to-back unpaid or low-paid internships as they struggle to gain a foothold on the career ladder. Far from better preparing young people for economic life, unpaid internships have the potential to leave youth in an economically more

vulnerable position than they would be in had they never undertaken the internship in the first place.

Amplifying the precarious situation of many young interns is the lack of strong regulation and safeguards surrounding internships. In many cases, young unpaid interns are not entitled to the basic benefits and entitlements of regular staff, including health insurance. As such, many young people are calling for stronger regulations and the development of benchmarks for quality internships so that young people struggling to gain a foothold in the labour market, can do so without exploitation.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Globally, young people are 1.6 times more likely than older adults to become entrepreneurs.[40] As young people face delayed or fractured entrance to the labour market, Governments (often facing severe economic and financial cutbacks and constraints) are focusing on promoting youth entrepreneurship. Likewise, many young people themselves have become more realistic about their job prospects in an uncertain economy and are starting their own enterprises.

Entrepreneurship has the capacity to provide many young people with real employment possibilities and opportunities. However, Governments that focus excessively on encouraging youth entrepreneurship and fail to stimulate wider employment and job creation through broader and more robust employment strategies are, in effect, unfairly shifting much of the responsibility for job creation and healthy labour market performance away from the larger public and private sectors to young people, which can leave many youth vulnerable.

Indeed, though young people are more likely than adults to start their own businesses, they face a host of special challenges that vary across countries and regions. The obstacles faced by those setting up and running a new business may be intensified for youth, whose age and inexperience can place them at a disadvantage, and young entrepreneurs must also deal with less-than-optimal labour market conditions deriving from the global economic crisis.[41]

Among the particular barriers they face, young people trying to start a business may find it especially

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40 Jacqui Kew and others, *Generation Entrepreneur? The State of Global Youth Entrepreneurship* (London, Youth Business International and Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2013). Available from http://www.youthbusiness.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/GenerationEntrepreneur.pdf.

41 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and European Commission, *Policy Brief on Youth Entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurial Activities in Europe* (Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2012), p. 20. Available from http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/Youth%20entrepreneurship%20policy%20brief%20EN_FINAL.pdf.

difficult to secure credit, loans or other types of financing and often lack the knowledge and skills to use financial services efficiently. Because few financial service institutions adequately cater to the needs of young entrepreneurs in many regions, young people often rely on family and friends to obtain the funding they need for their start-ups.[42]

TRADE UNIONS

With dauntingly high youth unemployment and underemployment in many parts of the world, young people are finding it increasingly difficult to secure quality jobs that offer benefits and entitlements. Employers have the advantage of being able to offer young workers contracts that provide little in the way of career security, health-care benefits or pension schemes, knowing that young people with few other prospects are not in a position to bargain and are poorly aligned to organize into collective bargaining units to try and improve their situation.[43]

As a consequence of this vulnerability, many young people end up in precarious work situations, with a short-term or non-employee contract (or no contract), little or nothing in the way of pension benefits, and no health insurance or unemployment insurance.[44] This interferes with a young person's ability to plan for the future and become financially secure. The expansion of precarious work means that more

young workers are stuck in non-standard employment than was the case in previous generations.[45] As the number of youth lacking a firm foothold in secure, long-term employment has declined, so has their participation in trade unions. At present, engagement in economic life is occurring largely on the terms of employers and not young employees.

As the number of youth lacking a firm foothold in secure, long-term employment has declined, so has their participation in trade unions. Not only can such employment precarity make joining a trade union seem futile, but many fear that defending their rights will further jeopardise their already shaky prospects. Intergenerational divides within trade unions can compound the situation. Many trade unions operate on a two-tier system, where older workers with more secure contracts and robust entitlements sit at one level, and young workers with less secure contracts and conditions on another.

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42 Approximately three quarters of youth rely primarily on personal sources (family or friends) for funding to start a business in sub-Saharan Africa (77.7 per cent), in Latin America and the Caribbean (75.7 per cent), and in Eastern Asia, Oceania and Southern Asia (73.2 per cent). In the Middle East and North Africa, the figure is almost 70 per cent. See Jacqui Kew and others, *Generation Entrepreneur? The State of Global Youth Entrepreneurship*.

43 See the contribution by Amy F. Huziak in chapter two of the present publication.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

IN SEARCH OF BENCHMARKS FOR QUALITY INTERNSHIPS

Gianni Rosas

INTRODUCTION

An internship involves short-term exposure to a work setting—a "practice period" during which the learner receives training and acquires experience in a specific field or career area.[46] This institution is relatively new but is becoming increasingly important as a means of obtaining workplace-based experience and thereby easing the school-to-work transition, particularly in countries where education and training systems tend to rely primarily on theoretical training and offer little or no exposure to the world of work.

Over the past few years, recourse to internships has steadily increased in a number of countries, particularly those affected by the global economic and financial crisis. This can be partly attributed to the need for young people to stay engaged in the labour market and improve their prospects for employment when the economy rebounds. The unprecedented youth employment crisis has become a stubborn reality in most countries and in all regions. It has resulted in increased vulnerability among young people, who are now faced with higher unemployment, lower quality of work and structural underemployment for those who find jobs, greater labour market inequalities among different groups, a longer and less secure school-to-work transition, and increased detachment from the labour market.

Currently, two out of five young people in the labour force are either unemployed or working but poor. Of the estimated 200 million unemployed in 2014, about 37 per cent (or around 73 million) were between the ages of 15 and 24.[47] In that year, the global youth unemployment rate was 13 per cent—nearly three times the adult rate.[48]

Work experience is highly valued by employers, and the lack of such experience constitutes a major obstacle for first-time job seekers. Companies often hesitate to recruit young people because the return on investment from inexperienced youth may be uncertain.

Together with programmes offering summer jobs and part-time employment to students, periods of workplace-based practice in the form of internships have helped many young people escape the "experience trap" (a lack of work experience linked to the inability to find a job in the first place). Although data on internships are scant, available evidence from a number of countries points to the increased likelihood of former

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46 See Gianni Rosas, Valli Corbanese and International Labour Office/International Training Centre, Glossary of Key Terms on Learning and Training for Work (Turin, 2006).

47 International Labour Organization, Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015. Within the United Nations System, and in all its statistics and indicators, young people are identified as those between the ages of 15 and 24.

48 Ibid.

interns finding a job.[49] In some cases, however, internships run the risk of being used for purposes other than learning. The surge in the number of internships over the past five years has heightened debate over the conditions under which internships take place—in particular the unpaid ones, which in some countries have been the subject of scrutiny for their alleged use as a way of obtaining cheap labour and replacing existing workers or entry-level jobs. Against this backdrop, a number of national and international institutions, youth organizations, researchers and media entities have started looking into the benchmarks and elements that define quality internships and identifying mechanisms to ensure that internships are a valuable learning experience and that the rights and entitlements of young interns are respected.

THE RISE OF INTERNSHIPS: A GLOBAL TREND

Internships were first introduced in the United States of America in the nineteenth century. They later spread to other developed countries and have more recently been established in several low- and middle-income countries.

Until the 1930s, internships in the United States were only offered in the medical profession. They were then extended to liberal-arts-based professions and later to white-collar occupations in public administration and political organizations.[50] From the 1970s onwards, internships spread throughout most advanced economies and are now increasingly a feature of the education and labour market systems of low- and middle-income countries. Internship arrangements can be found in several industries and occupations, in for-profit and not-for-profit

organizations, and within both the public and private sectors. The number of young people participating in internship programmes has also drastically increased. In the early 1980s as few as 3 per cent of college students in the United States secured an internship before graduation. Today, that figure is as high as 75 per cent.[51] Similarly, in France, the number of young people taking on internships has more than doubled in six years.[52] In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development estimated that more than one in five employers planned to hire interns between April and September 2010; this represented a potential offer of a quarter of a million internships.

MAIN TYPES OF INTERNSHIPS

There are three main types of internships whose features are worth analysing to identify what constitutes a quality internship. They include those forming part of education programmes, those linked to youth employment policy, and those offered in the open market.

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49 See, for instance, the results of the Internship and Co-op Survey, an annual survey of employers with internship and cooperative education programmes that is carried out each year by the National Association of Colleges and Employers. The 2013 Survey reported that among young people who found jobs, 63.1 per cent had participated in a paid internship programme, 37 per cent had served as unpaid interns, and 35.2 per cent had not participated in an internship.

50 For the history of internships in the United States, see Ross Perlin, *Intern Nation: How to Earn Nothing and Learn Little in the Brave New Economy*, chap. 2 (London and New York, Verso, 2012).

51 For more information, see Ross Perlin, "Five myths about interns". Available from http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about%20interns/2011/05/09/AFbWmT2G_story.html.

52 The Conseil économique, social et environnemental estimated that this number increased from 0.6 million to 1.6 million between 2006 and 2012 (*L'avis du CESE: L'emploi des jeunes* [September 2012], available from http://www.lecese.fr/travaux-publies/lemploi-des-jeunes-0).

Internships linked to educational programmes. These types of internships are part of a school's curriculum, be it higher vocational education or academic education. Young people alternate between studying in an institution and learning practical, job-related skills in the workplace and often receive learning credit for the time spent as an intern. In France, for instance, an internship must be an integral part of a learning activity associated with an educational programme. A negotiated agreement (convention de stage) is signed by the sending educational institution and the internship provider. This agreement should include a work plan, the start and end dates of the internship, the hours spent at the workplace, the stipend that will be provided, the social protection entitlements, and the supervision arrangements.[53] Similar programmes exist in most European countries, in Northern America and Latin America, and in several countries in Asia and the Pacific. The educational institutions involved in the negotiation of internship programmes usually specify the learning purpose and other conditions under which the internships take place. Typically, both the institution and the enterprise have a certain level of bargaining power, and this ensures a balance of the interests of both parties in the negotiation. Educational institutions also participate in the monitoring of the internship, though as the numbers of internship positions rise, institutions have less time to devote to monitoring during implementation, which can reduce the learning value of these programmes.

Internships linked to youth employment policy. Government policies and programmes targeting the employment of young people are increasingly including measures that promote internships as a way for young people to gain practical experience. The extent to which these kinds of internships are regulated varies across countries.[54] In Portugal, the Programa de Estágios Profissionais (Professional Traineeship Programme) targets young people who have completed secondary or tertiary education. The programme lasts from nine to twelve months and is regulated by law, with monitoring provided by labour market institutions.[55] The National Internship Programme in Botswana provides work experience for unemployed graduates.

Legal and administrative procedures are usually detailed in standard agreements that specify the conditions under which these internships take place. The conditions apply to all enterprises participating in the programme. Like many youth employment interventions, the internship programmes are usually monitored by institutions governing the labour market (such as employment offices and labour inspectorates), which can also write off implementing partners that do not respect the terms of the agreement.

Internships in the open market. In recent years there has been an upswing in the internships young people undertake in the open market after graduation. These internships are usually advertised by enterprises, and their terms and conditions are negotiated directly between the employer and the intern. The latter usually has little

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53 See article L. 412-8 of the *French Code de la sécurité sociale*. Available from http://legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCodeArticle.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006073189&idArticle=LEGIARTI000031087963&dateTexte=20151126.

54 Kari Hadjivassiliou and others, *Study on a Comprehensive Overview on Traineeship Arrangements in Member States: Final Synthesis Report* (Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2012).

55 Ibid.

bargaining power. These kinds of internships tend to be less regulated and are more difficult to monitor in comparison with those organized by education or labour market institutions.[56] Open market internships are available on every continent. Several countries have started to develop laws and regulations defining internship content and implementation modalities, with a view to protecting young people. For instance, in 2014 the Council of the European Union adopted a recommendation on a quality framework for traineeships.[57] This recommendation focuses on the learning and training content of internships and the conditions under which internships should be implemented in the 28 member States of the European Union.

WHAT ARE THE BENCHMARKS FOR DEFINING QUALITY INTERNSHIPS?

Various institutions have undertaken analyses of existing data, national practice, and regulations governing the three types of internships, and their findings have been used to identify benchmarks for quality internships. Quality assurance standards may be compulsory or voluntary. In Europe, for instance, a number of Governments have enacted internship-related legislation or adopted quality frameworks. The latter have also been developed by non-governmental organizations and promoted on a voluntary basis by enterprises, employer organizations and professional bodies. The different regulatory approaches provide useful insights on the essential elements of a quality internship.[58] The quality components outlined below are based on the analysis of those regulations and frameworks and on the findings of surveys conducted by various organizations.

Purpose of the internship. The objective of an internship is to gain occupational knowledge, skills and experience. Learning must be primary and job performance secondary. There are different ways experience may be acquired during an internship; some interns shadow an experienced worker who acts as a trainer, while others are given work-related tasks and learn by trial and error. Because internship programmes are less systematic and structured than other forms of education and training, and because the intern is learning-by-doing in a real workplace situation, the boundaries between learning and work often become blurred, particularly when the internship conditions are not clearly established. In many countries, internships are helping growing numbers of young people get a foothold in the labour market, but there is also increasing controversy over practice, particularly with respect to the real purpose. It is becoming increasingly common for fair labour advocates—at the request of individuals or through class action or other collective mechanisms—to call on labour courts or institutions governing the labour market to clarify the purpose of internships

56 Ibid.

57 Council of the European Union, "Council recommendation on a Quality Framework for Traineeships" (Brussels, 10 March 2014). Available from https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/lsa/141424.pdf.

58 There are five main types of regulatory approaches, including specific regulations for interns, pieces of general labour legislation that explicitly include internships, pieces of general labour legislation that exempts internships from its operations, general labour legislation that applies to internships as well, and soft law that relates to internships. For an analysis of these approaches, see Rosemary Owens and Andrew Stewart, "Regulating for decent work experience: meeting the challenge of the rise of the intern", a paper presented for discussion at the Regulating for Decent Work Conference, held by the International Labour Office in Geneva from 8 to 10 July 2015. Available from http://www.rdw2015.org/uploads/submission/full_paper/209/RDW_2015_Owens___Stewart.docx.

and create more detailed guidelines. Box 2.4 shows the criteria applied in the United States to determine whether interns qualify as trainees or as employees.

Recruitment. The intern recruitment process should be transparent. The advertisement should specify the main requirements and tasks and the conditions under which the internship is being offered (including duration, supervisory arrangements, and expected outcome). In Europe there are various recruitment channels, including educational entities, labour offices, employers and professional associations, social networks, websites, and intermediary organizations. In Italy, for instance, internships linked to educational programmes are managed by placement offices that advertise the positions and handle the matching process.[60] In the United Kingdom, the Government has encouraged enterprises to subscribe to the Common Best-Practice Code for High Quality Internships and make a voluntarily commitment to follow certain standards, including those relating to recruitment processes that should be the same as those applied for the recruitment of workers.[61] A similar voluntary commitment to transparency in recruitment has been made by several enterprises in respect of the quality elements included in the European Quality Charter on Internships and Apprenticeships developed by the European Youth Forum.[62]

Written agreement. Although circumstances vary considerably from one place to another, formalizing internships through written agreements is becoming an increasingly common practice in many parts of the world. Educational institutions, labour offices and individuals often enter into formal internship agreements with enterprises, and

similar arrangements are made between employers' organizations and trade unions. These agreements clearly specify the obligations of both parties as well as the conditions governing the internships (including learning content, duration, compensation, and social security entitlements). In Burkina Faso, the law requires a written contract to be signed by the employer and the intern prior to the start of an internship.[63] In the Netherlands, a standard internship agreement has to be signed by employers who take on trainees as part of an educational programme. These agreements may also be accompanied by workplans that define what the intern is expected to achieve during the internship period. Such plans provide a better understanding of the tasks and also facilitate monitoring of the quality of the internship. In Greece, all internship agreements linked to educational programmes include a detailed description of trainee-related tasks.[64]

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59 For instance, a survey on quality traineeships was carried out between April and May 2013 in the 28 countries of the European Union. For information on the main findings of the survey, see TNS Political and Social, "The experience of traineeships in the EU", *Flash Eurobarometer 378* (Brussels, European Commission, November 2013). Available from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_378_en.pdf.

60 Council of the European Union, "Council recommendation on a Quality Framework for Traineeships".

61 Ibid.

62 The European Youth Forum is the largest youth organization representing the interests of young people in Europe. Its European Quality Charter on Internships and Apprenticeships is available from http://qualityinternships.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/internship_charter_EN.pdf. The Forum has also published an employers' guide to quality internships, available from http://www.youthforum.org/assets/2015/03/Employers-Guide-Quality-internships1.pdf.

63 Loi n. 028 -2008 du 13 mai 2008 portant Code du travail au Burkina Faso. Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms_126287.pdf.

64 Council of the European Union, "Council recommendation on a Quality Framework for Traineeships".

BOX 2.4.

THE PURPOSE OF AN INTERNSHIP: THE SIX-PART TEST IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, the determination of whether an internship or training programme falls outside the scope of labour legislation is based on six criteria that courts have often referred to when rendering decisions on specific cases. These criteria derive from the United States Supreme Court case *Walling v. Portland Terminal Co.*, in which the Court was called upon in 1947 to determine whether yard brakemen engaged in a short training course organized by a railway company were to be considered trainees/learners or employees. The six criteria, which have since been applied to similar cases, are as follows:

1. "The internship … is similar to training which would be given in an educational environment;

2. "The internship experience is for the benefit of the intern;

3. "The intern does not displace regular employees, but works under close supervision of existing staff;

4. "The employer that provides the training derives no immediate advantage from the activities of the intern;

5. "The intern is not necessarily entitled to a job at the conclusion of the internship; and

6. "The employer and the intern understand that the intern is not entitled to wages for the time spent in the internship."

SOURCES: United States Department of Labor, Wage and Hour Division, *Fact Sheet #71: Internship Programs under The Fair Labor Standards Act* (April 2010). Available from http://www.dol.gov/whd/regs/compliance/whdfs71.htm. Also see https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/330/148/ for Walling v. Portland Terminal Co. case details.

Supervision. Supervision and mentoring are critical in achieving a quality outcome for internships. As mentioned previously, workplace-related skills and experience are transmitted through observation of experienced workers and through learning by doing. For this reason, interns should always be supervised, with a specified amount of time devoted to mentoring the trainees. The supervisor should set learning objectives, conduct reviews, and provide feedback to the intern. Legislative and regulatory frameworks do not necessarily guarantee the quality of internships. It is the implementation of these regulations, sound monitoring and strong supervision of the entire process that play a key role in ensuring quality placements.[65] In Sweden, the employer is directly responsible for ensuring that trainees are under the direction, supervision and support of a person who is adequately trained for the intern-related assignments and has enough time to accomplish the task.

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[65] Kari Hadjivassiliou and others, *Study on a Comprehensive Overview on Traineeship Arrangements in Member States: Final Synthesis Report.*

Duration. The duration of an internship should be determined based on the time needed to fulfil the training requirements. The limited duration and the explicit mention of start and end dates in formal internship agreements are considered important to prevent the substitution of regular workers with trainees. On average, internships last from 3 to 12 months. In Argentina, the duration of internships linked to educational programmes can range between 2 and 12 months, with a weekly load of up to 20 working hours.[66] In Rwanda, by law an internship cannot exceed 12 months,[67] while the average period of an internship in Botswana is 24 months. In France, the law limits the duration of an internship to six months.[68] Although not linked to the duration of a single internship experience, the succession (or *carousel*) of internships in which some young people get trapped has been identified as one of the features of the recent global job crisis. The practice of engaging in consecutive internships prolongs the learning period for young people and postpones their entry into remunerative employment.

Compensation. Internships can be paid or unpaid. An internship agreement should clearly specify any form of compensation offered to an intern. In general, it is recognized that the intern should be offered compensation or a stipend to cover living expenses (including the costs of transportation, meals and accommodation). This is often provided for internships linked to youth employment policy, particularly when the programmes are targeting disadvantaged youth who have limited financial means. The issue of pay is, however, related to the purpose of an internship (see the section on written agreements and box 2.4). In recent years, there has been controversy in many countries over the issue of

compensation in internships, with increasing numbers of former interns claiming they were engaged in routine tasks with little learning content or in performing the same work as that of regular employees.[69] In France, the law stipulates that students undertaking an internship lasting for more than two months should receive minimum compensation.[70] In Greece, students who undertake a compulsory internship are entitled by law to compensation.[71] In the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, the law requires that interns be paid the minimum wage.[72] In some countries, the type of organization offering the service is taken into account for the determination of paid versus unpaid internships. In the United States, for instance, an unpaid internship with a for-profit organization is allowed only if there is no immediate advantage for the organization in question. An intern engaged in profit-generating activities would be considered an employee (see box 2.4). Likewise,

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66 Argentina, Ley 26.427: *Créase el Sistema de Pasantías Educativas en el marco del sistema educativo nacional.* Available from http://www.infoleg.gov.ar/infolegInternet/anexos/145000-149999/148599/norma.htm.

67 Rwanda, Law 13/2009 Regulating Labour in Rwanda (27 May 2009). Available from http://www.africanchildforum.org/clr/Legislation%20Per%20Country/Rwanda/rwanda_labour_2009_en.pdf.

68 France, Ministère du Travail, de l'Emploi, de la Formation professionnelle et du Dialogue social, "Les stages étudiants en milieu professionnel". Available from http://travail-emploi.gouv.fr/informations-pratiques,89/fiches-pratiques,91/acces-et-accompagnement-vers-l,651/les-stages-etudiants-en-entreprise,3904.html.

69 The New York law firm of Outten and Golden address this issue in some depth on their website, http://unpaidinternslawsuit.com.

70 France, Ministère du Travail, de l'Emploi, de la Formation professionnelle et du Dialogue social, "Les stages étudiants en milieu professionnel".

71 Kari Hadjivassiliou and others, *Study on a Comprehensive Overview on Traineeship Arrangements in Member States: Final Synthesis Report.*

72 Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Ministry of Communication and Information, *Ley Orgánica del Trabajo, los Trabajadores y las Trabajadoras.* Available from http://www.lottt.gob.ve/.

where sponsorship is provided by labour market institutions in the context of youth employment policy, appropriate compensation makes internship positions accessible to all young people, particularly those coming from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds. The international principle of "equal remuneration ... for work of equal value" should apply when interns perform the same duties as regular employees.[73]

Social protection. Interns should be covered by social protection, at least in the form of health and work accident insurance. The lack of social protection is often the most serious issue reported by interns.[74] In France, a trainee has automatic access to social security coverage.[75] In Greece, students who undertake a compulsory internship are entitled by law to health and work accident insurance.[76] In the Netherlands, students have a specific recognized legal status during the internship period and are covered by health, liability, and work accident insurance.[77]

Certification. Upon completion of the internship, the enterprise should provide the intern with a certificate or reference letter detailing the duration of the internship, the tasks undertaken, and the skills and experience acquired. This allows the intern to demonstrate what he or she has achieved when applying for prospective jobs. In France, the intern must be provided with a certificate upon completion of the placement.[78] In Peru, the host company or organization has to provide certification at the conclusion of an internship linked to an educational programme.[79]

WHAT ARE THE RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH INTERNSHIPS?

The conditions for internships vary substantially across the contexts in which they take place. In many cases, the lack of regulations or their ambiguity and weak enforcement can lead to results that are not consistent with the purpose of an internship. Because of the adverse effects of the global economic crisis on young people, as well as the lack of a clear definition of the rights and duties associated with internships, young interns face certain risks. In some countries there have been growing numbers of class action suits and complaints, often led by youth organizations or trade unions, and the problems associated with internships have received increased attention from the media.

In many European countries, as well as in Australia, Canada and the United States, the number of internships has increased considerably over the past decade. This has coincided with the worsening of the economic situation and the disproportionate impact

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73 This principle is enshrined in the Constitution of the International Labour Organization (see http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:62:0::NO:62:P62_LIST_ENTRIE_ID:2453907:NO#A1).

74 See, for instance, the results of the survey undertaken by TNS Political and Social in "The experience of traineeships in the EU, *Flash Eurobarometer 378*.

75 Kari Hadjivassiliou and others, *Study on a Comprehensive Overview on Traineeship Arrangements in Member States: Final Synthesis Report*.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 Peru, Ministerio del Trabajo, *Ley n° 28518 sobre Modalidades Formativas Laborales*, Diario el Peruano (el 24 de mayo del 2005). Available from http://www.administracion.usmp.edu.pe/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/bt_legislacion.pdf.

of the global jobs crisis on young workers in recent years. In several sectors and occupations (including media, arts, fashion, public relations and public administration), there has been a significant increase in alleged cases of regular staff being replaced with interns. Although surveys have been carried out by some organizations to monitor the quality of internships being offered, the issues surrounding this emerging phenomenon have proven difficult to pin down.[80]

Although no global estimates exist, some national surveys have provided information on the exponential growth of internships. The purpose of internships and the issue of compensation are the two areas that have received the most attention. In the United Kingdom, it was estimated that there were around 100,000 unpaid interns in 2010.[81] Usually, unpaid internships are justified as being part of an academic programme.[82] However, paid interns have a distinct advantage in the job market, according to a survey conducted in 2012 by the National Association of Colleges and Employers. Approximately 60 per cent of college graduates who participated in paid internships in 2012 received at least one job offer, while unpaid interns fared only slightly better than graduates who had not served internships; overall, 37 per cent of unpaid interns received offers of employment, while the same was true for 36 per cent of graduates with no internship experience.[83]

In some cases, the lack of compensation makes internships de facto exclusive, as they limit participation to those who are able to cover their own living expenses, effectively institutionalizing socioeconomic disparities. A study published by the Trade Union Congress of the United Kingdom found that only 12 per cent of the youth surveyed in London said they could afford to live away from home to participate in an unpaid internship; 16 per cent responded that they would probably not be able to do so, and 61 per cent said they definitely did not have the financial means to live in the capital and take on unpaid work.[84] If internships are unpaid, there is also a greater risk that trainees will not be treated like other workers within an organization. Among the analyses that are available, many indicate that—all else being equal—internships that offer compensation and relate to the participant's field of study best facilitate the school-to-work transition by serving as a stepping stone to regular employment.

80 Boris Schmidt and Heidemarie Hecht, *Generation Praktikum 2011: Praktika nach Studienabschluss: Zwischen Fairness und Ausbeutung* (Berlin, Hans-Böckler Stiftung, März 2011). Available from http://www.boeckler.de/pdf/pm_2011_05_04_praktikumreport_lang.pdf]. The German survey, conducted among graduates of four federally funded German universities, showed that 81 per cent of former interns had been engaged in full-fledged work throughout their internships. In 75 per cent of the cases studied, this work constituted part of the normal operations of the company, meaning the work of the interns was used to replace that which would normally have been undertaken by employees.

81 Kayte Lawton and Dom Potter, "Why interns need a fair wage" (London, IPPR and Internocracy, 31 July 2010). Available from http://www.ippr.org/publications/why-interns-need-a-fair-wage.

82 A survey on extracurricular unpaid work arrangements was conducted among law students in Australia. Interviews with 295 students from three different law schools indicated that half of the students performed unpaid work. See Andrew Stewart and Rosemary Owens, *The Nature, Prevalence and Regulation of Unpaid Work Experience, Internships and Trial Periods in Australia: Experience or Exploitation?* Report for the Fair Work Ombudsman (University of Adelaide, January 2013). Available from https://www.fairwork.gov.au/ArticleDocuments/763/UW-complete-report.pdf.aspx?Embed=Y.

83 National Association of Colleges and Employers, "Unpaid internships: a clarification of NACE research" (16 October 2013). Available from http://www.naceweb.org/s10162013/paid-internship-full-time-employment.aspx.

84 For more information on the Trade Union Congress study, see http://www.tuc.org.uk/economy/tuc-22040-f0.cfm.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Young people deciding on an internship or engaged in an internship experience should do the following:

Review internship offers by using the main benchmarks for quality internships as a point of reference. Although the benchmarks outlined above may not be universally applicable, they can provide a reference point for determining the relative quality of the internship positions offered. Young people who are intending to take on (or are actually involved in) an internship could review the terms and conditions of each offer to ascertain the extent to which quality elements are incorporated in the agreement or are part of the internship experience.

Collect information on the regulatory and monitoring frameworks governing internships in a given country, sector or occupation. Many countries have adopted a set of minimal regulations to protect interns and trainees. There are also several codes of conduct that have been voluntarily adopted by many organizations offering internships. Prior to undertaking an internship, young people should collect relevant regulatory information in order to check whether the internships are in line with these regulations.

Contact organizations that represent the interests of young people to obtain advice on the conditions governing internships. Youth organizations, employers' organizations and trade unions and are usually involved in the promotion and monitoring of quality internships. They can help provide a better understanding of whether the basic conditions are being met and the rights and entitlements are being respected. They can also provide advice and support with regard to the process to be followed in cases where these conditions, rights and entitlements are not applied.

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YOUTH ENTREPRENEURSHIP: THE COMING JOBS GAP—

600 MILLION REASONS TO PROMOTE YOUTH ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Claudia Pompa

INTRODUCTION

In modern history, entrepreneurship has never been more important than it is at present. Societies today face complex challenges requiring strategic policies that extend beyond traditional economic solutions. Entrepreneurship and innovation can address these challenges by strengthening sustainability, creating jobs, generating economic opportunities and advancing human development. With the present concurrence of globalization, technological innovation and demographic trends, much greater attention is being focused on the role and potential impact of entrepreneurship.

Persistent unemployment among young people remains a problem, and youth entrepreneurship can play an important part in facilitating economic development, structural change and job creation. Around the world, entrepreneurship and small and medium-sized enterprise creation constitute sources of sustainable economic growth, driving innovation and structural changes in the economy while contributing to job creation and increased productivity. While young people often turn to self-employment because they cannot find jobs elsewhere, entrepreneurship can provide them with valuable skills such as critical thinking, decision-making, leadership,

teamwork and innovation—all of which remain relevant for the rest of their lives. In general, they gain expertise in areas not incorporated in traditional education, constructing unique careers that resonate outside the typical economic model by pulling in talent from their peers and fostering positive community development.

YOUTH ENTREPRENEURSHIP TRENDS

While entrepreneurship is not new, the increased momentum behind its promotion and growth is indicative of unanswered needs in the global economy. It is likely that increased insecurity, diminished prospects for obtaining gainful employment, and the realization that the global economy does not have the capacity to create a sufficient number of jobs have all contributed significantly to the noticeable upsurge in the entrepreneurial aspirations of youth.

Most new businesses worldwide are started by individuals between the ages of 25 and 34, and younger people in general tend to support entrepreneurship

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85 Deloitte, *Mind the Gaps: The 2015 Deloitte Millennial Survey—Executive Summary* (Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu Limited, 2015). Available from http://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/global/Documents/About-Deloitte/gx-wef-2015-millennial-survey-executivesummary.pdf.

BOX 2.5.

YOUTH ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN NUMBERS

According to the 2013 report *Generation Entrepreneur? The State of Global Youth Entrepreneurship,* the number of 15- to 35-year olds who would actively consider becoming entrepreneurs varies widely. In sub-Saharan Africa, 60 per cent of young people would consider self-employment, while in Asia and the Pacific, Southern Asia and the European Union, the number drops to roughly 17 per cent.[a]

One important factor influencing this disparity is the poverty level. In poorer regions, young people are more likely to actively pursue entrepreneurship because it often constitutes the best way to generate an income, while in richer countries, the likelihood of engaging in entrepreneurial activity depends largely on whether opportunities arise or are believed to exist, with the fear of failure weighing more heavily on the decision. The countries most affected by the global economic crisis, particularly those in the European Union, have seen a decline in the number of youth starting their own businesses, likely owing to the perceived lack of opportunities.[b]

In the European Union, young people aged 20-30 years are far more interested in entrepreneurship than are older adults; however, only 4 per cent of 15- to 24-year olds are self-employed, compared with 15 per cent of the general population.[c] The youth figure is low in part because young people tend to face greater obstacles than do older adults when starting out in business.

Sources: (a) Jacqui Kew and others, *Generation Entrepreneur? The State of Global Youth Entrepreneurship* (London, Youth Business International and Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2013). Available from http://www.youthbusiness.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/GenerationEntrepreneur.pdf (b) Ibid.; and (c) Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and European Commission, *Policy Brief on Youth Entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurial Activities in Europe* (Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2012), p. 20. Available from http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/Youth%20entrepreneurship%20policy%20brief%20EN_FINAL.pdf

as a good career choice. A recent Deloitte survey[85] of 7,800 youth from 29 countries indicates that 70 per cent see themselves working independently at some point. However, there are important regional differences; only 52 per cent of the respondents in developed economies expect to be self-employed, as opposed to 82 per cent in developing economies. Such findings highlight the huge potential of entrepreneurship in emerging economies. Similarly, research conducted by Youth Business International (YBI) and the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) reveals that sub-Saharan Africa has a significantly higher proportion of potential entrepreneurs than any other region.[86] The research shows that 60 per cent of the 18- to 34-year olds there believe they are able to perceive opportunities in their country and are confident in their ability to create and manage a new business.

Young people constitute an incredibly diverse group, and the different approaches and business models they use are a reflection of this. In the developed economies of Asia and the Pacific, the European Union, and Southern Asia, the majority of young

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86 Jacqui Kew and others, *Generation Entrepreneur? The State of Global Youth Entrepreneurship.*

entrepreneurs are driven by perceived opportunity, whereas in regions such as sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, and Latin America, entrepreneurs tend to be driven by necessity. Not surprisingly, most youth entrepreneurs are own-account business operators, though many youth also practice part-time and collective entrepreneurship. Many of these businesses are in easy-to-enter sectors and require low levels of skill since youth often lack the experience and expertise necessary to build complex businesses. It has been noted by some researchers that highly skilled youth tend to be snapped up by competitive businesses and therefore rarely participate in entrepreneurial ventures. It is essential to provide young people with the tools, skills and support they need to become successful entrepreneurs and thereby ensure that youth entrepreneurship represents a viable path.

A UNIFIED VOICE FOR YOUTH ENTREPRENEURSHIP

One way to provide the necessary tools, skills and support is through organizations established by and for young entrepreneurs. As the entrepreneurial aspirations of youth have continued to expand, young entrepreneurs have joined forces and are working together to engage with and make recommendations to policymakers, Governments and civil society on the issues that affect them and their enterprises. By banding together, young entrepreneurs have become a recognized and powerful constituency that policymakers can no longer ignore. The G20 Young Entrepreneurs' Alliance (G20 YEA) is a global network of young entrepreneurs working to strengthen international cooperation and promote

BOX 2.6.

WHO WANTS TO BE AN ENTREPRENEUR?

Evidence indicates that entrepreneurship is more common among older male youth than among younger youth, with self-employment being least likely among younger women. In addition, entrepreneurship is often intergenerationally transmitted, with those whose parents are entrepreneurs being more likely to work independently.

Source: Francis Green, Youth Entrepreneurship, a background paper for the OECD Centre for Entrepreneurship, SMEs and Local Development (OECD Local Economic and Employment Development Programme, 2013). Available from http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/youth_bp_finalt.pdf.

open and constructive discussion on key issues relating to the support and growth of youth entrepreneurship. Another unified voice is the Federación Iberoamericana de Jóvenes Empresarios (FIJE), an association working with over 150,000 young entrepreneurs from 20 different countries in the Americas. By reaching out to Governments, policymakers and international organizations, FIJE provides representation for young entrepreneurs and is able to directly affect the environment in which youth operate. In addition, FIJE works closely with member nations by assisting them in the creation of new businesses, helping them develop networking opportunities, and providing training and business development support to both urban and rural youth.

Of equal importance are those associations working to mobilize the power of female entrepreneurs. Global Entrepreneurship Week, a huge event held in November each year to celebrate and promote entrepreneurship, continues to feature programming entirely devoted to women entrepreneurs and their successes and challenges. The Third Billion index, created by Price-Waterhouse Cooper, ranks the competitiveness of 128 countries across the globe based on their integration of women and female entrepreneurs into the general economy. Entrepreneurship think tanks such as the Global Entrepreneurship and Development Institute and GEM have all promoted the acceptance and participation of women in the economy as key to growth.

The examples above reflect the enormous potential youth entrepreneurship has to generate more and better economic opportunities at the community, State and global levels. Organizations supporting youth entrepreneurship can work to change the way the standard economic model views working with and for young people. As both individual entrepreneurs and advocates for youth entrepreneurship, young people have the power and capacity to change the role they play in the economy.

KEY CHALLENGES

Considering the enormous entrepreneurial potential of youth, Governments and policymakers around the world would be wise to focus greater attention on the barriers and challenges that prevent young people from starting and growing successful businesses. While limited access to capital still constitutes a major hurdle for young entrepreneurs to overcome, other barriers may be just as detrimental to the

development of a business. In fact, capital without an adequate support system, know-how and mentorship can quickly become lost investment. Obstacles tend to mount against young entrepreneurs, exacerbating their difficulties and effectively barring their entry to the workplace. Traditional education systems, a lack of access to knowledge and experience, a dearth of investment capital, negative societal attitudes, and market barriers can all undermine a young would-be entrepreneur's efforts to enter the marketplace; these challenges are addressed in some detail below.

A traditional education system that discourages entrepreneurship.

Unfortunately, traditional education and training do not encourage an entrepreneurial mindset, focusing instead on preparing students for paid work. In regions such as sub-Saharan Africa, poor numeracy and literacy skills, low levels of secondary and tertiary education, and high dropout rates hinder entrepreneurs and their ability to compete in local and global markets.

Lack of access to experience, networks and capital. While young entrepreneurs may be able to learn a new set of skills, limited access to knowledge and networks can adversely affect their initiative. The success of a business is often determined by prior experience, knowledge and managerial skills, which young people have typically had little time or opportunity to acquire. Young entrepreneurs also have limited or no access to the networks and social capital necessary to run a business. They may have little knowledge about business development schemes and support systems from which their businesses could benefit. This limited

access to networks plays itself out in a fundamental scarcity of capital. Securing financing remains a major hurdle for young entrepreneurs, who are often denied traditional sources of funding because they lack collateral and a credit history and are perceived by financial markets to be a higher risk.

Societal attitudes towards entrepreneurship. Capital may be crucial to the immediate success of a business, but deeply ingrained societal views of entrepreneurship may have an even greater impact in the long term. Common barriers young entrepreneurs face are negative attitudes towards entrepreneurship and the stigma of failure. The cultural perception of entrepreneurs is a decisive factor in promoting youth entrepreneurship. In cultures that perceive business failure as negative, young people may not be as receptive to entrepreneurship. In certain cultures, perceptions regarding gender can also have an impact on the uptake of youth entrepreneurship. In the Middle East and North Africa, for example, men are 2.8 times more likely than women to start a business. This derives from societal views and customs relating to the role of women in business, in the economy and in the community.

Market disruption. Young people are not insulated from the circumstances and challenges that affect the business sector as a whole, including political instability, poor infrastructure, unfavourable legal and regulatory frameworks for small and medium-sized enterprises, limited market opportunities, and corruption. In developing countries in particular, entrepreneurs tend to operate in the informal sector, where they are especially vulnerable to abusive and corrupt practices.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

How can young people, their Governments and the international community strengthen entrepreneurship development and support? Policies and practical programmes should focus on expanding the development of entrepreneurial skills, providing mentorship and support systems, increasing access to financial capital, and fostering an enabling environment that favours youth entrepreneurship.

Unfortunately, there is little definitive evidence supporting or refuting the effectiveness of different youth entrepreneurship support models. Determining what works best across a range of contexts and situations is especially difficult. Only by acknowledging that there is no one-size-fits-all approach can policymakers begin to strengthen entrepreneurship in diverse markets and cultures. While several recommendations are offered below on how to improve entrepreneurship, the jury is still out on which policies have the greatest impact. Would creating an environment in which entrepreneurial businesses can thrive be more effective for combating unemployment than direct assistance to would-be entrepreneurs? Would better transportation options, improved markets and greater security create more beneficial conditions for entrepreneurism than large public policy interventions? At the moment there are no conclusive answers to questions such as these, as entrepreneurship is still evolving and the relevant data analysis has not yet caught up.

Expand and enhance entrepreneurship education. In order to better prepare the next generation of entrepreneurs, Governments, the educational community and civil society

need to work together to improve entrepreneurship programmes and expand their reach. Effective programmes not only raise awareness of entrepreneurship as a career path but also play a crucial role in helping youth overcome obstacles deriving from their lack of knowledge and experience. Programmes in primary school often help create awareness of entrepreneurship and highlight some of the skills and attitudes that are important for entrepreneurs to develop, while those provided during secondary education are more focused on the development of specific technical skills. Although these programmes are most easily delivered through formal education, they should also be developed outside the education system in order to reach out-of-school and at-risk youth.

Design support systems with target populations in mind. Youth are often viewed as a single entity with similar needs and wants across borders and cultures, when in fact they are an incredibly diverse and dynamic group. In designing support systems, policymakers and practitioners should take into account this dynamism as well as the local context in order to best serve the needs of young entrepreneurs. The situation of female entrepreneurs offers a case in point. Young female entrepreneurs often do not face the same challenges or have the same needs as their male counterparts. In some cultures, for example, women may need safe meeting spaces or socially

acceptable methods of entering the economic system. Programmes supporting young entrepreneurs should incorporate mechanisms that address the specific needs of targeted groups of youth.

Involve the private sector and existing entrepreneurs through mentorship programmes. The "soft support" provided by mentors is just as important as the technical skills young entrepreneurs need to start, maintain and grow their businesses. Almost 50 per cent of entrepreneurs fail without this support, while 88 per cent of those with business mentors survive. The *Global Youth Entrepreneurship Survey 2011* reveals that nonfinancial support such as mentoring is one of the most critical factors influencing business performance.[87] In the 2013 *Start-Up Generation* report prepared by the Prince's Trust in the United Kingdom, a third of the young people surveyed claimed that having a mentor would make them more likely to consider self-employment.[88] The crucial role mentors play in establishing networks and connections and serving as positive models for young entrepreneurs cannot be overstated.

Increase access to capital. Increased access to financial resources is necessary to foster successful entrepreneurship across all economies. Typically, young entrepreneurs rely on personal or family funding to start their businesses, especially in developing countries, as access to finance is often constrained by requests for collateral and credit records. Almost three quarters of young entrepreneurs rely on their immediate network to fund their businesses. There is significant space for Governments and the financial sector in general to work together to develop better and smarter policies

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87 Youth Business International, *Global Youth Entrepreneurship Survey 2011: How Non-Financial Support Is Viewed by Young People Starting and Growing a Business* (London, 2011). Available from http://www.youthbusiness.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/YouthEntrepreneurshipSurvey2011.pdf.

88 The Prince's Trust and Royal Bank of Scotland Group, *The Start-Up Generation: Why the UK Could Be Set for a Youth Business Boom* (2013). Available from http://www.slideshare.net/Centres-EU/the-start-upgeneration-2013.

to improve access to financing mechanisms tailored to the specific needs of young entrepreneurs. The development of a range of financial instruments that take into account the type of entrepreneur, enterprise and capital needed would provide young entrepreneurs with more direct access to funding and lessen their reliance on local networks.

Foster an enabling youth entrepreneurship ecosystem. Young entrepreneurs are utilizing their own time, labour and ideas to change the status quo and redefine the economic rules of the game. This massive movement needs the support of all stakeholders if the larger unemployment issue is to be addressed through the development and strengthening of an enabling environment for youth entrepreneurship.

Countries across the world need to realize that promoting entrepreneurship is essential for developing human capital. For entrepreneurship to flourish, it needs an ecosystem in which multiple stakeholders play key supportive roles. Policymakers, academic institutions, the business community, and others need to work together to take advantage of this opportunity to fuel the engine of future economic growth. Empowering entrepreneurs improves social well-being by preparing young people to thrive and succeed in a globally competitive and dynamic world. Policymakers at all levels have an important role to play in establishing appropriate legal and fiscal frameworks to encourage entrepreneurship and to fill market gaps as necessary. Educational institutions play a critical role in developing the appropriate learning environment and utilizing relevant learning methods. Engagement of the private sector is absolutely necessary; companies and entrepreneurs play

instrumental roles in promoting entrepreneurship by providing knowledge, expertise, social capital and financial support.

Continued economic growth and innovation depend on the ability of the global economy to ensure that youth have the skills and confidence to move forward as entrepreneurs. The promotion of entrepreneurship across the globe, especially in developing nations, is essential to unleash the potential of youth and encourage sustainable development. As the population grows, more and more jobs will be required to keep the world employed; without entrepreneurs, those jobs may never exist. Entrepreneurship is key to generating new jobs and ensuring that youth remain invested in a positive future.

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YOUTH BARGAINING POWER: SECURING RIGHTS THROUGH TRADE UNIONS

Amy F. Huziak

INTRODUCTION

There has been a global shift from long-term employment contracts and permanent work to short-term contracts, temporary employment and casual work, and growing numbers of youth are turning to self-employment or the informal sector for lack of other options. These trends have effectively limited youth access to labour rights, benefits and entitlements (including social supports and public services), as precarious workers have few job prospects and are not in a strong position to bargain.

The marked increase in precarious work has affected young people's access to labour rights, including the right to join a union. Youth participation in trade unions and other workers' organizations has declined, and trade unions—institutions traditionally organized by workplace or sector—are struggling to adapt to the changing nature of how young workers interact with, or are excluded from, the labour market.

The recent trends relating to labour market participation among youth and their access to labour rights, trade union membership, job security and employment benefits show that the labour market experience of young people today is vastly different from that of the older population. The present thought piece examines the precarious state of youth employment and the lack of protection mechanisms for young workers, and argues that strengthening labour rights and labour market outcomes is crucial to the current and future well-being of youth. It concludes with recommendations for stakeholders on strengthening the labour rights of young workers to better ensure economic and employment stability.

BOX 2.7.

WHAT IS PRECARIOUS WORK?

The definition of precarious work is contextual, depending largely on the economic, social and political structure in a particular country or region. In general, however, precarious work is characterized by one or more of the following descriptors: low wages or no wages (as in the case of unpaid internships); undefined work hours (casual, part time or zero hours); short-term or temporary employment; the lack of a defined relationship with an employer (as is the case with temporary work agencies); and the inability to exercise labour rights or overcome barriers to trade union representation. Precarious work may also be referred to as atypical, non-standard or non-decent work.

LABOUR MARKET TRENDS AMONG YOUNG WORKERS

As new labour market entrants, young workers have seen relative wages fall and employment conditions deteriorate since the 1980s. Over the past 30 years, growing numbers of young workers have come to occupy the sphere of flexible, casual and precarious work, operating on the periphery of more senior workers whose employment is relatively secure. Youth find themselves at a disadvantage even before they start looking for work, as they face higher skill requirements and high tuition and education costs, which serve to delay their entry to and full-time participation in the labour market. With such uncertain labour market conditions, the number of young workers who are mired in non-standard employment is much higher now than in previous generations.

Young and new workers are the most vulnerable to changes in the labour market, often because they lack seniority, experience and training opportunities. This is apparent in the job markets of today, where statistics indicate that the youth employment situation has simply not recovered from the 2008 global recession. In 2014, world youth unemployment stood at 13 per cent—nearly three times the corresponding rate for older workers.[89] Youth unemployment is expected to worsen in many countries over the next five years, even as the rates of those who have completed tertiary education increase.[90] The fact that higher education sometimes fails to prepare students for gainful employment means that a skills mismatch or skills shortage may be part of the problem, but an even bigger issue remains the lack of job creation for new entrants to the labour market.

Unemployment rates tell only part of the story, however. What is arguably even more troubling is underemployment. There are huge numbers of young workers—not reflected in unemployment statistics—who are involuntarily working part-time, are doing unpaid internships or other unpaid work, have returned to school because they cannot find work with the qualifications they possess, are coping with an illness or disability that prevents them from working, or have stopped looking for work because they have become discouraged.[91]

Although the proportion of the population working part-time varies widely across advanced and developing economies, rates of part-time and temporary work have increased overall. In OECD countries,[92] the share of those engaged in part-time work rose from 20.8 per cent in 2000 to 29.3 per cent in 2011.[93] Precarious work and part-time work also

89 International Labour Organization, *World Employment and Social Outlook Trends 2015* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015), p. 21. Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_337069.pdf.

90 Ibid.

91 For example, statistics indicate that 13 per cent of young Canadians aged 15-24 years are unemployed. When those at the margins of the labour force are taken into account, Canadian youth are characterized by an underemployment rate of 27.7 per cent. Canadian Labour Congress. "Underemployment is Canada's real labour market challenge" (6 March 2014), p. 4. Available from http://canadianlabour.ca/issues-research/underemployment-canadas-real-labour-market-challenge.

92 A list of country members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is available from http://www.oecd.org/about/membersandpartners/.

93 International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2013: A Generation at Risk* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2013), p. 13. Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_212423.pdf.

94 International Labour Organization, *From Precarious to Decent Work: Outcome Document to the Workers' Symposium on Policies and Regulations to Combat Precarious Employment* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2012), p. 38. Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---actrav/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_179787.pdf.

disproportionately affect women, who are overrepresented in sectors with exploitative working conditions and low union density.[94]

The quality of jobs available to young workers is also declining. Although temporary contracts and internships provide some work exposure and experience and are therefore often considered a step on the pathway to stable, full-time employment, many young workers, especially women, find themselves unable to move out of the realm of precarious work to secure permanent, decent, family-supporting employment.[95] The new emphasis on a "sharing" economy and the widespread use of zero-hours contracts means that young people are on the verge of not even being able to conceptualize their labour as "a job". This is increasingly leaving young workers in sectors where they are poorly paid, vulnerable to exploitation, and unlikely to become members of unions that could work with them to address injustice in the workplace.

Unemployment and underemployment also restrict young people's access to benefits, entitlements and social supports. Shorter contracts and precarious employment mean that fewer young workers have access to health-care benefits through their employers or any type of company pension savings plan for

95 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and International Labour Organization, "Promoting better labour market outcomes for youth", background paper for the G20 Labour and Employment Ministerial meeting, Melbourne, 10-11 September 2014 (August 2014), p. 7. Available from http://www.oecd.org/g20/topics/employment-and-social-policy/OECD-ILO-Youth-Apprenticeships-G20.pdf.

96 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Trade union density", OECD.Stat (April 2015). Available from https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=UN_DEN.

retirement. In addition, part-time workers who need full-time work to survive often cannot claim unemployment benefits, even if they are not earning a high enough wage to make ends meet.

TRADE UNION TRENDS AMONG YOUNG WORKERS

Worldwide trends in trade union membership and collective bargaining coverage are difficult to analyse owing to the vast differences in trade union, government, and employer structures across countries—including the variances in how union membership is measured against formal and informal employment. Broad trends suggest that advanced economies tend to have relatively high union density, as demonstrated by the unionization rate in OECD countries (17.1 per cent for 2012).[96] Developing economies tend to have lower union coverage due to the limited reach of formal sector employment, and legally enshrined labour standards and collective bargaining rights are generally weaker in these areas as well. Such disparities notwithstanding, data on membership in global labour institutions such as the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), which represents 176 million union members in 162 countries and territories worldwide, paint a picture of broad economic and social influence by trade unions.

Gender- and age-disaggregated data reveal wide disparities in trade union participation among women and youth across countries. In developing economies such as the Philippines and Zimbabwe, women represent a small minority of union members. In advanced economies such as Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, trade union density among women is on par with, or even exceeds, that for men.[97] Union

membership for young workers is similarly disparate across countries; however, the overall trend is that youth are less likely to work in industries well represented by trade unions and are more likely to work in precarious jobs without union representation.

Another clear trend is the recent decline in overall union density.[98] Two major factors have contributed to this downward trend; union growth has not kept up with population growth, and constant attacks by anti-union employers and anti-worker Governments have made it more difficult to organize those workers entering the labour force. In addition, shorter job contracts are forcing workers to move quickly between many employers, which hinders their ability to unionize or improve working conditions in any single workplace.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Expanding youth participation in trade unions is a challenge worldwide, given the increase in precarious work and the corresponding decrease in decent, permanent employment in both advanced and developing economies. This pronounced shift represents a major challenge for labour unions and workers' organizations, whose traditional models of organizing by workplace or occupation may need to give way to different models that better facilitate worker participation and the collective exercise of workers' power.

Unions face three major challenges in motivating young workers to organize in their workplaces. First, young workers often lack knowledge of labour standards and their rights on the job. Second, the precariousness of the current job market effectively discourages workers from defending their rights, standing up for injustice, going on strike, or taking any other action that might threaten their employment because finding a new job might be difficult or impossible. Third, the intergenerational inequality that has become institutionalized within the labour market has expressed itself within trade unions in the form of two-tier contract arrangements, in which concessions are made for young and new workers so that senior employees may retain their terms and benefits. These arrangements have reinforced generational differences in collective bargaining and workplace activism.

Faced with these obstacles, youth within trade unions have been working to challenge models of trade unionism and to organize to adapt to the changing nature of work—which presents an opportunity for change within trade union structures. Over the past 15 years, youth have achieved representation in international trade union structures such as ITUC and its regional bodies, the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) and national trade union centrals,[99] and in the ILO through mechanisms such

97   Sue Ledwith and others, summary of a research report on gender and trade unions (Oxford, United Kingdom, Global Labour University Alumni, 2010), p. 6. Available from http://www.global-labour-university.org/fileadmin/GLU_research_projects/Gender_and_trade_unions/Summary_report_for_GLU_webpage_Mar_2011_1_.pdf.

98   International Labour Organization, *World of Work Report 2014: Developing with Jobs* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2014), p. 93. Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_243961.pdf.

99   A "central" is a trade union organization that serves as an umbrella for multiple unions. Examples include the Canadian Labour Congress, the International Trade Union Confederation, and the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

as the Youth Employment Forum. Representation in these bodies means that youth themselves have a voice in setting national, regional and international priorities within the labour movement, ensuring that youth issues, representation and organizing feature prominently on union agendas.

At the local and regional levels, youth have also developed labour rights activist organizations and young workers' committees that inform youth of their rights and teach them how to exercise collective power in the workplace. These entities also work to facilitate the political engagement of youth in the democratic processes of unions, as well as in local, national and regional politics. Among other things, young worker-activists have moved to build solidarity through intergenerational alliances to combat two-tier contracts and precarious work arrangements.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Quality employment is proving elusive for many young people today. Youth seeking to enter the labour market are confronted with high rates of unemployment and underemployment and a system that has failed to create decent work or good jobs. The global shift from long-term, permanent, high-quality employment to precarious, short-term, low-paid work means that the labour market experience is vastly different for young workers nowadays than it was for previous generations when they were young. An analysis of youth unemployment trends and projections indicates that the situation is likely to worsen before it improves.

These trends have a huge impact on young people's access to labour rights, including the right to join and participate in trade unions. As competition for work increases, access to labour rights tends to decrease. However, this new dynamic also presents young people with the opportunity to redefine their role in workplaces and unions so that they are in a better position to strengthen labour rights for themselves and the next generation of workers.

That young workers have the power to create good jobs and ensure successful economic engagement through their participation in trade unions is not a revelation, but it is something that must be recognized by each new generation of institutions, Governments, employers and workers.

How can young workers, unions and global institutions promote and support the economic engagement of youth in trade unions and workers' organizations? To ensure that young workers have access to decent work, consideration must be given to the broader question of how to empower young people to participate in workplaces and labour unions, and stakeholders must be made to recognize that there is no single solution to the economic challenges young workers currently face. As the nature of the labour market shifts, so must the response of young workers, labour unions, educational institutions, Governments, employers, and other stakeholders at the local, national and global levels. Below are several recommendations for improving young workers' access to their labour rights worldwide.

Ensure that young people are informed of their labour rights. Young people must be made aware of their labour rights

if they are to participate fully in the labour market. Labour unions often assume the role of educating members on how to exercise their labour rights; however, since the majority of workers are not union members, the labour-related information individual workers receive varies greatly. Government and trade union partnerships with educational institutions (from primary to post-secondary levels) can empower young people to learn about their labour rights even before starting their first job. The development of a standardized labour education curriculum is key to improving the well-being of youth in the workplace early on.

Challenge political apathy and empower young workers to guide legislative change.

The democratic self-governance and participatory structure of labour unions offers an ideal environment for challenging political apathy among youth. Unions are a democratic vehicle for young workers' participation in economic decision-making in the workplace and in society as a whole. For young workers, unions provide the space and resources to organize on workplace, political and policy issues that are important for young people.

Governments must consult with young workers and unionized youth and empower them to contribute to improving labour legislation so that the priorities attached to youth employment are reflected in minimum workplace standards. The priorities of older workers and legislators may not be the same as those of young workers or new entrants to the labour force, and fair legislation is designed to meet the basic needs of all workers. It is also important to create mechanisms for political inclusion to ensure that young people themselves are represented in the democratic structures of government at all levels, effectively empowering them as decision makers.

Create decent jobs for youth.

Governments have a responsibility to ensure that the rights and potential of youth are taken into account in the development of national education and labour policies, including policies on internships, apprenticeships and vocational training. Policies aimed at creating jobs for youth and matching skilled workers with available employment need to be a priority for governments at all levels as global unemployment rates worsen. These policies must incorporate provisions recognizing the labour rights of youth and the rights and roles of trade unions in both traditional and more precarious settings. For example, initiatives such as the European Union's Youth Guarantee, which identifies the input and support needed from trade unions and workers' organizations, must be developed to increase young workers' awareness of their labour rights and to ensure that those rights are respected in the workplace.

Unions can use the mechanism of collective bargaining to reduce intergenerational and gender-based inequalities. Unions are in a unique position to negotiate for the equal treatment of their members, working to minimize or eliminate wage and entitlement differentials between workers who are experiencing discrimination based on gender, age or experience. Although trade unions do not play the same role government entities do in job creation, they are able to push for decent conditions in the workplace—which benefits all workers, but particularly those who are traditionally marginalized in the labour market.

Increase research and dialogue.
Global stakeholders such as the United Nations and ILO should continue to provide support for research on young people's labour rights and to create space for a broader discussion about strengthening the collective power of youth to assert those rights.

Increase unionization. Unions must engage with young workers to organize in new work-places and sectors while simultaneously defending and expanding legislated labour rights. Union structures must ensure that resources are prioritized for the organization of new workplaces, especially in the retail, service and informal sectors, where young workers are increasingly employed. The advantages to increasing union membership are clear in both developed and developing nations. Union members have the collective ability to negotiate for better working conditions, higher wages, increased attention to occupational health and safety concerns, and employment benefits and entitlements. In short, unions have the ability to create decent jobs where only precarious work existed before. The labour movement is perhaps the only mechanism that can definitively empower young workers themselves to create change in the labour market and help ensure the labour rights of this and future generations.

Governments also have a key role to play in increasing union density. Legislative change that facilitates the organizing of workers by workplace or sector is key to ensuring that the proportion of workers covered by collective agreements is as large as possible. Private sector employers also play an important part in terms of their obligation to deal fairly with workers and unions and to prioritize the creation of fair and safe workplaces.

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POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

GLOBALLY, youth participation and representation in institutional political processes and policy-making is relatively low. As a group, young people are not adequately represented within formal political structures, as evidenced by the low rates of parliamentary involvement, political party participation and electoral activity among youth worldwide. One aspect of the problem is the lack of regulatory mechanisms facilitating youth participation; in many countries, for example, only individuals aged 25 years or above are eligible to run for parliament.[100]

100 United Nations Development Programme. *Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle: A Good Practice Guide* (New York, 2013), p. 11. Available from http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/electoral_systemsandprocesses/enhancing-youth-political-participation-throughout-the-electoral.html.

With the global youth population standing at 1.2 billion, the exclusion of young people from formal political processes threatens the legitimacy of political systems and structures, as a huge cohort remains unrepresented or underrepresented—which in many cases leads young people to find alternative means of political engagement.

This chapter examines the reasons behind the changing trends in youth participation in political and electoral processes (James Sloam) and explores the role young people now play in defining emerging political landscapes (Nur Laiq), in particular through digital activism (Erhardt Graeff), as well as through engagement in negative or extremist activities (Akil N. Awan)

ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

The past several decades have been marked by declining levels of youth participation in electoral processes. Voter turnout tends to be significantly lower among youth than among the older population, and young people are less likely to become members of political parties.[101] Exacerbating the situation is the fact that in many of these structures,

young people are not visible; typically, for example, individuals under the age of 35 are minimally represented in top political leadership positions.[102]

The lingering impact of the global financial and economic crisis—in particular high unemployment and its disproportionate effect on youth—has intensified the feeling among many young people that traditional institutions of governance and electoral participation provide ineffective tools for meaningful political engagement. This feeling of disconnection has led to disengagement from institutionalized processes and widespread apathy among young voters,[103] with the result that many have turned to alternative methods of political participation.

THE POWER OF PROTEST

One avenue of political expression has been protests and demonstrations, through which young people have found a vehicle to voice their dissatisfaction with and grievances against the political establishment. While protest and demonstration are not new phenomena, through the advance of newer ICTs and social media more young people are becoming mobilised to actively engage.

Discontent with the status quo has been articulated—via both traditional and contemporary protest formats—across the Middle East and North

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101 Ibid
102 Ibid
103 Ibid.

Africa (MENA), Europe, Latin America and elsewhere. Spain's 15-M Movement (Movimiento 15-M), Mexico's Yo Soy 132, the global Occupy movement, and other youth-led protests and movements have challenged the political elite in a number of countries.

Through protests and demonstrations, young people have been instrumental in bringing about change and forcing authoritarian regimes from power, and in doing so have successfully challenged existing structures and rule and redefined the role of young people in governance.

TRANSITIONS IN POWER: THE ROLE OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Although youth have played a visible and prominent role in demonstrations and protests and have often been instrumental in bringing about changes in governance, the position of young people following political transition remains largely undefined. In part due the complexities involved in democracy and institution building, there is often no mechanism for the meaningful inclusion of young people in the new and emerging political landscape. As such youth are often still not fully involved, represented or regularly consulted.

One important reason for their lack of political integration is that while youth are instrumental in breaking down existing structures, the same blocks and foundations are being used to rebuild those structures. What is needed in many cases is a whole new framework for political participation and governance that can bring about the type of political structures and processes that are genuinely responsive to and inclusive of young people.

Even the passive exclusion of young people from governance structures is not without consequences. There is evidence that failing to purposefully and meaningfully include youth in the building of new political processes and institutions can lead to increased frustration and resentment among young political activists, destabilizing democratization and accelerating conflict dynamics.[104]

Finding a way to facilitate youth engagement through institutionalized processes while also integrating less traditional forms of political engagement is an emerging challenge for Governments and policymakers—one which, if left unresolved, may threaten the stability and security of countries.

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104 United Nations Development Programme, *Enhancing Youth Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle: A Good Practice Guide* (New York, January 2013). Available from http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Electoral%20Systems%20and%20Processes/ENG_UN-Youth_Guide-LR.pdf

NEGATIVE ENGAGEMENT

When young people feel that their grievances and frustrations are being ignored or trivialized and are not given adequate consideration in governance and decision-making, they may in some cases resort to violent and extremist activities. As Akil N. Awan notes, "where 'legitimate' forms of protest prove unsuccessful, individuals may begin to countenance illegitimate and violent forms of protest, including rioting, public disorder, sabotage, and even terrorism."[105]

Countries experiencing power vacuums are particularly susceptible to the infiltration of violent groups and extremist elements. Young people can often be coerced or otherwise forced (out of economic necessity, for example) to join groups or organizations that espouse violence.

From young neo-Nazis and urban gang members to those joining extremist religious groups, youth involvement in negative and even violent forms of social and political expression is not a new phenomenon. As with other cohorts of society, young people's views are far from homogeneous. Youth who hold extreme or fundamentalist views can and do engage in youth structures, advancing ideals and undertaking activities that run counter to efforts aimed at promoting human rights and peace.

Therefore, no discussion of youth political engagement can take place without acknowledging and examining the various ways in which such political engagement can be not only negative but harmful, as well as the myriad circumstances that might lead a young person towards such engagement.

In recent years, such groups have become more and more adept at using and manipulating social media and leading online campaigns. Having expanded their reach to a global level, they are able to attract young people from all over the world, drawing them in through a false glamorization of what their involvement entails.

Although considerable attention has been focused on the role of these youth in the past few years, most youth who engage politically and socially do so in a positive manner, many working to counter extremism through activities such as peacebuilding.[106]

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105 Akil N. Awan, "Transitional religiosity experiences: contextual disjuncture and Islamic political radicalism", in *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Comparative Perspective,* T. Abbas, ed. (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 207-230. Available from http://works.bepress.com/akil_awan/8.

106 Chapter four of the present publication focuses on peacebuilding and other positive forms of community engagement.

ONLINE ACTIVISM

The availability of ever-growing numbers of online and social media outlets and other web-based tools has played a huge role in bolstering young people's activism and participation, providing a vehicle for young people to learn about, participate in, and mobilize around political and social issues.

Through the power of social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and other sharing platforms, information on protests and demonstrations beginning in one country can now spread quickly, triggering mass activism and similar demonstrations elsewhere.

The reach of young people's online presence and activity is broad and extensive. The ability of youth to develop and utilize online tools and forums to create spaces and respond to needs in the local and global community has allowed them to engage in a multitude of ways and on a variety of topics at any given time. However, while the number of "connected" youth throughout the world is high, there are still many who do not have adequate access to broadband and open Internet or to the mobile tools and devices needed to make participation possible. The Broadband Commission for Digital Development notes that while 3.2 billion people (43% of the global population) were connected in 2015, Internet is only accessible to 35% of people in developing countries.

Moreover, 90% of people in the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) do not have access to any kind of Internet connectivity. Ensuring the active inclusion and involvement of "unconnected" youth as the "connected" world forges ahead remains an important challenge.[107]

Widespread Internet connectivity and web access have changed the game in the most fundamental way. For those who are connected, it has become easier to engage in a variety of causes and campaigns from local to global level. However, the extent to which cyberactivism translates into sustained political engagement over one's lifetime is unclear owing to its nascence and to the dearth of research on the long-term outcomes of participation in online media and web-based engagement. Ongoing research is needed to determine the impact of ICT on political participation, with particular attention given to the extent and long term sustainability of such engagement.

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107 The Broadband Commission for Digital Development: International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). *The State of Broadband Report 2015* (Geneva, 2015), p. 8. Available from http://www.broadbandcommission.org/documents/reports/bb-annualreport2015.pdf

YOUTH ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

James Sloam

INTRODUCTION

Democratic societies need to provide opportunities for each new generation of young people to express political opinions and to represent younger citizens' interests in policymaking processes. Across the world today, many young people feel disillusioned with mainstream politics and disadvantaged by public policy. The Millennial Generation is much less likely than older cohorts to be interested in electoral politics and to vote in national elections. The World Values Survey data presented below illustrate this point and identify groups of younger citizens that are particularly disengaged.

Young people are interested in "politics" in the broader sense, however, and participate in a wide array of political activities—at the ballot box, in the streets, on the Internet, within political parties, as members of student associations and environmental groups, and in rallies and demonstrations. The problem, then, is not an all-encompassing political apathy, but rather a disconnection between youth politics and electoral politics.

This thought piece examines in some detail the patterns of youth political participation across different regions of the globe. These trends are largely related to the impact of the financial crisis and the subsequent wave of youth protest. Emphasis is placed on the dangers of denying young people a political voice. Finally, four practical recommendations are offered for Governments and public institutions to rejuvenate the democracies of the world.

DECLINING YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

In recent decades, academics and policymakers have become increasingly concerned about declining levels of youth participation in electoral politics. Many have viewed this decline as representative of a crisis in citizenship.[108] Others have argued that political participation has evolved rather than declined.[109] Disillusionment with electoral politics is certainly not confined to younger citizens. In most established democracies, declining voter turnout is a long-term trend, as each generation of young people becomes less likely to vote than the last. What is known is that voter turnout has decreased in almost all democracies since the 1980s, and that this "turnout decline is concentrated in the youth".[110] These changes have been accompanied by a process of voter dealignment, as many of those young people who do vote have turned away from mainstream political parties.

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108 Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2000).

109 Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Russell J. Dalton, The Good Citizen: How a Younger Generation is Reshaping American Politics , revised ed. (Washington, D.C., CQ Press, 2009).

110 André Blais, "Political participation", in *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in the 21st Century*, 3rd ed., Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, eds. (London, Sage Publications Ltd., 2010), p. 168.

Data from Wave 6 (2010-2014) of the World Values Survey indicate that relatively poor voter turnout among youth is a global phenomenon. Survey results from a sample of 33 countries[111] indicate that close to 44 per cent of young adults aged 18 to 29 years "always vote", compared with almost 60 per cent of all citizens (see table 3.1 and figure 3.1); among those over the age of 50, the corresponding rate is more than 70 per cent. Although voter turnout is almost equal among young men and young women (45.2 and 43.9 per cent respectively), educational status does make a difference;[112] 52.8 per cent of young graduates say they always vote in national elections, in comparison with 43.6 per cent of all 18- to 29-year olds.

There are some important regional variations in political participation among the countries surveyed. Young people are most likely to vote in South America and least likely to vote in Africa and the United States.[113] In almost all areas, the propensity to vote is greater among the general voting-age population than among youth alone, with the largest gaps found in the United States, South-Eastern Asia and Europe (see figure 3.2). India is the only country among the 33 surveyed in which younger citizens are more likely than older citizens to cast their ballots.

The Survey findings show voting rates to be roughly equal among young men and young women across all regions except Africa, where 37.7 per cent of young men and only 32.3 per cent of young women say they always vote. Voting is highly correlated with education level (and, by extension, socioeconomic status) in the developed industrial democracies of the United States and Europe; around three quarters of young graduates always vote in these regions, which is double the overall rate of youth participation. Elsewhere, voting appears to be a socially equal political act.

Another recent feature of electoral politics in mature democracies has been the sharp decline in political party membership—particularly in Europe, where membership numbers have fallen by almost half since the 1980s.[114] Young members of the present generation are reluctant to commit to centralized and hierarchical political institutions, which they believe do not represent their interests—largely because such institutions are dominated by older people, and quite often by men with a middle or higher income background. Youth wings of political parties can play a pivotal role in channelling youth engagement into political parties. However, these groups are often closely controlled by older adults and are frequently

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111 The sample of 33 countries includes Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Libya, Morocco, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Tunisia, Zimbabwe (Africa); Cyprus, Estonia, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden (Europe); Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Uruguay (South America); Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Republic of Korea, Taiwan Province of China, Thailand (South-Eastern Asia); India (Southern-Central Asia); and the United States (Northern America).

112 Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995); and James Sloam, "New voice, less equal: the civic and political engagement of young people in the United States and Europe", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 47, No. 5 (April 2014), pp. 663-688.

113 Many of these voting trends mask underlying problems with systems of voter registration that make it less likely that young people will appear on the electoral roll. In countries with large social inequalities in participation, it is much less likely that young people from less privileged backgrounds will be on the electoral register in the first place.

114 Ingrid Van Biezen, Peter Mair and Thomas Poguntke, "Going, going, . . . gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe", European Journal of Political Research, vol. 51 (2012), pp. 24-56. Available from https://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/undergraduate/module-outlines/ss/political-parties/PolP/VanBiezenMairPoguntkeEJPR12.pdf.

TABLE 3.1.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY AGE, GENDER AND GRADUATE STATUS *(percentage)*

	VOTING (ALWAYS VOTE)	PARTY MEMBERSHIP (ACTIVE)	JOINING A BOYCOTT	SIGNING A PETITION	PARTICIPATING IN A DEMONSTRATION
WORLD	59.1	5	6.5	20.9	13
WORLD (18-29)	43.6	4.1	6.1	15	14.3
AFRICA	44.2	7.9	5.1	7.1	13.6
AFRICA (18-29)	35.4	7	4.9	6.1	7.6
EUROPE	65.4	2.4	8.4	34.4	15.8
EUROPE (18-29)	49.6	1.8	5.9	32.9	14
INDIA	48.3	17.9	18.9	20.9	22.8
INDIA (18-29)	50.1	18.1	21.1	20.6	23.9
SOUTH AMERICA	80.1	2.4	5.2	25.1	16.4
SOUTH AMERICA (18-29)	66.2	1.5	6.1	21.1	17.7
SOUTH-EAST ASIA	64.3	3.1	3.8	17.2	5.8
SOUTH-EAST ASIA (18-29)	42.4	2.8	3.8	12.1	5.9
UNITED STATES	57.8	14.5	15.5	60.1	13.7
UNITED STATES (18-29)	35.6	8	9.7	41.6	9.8
MEN (18-29)	45.2	5.2	6.9	14.6	16.7
WOMEN (18-29)	43.9	3.1	5.4	15.3	11.8
UNIVERSITY DEGREE (18-29)	52.8	5.2	6.7	21.6	16.3

NOTE: The numbers in parentheses indicate age ranges.

SOURCE: World Values Survey, WVS Wave 6 (2010-2014). Available from http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp

FIGURE 3.1.

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL POLITICS *(percentage)*

5	4.1	1.5	18.1	1.8	2.8	8	7	5.2	3.1	5.2
59.1	43.6	66.2	50.1	49.6	42.4	35.6	35	45.2	43.9	52.8

WORLD ALL AGES · WORLD 18–29 · INDIA 18–29 · UNITED STATES 18–29 · EUROPE 18–29 · SOUTH AMERICA 18–29 · SOUTH-EAST ASIA · AFRICA 18–29 · MEN 18–29 · WOMEN 18–29 · UNIVERSITY DEGREE

■ VOTING (ALWAYS VOTE IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS)   ■ PARTY MEMBERSHIP (ACTIVE)

SOURCE: World Values Survey, WVS Wave 6 (2010-2014). Available from http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp
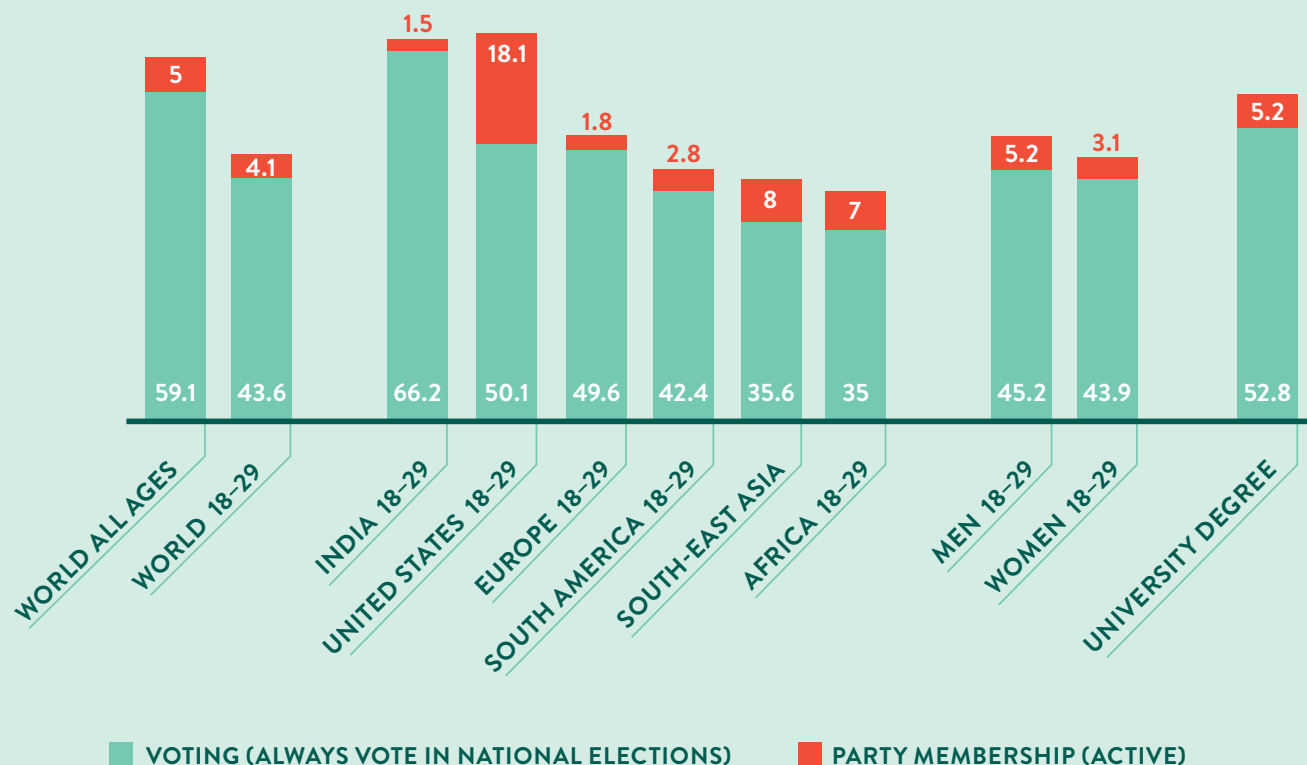
composed of young people from a narrow range of social backgrounds who are "encouraged" to toe the party line.[115]

Data from the 33 countries surveyed show that active political party membership is less prevalent among those under the age of 30 than among older adults (see table 3.1 and figure 3.2). Only 4.1 per cent of 18- to 29-year olds are active party members, compared with 5 per cent of all adults. Another area of concern is that party membership, unlike voting,

varies with gender. Worldwide, 5.2 per cent of young men but only 3.1 per cent of young women claim to be active party members. Similarly, young graduates are much more likely than all 18- to 29-year olds to join a political party. The issues of youth

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115 The large variations in membership in political parties reflect the roles they play in different countries. Political parties in some countries can be characterized as electoral machines. Elsewhere, they are strongly tied to ethnic or national groupings. In developing countries, parties often act as clientelist networks that distribute material goods; see Herbert Kitschelt, "Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 33, No. 6/7 (September 2000), pp. 845-879.

FIGURE 3.2.

PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL POLITICS (VOTING AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP) AMONG 18– TO 29–YEAR OLDS COMPARED WITH ALL THOSE OVER AGE 18 *(percentage)*

● **ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION (VOTING AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP) OF ALL AGES OVER 18**

● **YOUTH ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION (18–29 YEAR OLDS)**

SOURCE: World Values Survey, WVS Wave 6 (2010-2014). Available from http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp
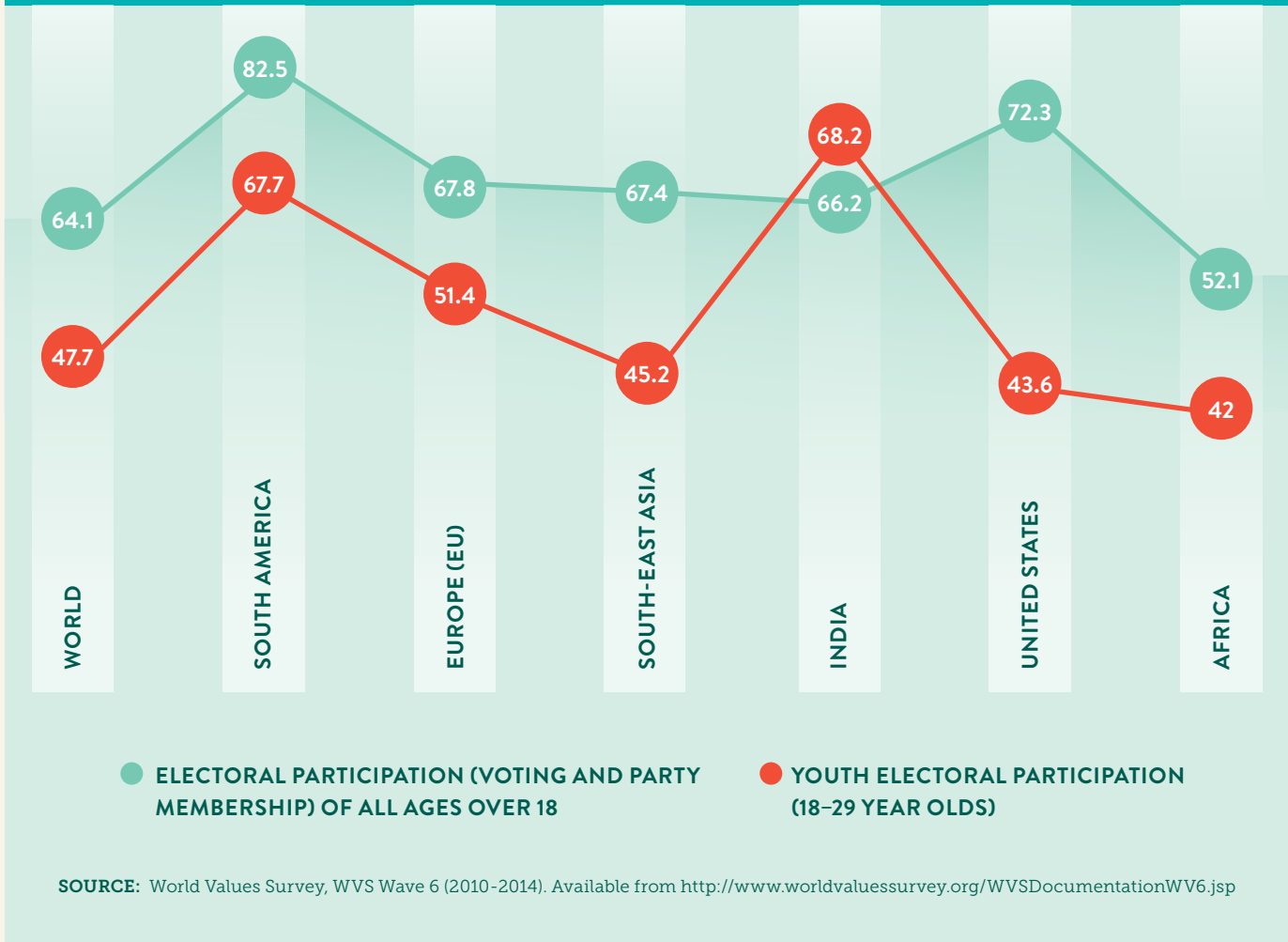
activism and gender activism are particularly important when one considers the underrepresentation of young people and women in national parliaments. According to recent international reports published by the United Nations Development Programme and Inter-Parliamentary Union,[116] only around 5 per cent of parliamentarians are under the age of 35, with figures ranging from to just 2 per cent in Northern America to more than 10 per cent in Africa. Likewise,

in spite of recent improvements in female representation in parliaments, the world average is only around 20 per cent,[117] ranging from 12 per cent in

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116 Inter-Parliamentary Union and United Nations Development Programme, *Global Parliamentary Report: The Changing Nature of Parliamentary Representation* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.11.III.B.19). Available from www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/gpr2012-full-e.pdf (accessed 23 April 2015).

117 Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review* (Geneva, 2015). Available from www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP20Y-en.pdf (accessed 23 April 2015).

Asia to between 20 and 25 per cent in Africa, Europe, Northern America and South America. This matters because of what Anne Philips has described as the "politics of presence",[118] which posits that if women and youth are not well represented in national parliaments, they will not see politicians as "people like them" and will therefore not aspire to those positions.

There are some interesting variations in political party involvement across the different countries and regions. Party membership is highest in India, where 18.1 per cent of youth claim to be actively involved. Again, India is the only country among the 33 surveyed in which 18- to 29-year olds are more likely to participate than older citizens (see table 3.1 and figure 3.2). In Africa and the United States youth party membership is relatively high (7 and 8 per cent respectively), but the gap between 18- to 29-year olds and older adults is much higher in the United States than in any other region (see figure 3.2).

Gender plays a significant role in defining party activism throughout much of the world. In Africa, Europe, South America and South-Eastern Asia, young men are about twice as likely as young women to become active in a political party. In India and the United States, however, these gender disparities are not seen. Educational status has a particularly strong correlation with party activism in the United States, South America and Europe. In these areas, young graduates are more than twice as likely as all young adults to be active party members.

ISSUE-BASED ENGAGEMENT: "REINVENTING POLITICAL ACTIVISM"

Over the past few decades, the world has witnessed a shift in focus from politics to policy—from engagement in institutionalized electoral processes to greater involvement in cause-oriented activism.[119] As a consequence, young people's repertoires of participation have expanded to include many alternative forms of political engagement such as e-petitions, fair trade "buycotts", poetry slams and flash mobs. Young people engage in politics on a case-by-case basis, embracing personally meaningful causes or issues[120] that are often manifested through peer networks supported by new communication technologies.[121,122] Young people are clearly interested in politics but are often disillusioned with, alienated from, or even intimidated by electoral politics.

National economic issues are the predominant concern for older generations and therefore define their political engagement. In recent times, citizens' values and interests have become more diverse, and the geographical boundaries that once

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118 Anne Phillips, *The Politics of Presence* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995).

119 Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2002).

120 Eric Amnå and Joakim Ekman, "Standby citizens: diverse faces of political passivity", *European Political Science Review*, vol. 6, No. 2 (May 2014), pp. 261-281.

121 W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*, Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013).

122 The Portuguese Indignados, for example, were inspired by song, came into being through a Facebook event page, and manifested themselves in mass protests in town squares across Portugal; see James Sloam, "'The outraged young': young Europeans, civic engagement and the new media in a time of crisis", *Information, Communication & Society*, Special Issue: The Networked Young Citizen, vol. 17, No. 2 (2014), pp. 217-231.

circumscribed political action have become blurred.

FIGURE 3.3.

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN ISSUE-BASED POLITICS (*percentage*)

	JOIN A BOYCOTT	SIGN A PETITION	PARTICIPATE IN A DEMONSTRATION
WORLD ALL AGES	6.5	20.9	13
WORLD 18–29	6.1	15	14.3
INDIA 18–29	21.1	20.6	23.9
UNITED STATES 18–29	9.7	41.6	9.8
EUROPE 18–29	5.9	32.9	14
SOUTH AMERICA 18–29	6.1	21.1	17.7
SOUTH-EAST ASIA 18–29	3.8	12.1	5.9
AFRICA 18–29	4.9	6.1	7.6
MEN 18–29	6.9	14.6	16.7
WOMEN 18–29	5.4	15.3	11.8
UNIVERSITY DEGREE	6.7	21.6	16.3
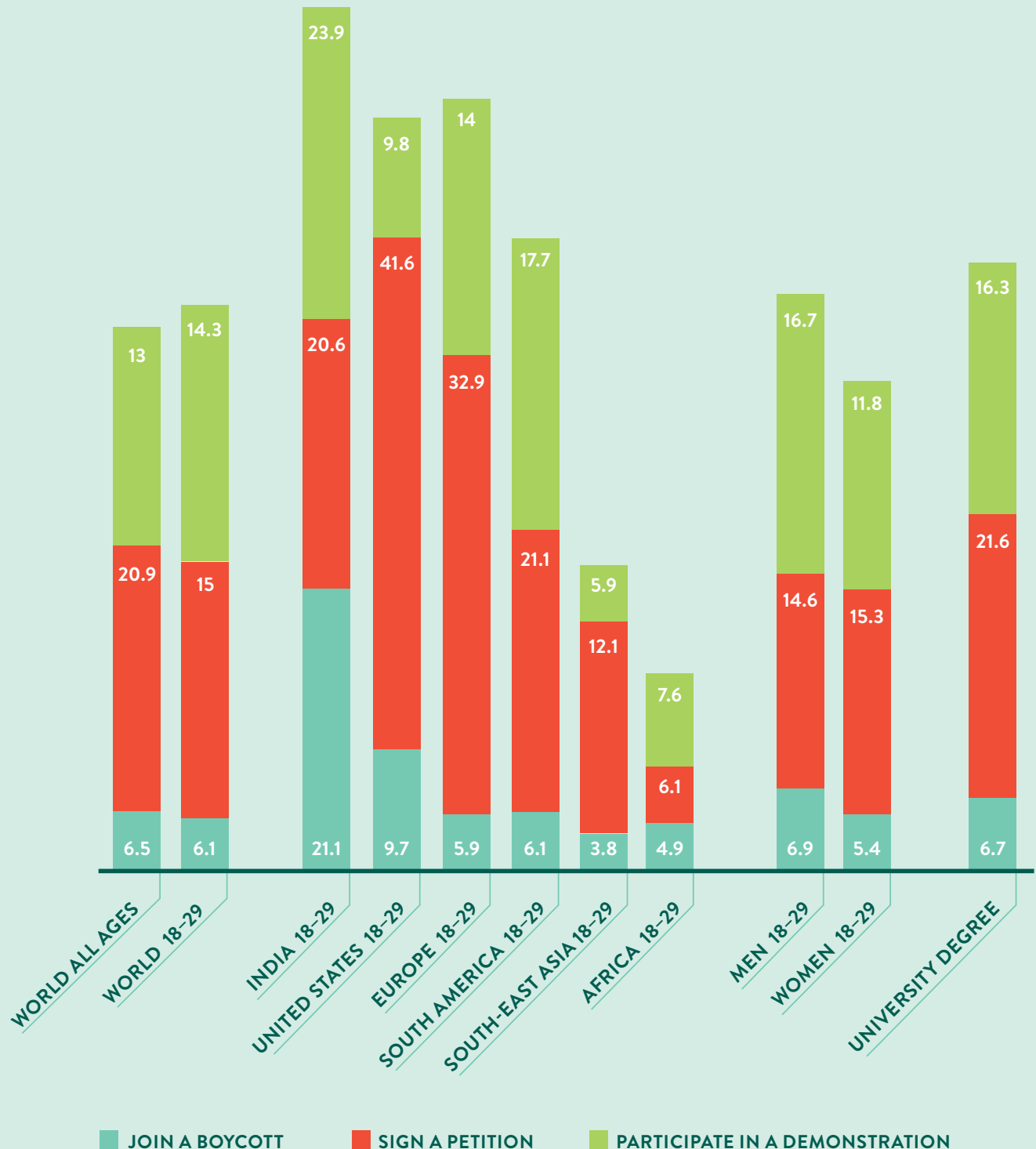
FIGURE 3.4.

PARTICIPATION IN ISSUE–BASED POLITICS (BOYCOTTS, PETITIONS, AND DEMONSTRATIONS) AMONG 18– TO 29–YEAR OLDS COMPARED WITH ALL THOSE OVER AGE 18 *(percentage)*

	ALL AGES OVER 18	YOUNG PEOPLE (18–29)
WORLD	40.4	35.4
UNITED STATES	89.3	61.1
INDIA	62.6	65.6
EUROPE (EU)	58.6	52.8
SOUTH AMERICA	46.7	44.9
SOUTH-EAST ASIA	26.8	21.8
AFRICA	25.8	18.6

SOURCE: World Values Survey, WVS Wave 6 (2010-2014). Available from http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp
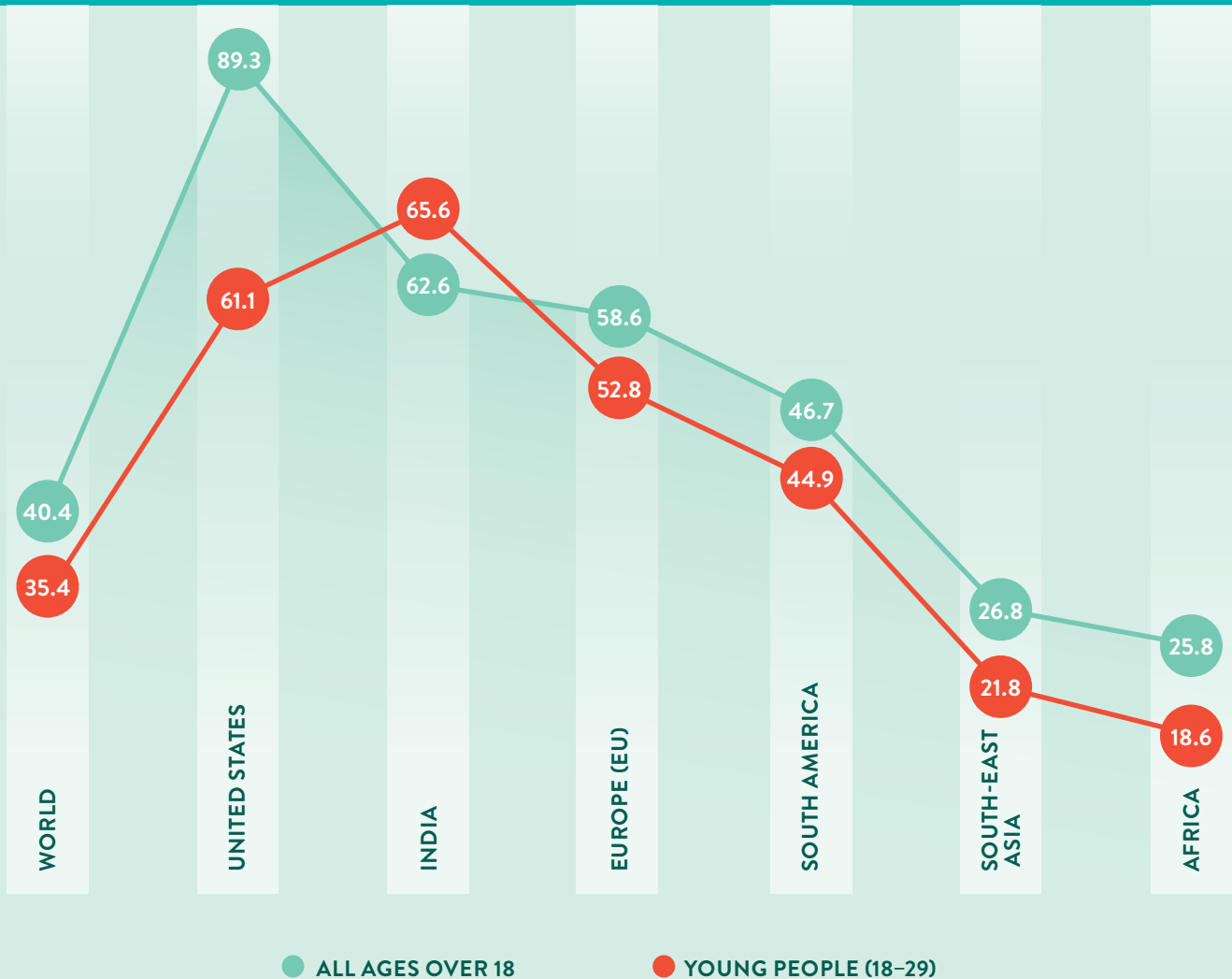
Regional variations across these issue-based forms of participation are particularly wide, and it may well be that other issue-based forms of participation not included in the World Values Survey are relatively common in the low-participation areas identified in figure 3.4. Nevertheless, some countries may be said to specialize in the particular forms of political participation highlighted here. For example, demonstrations and boycotts are comparatively common in India, while petitions are very popular in the United States. Age is a much less important indicator of participation across these three forms of engagement

than is the case for electoral politics (see figure 3.4). In issue-based political activism, youth participation again surpasses the participation of older adults in India—but this is also true for 12 of the other 32 countries. The gap between youth participation and overall adult participation is well under ten percentage points in all of the regions except the United States (where the gap is almost 30 percentage points).

YOUTH PROTEST

Youth participation in electoral politics has been declining for several decades in most established democracies. Younger citizens feel increasingly disillusioned with mainstream politics and disadvantaged by public policy. These problems have been greatly exacerbated by the global financial crisis, with young people disproportionately affected by increased levels of unemployment and underemployment.[126]

Young people have also borne the brunt of severe cuts in public spending, experiencing increased university tuition fees, the closure of youth centres, and reductions in youth social services. Given the relatively low levels of youth voter turnout described above, there is a suspicion that cuts in youth-oriented public services are viewed as politically expedient.

In this context, the recent wave of youth protest is hardly surprising. Uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa, protests against the rising costs of higher education, rallies by the Spanish Indignados against youth unemployment and political corruption, and the Occupy movement against social inequalities and corporate greed that started in New York and spread across the world are all manifestations of young people's anger at public policies that have favoured older generations and established elites. Since 2011, youth protest has filled the political landscape as young people have engaged with one another through hybrid media systems[127] and across hybrid public spaces,[128] from Twitter to the town square[129].

However, in line with the findings articulated above, a large proportion of these young people hail from middle-income or more economically advantaged backgrounds. In this sense, the economic crisis has provided the ideal conditions for a quickening of youth protest—an intensification of political participation (through digital engagement) among young, highly educated citizens in search of a mouthpiece for their "indignation".[130] These youth movements have also fuelled support for alternative political parties. Europe has witnessed the growth of parties (such as Podemos in Spain and the Five Star Movement in Italy) that oppose economic austerity and rail against the political establishment.

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126 In 2014 the global youth unemployment rate stood at 13 per cent, or three times the adult rate for that year. See International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015: Scaling Up Investments in Decent Jobs for Youth* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015). Available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_412015.pdf.

127 Andrew Chadwick, *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*, Oxford Studies in Digital Politics (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013).

128 Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Cambridge, United Kingdom, Polity Press, 2012).

129 A town square is an open public space commonly found in the heart of a traditional town, often used for community gatherings.

130 W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*, Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013); and James Sloam, "'The outraged young': young Europeans, civic engagement and the new media in a time of crisis", *Information, Communication & Society*, Special Issue: The Networked Young Citizen, vol. 17, No. 2 (2014), pp. 217-231.

While many highly educated, relatively well-off young people have found a mouthpiece for their indignation, the lack of effective political representation has led to the radicalization of many young people from less privileged backgrounds. This has fuelled the rise of populist and nationalist anti-immigration parties in Europe (such as the National Front in France) and the rise of religious and political extremism in other areas of the world. The dangers of marginalizing young people from electoral politics are clear and present.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this thought piece, it has been shown that youth political participation is evolving rather than declining. Although young people vote less and are unlikely to be active members of political parties, they participate in a wide range of alternative political activities. However, there is a worrying disconnection between young people and electoral politics. Low voter turnout can lead to a vicious circle of political disengagement; if young people do not vote, they are more likely to be ignored by politicians and policymakers, which leads to greater disillusionment among younger citizens—and the cycle continues. The situation has deteriorated further in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, with high levels of youth unemployment and government efforts to rein in public spending contributing to even greater political disenchantment among young people.

Disillusionment with electoral politics is not confined to younger citizens; indeed, it is a recurrent theme across all age groups. However, focusing on youth political participation offers a glimpse of the future of today's democracies.[131] If existing political institutions are decreasingly fit for the purposes for which they were created, undermined by a lack of public engagement, they may need to incorporate the emerging forms of political participation introduced by young people in order to stay relevant. Clearly, there is a dire need for democratic institutions to find ways to communicate and interact better with citizens, and for political and State institutions to offer stakeholders more effective opportunities to influence politics at local, regional and national levels. These adaptations can be supported by new information and communications technology (ICT) and channelled through civic institutions.

Of course, not all young people are the same. The study shows varying levels of gender and socioeconomic inequalities in youth political participation across different regions of the world. In a broad sense, there is worrying evidence of a lack of engagement in political parties among young women, which is probably connected to the persistent gap between male and female representation in national parliaments. By and large, youth turnout in elections is socially equal in many newer democracies and less socially equal in established democracies. However, there is a stronger and more consistent link between socioeconomic status and non-electoral forms of political participation. If young people are voting less and engaging more in alternative political activities, it is a concern that young people from less privileged backgrounds are being left without a political voice.

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131 Marc Hooghe, "Political socialization and the future of politics", *Acta Politica*, vol. 39, No. 4 (December 2004), pp. 331-341.

Governments, public institutions and non-governmental organizations need to harness the political energy that has been so visible in the recent and ongoing wave of youth protest. The following recommendations are offered for key stakeholders:

Strengthen interactive communication. Pay more attention to youth issues and prioritize younger citizens' concerns; communicate interactively with them face-to-face, via the Internet, and through various social media; and enlist the support of young people (including youth protest activists) in finding solutions to the problems that affect them most.

Empower young people through social networks. Use peer-to-peer contact—young people's social networks—to promote and facilitate youth engagement. Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign in the United States empowered many young Americans to work for the Democratic Party and mobilize their friends[132]. "Champion schemes", which involve recruiting enthusiastic young people to encourage "people like them" to become politically engaged, have also shown great promise.

Improve youth representation and the politics of presence. Consider measures to improve youth representation and the representation of young women in national parliaments and other decision-making bodies. This may be achieved in a number of ways; for example, steps can be taken to establish quotas, to develop all-female candidate shortlists, and to ensure a more equal presence for women and lower socioeconomic groups in youth wings of political parties and youth representative bodies (such as youth parliaments and councils).

Educate on democracy. Ensure that effective standardized citizenship education is provided at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. It is well known that greater knowledge and the practice of democratic politics in supportive environments can foster civic and political engagement. This can be achieved through the implementation of evidence-based citizenship education in schools and colleges.[133]

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132 Scott Keeter, Juliana Horowitz, and Alec Tyson, *Young Voters in the 2008 Election*, (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 13 November, 2008). Available from http://www.pewresearch.org/2008/11/13/young-voters-in-the-2008-election/

133 Judith Torney-Purta and others, *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen* (Amsterdam, International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2001). Available from http://www.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/Electronic_versions/CIVED_Phase2_Age_Fourteen.pdf Also see Wolfram Schulz and others, *Initial Findings from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study* (Amsterdam, International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2010).

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TRANSITIONS IN POWER: YOUNG PEOPLE'S ROLE

Nur Laiq

INTRODUCTION

Youth comprise a quarter of the Earth's population. In the global South, this figure rises to between 60 and 70 per cent, resulting in a "youth bulge". Young people make up a significant proportion of the world's population, but they are marginalized both politically and economically and have been taking to the streets in ever-growing numbers to voice their aspirations. Youth-led protests have been occurring in countries across the world.

Young people have been the driving force behind the Arab uprisings, Occupy Wall Street and its satellite demonstrations, the anti-corruption rallies in India, the demonstrations for political rights in Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, and the protests for economic justice in Brazil, Chile, Spain, Greece and Israel. The last five years of youth protests mark youth out as group drawn together by shared anxieties and shared aspirations.

The protests reflect a new geography of discontent that cuts across old divides of rich and poor countries, of North and South, where youth are the contesting actors. In taking on political and economic inequalities, youth through activism have re-energized the notions of public empowerment and citizenship at a moment when many across the world feel the social contract between citizen and State is broken. They

are a compelling force because of both their demographic weight and their mobilizing power.

However, can youth deliver change, especially in the post-transition period? How do they engage on the street and within institutions, and what are the ideas that drive them? How sustainable is their political activism? And finally, how can youth and other stakeholders ensure the meaningful participation of young people within governance structures?

The trajectory of youth engagement in Egypt and Tunisia is reflected in two rich and very different accounts of activism and political participation in a transition environment. Egypt witnessed a focus on building the machinery of civic engagement through protest politics, while Tunisia saw an emphasis on the institutionalization of power through the building of structures within political parties.

Egypt and Tunisia are used as case studies here in order to explore the directions youth participation can take and to identify relevant challenges and opportunities. On the basis of this analytical review, the author offers policy options for the creation of sustainable frameworks for the meaningful long-term involvement of youth in decision-making and politics.

The present thought piece is based on the author's fieldwork conducted in Egypt and Tunisia in the

post-transition period and draws upon dozens of interviews conducted with youth politicians and activists. Zooming in at the ground level provides a more concrete understanding of youth political participation. It also offers an authentic context from which to identify lessons learned and best practices, even though the Egyptian and Tunisian transitions have since taken different directions and represent significantly different political environments. While the focus is on a specific region, the implications for building venues for genuine youth participation in governance and political life are universally applicable.

In Egypt and Tunisia, young people engage politically both within formal structures and through informal channels. The majority of youth still view formal politics with antipathy and contempt and prefer to engage on governance issues through civil society activism or informal political activity.

MANOEUVRING WITHIN THE FORMAL POLITICAL ARENA

In Egypt and Tunisia, political parties—both old and new, State sanctioned and independent—are perceived to function along vertical lines, with little horizontal decision-making or idea generation. Egyptian youth have not been integrated into party structures, as few parties have given any thought to including them in committees or creating a youth wing. Most youth in political parties have been left to fend for themselves, which for some has had its own appeal for the autonomy it has allowed. Within the realm of political activism, youth have placed greater emphasis on the importance of protest politics and have focused less on building structures, messaging, or positioning themselves within the party.

In comparison with Egyptian youth, young people in Tunisia have been better integrated into party structures. Nearly all political parties have engaged with the youth issue, but this is primarily because Tunisian youth have been adamant in demanding a seat at the table. As a result, most parties have some youth representatives on their central committees or have a youth wing. While this structure tends to function along hierarchical lines, it also offers a political ladder to climb within the system. This translates into a political activism among youth that centres on preparing for party congresses, developing policy platforms and messaging, and campaigning for a greater youth voice internally. It has also meant that youth activists in Tunisia are less disaffected than their counterparts in Egypt.

SEIZING INFORMAL POLITICAL SPACE

Most youth political activism in Egypt and Tunisia, and indeed globally, has taken place though informal channels, with much of the activity occurring in the civil society arena. Young people have a huge presence in this sphere, ranging from youth movements with tens of thousands of members to individual activists who might be lawyers, labourers, bloggers or graffiti artists.

Most youth-led civil society organizations focus on putting the citizen at the centre of the political process. In Egypt, many groups have worked to raise awareness of political and socioeconomic rights. In Tunisia, there has been greater emphasis on playing a direct role in establishing monitoring bodies or watchdog groups in an effort to ensure the accountability of the Parliament, the constitution-drafting committee and the election commission.

Young people in both Egypt and Tunisia affirm that achieving political and economic justice is a top priority. In pursuing this objective, however, they are keen to move away from old models of thinking and governing. In the early days of the transition period their ideas for change bore a laser-like sharpness, in part because the youth were able to present a united front.

The transition process itself, though, soon divided youth as it pulled them in different directions. This, coupled with a tendency to fight for single issues as opposed to linking them to a wider political platform, has led many youth to retreat into their own silos from which they can only fight disjointed campaigns. Such a move has risked reinforcing the old mechanism of functioning, with the State offering to exchange specific entitlements for broader political rights—a trade-off sometimes seen to have been made between Governments and previous generations of activists.

Yet youth remain different from the older generation in that they also have a parallel narrative that places strong emphasis on promoting the idea of equal citizenship. To paraphrase a young Tunisian activist, they believe that a Pandora's Box of issues has been opened but that the only solution is to overcome the legacies of the past. Thus, while polarized, many youth argue that there is no option but to work through the post-transition crisis of governance.

In both Egypt and Tunisia, youth activism is based on horizontal organizational structures rather than vertical hierarchies of leadership. Nearly all youth activists in both formal and informal politics face structural and financial constraints, as well as challenges related to strategy and long-term planning.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

What are the implications of this for the future, and how can stakeholders respond?

Youth-led protests show that there is a great desire to change the system. There is a common aspiration for a new political culture, which above all is about accountability. Youth see themselves as a counterbalance to power and during the uprisings spent much energy on trying to expand political and civic space. They have utilized social media and crowdsourcing platforms to develop more innovative ways of engaging with challenges, finding solutions and fostering new citizen-based structures. For many, their legitimacy is grounded in a politics that exists beyond the structures of the State.

It is important, however, that civic engagement and political engagement, as well as the relationship between citizen and State, be reconciled and better integrated. Many youth recognize that informal political activism cannot be a substitute for the institutionalized politics of parties, elections and Governments.

The lessons learned and best practices observed through interviews with youth politicians and activists can inform the development of effective strategies for enhancing youth participation in governance through both formal and informal channels. The recommendations presented below are intended for stakeholders at the United Nations agency, national and local levels.

In the informal or civil society arena

Ensure that mechanisms exist for direct interaction between government officials and young people, as witnessed in Tunisia, where youth groups have played an active role in setting up parliamentary watchdog groups.

Decentralize power by giving all youth access to the political process and the opportunity to have their voices heard. In Tunisia, youth groups have brought Members of Parliament to local constituencies to consult with young people on the issues that concern them most, including education and unemployment.

Use the normative framework of the United Nations Secretary-General's Five-Year Action Agenda and the 2011 United Nations General Assembly resolution on mediation[134] to guide programme development. Relevant measures might include offering training on conflict mediation and strengthening avenues for youth participation in community decision-making, as seen in Yemen. Encouraging inclusive dialogue to resolve conflict at the community and national levels in post-transition countries is key. The process can be further enhanced through the creation of mediation modules and texts that can be used by political parties and for training programmes undertaken by youth-led civil society organizations.

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134   See United Nations General Assembly resolution 65/283 of 28 July 2011 on strengthening the role of mediation in the peaceful settlement of disputes, conflict prevention and resolution (A/RES/65/283). Available from http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GARes_StrengtheningTheRoleOfMediation_ARES65283(english)_1.pdf.

In the formal political arena

Involve youth directly in the electoral process. Young people can function as election observers—a strategy implemented by the Carter Center in Egypt and Tunisia. Youth can also serve as polling station workers and have seats on national election commissions.

Build strong youth wings in political parties but also have youth quotas for representation in central bureaus and decision-making committees. Young people who have a direct voice in policymaking can call attention to youth priorities in general policies on education, health, employment and other areas of special concern.

Introduce quotas for youth on parliamentary lists and in national dialogue processes, as has been done in Yemen. Quotas and legal frameworks are important, but they mean next to nothing if there is no commitment to ensure the meaningful participation of young people in all stages of the electoral process (before, during and after elections) and in other key political processes.

In both formal and informal political arenas, young people are actively engaged in horizontal experience sharing. This trend should be supported, with youth encouraged to strengthen communication through peer-to-peer networks across political parties and civil society so that they can profit from lessons learned and best practices.

Youth political inclusion is a key component of United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's

Five-Year Action Agenda. As the international community seeks ways to address the monumental challenges that face youth, initiatives based on capacity-building are important. However, it is the engagement of youth as relevant and meaningful stakeholders that is essential to building a stable political and economic future.

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Negative Youth Engagement: Involvement in Radicalism and Extremism

Akil N. Awan

INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that youth civic participation and political engagement are essential components of a healthy, functioning society. Youth engagement is vital to political socialization and participation; young people represent future electorates and publics, and initial experiences of democratic engagement are likely to resonate into adulthood.[135] However, it is also crucial in helping to build human and social capital, and at the most fundamental level, it strengthens young people's understanding of their own roles as citizens and the attendant rights and responsibilities.

An alternative to positive youth engagement may simply be apathy and disengagement, which remains a significant problem worldwide.[136] However, disaffected youth can also choose to engage in what may broadly be termed radical or extreme activity.

This might range from simply espousing intolerant, extreme or fundamentalist views to actively participating in radical or extreme groups and causes or engaging in illegal political activity such as violent protest and even terrorism. This is the potential negative side of youth engagement that, far from promoting human rights, social mobility, civic responsibility, political socialization and youth development, actively works against them and is the focus of this thought piece.

Defining radicalism or extremism can be somewhat problematic. Historically, radicalism has often reflected the predominant political ideologies and social currents of its time, either by resonating with or echoing some aspect of them or by emerging in opposition to the status quo. Consequently, the definition of what is radical is largely contingent upon the milieu from which it emerges. Another consideration is that many movements initially considered radical or extreme gain acceptance and legitimacy over time and eventually enter the mainstream; examples within the past century include the emergence of movements advocating decolonization, civil rights, women's liberation and environmental concerns. It is essential, then, that extremism or radicalism be considered within its contemporary sociopolitical context, and that those exploring this

135 Robert Arthur Franklin, *Packaging Politics: Political Communications in Britain's Media Democracy*, 2nd ed. (London, Arnold, 2004).

136 United Nations Development Programme. *Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle: A Good Practice Guide* (New York, 2013), p. 11. Available from http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/electoral_systemsandprocesses/enhancing-youth-political-participation-throughout-the-electoral.html.

concept remain cognizant of the historical subjectivity that accompanies the identification and labelling of an individual or group as radical or extreme.

For the purposes of this thought piece, it is posited that radicalism or extremism involves at least one of the following:

1. The acceptance or espousal of beliefs, ideas and attitudes that clearly contradict or fall outside the range of acceptable or mainstream views within that particular society; an example would be the racist and intolerant attitudes of neo-Nazi groups in contemporary Europe.

2. The employment of illegitimate methods or strategies to actualize ideas and beliefs, irrespective of the legitimacy and mainstream acceptability of those ideas. For example, while most people would accept that animals have rights and should be protected from unnecessary harm, violent attacks on people and research facilities that carry out testing on animals would be considered illegal and an example of radical or extreme activity.

Radicalism and extremism operate on or outside the periphery of mainstream society and are characterized by the espousal of beliefs and ideas or the use of methods and strategies that are not considered acceptable within a particular societal context.

ANALYSIS OF CURRENT TRENDS

Radicalism and extremism are largely perceived as youth phenomena. Indeed, historically, certain youth demographics have been drawn disproportionately to these sorts of activities and movements, and exceptionally large youth cohorts, or "youth bulges", often make countries more susceptible to political violence.[137] It is also possible to identify violent groups that not only target youth audiences, but whose very existence centres around a youth identity. For example, the Red Guards in China were a violent paramilitary youth social movement mobilized from universities by Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution. Indeed, the very name of the group may sometimes reflect a youth demographic; the name al-Shabaab in Somalia literally means "the Youth" in Arabic,[138] and the name of the Taliban in Afghanistan stems from the Pashto word for "students". Most strikingly today, jihadism, in the guise of al-Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, is almost exclusively associated with young men under the age of 25[139] and originates in regions experiencing a substantial youth bulge.

While extremism predominantly draws young men to its fold, women are not entirely immune. Indeed, not only have women been drawn to political radicalism and extremism throughout history, but they have also played crucial leadership roles in movements associated with women's rights, universal

137 Henrik Urdal, "A clash of generations? Youth bulges and political violence", *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 50, No. 3 (11 September 2006), pp. 607-629.

138 The group's full name is Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen (Movement of Striving Youth).

139 Akil N. Awan, "Transitional religiosity experiences: contextual disjuncture and Islamic political radicalism", in *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Comparative Perspective*, T. Abbas, ed. (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 207-230. Available from http://works.bepress.com/akil_awan/8; and Marc Sageman, "Islam and Al Qaeda", in Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism: Globalization of Martyrdom, Ami Pedahzur, ed., Cass Series on Political Violence (New York, Routledge, 2006).

suffrage, civil rights, and animal and environmental rights. In the 1970s, when extreme left-wing radicalism was prevalent throughout much of Europe, women were sometimes considered far more ideologically extreme than even their male counterparts. For example, West German counterterrorism units were apparently ordered to "shoot the women first" when encountering the Baader-Meinhoff Gang owing to the supposed danger they posed as the group's most ideologically committed members.[140]

However, this perception of women as ideologically extreme has been the exception rather than the rule. Women involved in radical or extremist groups have generally been depicted using biological, psychological or sexualized stereotypes linked to assumptions about what is "appropriate" female behaviour,[141] thereby divesting them of political and personal agency. Even today, at a time when women are increasingly drawn to radical movements, this characterization still appears to hold. For example, young women who have attempted to join the Islamic State, in contrast to their male counterparts, have been labelled sensationally by the media as "jihadi sex brides", with terms such as "vulnerable" and "sexually groomed" used to account for their actions.

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140 Eileen MacDonald, *Shoot the Women First*, 1st ed. (New York, Random House, 1991), p. xiv.

141 Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (London, Zed Books, 2007).

142 Erik H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1994).

143 Akil N. Awan, "Antecedents of Islamic political radicalism among Muslim communities in Europe", *PS: Political Science & Politics*, vol. 41, No. 1 (2008), pp. 13-17.

ACCOUNTING FOR THE RISE OF YOUTH RADICALISM AND CONDITIONS THAT FOSTER YOUTH EXTREMISM

There is no simple cause-and-effect calculus that accounts for the rise of youth extremism; however, it is possible to identify certain critical factors that might make young people more susceptible to radical narratives or provide the impetus for their participation in radical structures and activities. Three of the most important factors—identity crises, political disenfranchisement, and socioeconomic inequality—are explored below.

Identity crises

The nexus of radicalism, extremism and youth is primarily the transitional stage of development into adulthood and the presence of unresolved issues relating to identity formation.[142] Of course, this search for identity and belonging is an intrinsic part of adolescence and early adulthood and occurs among young people everywhere. However, as the case studies of many radicals will attest, this process appears to take on an urgency and prominence in these individuals that belie its ubiquitous and often mundane nature. Identity crises inspired by alienation, racism, dislocation, globalization, changing value systems, anomie and a host of other issues produce a heightened state of vulnerability and might compel individuals to seek solace in beguiling narratives that offer a safe and welcoming community of like-minded "outcast" individuals.[143] In this respect, the need to belong and the dynamics behind the appeal of such groups as the Islamic State, which offers an identity based on a global religious

fraternity of believers, or of Neo-Nazi groups, which offer an identity based on racial purity and cultural solidarity, are not entirely dissimilar to the appeal of gang culture identities to some young people.

The nexus of youth radicalism also stems in part from the exposure at this formative stage to new ideas and theories provided by expanding social networks and educational opportunities. The university is both historically and pedagogically the home of radical ideas, revolutionary beliefs and subversive thoughts, precisely because it is often the setting in which students receive their first independent exposure to the political world around them. Many of the great political movements first emerged on university campuses and were no doubt considered unorthodox or radical at the time. Intoxicated by new causes that animate them and struggles that inspire them, students are inevitably filled with genuine—if somewhat naïve and unrefined—enthusiasm and idealism. However, that is part of growing up, of healthy political socialization and development; students experiment not only with sex, drugs and music at university, but also with ideas.

Add to this heady mix issues relating to rebellion against social and parental mores, crises of authority, and intergenerational conflict, and it is easy to understand why radicalism often takes root among youth. In West Germany in the 1970s, young people rebelled against the State and society by joining extreme left-wing groups. These young people broke starkly with their parents by labelling them the "Auschwitz generation", pointedly accusing them of lacking a moral compass and of being complicit in the Holocaust.[144] Even today, many of the anti-austerity and inequality movements such as Spain's Los Indignados (15-M), Mexico's

Yo Soy 132, and the Occupy movement in the United States are partially founded on the principle that young people are unwilling to pay the price for the excesses and fiscal irresponsibility of earlier generations.

Political disenfranchisement

Increasing political disenfranchisement and disillusionment with traditional political processes, institutions and structures[145] are also central to understanding young people's alienation from conventional politics and mainstream civic and political engagement. Young people who do not believe that the issues of concern to them are being addressed through politics and public policy[146] often take to the streets and engage in protest and demonstrations. Where "legitimate" forms of protest prove unsuccessful, individuals may begin to countenance illegitimate and violent forms of protest including rioting, public disorder, sabotage and even terrorism.[147] Consequently, a gravitation towards radicalism or extremism might be interpreted as one of the ways in which young people seek to air their frustrations and grievances and to attach themselves to structures that ostensibly allow them to feel that they are being empowered socially and politically. Radicalism

144 Hans Kundnani, *Utopia or Auschwitz: Germany's 1968 Generation and the Holocaust*, Crises in World Politics (London, Hurst Publishers, 2009).

145 Andrew Mycock and Jonathan Tonge, eds., *Beyond the Youth Citizenship Commission: Young People and Politics* (London, Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom, 2014). Available from https://www.psa.ac.uk/sites/default/files/PSA%20Beyond%20the%20YCC%20FINAL_0.pdf.

146 David Marsh, Therese O'Toole and Su Jones, *Young People and Politics in the UK: Apathy or Alienation?* Political & International Studies Collection (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

147 Akil N. Awan, "Transitional religiosity experiences: contextual disjuncture and Islamic political radicalism".

or extremism may be particularly appealing to young people at this stage of their lives, especially if their initial tentative yet idealistic forays into political activism have failed to produce the desired results.

Socioeconomic inequality

Socioeconomic pressures can play a key role in influencing a young person's susceptibility to radicalism and extremism. High rates of global youth unemployment (exceeding 10 per cent over the past three decades)[148] and other, broader forms of socioeconomic inequality have been the focal point of youth grievances for some time. The anti-austerity and inequality movements in Europe and the United States and the violent protests that have erupted in Cairo, Caracas and many other parts of the world are largely predicated upon the sorts of socioeconomic inequalities that disproportionately impact young people. Indeed, the youth bulge within many societies in the Middle East and North Africa and the associated lack of employment and other opportunities for youth are widely seen as constituting one of the principle precursors of the risings that took place in that region.[149]

Young people today are facing an uphill climb that has become dauntingly steep. Many have limited prospects for employment, decent shelter and upward social mobility. Poverty, low educational attainment, and disproportionately high crime rates among youth have become endemic in certain settings. Youth experiencing these challenges as well as prejudice and societal marginalization may find "solutions" to their predicament in extreme organizations and movements. The two young Frenchmen who carried out the Charlie Hebdo attacks in Paris in early 2015 hailed from one of the *banlieues* situated around the capital. These largely working-class suburbs are often characterized as environments with high rates of unemployment, crime and drug use, as well as institutional racism and endemic cycles of poverty and disenfranchisement. It is in these types of settings that radical groups might offer an escape from a potentially bleak future or a criminal past.

War and conflict have a tremendous impact on negative youth engagement. Young people in conflict zones, and particularly those in "failing States" (which often result from periods of long, drawn-out conflict), are likely to gravitate towards violence or violent actors because, somewhat ironically, such contexts are seen to offer security and a chance to meet basic survival needs. Many young people in the Syrian Arab Republic and Afghanistan, for example, have joined the Islamic State and Taliban respectively, not necessarily because of any ideological commitment or religious appeal, but simply out of financial necessity and the need to survive.

Periods of insecurity or poverty heighten young people's vulnerability, rendering them far more susceptible to coercion and manipulation by extreme

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148 International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends 2013: Recovering from a Second Jobs Dip* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2013), p. 11, available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_202326.pdf; and International Labour Organization, *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2013: A Generation at Risk* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2013), available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_212423.pdf.

149 United Nations Development Programme, *Arab Human Development Report 2009: Challenges to Human Security in the Arab Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.08.III.B.3), available from http://arab-hdr.org/publications/other/ahdr/ahdr2009e.pdf; and United Nations Development Programme, *The Arab Human Development Report 2012—Empowerment: The Will of the People*, 10th ed. (New York, 2012).

demagogues, gangs and violent criminals. It is believed, for example, that Ajmal Kasab, the lone surviving terrorist from the 2008 Mumbai attacks in India, may have been coerced to participate after his impoverished family was promised Rs 150,000 by Lashkar-e-Taiba upon the successful completion of his operation.[150]

SOCIAL MEDIA AND YOUTH AUDIENCES

Online platforms, in particular Internet-based social media and web 2.0 platforms, have collectively become the principal arena for youth political and social engagement over the past decade. This is largely a positive development, as these platforms are ostensibly conducive to the "levelling" of hierarchies of knowledge and power[151] and have reinforced the democratizing and egalitarian nature of the new media environment. However, the appropriation of these technologies has also contributed significantly to the rise and increased visibility of youth radicalism and extremism.

There are a number of reasons that might account for the intersection of youth, technology and radicalism. Principally, this nexus is a function of young people being "digital natives" rather than "digital immigrants".[152] The former are defined as native speakers of the digital language of computers, video games and the Internet. Conversely, those who were not born into the digital world but have at some point adopted various aspects of the new technology are considered digital immigrants. For young people today, there is little that is new about the new media environment; rather, it is the only media environment with which they are familiar. For this

younger generation of political actors, social interaction and other everyday activities take place largely within this media environment, whether it be social networking, shopping, dating, playing video games, watching movies, reading news, listening to music, or learning. In fact, most activities in the "real" world now have virtual counterparts that may appear to be more appealing to a certain age cohort (digital natives), so it is not surprising that their political activism or radical escapism should similarly take place within this arena.[153]

One of the paradoxes of the new media environment is that while it provides access to staggering amounts of information and data and exposes users to new perspectives and experiences, it also allows individuals who gravitate towards extremism to find (or consciously place) themselves in highly cloistered, immersive environments that effectively cocoon audiences from alternate realities and interpretational frameworks. These online environments can give rise to an insular virtual community that venerates the radical ideology or community at the expense of all else while stifling almost any form of debate, discussion or dialogue.[154] These forums essentially act

150 Akil N. Awan, "Spurning 'this worldly life': terrorism and martyrdom in contemporary Britain", in *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives*, Dominic Janes and Alec Houen, eds. (New York, Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 248.

151 Manuel Castells, *Communication Power* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009).

152 Marc Prensky, "Digital natives, digital immigrants", *On the Horizon*, vol. 9, No. 5 (October 2001). Available from http://www.marcprensky.com/writing/Prensky%20-%20Digital%20Natives,%20Digital%20Immigrants%20-%20Part1.pdf.

153 Akil N. Awan, Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin, *Radicalisation and Media: Connectivity and Terrorism in the New Media Ecology* (London, Routledge, 2011), p. 55.

154 Ibid., p. 39.

as echo chambers or rhetorical force amplifiers, predisposing users to unreserved acceptance of the radical perspective and effectively grooming vulnerable young people online for extremism.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Radicalism is not always a bad thing. It usually indicates a political awakening among young people—the presence of latent energy and a desire to change the world for the better. One might contrast the negative youth engagement of radicals (no matter how problematic) with the widespread political apathy among youth in recent years, as evidenced by chronically low voter turnout in virtually all democracies. The most important question one might ask is how the very same energy hijacked by extremists and radicals might be directed towards positive, healthy outcomes. Achieving such a goal requires that certain key issues be addressed, as outlined in the recommendations below.

Support political empowerment. The best way to address political disillusionment and disenfranchisement is to restore political agency to young people. They must be provided with the means to become agents of positive change within their own societies. Conventional political literacy and socialization are important, but alternative forms of engagement that may be more appealing to youth

need to be supported as well. Young people must genuinely believe that they can become effective agents of change.[155] They require access to mechanisms through which they can air their grievances against the political establishment. Further, when young people express dissatisfaction with political elites or the status quo through protests and demonstrations, they must be taken seriously, and appropriate action must be taken to mitigate their concerns and address their grievances. If their criticisms and frustrations are ignored, they may seek resolution through more negative modes of political engagement. It must be acknowledged that in some cases it will not be possible to cognitively change extremist beliefs and attitudes. However, in these scenarios, it may be possible to disengage young people from violence, to delegitimize violence as a response, and to aim for political socialization focused on more legitimate modes of political engagement.

Create inclusive identities. Every effort must be made to create progressive and inclusive forms of citizenship and belonging, to prevent the marginalization of youth and other disadvantaged populations, and to respect diversity. Human rights and individual freedoms must be protected. Steps must be taken to ensure that avenues for youth civic participation are created so that young people feel they have something vested in the State and society. Grievances and narratives of victimhood, whether real or perceived, must be addressed so young people can see that their concerns are taken seriously. Intolerance, sexism, racism and xenophobia must be eliminated, and their highly corrosive effects on community cohesion, healthy identity development and civic responsibility must be acknowledged.

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155 James Youniss and others, "Youth civic engagement in the twenty-first century", *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, vol. 12, No. 1 (March 2002), pp. 121-148.

Address socioeconomic inequality.

Governments and other stakeholders must address all forms of socioeconomic inequality. In much of the developing world, there must be a push for better governance and transparency and greater democratization. The international community must uphold its responsibility in tackling these issues, particularly in post-conflict settings. In the developed world, policymakers must address democratic deficits, income disparities and fiscal irresponsibility and work to eliminate barriers to upward social mobility.

As has been demonstrated by the examples offered here, young people can be powerful agents for change.[156] In order to ensure that their efforts are directed towards positive change, young people must be provided with the tools and means to achieve their potential. This must be done not only to diminish the appeal of radicalism and extremism but because all individuals deserve to live in free and fair societies. It is essential to invest in younger generations, as they represent the shared future of society.

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156 See, for example, the roles of youth in post-conflict reconstruction in Stephanie Schwartz, *Youth in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Agents of Change* (Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace, 2010).

YOUTH DIGITAL ACTIVISM

Erhardt Graeff

INTRODUCTION

The terms "civic engagement" and "activism" traditionally evoke images of voting and volunteering for campaigns or marching in the streets, banners hoisted high. While these are still fixtures of political participation, a broader set of practices enabled by digital technologies is being created and applied by young people. Cathy J. Cohen, Joseph Kahne and others call this broader set of practices "participatory politics", defined as "interactive, peer-based acts through which individuals and groups seek to exert both voice and influence on issues of public concern".[157] They emphasize that "these acts are not guided by deference to elites or formal institutions".

This is part of a larger trend of youth avowing low confidence in national decision-making bodies and disaffection with elected officials and their ability to address issues. The biannual Harvard Institute of Politics poll indicated consistently declining levels of trust in government institutions among 18- to 29-year-old Americans between 2010 and 2015.[158] According to a 2013 LSE Enterprise study, when European 16- to 26-year olds reflect on voting and institutional politics, they find "the political 'offer' does not match their concerns, ideas, and ideal of democratic politics".[159] At the same time, there are high levels of youth participation in issue-oriented activism, boycotting and buycotting, and protest activities.[160] W. Lance Bennett refers to this new generation of young people as "actualizing citizens", "who favour loosely networked activism to address issues that reflect personal values", in contrast with "dutiful citizens", who maintain a more collective and government-centred set of practices.[161] Similarly, Cohen and Kahne found that interest-driven participation was a strong predictor of engagement in participatory politics among American youth.[162]

If one thing defines this era of youth digital activism, it is the ability to make and widely share media. It is possible for "widely distributed, loosely connected individuals" to work together to solve a problem or create something new—a practice called

157 Cathy J. Cohen and Joseph Kahne, *Participatory Politics: New Media and Youth Political Action* (MacArthur Research Network on Youth and Participatory Politics, 2012), p. vi. Available from http://ypp.dmlcentral.net/sites/default/files/publications/Participatory_Politics_Report.pdf.

158 Harvard University Institute of Politics, *Executive Summary: Survey of Young Americans' Attitudes Toward Politics and Public Service*, 27th ed., Harvard Public Opinion Project (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 29 April 2015). Available from http://www.iop.harvard.edu/sites/default/files_new/IOPSpring15PollExecSumm.pdf.

159 The London School of Economics and Political Science, *EACEA 2010/03: Youth Participation in Democratic Life, Final Report, February 2013* (London, LSE Enterprise Limited, 2013), p. 9. Available from http://www.lse.ac.uk/businessAndConsultancy/LSEEnterprise/pdf/YouthParticipationDemocraticLife.pdf.

160 W. Lance Bennett, "Civic learning in changing democracies: challenges for citizenship and civic education", in *Young Citizens and New Media: Learning for Democratic Participation*, Peter Dahlgren, ed. (New York, Routledge, 2007), pp. 59-77; and Scott Keeter and others, "The civic and political health of the nation: a generational portrait" (College Park, Maryland, Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 19 September 2002). Available from http://www.civicyouth.org/research/products/

161 W. Lance Bennett, "Changing citizenship in the digital age", in *Civic Life Online: Learning How Digital Media Can Engage Youth*, W. Lance Bennett, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2008), pp. 1-24. Civic_Political_Health.pdf.

162 Cathy J. Cohen and Joseph Kahne, *Participatory Politics: New Media and Youth Political Action*.

crowdsourcing or peer production—because the costs of building loose networks of contributors and disseminating information digitally are nearly zero.[163] When people make their own media they can assert power by framing issues in ways that compel others to change their minds or to adapt to new realities and perspectives. This form of "media activism" is not a new theory of change in itself; however, its practice is being transformed by the use of digital technologies for coordination and amplification. Agenda-setting power is shifting to a broader set of political actors with the necessary tools, savvy and timing.

Mobile computing, in particular, is allowing a new generation of citizens to access the Internet and enjoy lowered coordination costs. In Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, 9 in 10 Millennials have a smartphone and spend 50-100 per cent more time on their mobile device than on a desktop computer.[164] Affordable wireless Internet access and mobile phone ownership around the world constitute the most potent force for expanding the pool and potential of young digital activists.

However, the young people best poised to transform the practice of democracy around the world are those who not only create media but also build the tools and platforms through which they are made, shared and organized. Lilly Irani calls this new movement of civic hacking and cultural remaking "entrepreneurial citizenship".[165] This represents a small but powerful cohort that is taking its cues for solving the world's problems from Silicon Valley, identifying primarily as social entrepreneurs and designers and secondarily as political or as activists.

These new forms of digital activism are not without problems and controversy. Many youth are still excluded from civic and political participation. That is why it is important to comprehend the wide range of contemporary tactics, tools, and trends and the unique challenges youth digital activists face in connection with current laws, norms, market forces and educational practices. The current thought piece outlines these trends and challenges but also highlights relevant opportunities and offers recommendations for supporting youth digital activism.

TRENDS IN DIGITAL ACTIVISM

Digital activism is a rapidly growing phenomenon on a path to expand Cohen and Kahne's already broad definition of participatory politics. The sources and targets of activism, the tools used, and the relevant outcomes vary across countries and are constantly evolving; at present, the communities coming together via Facebook, Twitter and other networks are incredibly important.[166] Several of the genres that best illustrate the breadth of youth digital activism's expansion and legitimization are highlighted

163 Yochai Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006). Available from http://www.benkler.org/Benkler_Wealth_Of_Networks.pdf.

164 Adam Lella, Andrew Lipsman and Ben Martin, *The Global Mobile Report: How Multi-Platform Audiences & Engagement Compare in the US, Canada, UK and Beyond* (comScore, 2015).

165 Lilly Irani, "Hackathons and the making of entrepreneurial citizenship", *Science, Technology & Human Values*, vol. 40, No. 5 (2015), pp. 799-824.

166 Frank Edwards, Philip N. Howard and Mary Joyce, "Digital activism and non-violent conflict (November 2013). Available from http://digital-activism.org/download/1306/.

below; they include networked social movements, issue-oriented activism, participatory politics through participatory culture (such as fan activism and political memes), civic hacking, and hacktivism.

Networked social movements

Social movements are defined in part by their means of communication, what brings people together, and how it happens; networked social movements are participatory because they rely on "self-configurable," "fluid", and less hierarchical networks of communication.[167] This means more entryways to leadership for youth participants through decentralization, and it also demands adequate skill in the use of digital media.

Uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa on Twitter and Facebook

During the 2010/11 uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and replicated in the organization and broadcast of later demonstrations and protests throughout Europe, Latin America and the United States, the skilful use of Twitter hashtags and the leverage of social networks such as Facebook helped spread and legitimize uprisings in several countries in the MENA region. The movements had their seeds in long-standing networks of activists working towards regime change and masses of citizens exasperated by high youth unemployment and food shortages across the region. However, it was the savvy use of Facebook and Twitter to develop solidarity among those across the region and Arab diasporas, and then to influence the coverage of Western journalists, that allowed these movements to gain serious momentum. Local bloggers and activists worked together to create and disseminate

carefully crafted messages and images during each revolution, which were retweeted by Western journalists who could amplify the message to a global audience. This audience included the bloggers' and activists' fellow countrymen, who could witness the solidarity with and legitimization of the revolutions reflected in the global response.[168]

Participating in these uprisings online was as easy as retweeting new information shared via Twitter or changing or modifying a profile image in a way that displayed one's support. Individually, these might appear to be very personal and ineffective forms of participation, but in aggregate they represent a formidable display of solidarity with the social movements that helped to encourage supportive reporting in the Western press and the material support of foreign benefactors and Governments.

Issue-oriented activism

Another wave of networked social movements even more strongly connected to youth and new forms of digital activism began in 2011 with the Occupy movement originating in New York City and the 15-M Movement in Spain and continued through 2014 with the Umbrella Movement (Occupy Central with Love and Peace) in Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. In these cases, youth disaffected by institutional politics chose to occupy prominent civic spaces

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167   Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Cambridge, United Kingdom, Polity Press, 2012), p. 15.

168   Gilad Lotan and others, "The revolutions were tweeted: information flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions", *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 5 (September), pp. 1,375-1,405.

and use an array of media activism tactics to change their societies' perspectives on specific issues such as income inequality, austerity policies and democratic rule. There was little expectation by the activists that traditional politics could achieve such goals. Rather, the tactics aimed at changing perceptions and social norms and calling for elites to respect youth and student voices and to witness a more democratic and participatory way of running society.

This is part of a larger trend of youth participating, sometimes fleetingly, around specific issues that resonate with their personal values. Prominent examples of campaigns that successfully activated youth along these lines are Invisible Children's KONY 2012 campaign and the promotion of the red equal sign by the Human Rights Campaign (HRC). Invisible Children was a single-issue advocacy organization targeting youth in high schools, colleges and

churches on the principle that they had a moral imperative to raise awareness about warlord Joseph Kony's use of their fellow youth as soldiers in Eastern and Central Africa.[169] In 2012, they launched an ambitious campaign called KONY 2012 using a 20-minute documentary about the warlord, imploring watchers to make Kony the most (in)famous person of 2012 and calling for action by the United States in pursuing him. Supporters were asked to tweet celebrities en masse with links to the video; comedienne and talk show host Ellen DeGeneres received 36,000 tweets asking her to respond.[170] The campaign went viral, prompting reactions from many prominent celebrities and politicians and attracting 100 million views on YouTube in six days. The media awareness campaign worked so well that it included a massive critical response targeted at the organizers of Invisible Children for their tactics and portrayal of the issue, which led to the organization's demise.

In the case of the red equal sign campaign, HRC was organizing around two United States Supreme Court cases relating to marriage equality in March 2012. In addition to traditional coalition and event organizing, including a video message of support from prominent politician and presidential candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton, HRC created a pink-on-red version of their equal sign logo intended to be shared by those wishing to express their support of marriage rights for gay and lesbian couples on social media. Millions of supporters,[171] including straight, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth wanting to signify their solidarity on an issue on which they had an overwhelmingly more progressive stance than their parents' generation,[172] changed their profile image to a version of the red equal sign logo and drove millions of visits to the HRC website and social media properties.[173]

169 Neta Kligler-Vilenchik and others, "Experiencing fan activism: understanding the power of fan activist organizations through members' narratives", *Transformative Works and Cultures*, vol. 10 (2011).

170 Gilad Lotan, "KONY2012: See how invisible networks helped a campaign capture the world's attention" (14 March 2012). Available from http://giladlotan.com/2012/03/data-viz-kony2012-see-how-invisible-networks-helped-a-campaign-capture-the-worlds-attention/.

171 State Bogdan and Lada Adamic, "The diffusion of support in an online social movement: evidence from the adoption of equal-sign profile pictures", in *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing, Vancouver, B.C., Canada, March 14-18, 2015* (New York, Association for Computing Machinery, 2015), pp. 1,741-1,750.

172 Joel Penney, "Social media and symbolic action: exploring participation in the Facebook red equal sign profile picture campaign", *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, vol. 20, No. 1 (January 2015), pp. 52-66; and Pew Research Center, "Changing attitudes on gay marriage" (29 July 2015). Available from http://www.pewforum.org/2015/07/29/graphics-slideshow-changing-attitudes-on-gay-marriage/.

173 Human Rights Campaign, "Marriage at the U.S. Supreme Court: a transformative moment for equality" (2014).

PARTICIPATORY POLITICS THROUGH PARTICIPATORY CULTURE

Fan activism

Issue-oriented campaigns such as KONY 2012 and the red equal sign campaign represent the main-streaming by networked social movements of a set of culture-creating practices known as "participatory culture". In fact, participatory politics is an extension of the broader participatory culture, wherein consumers are no longer passive recipients of professionally produced cultural content but instead are encouraged to create and share their own content and form communities to do so.[174] This has long been true in fan communities, which generate their own homages and original material as part of their fandom. Fan activism, which has a history of pressuring media corporations to be responsive to fans' wants and values, has now become a potent force for broader political activism in the form of communities such as the Harry Potter Alliance.

The Harry Potter Alliance (HPA) was founded in 2005 to organize fans of the Harry Potter stories to come together and fight against the evils of "our world" the same way the novels' characters did in theirs. HPA has been extremely successful at drawing parallels between themes addressed in young adult fiction and major issues such as fair labour and marriage equality and using those narratives to energize a network of members to volunteer, to take actions such as creating their own testimonials and signing pledges, and to donate money and books to those in need. The organizing of these largely online and global actions has been enhanced by the development of a network of local chapters spanning 25 countries; the individual chapters coordinate their own actions and enable HPA to have local, national and global platforms.

Political memes

A mainstay of the activist repertoire and participatory culture is humour. For digital activists ranging from the Harry Potter Alliance and the Human Rights Campaign to the Occupy movement, political memes are one of the core tools. The most popular form is the easiest to create and share: the image macro meme takes an image easily recognizable to the audience and overlays a bold white caption on it. Numerous websites host generators that make it easy for users to make their own image macro memes. Given the universality of political humour and the simplicity of image macro-based memes, it is not surprising that this practice has spread to even the tiny online populations of countries that have only recently gained Internet access.[175]

Prominent examples of political memes enlivening international political discourse have been those created to poke fun at terrorists. Terrorist organizations exemplified by the Islamic State are adept users of participatory culture for recruitment and information warfare, so it is only fitting that memes are used

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174   Henry Jenkins and others, *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century*, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Reports on Digital Media and Learning (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2009). Available from https://mitpress.mit.edu/sites/default/files/titles/free_download/9780262513623_Confronting_the_Challenges.pdf.

175   Thant Sin, "Political memes, welcome to Myanmar", Global Voices (27 May 2015). Available from https://globalvoices.org/2015/05/27/political-memes-welcome-to-myanmar/.

against them. Several lampooning memes came out of Osama bin Laden's demise—image macros featuring bin Laden's image and captions such as "Hide and Seek Champion 2001–2011."[176] More recently, in August 2015, "ISIS Karaoke" was launched on Twitter by a 32-year old who combined lyrics of pop songs with images of militants from Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) wielding microphones.[177] This has spawned a growing collection of memes contributed by others using the hashtag #isiskaraoke.

Civic hacking

Some youth are going beyond making media and are making or using data for civic and political ends. Others are even building the next generation of technologies for their fellow digital activists to use. The open data movement represents a community of technologists and activists who are pushing for the release of government data in countries around the world in order to support a range of practices. Recently, they have been arguing for the commercial and efficiency benefits of providing open government data to coders. As a result, civic hackathons are being supported at the highest levels of government in some countries. The longer history of this movement is one aligned with the political cause of transparency and accountability—the argument that citizens can better monitor the performance of the Government and ensure that it truly represents citizens' best interests when they are able to access and analyse its data.

Civic hackers building tools for making their own data or organizing civic and political communities in new ways have had high-profile success. Activist-oriented civic hacking projects include the precursor to Twitter—TXTmob—built by young activist technologists who wanted a distributed SMS-based tool for coordinating protests.[178] On the humanitarian side, tools have been developed to establish or strengthen community response mechanisms. For example, youth in the Russian Federation used the Ushahidi crowdmapping platform to create Help Map, which coordinated peer-to-peer mutual aid efforts during the 2010 wildfires in the Russian Federation.[179] Those working with the Government rather than against it have been supported by organizations such as Code for America and Code for All.[180] A number of Governments have a strong interest in creating opportunities for these talented youth to practise the kind of entrepreneurial citizenship Irani describes.

Hacktivism

Other groups of technologically adept youth, attracted more to anti-government and anti-corporate politics, express themselves through hacktivism. Unlike civic hacking, which is largely constructive while also potentially activist, hacktivism represents

176 "Osama Bin Laden's death", *Know Your Meme*. Available from http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/events/osama-bin-ladens-death.

177 Hussein Kesvani, "This Twitter account is hilariously mocking ISIS with popular karaoke songs", *BuzzFeed* (24 August 2015). Available from http://www.buzzfeed.com/husseinkesvani/isis-karaoke-twitter-account.

178 Micah L. Sifry, "From TXTMob to Twitter: how an activist tool took over the conventions", *TechPresident* (25 August 2015). Available from http://techpresident.com/news/22775/txtmob-twitter-how-activist-tool-took-over-conventions.

179 Gregory Asmolov, "Virtual Rynda—the Atlas of Help: mutual aid as a form of social activism", in *Global Dimensions of Digital Activism*, Ethan Zuckerman and Lorrie LeJeune, eds. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Center for Civic Media, 2014). Available from http://book.globaldigitalactivism.org/chapter/virtual-rynda-the-atlas-of-help-mutual-aid-as-a-form-of-social-activism/.

180 See codeforall.org.

a more controversial genre of digital activism that views the Internet as a site for disruptive protest. Within the hacktivist repertoire are projects such as Wikileaks—with clear political goals similar to those of many open data activists—leaking sensitive documents and helping to maintain the infrastructure for anonymous submissions.

More controversial have been hacktivists—most notably those affiliated with one or more of Anonymous's many incarnations—who have developed tactics for culture jamming vandalism of online property (replacing web pages with political manifestos), picket lines and roadblocks (distributed denial-of-service, or DDOS, attacks to take down web servers), and leaking private personal information in support of radical transparency (data exfiltration from private servers). Most versions of the offline analogues of these tactics are illegal, even if they are recognized as political acts; computer law is no different. The United States and many other countries treat such tactics as dangerously criminal and even terroristic. Harsh punishments can be meted out to participants, who may do little more than click a button on a software application that instructs their computer to send large amounts of data to a target web server; some hacktivists have been fined hundreds of thousands of dollars and threatened with long prison sentences to persuade them to accept felony plea deals.

Anonymous affiliates who participated in operations between 2010 and 2011 were arrested in six different countries. Many were identified by their computers' IP addresses after participating in DDOS attacks. The string of hacks certainly captivated the attention of the media and terrified companies and Governments the world over. In this case, the spectacle was successful in setting the media agenda. However, Anonymous struggled to maintain a frame for its work that was political rather than criminal.[181] In fact, the tactics used by Anonymous during its most notorious operations were disavowed by early hacktivists such as Oxblood Ruffin, who developed tools for censorship evasion, firewall penetration and obfuscation.[182]

This new brand of digital activism is considered well outside the mainstream, and it represents a tiny fraction of the digital activism universe.[183] It is unclear if hacktivist tactics such as DDOS will even stay within the repertoire of fringe digital activism. However, because government-affiliated hackers use these same tactics for cyberwar and espionage and because new forms of hacktivism can be expected to emerge, it is important to understand that certain practitioners view this as their contribution to participatory politics.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR DIGITAL ACTIVISM

Hacktivism is only the most extreme of the many challenges to traditional notions of legitimate political participation. Digital activism faces numerous obstacles to its growth and efficacy. More directly,

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181 Gabriella Coleman, *Hacker, Hoaxer, Whistleblower, Spy: The Many Faces of Anonymous* (New York, Verso, 2014).

182 Molly Sauter, *The Coming Swarm: DDOS Actions, Hacktivism, and Civil Disobedience on the Internet* (New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

183 Frank Edwards, Philip N. Howard and Mary Joyce, "Digital activism and non-violent conflict" (November 2013). Available from http://digital-activism.org/download/1306/.

it can pose risks to participants themselves, either legally in the case of the Anonymous hacktivists, or socially in the case of women who exercise their political voice in misogynistic parts of the Internet.

Unclear impact and slacker activism

Digital activism has been referred to as slacktivism or clicktivism, criticised on several fronts as being lazy, cowardly, ineffective,[184] and perhaps even harmful to the larger process of civic renewal.[185] Critics consider individualized, networked participation a poor substitute for traditional forms of collective activism exemplified by well-worn reductionist versions of 1960s-era campaigns such as the United States civil rights movement.[186] It is fair to assert, as Peter Levine does, that digital activism may be able to achieve scale and diversity but not depth or sustainability—that online campaigns may all prove evanescent and lack an ability to handle and overcome valid criticisms or lack the infrastructure necessary to invite and train youth from apolitical networks to replace current leaders the way traditional political organizations could.[187] The Invisible Children and the uprisings in the MENA region exemplify these problems with participatory politics.

It cannot yet be said whether youth digital activism is a poor substitute for traditional forms of youth activism, and it is hard to evaluate the direct effects of media activist tactics on long-term targets such as social norms. It is known that digital structures and tactics used in the uprisings in the MENA region, by Invisible Children, and even by the Harry Potter Alliance have had an impact on the world. Furthermore, with rates of volunteerism and informal political participation remaining high among youth—especially marginalized racial and ethnic groups in the United States—scholars such as Ethan Zuckerman see the potential for a new "ladder of citizen participation" leading from lightweight forms of digital activism such as sharing memes to political participation involving the same level of time and personal commitment as traditional activism.[188] Although there are some concerns about social movements founded on participatory politics, successful and sustainable networked social movements may already be emerging as hybrids of new and traditional youth organizing around issues such as undocumented immigrant rights in the United States.[189]

Unprotected civil rights and an unfree Internet

Outside of Western countries with strong free speech and assembly protections, the slacktivist critique of digital activists as lazy or cowardly does not

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184 Evgeny Morozov, "The brave new world of slacktivism", *Foreign Policy* (19 May 2009). Available from http://foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/05/19/the_brave_new_world_of_slacktivism.

185 Micah White, "Clicktivism is ruining leftist activism", *The Guardian* (12 August 2010). Available from http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/aug/12/clicktivism-ruining-leftist-activism.

186 Malcolm Gladwell, "Small change: why the revolution will not be tweeted", *The New Yorker* (4 October 2010). Available from http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/10/04/small-change-malcolm-gladwell.

187 Peter Levine, "Democracy in the digital age", in *Civic Media: Technology, Design, Practice*, Eric Gordon and Paul Mihailidis, eds. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, forthcoming).

188 Ethan Zuckerman, "New media, new civics?" *Policy & Internet*, vol. 6, No. 2 (27 June 2014), pp. 151-168; and Sherry R. Arnstein, "A ladder of citizen participation", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, vol. 35, No. 4 (1969), pp. 216-224.

189 Sasha Costanza-Chock, *Out of the Shadows, Into the Streets! Transmedia Organizing and the Immigrant Rights Movement* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2014).

hold up. Many countries have long track records of harassing and imprisoning online activists. In 2015, Reporters Without Borders counted 170 imprisoned "netizens" around the world.[190] Several countries run extremely sophisticated national programmes of Internet filtering and information control; some have even developed State-run alternative social networks to move domestic Facebook users into a more easily monitored space, and "patriotic hackers" may be tasked with taking down dissenting websites.[191]

Digital activists in some countries have invented ways to evade censors and share their own brand of political memes using clever language and imagery that stand in for political topics.[192] However, pervasive censorship and surveillance undermine online political participation by creating a kind of "disciplinary society", wherein users discipline themselves and cultivate a kind of political disaffection and apathy.[193] This is a threat not only in countries perceived as authoritarian. Edward Snowden's leaks have exposed

massive unwarranted surveillance operations by Western Governments, which may have chilling effects on citizens in countries used to the assurance of being innocent until proven guilty and free to say what they want, especially in spaces perceived as private. Following Jürgen Habermas's formulation, losing those private spheres deprives individuals of a safe place to develop their political identities and can undermine their ability to participate effectively once they are in their public spheres.[194]

These threats to Internet freedom are increasing as the world moves further into the mobile computing era and are likely to have a negative impact on the ability of youth to express themselves in contemporary forums. With an ever-growing percentage of online interaction channelled through apps controlled by private companies such as Twitter, Facebook, Google and Apple, users have less control over their data and expose themselves to more risk as companies share their data with Governments and other third parties. Millions of users in developing countries who have received free access to Facebook on their mobile Internet plans do not realize they are actually on the Internet;[195] they are not aware that their data are traveling through the same Internet cables that several Governments are surveilling, looking explicitly for social media metadata. Moreover, free access to Facebook is not access to the Internet and its rich array of information sources and communication forums. This is creating new digital divides in the name of addressing old ones.

Digital divides

For many youth, the biggest barrier to joining the world of digital activism is still some form of the

190 Reporters sans frontières, "2015: netizens imprisoned". Available from https://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-barometer-netizens-imprisoned.html?annee=2015.

191 Ronald Deibert and others, eds., *Access Contested: Security, Identity, and Resistance in Asian Cyberspace* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2011).

192 Rebecca MacKinnon, *Consent of the Networked: The Worldwide Struggle for Internet Freedom* (New York, Basic Books, 2012).

193 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, Vintage Books, 1977).

194 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Polity Press, 1992).

195 Leo Mirani, "Millions of Facebook users have no idea they're using the Internet", *Quartz*. Available from http://qz.com/333313/milliions-of-facebook-users-have-no-idea-theyre-using-the-internet/ (accessed 9 February 2015).

digital divide or digital inequality.[196] While the proliferation of mobile computing means that cheaper Internet connections are being offered to more people worldwide, the Facebook example suggests that it might not be a full, free Internet they can afford to access. This means that people who have the greatest access and the time to develop their skills and realize their full potential will pull away from their fellow citizens in terms of political agency. Moreover, this select few will be those civic hackers empowered to design and fully exploit the next generation of civic and political technologies.

In studying youth engagement in participatory culture, Henry Jenkins and his colleagues identified an insidious "participation gap", finding that youth with poor access to the necessary hardware and software and to safe, scaffolded environments in which to develop skills for creating and sharing media will fall behind.[197] Essentially, such youth do not have equitable opportunities to engage in participatory politics and digital activism. The gap is even worse for girls, who on average have significantly less access to educational opportunities than boys do in many countries. There is already a need to develop advanced digital skills in combination with traditional political knowledge and critical thinking skills if one wishes to participate fully in contemporary politics. Youth who do not have access to their own computers, smartphones, or even feature phones will be less able to practice the digital skills of media making and online participation necessary to fully join the online publics that are increasingly shaping the political agendas around the world.

Technologies and communities that oppress

Even when youth make it online and have the skills necessary to participate, they can still be marginalized by oppressive cultures of misogyny and racism, as traditional forms of sociopolitical inequality bleed into online spaces. Many of the most open online spaces for political discourse—sites such as Twitter and reddit—also play host to bad actors who belittle and harass women and racial and ethnic minorities for creating and sharing political messages of empowerment for their respective groups.

Harassment in the digital age is insidious because it follows the victim home and inherently expands the size and scope of the public witnessing the shaming and intimidation. This may result in the spread of fear across whole communities and desensitization to violent language and imagery.[198] In many countries, Internet-based violence directed at lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals is a common occurrence, with the oppression sometimes amplified by practices such as videotaping and uploading episodes of abuse online. In addition, several countries pay for or otherwise promote harmful disinformation

196   Paul DiMaggio and Eszter Hargittai, "From the 'digital divide' to 'digital inequality': studying Internet use as penetration increases", Princeton University Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies, Working Paper #15 (Summer 2001). Available from https://www.princeton.edu/~artspol/workpap/WP15%20-%20 DiMaggio%2BHargittai.pdf.

197   Henry Jenkins and others, *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century*, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Reports on Digital Media and Learning (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2009). Available from https://mitpress.mit.edu/sites/default/files/titles/free_download/9780262513623_Confronting_the_Challenges.pdf.

online, drowning out anti-government voices on social media and in comment sections across numerous websites, which adds to and encourages online violence by authorities. This type of systematic ideological oppression is something technology companies should be working to address.

Twitter still struggles to identify nefarious bots on its platform; these automated software programs posing as and posting like real Twitter users have been used by a number of politicians around the world, sometimes simply to artificially inflate the popularity of a candidate but also to silence legitimate political speech.[199] In one instance, during a 2012 national election, all the political parties were allegedly using Twitter bots to repeatedly send out messages to make their statements trend on Twitter; one party even co-opted opposition hashtags and activated tens of thousands of bots, in effect drowning out legitimate public speech.[200]

198 Andrés Monroy-Hernández and others, "Narcotweets: social media in wartime", in *Sixth International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media* (Palo Alto, California, AAAI Press, 2012); and Munmun De Choudhury, Andrés Monroy-Hernández and Gloria Mark, "'Narco' emotions: affect and desensitization in social media during the Mexican drug war", in CHI '14 *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (New York, Association for Computing Machinery, 2014), pp. 3,563-3,572. Research paper available from http://research.microsoft.com/pubs/208580/affect_desensitize-v29.pdf.

199 Philip N. Howard, *Pax Technica: How the Internet of Things May Set Us Free or Lock Us Up* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015).

200 Mike Orcutt, "Twitter mischief plagues Mexico's election", *MIT Technology Review* (21 June 2012). Available from http://www.technologyreview.com/news/428286/twitter-mischief-plagues-mexicos-election/.

201 J. Nathan Matias and others, *Reporting, Reviewing, and Responding to Harassment on Twitter* (Women, Action, and the Media, 13 May 2015). Available from http://womenactionmedia.org/cms/assets/uploads/2015/05/wam-twitter-abuse-report.pdf.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Support the growth of a free and open Internet

Millions of youth still need reliable, open access to the Internet, not just for political purposes but also to meet their educational and economic needs. This does not mean providing free Facebook access. Free and open access to the whole Internet also means continuing to combat online censorship and mass surveillance activities around the world, as these undermine political expression. Finally, this also means continuing to support efforts to address oppression online, including those undertaken by Women, Action, and the Media (WAM!) to audit Twitter's harassment reporting mechanisms and to recommend changes.[201]

Teach digital and civic skills together

To ensure that even those youth with complete access to the Internet can participate fully using contemporary technologies, steps must be taken to provide sufficient scaffolding for young people so that they are able to gain experience and an understanding of how these new systems of change and power operate. Youth should be developing their digital media skills (both media production and programming) while also being exposed to political knowledge and critical and systems thinking applied to social and political problems and changemaking. Educators should find opportunities for application of these skills in practical changemaking projects at the local level that help youth test their theories of change, construct new media or technologies with a purpose, and gain confidence in their ability to assume a civic leadership role.

It is essential to look to the future of digital activism, as the next set of online platforms and civic technologies will be designed by today's youth. Ensuring that future technologies are inclusive and representative in terms of who can use them and how they can be used requires a community of designers characterized by diversity—in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, language and socioeconomic status—who can design with that diversity in mind. Providing access to digital tools, relevant learning opportunities, and pathways to political participation that validate youth as effective citizens will be critical to expanding youth political participation.

Fund digital activism impact studies

Research on digital activism is rapidly expanding, but that does not mean it is keeping up with innovation in the sector. Moreover, most of the current research efforts are theoretical or descriptive. Case studies can provide detailed representations of successful digital actions, though cases of failure need to be studied as well. In addition, efforts must be made to understand the real impact of individual digital activism tactics such as online petitions, meme sharing, or calling for celebrity attention on Twitter. Causal studies are needed to better understand this space and to inform the design of future forms of activism and civic technology. Politically engaged youth can and should be at the forefront of performing this research as both practitioners and scholars. The upcoming generation of researchers deserves funding to make sense of the important innovations in digital activism their fellow youth are devising.

Take the lead and take responsibility: musts for youth and Governments

Youth should and undoubtedly will continue to invent new forms and uses of media and technology to express themselves, set agendas, organize politically, and press for change in the world. Digital activism represents a space in which youth practitioners are uniquely positioned to serve as civic and political leaders by repurposing existing platforms for new civic purposes and capitalizing on the democratic opportunities available to those with the requisite skills and technology access. Youth should support their peers through collaboration, mentoring and advocacy to ensure that more young people can participate civically and politically using digital tools. Importantly, youth who ascend to leadership roles in traditional institutions of corporate or government power should push for reforms that make those institutions more accessible, transparent and responsive to current and future generations of actualizing citizens. Governments may be able to address the mistrust and disengagement characteristically associated with traditional political processes by engaging more authentically with youth both online and offline. This means not only promoting civic hacking or creating more efficient channels of official communication, but also strengthening protections for freedom of speech, assembly, the press, and privacy so that youth digital activists do not suffer the chilling effects of government and corporate censorship and surveillance and are not criminalized or castigated for non-violent political activity.

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COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

OVER the past few decades, greater attention has been given to youth engagement at all levels within the development agenda. There has been increased recognition of the value of young people's participation as it pertains to both youth and wider development, as well as formal acknowledgement of the need to actively address the many challenges facing a growing youth population, including unemployment and underemployment, poverty, inequality, political unrest, and social exclusion.

Involving youth—as collaborators, team members, leaders and decision makers—in addressing the day-to-day issues that affect them offers a broad range of benefits to both young people and the community, from greater community connectedness and social awareness of the individual to enhanced participatory decision-making and democratic governance in community institutions (see boxes 4.1 and 4.2 for more detailed benefits). Such involvement also sends youth the message that their participation has intrinsic value.

Although the extent of their participation has varied, young people have always been actively engaged at the community level through volunteerism, peacebuilding efforts and sporting activities. Young people engage for a number of reasons ranging from self-actualization and peer recognition to the desire

to solve problems, make changes or fight injustice through social or political activism.[202] Young people are often more motivated by the immediate and short-term outcomes of engagement, while for adults community involvement tends to be more focused on the long-term impact.[203]

Engagement at the community level often provides young people with their first experience of active participation in a cause or activity, serving as a gateway to further and broader engagement throughout life as well as opportunities for leadership building. Young people are increasingly motivated to engage with issues, causes or movements that are meaningful to them and the communities in which they live.[204] Over the past few decades, young people have been gradually moving away from engagement in institutionalized structures (such as electoral activities and political parties) towards greater involvement in cause-oriented political activism. At the same time, the rise of social media and advance of new ICTs and mobile technology has provided young people with greater opportunity to engage within in their communities in new and innovative ways.

Youth-focused and youth-led organizations often provide the first experience of intentional engagement for young people at the community level. Organizations such as the Scouts can draw together children and youth at an early age, teaching them

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202 Daniel Adugna Muluneh, "Creating an enabling environment for youth entrepreneurship", a paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Youth, Development and Rights, held in New York on 13 and 14 November 2013. Presentation summary available from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/egms/docs/2013/YouthDevelopmentRights/EGMReportYouthandRights.pdf.

203 United Nations Development Programme, *Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle: A Good Practice Guide* (New York, 2013), p. 11. Available from http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/electoral_systemsandprocesses/enhancing-youth-political-participation-throughout-the-electoral.html.

204 See James Sloam's contribution on political engagement in the present publication.

valuable life skills through focused voluntary activity. Integrating intentional learning and education in youth engagement at the community level can contribute significantly to youth development. Activities such as volunteering, peacebuilding and sport not only engage youth in the activity itself, but also offer the possibility for young people to develop specialized skills and knowledge in the areas of leadership, teamwork, communication, peer-to-peer mentorship, problem solving, decision-making, negotiation and mediation, and intercultural understanding. Furthermore, evidence suggests that involving youth at the community level in grass-roots causes, groups and activities increases the likelihood that they will engage in political processes.[205]

In this chapter, the changing trends and concepts surrounding engagement at the community level are explored in the contexts of volunteerism (Sarah Huxley), peacebuilding (Lakshitha Saji Prelis) and sport for development (Selina Khoo and Andre Matthias Müller).

VOLUNTEERISM

The nature and practice of voluntary activity are wide ranging and have been subject to change. Volunteering has traditionally been viewed as an altruistic endeavour carried out by an individual for the purpose of providing charity, support or assistance to a specific community and/or project in order to promote the well-being of a specific group or society as a whole.

The notion of volunteering can be quite fluid and broadly encompasses many forms of civic engagement. For example, according to the most recent *State of the World's Volunteerism Report*, the terms "volunteering" and "social activism" are not mutually exclusive. "Volunteering and social action converge and overlap around creating opportunities for participation: social activism starts at exactly the same premise as volunteering—people giving time who want to make a change in their community".[206]

At its most basic, volunteerism often works to fill gaps in service provision for those living in poverty,[207] and while volunteering is often perceived as those "with"

205 Expanding the participation of young people in local groups inspires greater electoral and political participation. Volunteer activities in the community can give youth greater confidence in their ability to influence broader issues and take action in the political realm. See Mercy Corps, *Civic Engagement of Youth in the Middle East and North Africa: An Analysis of Key Drivers and Outcomes* (March 2012). Available from https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/mena_youth_civic_engagement_study_-_final.pdf.

206 United Nations Volunteers, *State of the World's Volunteerism Report 2015: Transforming Governance* (Bonn, 2015), p. 4. Available from http://www.volunteeractioncounts.org/SWVR2015-frame/21337%20-%20SWVR%20report%20-%20ENGLISH%20-%20web%201.pdf.

207 Ibid., p. 7.

helping those "without", volunteers are themselves diverse in nature. Indeed, in Africa, "much volunteering is done by the poor for the poor".[208]

In recent decades, the practice of volunteering and voluntary service has increasingly been viewed as a give-and-get proposition, whereby individuals offer their time and effort to a cause but expect, in return, to develop skills and gain experience. In some cases, voluntary activity is used as a means of obtaining experience in a specific area to bolster a young person's curriculum vitae (CV) or résumé as he or she searches for employment. Volunteerism is seen to have added value among recent graduates who are potentially facing long periods of unemployment or underemployment as a result of the global economic crisis.

The period of "waithood"—a time of stagnation in the transition from youth to adulthood—is becoming longer for many young people worldwide. Facing delays in the progression from school to work, marriage and family formation, youth often see voluntary activity as a way to fill the gap. However, the potential exists for young people to become long-term volunteers rather than transitioning to the labour market, which can have a significant impact on youth development. Added to this is the fact that the skills and experience gained throughout voluntary activity are still not

recognized in many sectors, leading some employers to ignore the value and benefits of voluntary activity among prospective employees.

The upsurge in "voluntourism"—where a person travels abroad to volunteer on a community project for a specified short-term period—has also had implications for volunteerism and brings into question the sustainability of such endeavours for the receiving communities.

With the development of relevant ICT platforms, online voluntary service has become increasingly popular among young people, providing them with a means to work with a community and/or project anywhere in the world from their own home. Young people are able to quickly mobilize others via social media sites and campaigns; this less formal but enormously effective form of mass volunteerism is challenging historic notions and definitions of volunteerism.

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208 Ibid.

BOX 4.1.

BENEFITS OF YOUTH ENGAGEMENT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

—Pat Dolan and Mark Brennan

Young people who are involved in their communities feel that they are valued and taken seriously by other community members.[a] They often receive recognition for their contributions and tend to have relatively high self-esteem.[b] Helping others can bring great satisfaction, contribute to happiness, and make young people feel part of something bigger than themselves.[c] Assuming some form of responsibility or leadership can engender feelings of efficacy and being able to make a difference. Young volunteers often have a sense of contributing to shared norms or values so that they feel "at home rather than out of place" in their communities.[d] Flanagan and Levine point out that engaging with peers singularly and in groups helps young people form social networks, build social capital and connect to opportunities.[e] Young people may enjoy increased independence and altruistic capacity, enabling them to shift their focus from their own problems to the needs of others. Youth also benefit from more and better social support from others, which has a proven connection to better mental health and well-being.[f]

YOUTH CIVIC ACTION: BENEFITS FOR INDIVIDUALS

- Enjoyment, fun and friendship;

- Enhanced skills in areas such as group work, research, needs assessment, planning, programme evaluation, and media campaign development and execution;

- Strengthened capacity to participate effectively in the community and contribute to its betterment;

- Greater community connectedness;

- Greater social awareness;

- A positive sense of self and identity;

- Enhanced social support, resilience and well-being;

- Opportunities to provide organizational leadership;

- Academic and career development;

- Development of personal networks and social capital.

SOURCES: (a) Rosemary V. Barnett and Mark A. Brennan, "Integrating youth into community development: implications for policy planning and program evaluation", *Journal of Youth Development*, vol. 1, No. 2 (September 2006), pp. 2-16. Available from http://www.leadingnow.org/sites/default/files/pdf/Integrating_Youth_Community_Development.pdf; (b) Peter C. Scales and Nancy Leffert, *Developmental Assets: A Synthesis of the Scientific Research on Adolescent Development* (Minneapolis, Minnesota, Search Institute, 1999); (c) Lonnie R. Sherrod, Constance Flanagan and James Youniss, "Dimensions of citizenship and opportunities for youth development: the what, why, when, where, and who of citizenship development", *Applied Developmental Science*, vol. 6, No. 4 (2002), pp. 264-272; (d) Ibid., p. 267; (e) Constance Flanagan and Peter Levine, "Civic engagement and the transition to adulthood", Future of Children, vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring 2010), pp. 159-179. Available from https://www.princeton.edu/futureofchildren/publications/docs/20_01_08.pdf; and (f) Pat Dolan, "Youth civic engagement and support: promoting well-being with the assistance of a UNESCO agenda", in *Child Well-Being; Understanding Children's Lives*, Colette McAuley and Wendy Rose, eds. (London, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2010), pp. 111-126.

BOX 4.2.

BENEFITS OF YOUTH ENGAGEMENT FOR THE COMMUNITY

—Pat Dolan and Mark Brennan

Youth civic engagement benefits not only the individuals involved but also their communities and wider society. Supportive groups, organizations and communities can provide opportunities for young people to connect with others, participate in meaningful activities, develop skills, and feel safe, secure and valued. Crucially, by engaging in civic activities, young people can help create the types of communities that are needed for positive youth development. According to Brennan,[a] the contributions of young people to community development have often been overlooked or underestimated, even though it is known that community and resiliency (the capacity to cope under stress) contribute significantly to the well-being of youth. More simply, strong communities are needed to promote youth resiliency and vice versa. Communities can benefit from youth participation in the identification of problems and solutions relevant to young people and the community as a whole. Collaborative civic action creates connectedness between community members and highlights the importance of young people as civic actors. Research has shown that youth civic engagement can help young people develop the capacity to serve in organizations and eventually transition into community leaders who contribute to the long-term success and sustainability of community development efforts.[b] Furthermore, youth civic engagement can enhance the democratic process by bringing new energy, ideas and perspectives into the community.

YOUTH CIVIC ACTION: BENEFITS FOR COMMUNITIES

- The negotiation of joint solutions to social and civic problems and inequalities;

- Stronger community networks, identity, attachment and capacity;

- Better recognition of young people as contributors to the development of their communities and society;

- Enhanced participatory decision-making and democratic governance in community institutions;

- Renewal and sustainability of community development efforts through the injection of new lifeblood.

SOURCES: (a) Mark A. Brennan, "Conceptualizing resiliency: an interactional perspective for community and youth development", *Child Care in Practice* (special issue: Building Resilience in Children, Families, and Communities), vol. 14, No. 1 (January 2008), pp. 55-64; and (b) Joel Nitzburg, "The meshing of youth development and community building", *New Directions for Youth Development*, Special Issue: Putting Youth at the Center of Community Building, No. 106 (Summer 2005), pp. 7-16; and Mark A. Brennan, "The development of community in the west of Ireland: a return to Killala twenty years on", *Community Development Journal*, vol. 42, No. 3 (2007), pp. 330-374.

YOUTH ENGAGEMENT IN PEACEBUILDING

With close to 600 million young people living in conflict-affected or fragile contexts,[209] youth have a significant role to play in peacebuilding efforts. Although young people have always been involved in peacebuilding, activities and programmes focused on the specific role of youth in peacebuilding are relatively new.

Just as youth are not homogeneous, the roles of young people in conflict and post-conflict settings are diverse, ranging from activist to dissident and from peacemaker to conflict aggravator.[210]

Much attention is being focused, particularly by the mainstream media, on the role of youth—especially young men—in instigating or perpetuating conflict and violence, either via recruitment as armed soldiers or as instigators of armed conflict themselves. Indeed, throughout 2014 and 2015, Western media focused disproportionately on the numbers of young men and young women joining the group Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. Far less attention has been directed towards the role of young people in peacebuilding. The perpetuation of the view of young people as instigators of violence rather than as peacebuilders

is unfair, as the majority of young people worldwide espouse the ideals of peace and security.

Indeed, large numbers of youth are engaged in community-based activities at the grass-roots level and are most often on the front lines of peacebuilding efforts.[211] With the right opportunities and targeted activities that build on their special skills and capacities, young people can be effective agents of change within the community.

However, whether or not this happens can depend greatly on the approach applied to peacebuilding in its specific context. As Professor Alan Smith, Ulster University, explains (Box 4.3.) young people can be viewed as either positive stakeholders who are sought out to be actively involved in the peacebuilding process or they can be perceived as threats and excluded from the process altogether.

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209 United Nations Development Programme, *UNDP Youth Strategy 2014-2017: Empowered Youth, Sustainable Future* (New York, 2014). Available from http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Youth/UNDP_Youth-Strategy-2014-17_Web.pdf

210 Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, "Youth as social and political agents: issues in post-settlement peace building", Kroc Institute Occasional Papers No. 21:OP:2 (Notre Dame, December 2001).

211 Ibid.

BOX 4.3.

APPROACHES TO PEACEBUILDING AND THE ROLE OF YOUTH

—Alan Smith

A young person's role in peacebuilding can depend on the nature of the peacebuilding efforts in place. Alan Smith, Professor of Education at Ulster University, notes two broad approaches to peacebuilding.

The first is a neoliberal approach, which focuses on establishing dialogue between political actors and securing a cessation of violence. Youth are often perceived mainly as a threat to security, and their potential as peacebuilders is neglected. One of the main criticisms of the neoliberal approach is that it tends to focus on reversion to the status quo once hostilities have ceased; often, this involves bringing together political actors in a coalition to govern and revive the economy. This approach is frequently criticized for not addressing systemic issues and inequalities and for failing to serve the interests of those who often are the most marginalized and disadvantaged.

An alternative approach places much more emphasis on social justice, building on Galtung's concepts of "negative peace" (stopping violence) and "positive peace" (addressing the fundamental causes of violence). This approach also has strong links to critical theory by feminist thinkers such as Nancy Fraser, in which transformation and change are key elements and social justice is achieved through, for example, the redistribution of social, economic and political power and resources and the recognition and representation of groups and populations previously marginalized and discriminated against, including youth in many cases.

When involving youth in peacebuilding efforts, it is important to establish whether specific youth engagement programmes are focused primarily on keeping the peace or are committed to addressing structural causes of violence, inequalities in society, and historical grievances between groups in order to bring about real transformative change in society.

SOURCES: (a) Nancy Fraser, "From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a 'post-socialist' age", *New Left Review*, vol. I/212 (July-August 1995), pp. 68-93; (b) Nancy Fraser, "Reframing justice in a globalizing world", *New Left Review*, vol. 36 (November-December 2005), pp. 79-88; (c) Johan Galtung, "Three approaches to peace: peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding", in *Peace, War and Defence—Essays in Peace Research*, vol. 2, Johan Galtung, ed. (Copenhagen, Christian Ejlers, 1976), pp. 282-304; (d) Johan Galtung, "Cultural violence", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 27, No. 3 (August 1990), pp. 291-305; (e) Alan Smith, "The influence of education on conflict and peace building", a background paper prepared for the *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011—The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education* (Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2010); (f) and Alan Smith and others, *The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: Literature Review* (New York, United Nations Children's Fund, 2011).

In recognising the positive role that young people play in peacebuilding, the United Nations Inter-agency Network on Youth Development convened a Working Group on Youth Participation in Peacebuilding[212]. The Working Group developed a set of "Guiding Principles for Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding"[213] to offer overarching guidance on meaningful youth engagement and participation, especially in conflict or transition settings. The Principles offer guidance to key stakeholders, including Governments, UN entities, donors, national and international non-governmental organizations and civil society actors.

In addition, the Working Group has released a "Practice Note on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding"[214] which aims to inform policymakers and donors of key strategic and programming considerations for supporting young people's participation to peacebuilding.

YOUTH ENGAGEMENT THROUGH SPORT

Sport is a popular pursuit in which young people regularly engage and can include myriad types of physical activity contributing to fitness, well-being and social engagement.[215] Many young people of all ages participate in sport—ranging from play and recreation to organized competitive and non-competitive activity—at the community level. Schools, sporting clubs and recreation centres provide a meeting place for youth to engage with each other in a safe environment where they can develop skills such as teamwork and collaboration.

Sport is being increasingly recognized as a tool for education, capacity-building and community engagement, and in recent decades, sport-based development initiatives targeting youth have been on the rise. The benefits sport provides to individuals and communities are manifold. For the young person, sport not only offers opportunities for play and self-expression; it can also foster physical and

212 The United Nations Inter-agency Network on Youth Development's Working Group on Youth Participation in Peacebuilding is co-chaired by the UN Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO), Search for Common Ground (SFCG) and the United Network of Young Peace Builders (UNOY). The Working Group brings together UN entities, youth organizations and civil society stakeholders working in the field of youth and peacebuilding.

213 United Nations Inter-agency Network on Youth Development, Working Group on Youth Participation in Peacebuilding, "Guiding principles for young people's participation in peacebuilding". Available from https://www.sfcg.org/guidingprinciples and http://www.youth4peace.info/

214 United Nations Inter-agency Network on Youth Development, Working Group on Youth Participation in Peacebuilding, "Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding: A practice note", Available from http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/pdf/Practice%20Note%20Youth%20&%20Peacebuilding%20-%20January%202016.pdf

215 United Nations, *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals—Report from the United Nations Inter-Agency Taskforce on Sport for Development and Peace* (2003). Available from http://www.un.org/wcm/webdav/site/sport/shared/sport/pdfs/Reports/2003_interagency_report_ENGLISH.pdf

emotional development and can constitute an alternative to harmful activities such as drug use and criminal pursuits. At the community level, sport can provide a platform for members of the community to come together, bridging ethnic, racial, religious and other divides, and can be a useful component of peacebuilding and social integration efforts.[216]

In particular, sport can be used as a tool to engage disadvantaged youth and youth at risk, many of whom may otherwise be hard to reach. Youth who are no longer in the formal education system, young people susceptible and vulnerable to joining gangs, and youth who are isolated from other forms of youth engagement can often find a medium for engagement through sports.

There is increasing recognition of the role that sport plays in bringing young people together and in promoting civic engagement and youth development. However, in and of itself, sport is not a panacea for youth development and social integration. Sport can be an exclusory activity, particularly for young people with disabilities, young migrants, and young women; ensuring the full and meaningful inclusion of these and other such groups in sport-based activity is necessary for successful sport-for-development programming.

Sporting activities and programmes must be strongly linked to existing initiatives and work within the community focused on youth development. For example,

an organization working with vulnerable youth in an after-school programme may include sporting activities to reinforce specific skills and attributes such as collaboration, teamwork and negotiation, which has a positive impact on other work being carried out.

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216 Ibid.

RECONCEPTUALIZING YOUTH VOLUNTARISM: WHO DECIDES?

Sarah Huxley

INTRODUCTION

This is a time of great transition. The world is facing many interconnected challenges and upheavals, including growing inequality, climate change, complex conflicts, and increasing resource scarcity. At the same time, there is a world full of young women and young men who are drivers of social change.[217] Youth[218] from all backgrounds are passionate about improving their lives, their families' lives, their communities and the world around them. Volunteerism is at the heart of how diverse groups of young men and women seek social transformation, but much more needs to be done in terms of conceptualizing what youth volunteerism could be from the perspective of young people themselves, and when it becomes disempowering or co-opted and should give way to other forms of civic engagement.

This thought piece explores the historical roots of youth volunteerism and some of the emerging trends in the past three decades before touching upon the benefits for young people and society as a whole. It then moves to a discussion of alternative perspectives (especially for those living in poverty) before proposing five guiding principles aimed at encouraging a deeper level of analysis that is cognizant of diverse motivations, acknowledges different types of youth volunteerism (activism), and ensures flexibility within an ever-changing external environment. The piece concludes with a summary of key challenges, opportunities and recommendations.

NORMATIVE DEFINITIONS AND HISTORICAL ROOTS'

Normative (Western) definitions of youth volunteerism focus on a young individual's offer of free work on a project or series of activities for an organization or institution. Yet this is by no means the only definition, and there are many variants that focus on the giving of time and talents for charitable, educational, military or other purposes. At the core of volunteerism is a moral imperative to engage in worthwhile activities primarily for the good of others—but also for the benefit of the individual concerned in terms of their skills development, sense of identity and self-worth, and socialization within a community.

It is interesting to note some of the differences between youth and adult/senior volunteerism.

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217 Akil N. Awan explores the impact of demographic youth bulges in his thought piece on negative youth engagement: involvement in radicalism and extremism (see chapter three of the present publication).

218 Some entities (including the United Nations World Programme of Action for Youth) define "youth" as those between 15 and 24 years of age. The author of the present thought piece uses a more fluid definition that extends to young women and men in their early thirties, recognizing that, nowadays, social markers of adulthood such as securing employment, getting married and starting a family often occur later in the life cycle.

According to a 2010 study published by the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS),[219] around 59 per cent of 12- to 18-year olds[220] in the United States were engaged in youth volunteer work in 2009. Brief 1 in the CNCS *Youth Helping America* series indicates that in 2004, more than 15 million teenagers participated in formal volunteer activities, "contributing more than 1.3 billion hours of service"; the youth volunteer rate of 55 per cent was almost double the adult rate of 29 per cent for that year.[221] The Brief notes that "teens tend to serve fewer hours and with less regularity than their adult counterparts. … The typical youth volunteer contributes 29 hours of service each year, compared to 52 hours for the adult volunteer population".[222] In the mainstream culture of the United States, youth volunteerism is a popular form of civic engagement. Such activity is more likely to continue into adulthood if undertaken when young—especially if a parent volunteers as well.

Although the United Nations Declaration of Universal Human Rights provides a relevant framework for signatories, the questions of what makes a good citizen and how this can be demonstrated through civic engagement are the focus of heated debate. Therefore, it is crucial to explore the historical roots of youth volunteerism, which is arguably key to understanding citizenship and the package of rights and responsibilities associated with it.

Volunteering was originally associated with military service in the seventeenth century, when the French noun *voluntaire* first appeared.[223] Volunteerism in a Western context thus has its origins in a cultural psyche based on the collective defence of one's own country, principles and values. What is fascinating is the inherent tension embedded in what it means to be a volunteer; the claim is that this is based on "free will", but State/societal pulls can make it something else entirely, and forced conscription or "volunteer" conscription is at the epicentre of this tension.[224] The fundamental exertion of free will can be understood from a collective or societal perspective, as well as from an individual's point of view.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a shift from the military draft to voluntary civic engagement and community service, which focused on collective organizing to address the systemic social injustices of those times; examples include the anti-slavery and women's suffrage movements. By the twentieth century, volunteering was associated with charitable organizations and large international aid programmes such as the Red Cross and

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219 Joanne Fritz, "Top 6 facts about youth volunteers" (World Volunteer Web, 2 May 2006). Available from http://www.worldvolunteerweb.org/browse/volunteering-issues/volunteer-management/doc/top-6-facts-about.html (accessed 2 October 2015). For more information on youth volunteering, see Corporation for National and Community Service, *Youth Engaged in Service* (Washington, D.C., 2010). Also see http://www.nationalservice.gov/ and http://youth.gov/youth-topics/civic-engagement-and-volunteering.

220 Unfortunately, data are not readily available for older age cohorts, so this incudes younger adolescents as well as older youth from the age of 15 upward.

221 Corporation for National and Community Service, *Youth Helping America—Building Active Citizens: The Role of Social Institutions in Teen Volunteering*, Brief 1 in the Youth Helping America series (Washington, D.C., November 2005). Available from http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/05_1130_LSA_YHA_study.pdf.

222 Ibid., p. 2.

223 From the Latin *voluntarius*, meaning "of one's free will".

224 In the United States, for example, discussion surrounding the notions of citizenship, rights and the State's role intensified during the Viet Nam War in the 1960s, and the fairness of national service emerged as a major issue, resulting in the United States moving towards "all-volunteer armed forces". It has been interesting to see the debate on forced conscription re-emerge in current times; see http://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2010/10/19/compulsory-national-service-would-strengthen-american-citizenship.

Girl Guides. Youth volunteering programmes were seeded with the emergence of Voluntary Service Overseas (1958) and the Peace Corps (1961) against the backdrop of independence movements in Africa and Asia.

YOUTH VOLUNTEERING IN RECENT DECADES AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

As the youth unemployment crisis has intensified over the past few decades,[225] growing numbers of young people from diverse backgrounds have turned to volunteering as a means of developing their skills and building their CVs. This trend derives in part from the fact that many State and non-governmental agencies now regard youth volunteering as a prerequisite for paid employment, especially for entry-level jobs. Similarly, young people often see volunteering not as "lost" time but as an investment in their career of choice. In Myanmar, for example, several volunteer Youth Fellows[226] have gone on to paid employment in social work or development or are seeking to create their own social enterprises with a human-rights-based approach.

Although youth volunteerism can be a springboard for sustained youth-led civic engagement,[227] it requires reconceptualization in the present global context. In today's political economy, volunteerism can be used by States as a mechanism for obtaining free labour from citizens; by non-governmental organizations as a means of providing opportunities for the better off to "help" the less well off (at its worst a form of neocolonialism); and by businesses and youth development programmes as a way to provide young people with work experience (a societal

narrative around moulding youth). All of these scenarios present a dynamic of those with power providing something for those without.

The point is that, depending on one's perspective, youth volunteering can be very empowering or very disempowering, and just because there is a narrative of morality and entitlement does not mean that it should not be challenged and brought into the twenty-first century. The time should be taken to answer these questions: Who is volunteering for whom? Why are they volunteering? What does everyone get out of it (in terms of the cost/benefit to the individual and the social consequences)?

SKIMMING THE SURFACE: WHAT IS THE VALUE OF YOUTH VOLUNTEERISM?

Much has been written by sociologists, international organizations and government entities on the value of youth engagement. Some observations that have emerged from the discourse include the following:

- Young Westerners participating in volunteer tourism, or "voluntourism", are often provided

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225   International Labour Organization, *World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends 2015* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2015), available from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_337069.pdf. Also see http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/weso/2015/lang--en/index.htm.

226   Participation in the Youth Fellowship Programme in Myanmar is normally long term (1-2 year placements), with young volunteers from a local community serving as the main catalyzers and later identifying other volunteers; ActionAid funds training in participatory processes to create the Village Book.

227   This should be shaped by young men's and women's own conceptions of civic engagement.

with opportunities for global engagement, networking, career development, intercultural competence building, problem solving and psychological support (life skills).[228] One study on international volunteering and service (IVS) in Australia notes that "for these projects to avoid public critiques and negative outcomes, they need to harmonize personal and institutional expectations with real volunteer capacities. Thus, until IVS programs in the university context distance themselves from a development aid discourse, they will potentially fall under the umbrella of 'neo-colonialism'".[229]

- A study carried out by CNCS in 2004 concludes that volunteering helps young people succeed— and benefits society as a whole—in the sense that "youth who volunteer are less likely to engage in risky behaviour, are more likely to feel connected to their communities, and tend to do better in school".[230] Further exploring the link to education, the study asserts that "the success that teens find in their academic life is related to their likelihood of volunteering. [The researchers] found that the higher their grade point average, the more likely it was that teens volunteered and volunteered regularly. … However, it is likely that the relationship of grades to volunteering is also part of a larger set of positive expectations and social networks for this group. Those students with high academic achievement may be more engaged in other activities, may have more opportunities to be asked to volunteer, and may feel more empowered to effect change in their community".[231] It is thus implied that youth who volunteer can achieve more and contribute effectively to the labour force in adulthood.

- Among youth living in poverty, volunteering is often viewed as a way to improve prospects for securing employment, as it allows them to network and potentially strengthen their skills. As noted by one young focus group participant in a 2006 study on volunteering in Malawi, "Somebody … [volunteers] because he has nothing else to do … but once he gets a better job or something permanent, then he will get out."[232]

- Direct political participation may occur in multiple contexts. Young members of parliament—many of whom started their careers as volunteers—can bring the concerns of young constituents into the heart of traditional political institutions. Just as important as mainstream political participation are the informal, grass-roots modes of civic engagement, which also tend to develop off the back of youth volunteering experiences. Volunteerism plays an important part in laying the foundations for lifestyle and career pathways to sustained civic engagement.

These observations offer insight into some of the motivations and reasons for volunteering among

228 A personal perspective: these were skills the author of the present thought piece acquired from her experience with Restless Development in 1998.

229 Carlos M. Palacios, "Volunteer tourism, development and education in a postcolonial world: conceiving global connections beyond aid", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 18, No. 7 (2010).

230 Joanne Fritz, "Top 6 facts about youth volunteers" (World Volunteer Web, 2 May 2006). Available from http://www.worldvolunteerweb.org/browse/volunteering-issues/volunteer-management/doc/top-6-facts-about.html (accessed 2 October 2015).

231 Ibid., p. 12.

232 Catherine M. Moleni and Brenda M. Gallagher, "Youth, service and development in Malawi" (2007), p. 47. Available from http://community.eldis.org/.59ee4585/Youth%20Service%20and%20development-MW.pdf.

young women and men.[233] Below is an exploration of alternative perspectives on youth volunteerism, with attention given to the importance of reflecting on power dynamics and to the problematic nature of extended periods of volunteering.

ALTERNATIVES: IS THE LABEL "VOLUNTEER" ACTUALLY DISEMPOWERING FOR THOSE LIVING IN POVERTY?

Youth volunteerism can be a negative, prolonged or forced experience. At the ActionAid Design-a-Thon workshops held in Uganda and Bangladesh in the summer of 2015,[234] which encouraged the use of social design to think through challenges and solutions linked to youth unemployment, it became apparent that for some of the fiercely intelligent but largely unemployed participants, the prolonged state of unemployment (despite their academic credentials and experience) was making them long-term volunteers—in the sense that they could often pick up small, insecure pieces of work for little or no pay. Young people in such circumstances are stuck in a period of "waithood".[235] The questions arise: For how long can a young person continue to volunteer? When does it become an act of civic engagement that no longer benefits the young men or women involved? While youth volunteerism can be commended for finding value in an exchange system that goes beyond financial gain, it can also become corrupted and exploitative, especially in a world of increasing inequality.

Within this context of prolonged/forced/unpaid work, the position of disadvantaged groups—including the disabled, those in poverty, and young women—deserves special attention. A number of organizations involved in youth volunteering efforts focus on the challenges faced by one or more of these groups; ActionAid's Young Urban Women Project, for example, highlights young women's contributions to family and society that often go unnoticed.[236]

There is also something of a myth regarding experience and what youth have to offer. Who decides what experience is within the framework of an activity or project? If peer-to-peer facilitation is needed, then a young person may well have much more to offer than an adult facilitator in terms of skills and experience—particularly within the realm of modern technologies and processes. However, traditional assumptions within an adult-centred power structure may mean that the resources youth can bring to volunteering are never tapped—which effectively serves to devalue their role and contributions.

There has to be an element of choice and free will at both the individual and collective levels. It may be

233 Some studies have shown that youth volunteering is not all about resume building; in fact, one study indicates that "students motivated by résumé building motivations have a lower intensity of volunteering" (Femida Handy and others, "A cross-cultural examination of student volunteering: Is it all about résumé building?" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 39, No. 3 [June 2010], pp. 498-523). This is a controversial issue.

234 See Emer Beamer, "Designing ways out of complex social challenges…", in *Putting Ideas to Work: Youth Design Their Own Futures* (ActionAid, 2015), p. 5. Available from http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/putting_ideas_to_work_lr_2.pdf.

235 Alcinda Honwana, *The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change, and Politics in Africa* (Sterling, Virginia, Kumarian Press, 2012).

236 ActionAid, "Young urban women". Available from http://www.actionaid.org/young-urban-women.

argued that much of the youth volunteering occurring today is prolonged, and that the term itself has become overly neutral, reflecting a soft, glass-is-half-empty view of youth. Rather than identifying them as young volunteers, it might be better to think and speak of them as young activists, as the latter term is empowering[237] and acknowledges a diverse collective of capable changemakers.[238]

Volunteerism is not intrinsically good or positive just because its traditional premise is "doing good". There needs to be far more consideration given to the question of who benefits over time. It is no longer acceptable, in an interconnected world focused on genuine development and respect for human rights, to assert prejudice and say that youth volunteerism is inherently good because it keeps otherwise idle young people occupied and offers them the chance to obtain experience.[240]

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237 See ActionAid, "Exploring youth activism in today's world: searching for common ground". Available from http://www.action-aid.org/2015/04/exploring-youth-activism-todays-world-searching-common-ground.

238 Activista El Salvador, for example, is a national youth campaign volunteer group (connected to other national Activista groups). It has evolved over the past few years; new members join, and different youth rights issues emerge as priorities depending on local and/or national concerns. These youth receive a small amount of direct (technical/financial) organizational support.

239 This adult-centric view is shared across the world.

240 See, for example, Corporation for National and Community Service, "Youth helping America: the role of social institutions in teen volunteering", issue brief (2005), available from http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/05_1130_LSA_YHA_SI_factsheet.pdf. It would have been interesting to also hear of some of the challenges from the perspectives of the young people involved.

BOX 4.4.
KEY PRINCIPLES OF YOUTH VOLUNTEERISM

Youth volunteerism can be hugely beneficial, but it is often presented in a narrow or biased way.[239] It is essential to consider the diverse motivations driving young volunteers, to recognize and support different types of youth volunteerism (activism), and to ensure flexibility within an ever-changing external environment. The present thought piece is intended to encourage a deeper level of analysis based on the following five principles:

1. Altruism is not always the starting point, especially for those living in poverty; volunteerism may be driven by the desire to survive or may be an expression of resilience.

2. Youth volunteerism is a fluid and shifting series of activities that can take place within a variety of formal and informal spaces for civic engagement.

3. Young women and young men are co-creators of the ways they want to engage in acts of social good.

4. Prolonged experiences and the lack of monetary compensation can devalue volunteer contributions and can ultimately become disempowering.

5. At its best, youth volunteerism is a collective endeavour that seeks to address social injustices and reduce structural inequalities such as patriarchy and ageism.

KEY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Some of the main challenges for youth volunteering may be summarized as follows:

- Youth are in danger of being co-opted. Are young people actually provided with enabling, supportive and mutually beneficial environments, or are they doing community work for which the State should assume responsibility (with support from aid agencies and civil society)?

- Institutional forms of youth volunteerism do not always support the human rights agenda. Built into youth volunteering should be mechanisms to guarantee freedom of speech and assembly, as these rights are being increasingly threatened across the globe.

- Volunteerism is often prolonged to the point that it becomes a negative experience in many young people's lives. There should be open discussion about whether opportunities for payment exist, especially given the lack of employment opportunities for youth (and the implications this may have for their dependents).

The following is a summary of opportunities linked to youth volunteerism:

- Volunteerism constitutes part of an alternative socioeconomic model. The challenge mentioned above may also be interpreted as an opportunity whereby unpaid volunteerism could potentially be part of an alternative approach to community development that bypasses the market economy. Anand Aditya expands upon this concept, referring to volunteerism in Nepal as "a theory that subsumes the ultimate fulfilment of the human individuality in broader social callings and defines it as the best flowering of the individuals' innate capacity for self-actualization. ... [It] is an emerging movement ... a shift from material consumption toward voluntary simplicity, from technological growth toward post-materialism, and from growth fetish toward evolution".[241] While much needs to be qualified in this ideology, it has resonance.

- Online volunteer platforms and other relevant ICT applications are expanding rapidly and present unlimited possibilities. ICT resources are dramatically reshaping youth volunteerism in a number of areas, including emergency response. During the recent earthquakes in Nepal, huge numbers of young people contributed time and effort through social media such as Facebook, Google and Twitter to deliver services[242] outside formal aid mechanisms. The impact of online youth volunteering has yet to be fully understood, in part because it is growing so rapidly and expanding in multiple directions. Crowdfunding, project management and data gathering sites are all facilitating the emergence of new forms of volunteerism—most notably the fusion of traditional and cyber-volunteering. One community of practice helping to redefine youth volunteerism by operating both online and offline is Edgeryders, which works to invest "time and

241 Anand Aditya, "Voluntarism in Nepal: renurturing the movement and revitalizing the mission", in *Voluntarism in Nepal*, Vinod K. Shrestha and Anand Aditya, eds. (Kathmandu, National Planning Commission, 2002), p. 72. Available from http://www.worldvolunteerweb.org/fileadmin/docs/old/pdf/2002/02_12_05NEP_book_on_volunteerism.PDF.

242 See tweets about #50HomesforNepal on Twitter as an example.

effort into solving the global societal, economic, environmental, security and energy problems threatening Europe and humanity in general. [They] care about things like open access to knowledge; openness and transparency of government; food security; smart communities; decentralised economic architecture; free/open source software; and art".[243] For Edgeryders, both the material and virtual worlds are invaluable spaces that mutually reinforce one another. This dual model is likely to inform much of the youth volunteering activity occurring in the future.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Youth volunteerism (activism) is evolving as the world changes. Opportunities for digital engagement are emerging alongside volunteer activities on the ground. However, there are aspects of volunteerism that effectively hold young people back and reinforce inequality—particularly among young women.

The present thought piece has sought to explore the power dynamics behind youth volunteerism and to encourage those seeking to volunteer and those who work with young volunteers to consider the five principles outlined above in future research and in programme planning, development and execution. Youth volunteerism (activism) needs to be able to breathe, evolve and expand; some risks may have to be taken to find alternatives to practices that perpetuate injustice and inequality—including seeking partnerships in unexpected places.

Agencies, institutions, and other formal platforms for civic engagement are no longer the only

mechanisms for deciding and shaping who youth volunteers (activists) are and what they do. In this digital and potentially more open age, policymakers and institutional decision makers need to change their approaches in order to motivate and meet the needs of young volunteers; otherwise, they will cease to be relevant. To what extent are agencies, organizations, and government entities enabling diverse groups of youth to shape the agendas on what youth volunteering should be?

There has been a dramatic increase in the use of different artistic forms[244] to challenge social norms, as evidenced by the work of Afripedia, political cartoonists, photojournalists and grass-roots groups such as Activista El Salvador.

Overall, much more can be done, especially with regard to mobilizing adult-led (and often male-dominated) spaces to support and advocate for youth agendas. What are young people's plans, and what kind of action can be taken to ensure that young women play a key role?

Youth volunteerism is a social contract, and for too long young people have had little say in defining the terms of engagement. This needs to change. Societal norms and life circumstances influence an individual's ability to exercise free will and demonstrate citizenship. History has shown that people who volunteer in their youth can shape not only

243 For more information on Edgeryders, see https://edgeryders.eu/en/page/get-involved.

244 For example, the spoken word/music with a political message is a common form of expression for young volunteers; see Facebook, "Nothing about us without us", available from https://www.facebook.com/restlessdev/videos/1018508301534722/.

themselves, their families and communities, but also society as a whole. Nelson Mandela demonstrated this as National Volunteer-in-Chief for the Defiance Campaign of 1952, tackling apartheid at the age of 34. There are thousands of young men and women in the world at this very moment fighting social injustices. They need to be provided with appropriate support.

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YOUTH ENGAGEMENT IN PEACEBUILDING

Lakshitha Saji Prelis

INTRODUCTION

The youth of today constitute the largest generation the world has ever seen,[245] yet nearly 600 million of these young people live in conflict-affected or fragile States.[246] Because they comprise such a large share of the population in many troubled countries, youth inevitably play a major role at every stage of conflicts and social movements. From the uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa to the rise of technologically savvy violent extremist groups, young leaders play pivotal roles in the growing demand for major change. Policymakers and practitioners can build on this momentum by encouraging youth participation that is constructive, and can mobilize the potential of this generation of eager peacebuilders by partnering with them to reduce violence, build resilience, and contribute to development.

This shift has already begun, catalysing new ways policymakers and practitioners engage and support young people in conflict and fragile contexts. Though the "victims and villains" paradigm is still prevalent in global discourse, there is growing appreciation of the multiple and complex positive roles that young people do play and can build on in their societies. This includes their critical efforts in managing, mitigating and preventing violent conflict and building peace.

WHAT IS PEACEBUILDING?

Peacebuilding is a process that encompasses a wide range of activities ranging from formal mediation and reconciliation efforts to security sector reform and intergenerational dialogue. It involves many different actors including Governments and civil society, the media, artists, athletes and everyday citizens. Peacebuilding activities can take place at the community, regional, national and/or international levels, with all involved working towards a common goal. The Alliance for Peacebuilding notes that "peacebuilding ultimately supports human security—where people have freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom from humiliation".[247] Peacebuilding is generally recognized as a process that involves many entities addressing the root causes of conflict, but it is important to understand that young people are affected by different forms of violence that may not relate directly to armed conflict itself. Johan Galtung (1969)[248] identified three distinct forms of

245 U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation. *The Millennial Generation Research Review* (Washington, D.C., 2012). Available from https://www.uschamberfoundation.org/ millennial-generation-research-review.

246 United Nations Development Programme, *UNDP Youth Strategy 2014-2017: Empowered Youth, Sustainable Future* (New York, 2014), p. 10. Available from http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/ Democratic%20Governance/Youth/UNDP_Youth-Strategy-2014-17_ Web.pdf.

247 See Alliance for Peacebuilding, "What is peacebuilding?" Available from http://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/our-work/ what-is-peacebuilding/.

248 Johan Galtung, "Violence, peace, and peace research", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 6, No. 3 (1969), pp. 167-191.

violence—structural,[249] cultural,[250] and direct.[251] In expanding peacebuilding work, it is important to understand and transform these types of violence. An effective conflict transformation model,[252] proposed here, builds on this premise towards a practical application to programming in conflict and fragile situations. Essentially, change can be viewed at three levels:

1. *Changing the perception of self.* Conflicts inevitably mould the self-identity of young people. A successful transformation can only take place when people's identities are consistent with the desired result. The types of change desired might include a fearful refugee becoming a reintegrated member of society or a perpetrator of violence evolving into a peacebuilder and bridge builder.

2. *Changing the perception of "the other".* A characteristic of conflict or violence is that communication between conflicting parties breaks down, the parties become isolated, and their perceptions of one another diverge. Transformation requires that all parties work to understand each other and acknowledge the essential humanity of everyone involved.

3. *Changing the perception of the issues.* Conflicts emerge from disagreements over specific issues, and the situation often deteriorates very quickly, with opposing parties focusing more on blaming or accusing each other than on solving the problems at hand. One of the requirements of peacebuilding should therefore be to help parties focus on reconciling the issues that constitute the source of the conflict

collegially and without blame. If steps are taken to increase people's knowledge and understanding of the issues, to articulate the many different perspectives that exist and, when necessary, to identify and explore any "unspoken" issues, it may be possible to better assist people in making decisions in a safe space, based on their interests rather than on fear.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACEBUILDING

Young women and young men play a multitude of roles in pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict settings, serving as activists, dissidents and vigilantes but also as negotiators, mediators and peacemakers.[253] The notion that youth "are at the frontlines

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249 Structural violence is defined as injustice and exploitation built into a social system that prevents people from accessing services. For example, institutionalized racism and ageism would fall into this category.

250 Cultural forms of violence derive from aspects of a culture that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence, and may be exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science. Johan Galtung, "Cultural violence", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 27, No. 3 (August 1990), pp. 291-305.

251 Direct violence includes acts such as verbal attacks, rape and war. Although physical in nature, direct violence stems from conditions created by structural and cultural violence.

252 Search for Common Ground, Children, Youth & Conflict: *An Introductory Toolkit for Engaging Children & Youth in Conflict Transformation* (Washington, D.C.). Available from https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/cyc-toolkit1.pdf.

253 Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, "Youth as social and political agents: issues in post-settlement peace building", Kroc Institute Occasional Papers No. 21:OP:2 (Notre Dame, December 2001).

of peace building" is one that has been affirmed by many practitioners and scholars[254] and by United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.[255] On 9 December 2015, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 2250, which encourages increased representation of young women and young men in preventing and resolving conflicts and their participation in peace processes and dispute resolution mechanisms.[256]

A multi-country study on child and youth participation in peacebuilding—the first of its kind, in Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Nepal—was recently undertaken by a global steering team comprising Peace Action Training and Research Institute of Romania (PATRIR), Save the Children Norway (Redd Barna), Search for Common Ground (SFCG), United Network of Young Peacebuilders (UNOY Peacebuilders), and World Vision International, and was supported by 117 local young evaluators (children and youth) and two global evaluators. The study's main findings included the following:[257]

- Young peacebuilders often became more aware and active citizens for peace.

- Young peacebuilders increased peaceful cohabitation and reduced discrimination.

- Young peacebuilders reduced violence.

- Young peacebuilders increased support to vulnerable groups.

The study also identified 11 factors influencing the impact of child and youth participation in peacebuilding, as follows:[258]

- Attitudes, motivation, and commitment of children and youth and their organizations;

- Capacity, knowledge, skills, and experience of children and youth;

- Family attitudes and support;

- Cultural attitudes, beliefs, and practices;

- Key stakeholders' motivation, commitment, and support;

- Awareness raising, sensitization, and campaigns among key stakeholders [including access to information];

- Culture, theatre, arts, and sports as a means of engaging children and youth;

- Existence and implementation of government laws, policies, strategies, and provisions;

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254 For example, Del Felice and Wisler provide examples of youth-led efforts that illustrate the power and potential of youth as peacebuilders using non-violence as a tool for engaging with their communities. Celina Del Felice and Andria Wisler, "The unexplored power and potential of youth as peace-builders", *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development*, issue 11 (November 2007). Available from http://www.creducation.org/resources/Power_and_Potential_of_ Youth_as_Peace-Builders.pdf.

255 See Office of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy on Youth, "Secretary-General's remarks at open debate of the Security Council on the role of youth in countering violent extremism and promoting peace" (New York, 23 April 2015). Available from http://www.un.org/ youthenvoy/2015/04/secretary-generals-remarks-open-debate-se- curity-council-role-youth-countering-violent-extremism-promot- ing-peace/.

256 United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250 (2015) on maintenance of international peace and security, S/RES/2250 (2015) of 9 December 2015. Available from http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/ view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2250(2015).

257 Michael McGill, Claire O'Kane and others, *Evaluation of Child and Youth Participation in Peacebuilding: Nepal, Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, Colombia* (Global Partnership for Children and Youth in Peacebuilding, July 2015). Available from https://www.sfcg.org/3m/

258 Ibid., p. 77.

- Financial and material support given to child and youth participation in peacebuilding efforts;

- Income generation support for marginalized groups;

- Conflict, political instability, and insecurity.

From this and related studies, a salient finding was that young people's participation in peacebuilding at an early age had a lasting, positive impact on their involvement in school, family life and the community, helping them develop as individuals and become responsible young adults.

Changing Social Norms: New narratives and youth alternative models to violence

Information and communications media provide youth with powerful platforms for expression, allowing their message to reach an extensive audience. These mechanisms of interaction provide young people with outlets to engage with society and their broader community in productive ways. One related theory of change holds that at the community level, the presence of media programming and social media will create a peacebuilding constituency that extends beyond the confines of a viewer-listener relationship. As the user base increases, conversation and dialogue can also grow at the societal level.

Young people are already using a creative mix of traditional and emerging communications media for peacebuilding. SFCG has used interactive media and role models to enable youth to learn how to resolve conflicts non-violently. The Génération Grands Lacs radio programme, for example, simulcast in Rwanda,

Burundi and Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, is co-hosted by two young journalists from two different countries on a rotating basis. Through call-ins and text messaging, each radio show incorporates live question-and-answer sessions and interactive discussions that engage a broader audience.[259] In Democratic Republic of the Congo, SFCG used Participatory Theatre for Conflict Transformation[260] to enable local youth communities to observe and acquire conflict-management and peacebuilding skills. This methodology was used to change the way young people dealt with conflict by offering them a venue to test new ways of addressing conflict and have those efforts immediately validated by their peers and community members.

Throughout the Middle East, most notably in Egypt, Tunisia and Yemen, youth in recent years have learned how to make their voices heard to influence change and challenge the political elite.

Increasingly, the peacebuilding field is learning to embrace an integrated, informed model for policy and programming that engages young people as partners for peace.

259 Lena Slachmuijlder, "Youth in the Great Lakes region: the making of a new generation", *New Routes: A Journal of Peace Research and Action*, issue on peace without borders—regional peacebuilding in focus, vol. 17, No. 4 (November 2012), p. 34. Available from https://www.sfcg.org/articles/GGL%20for%20LPI%20NR%204p.pdf.

260 Search for Common Ground, "Participatory theater in DR Congo", posted 25 March 2014. Available from https://www.sfcg.org/participatory-theater-in-dr-congo/.

EXAMPLES OF PROMISING PRACTICE

Young people's participation as an essential condition for successful peacebuilding. The Process Approach Model for Community Peace, Recovery, and Reconciliation (CPRR)[261] is a mechanism for community-based conflict resolution and reconciliation that allows for meaningful youth participation and partnership. Designed for use in divided communities, the Model encourages all members of a community, including youth, to uncover the root causes of conflict and the potential paths forward through dialogue. In Burundi, Kenya, the Central African Republic, Guinea, South Sudan, Uganda, and Ethiopia, the Model recognizes the role of young people within a community system. Rather than singling out youth as the only important actors, this practice respects youth as partners to their adult counterparts and encourages everyone to play a role in community conflict resolution.

Young people's ownership, leadership and accountability in peacebuilding. Other mechanisms that specifically promote the participation of young people, including youth leadership models, have also yielded promising results. In Timor-Leste, the Government supported the creation of the National Youth Council and the Youth Parliament in order to build the capacity of young people to be civically engaged. One important outcome of this positive relationship and engagement was the creation of a National Youth Policy based on evidence and input from young persons. Since they contributed to its creation, young individuals and their associations largely supported the National Youth Policy and have felt a strong sense of ownership for it.[262]

Similar programmes and policies designed to enhance the leadership capacity of young people have been implemented in South Africa, Tunisia, Lebanon, Nepal and other areas and have led to better relationships between youth and their communities and Governments. In Tunisia, for example, where half of the population is below the age of 30, a large number of young women and young men mobilized to help build a more democratic and politically inclusive system of government. SFCG, an international conflict transformation and peacebuilding organization, launched Empowering Young Change Makers in Tunisia, a programme that worked with young Tunisians to create Youth Leadership Councils (YLCs) in each of the 24 governorates.[263] The youth in these Councils built strong networks and engaged with their elected leaders and peers from diverse political, geographic, and socioeconomic backgrounds to address grievances and differences constructively. In doing so, they facilitated open communication between youth and elected officials, encouraged cooperative action on local issues, and inspired

261 United Nations Development Programme, Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development; and Kenya, National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management/ Ministry of Provincial Administration and Internal Security, *Community Peace Recovery & Reconciliation: A Handbook for Generating Leadership for Sustainable Peace and Recovery among Divided Communities* (2011). Available from http://www.acordinter-national.org/silo/files/community-peace-recovery-and-reconcilia-tion-handbook.pdf.

262 Asia-Pacific Interagency Group on Youth, *Investing in Youth Policy: Sharing Good Practices to Advance Policy Development for Young People in the Asia-Pacific Region* (2011). Available from http://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/Investing_In_Youth_Policy.pdf.

263 For more information, see Search for Common Ground, "Empowering young change makers in Tunisia". Available from https://www.sfcg.org/empowering-young-changemakers-tunisia/.

other youth to engage civically through dialogue, social media, and community advocacy.

A Mercy Corps publication on best practices and lessons learned in dealing with youth and conflict emphasizes the following:

> "Engaging young people in the project cycle will help nurture and encourage emerging youth leaders to learn, to lead, and to identify areas that may be of interest for future careers. Furthermore, inclusion of youth in project design and implementation provides youth with the self-esteem, connection to peers and communities and a positive self-identity, all of which reduce vulnerability to joining violent movements."[264]

As part of Mercy Corps' Nepal programme, young people designed community projects (for which they raised money) and subsequently built and helped maintain them. By including young women and young men in all phases of the projects, Mercy Corps enabled young people to see themselves as responsible for their future.[265]

Invest in intergenerational partnerships. In young people's communities, many effective programmes have capitalized on youth involvement as a means to undermine the appeal of armed groups. A number of community-building initiatives employ a two-pronged approach aimed at both increasing "protective factors" against violence and providing productive outlets for youth to voice grievances. Policymakers in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in Pakistan have employed this strategy by using dialogue and mediation to reduce incidents of violence.[266] Strengthening community resilience requires the collaboration of diverse groups across multiple sectors including youth, security forces, political figures and religious leaders.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are recommendations policymakers and practitioners might consider to strengthen youth participation in peacebuilding:[267]

- Prioritize young people's participation and promote the reality that the majority of young people worldwide do not participate in violence.

- Respect the experiences of all young people and develop targeted strategies to include youth from different backgrounds.

- Avoid stereotypical assumptions about gender norms and focus on the roles that girls, boys, young men, young women, and young transgender individuals can play in peacebuilding.

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264 Mercy Corps, "Youth and conflict: best practices and lessons learned", p. 2. Available from https://www.mercycorps.org/research-resources/youth-and-conflict-best-practices.

265 Also see United States Agency for International Development, Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, *Youth and Conflict: A Toolkit for Intervention* (Washington, D.C., 2005). Available from http://toolkit.ineesite.org/toolkit/INEEcms/uploads/1037/Youth_and_Conflict_A_Toolkit_for_Intervention.pdf.

266 Search for Common Ground, "Promoting mediation and dialogue in KPK and FATA", fact sheet (Summer 2014). Available from http://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Promoting-Mediation-and-Dialogue-in-KPK-FATA-Summer-2014.pdf.

267 United Nations Inter-agency Network on Youth Development, Working Group on Youth Participation in Peacebuilding, "Guiding principles for young people's participation in peacebuilding". Available from https://www.sfcg.org/guidingprinciples and http://www.youth4peace.info/

- Enable young people's ownership, leadership, and accountability in peacebuilding processes and projects. (This would include access to public information)

- Create a safe[268] environment for participation and be sensitive to inequalities.

- Involve young people in all phases of programming and policy development.

- Enhance the knowledge, skills, competencies, and attitudes of youth.

- Create or expand opportunities for intergenerational and intergroup dialogue so young people may help bridge divides in their communities.

- Support policies that address the full needs of young people.

- Use an interdisciplinary approach when engaging young people in peacebuilding. The ground-breaking new Guiding Principles on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding recommend that policymakers and practitioners integrate economic, sociocultural, socio-political, and human rights approaches in promoting peacebuilding among youth.

- Identify youth participation as a critical component in achieving sustainable peace. This includes rejecting the assumption that a majority of youth engage in violence and accepting the reality that most young people strive for and are actively involved in the pursuit of peace and stability.

In a recently published comprehensive literature review,[269] the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) identifies the following key gaps and opportunities relevant to youth peacebuilding programming:

- A comprehensive and nuanced understanding of youth and their contribution to peacebuilding needs to be developed.

- It is important to acknowledge the diversity of youth experiences rather than simply focusing on youth as victims, troublemakers or peacemakers in conflict settings. Young people participate in informal governance and peace structures in a wide range of contexts outside of those affected by armed conflict. More youth-led research and analysis is needed to create a better understanding of such diversity so that positive youth voices and identities are given the attention they deserve.

The multi-country, multi-agency evaluation highlights the following recommendations:

- Children should be engaged as peacebuilders from a young age to ensure continuity and strengthen the impact of their participation. Children and youth should be integrated into informal governance and peace structures in a wide range of contexts, not only in situations of armed conflict.

- Child and youth participation in peacebuilding must be supported by multiple stakeholders in a multitude of ways in order to strengthen the impact of their contributions.

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268 A safe environment or space implies both a supportive environment built on trust and a physical space that young women and young men feel valued in.

269 M.T.A. Lopes Cardozo and others, *Literature Review: Youth Agency, Peacebuilding and Education* (Amsterdam, Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, 2015). Available from http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Youth-Literature-Review-May15.pdf.

Policymakers:

- Policymakers should develop a more comprehensive understanding of young people's needs and priorities. This will require further analysis of holistic and cross-sectoral theories of change.

- Governments should ensure that national youth policies are evidence-based, cut across sectors, and support active participation among youth.

- Create platforms and mechanisms to engage young people in decision-making.

Practitioners:

- Programmes should integrate mechanisms that provide youth with the ability to monitor and evaluate their own work to support their development and growth.

- Practitioners should explore the possibility of engaging youth-led organizations as advocates of youth inclusion and involvement in policy decisions. Providing advocacy training would offer young people the opportunity to enhance their leadership, mediation, negotiation, conflict-resolution, communication, and life skills, and would allow them to contribute to rebuilding positive social norms.[270]

- Work with youth-led organizations to establish participatory governance, monitoring and evaluation processes.

- In addition to facilitating communication between decision makers and youth, young people should engage in dialogue with the surrounding community as a means of both

establishing accountability and securing local and regional support.

- Donors must allocate long-term, sustainable funding and material support to youth– led organizations and networks, formal and informal youth groups, and individual youth initiatives.[271]

REFERENCES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

International instruments and resources to improve support for youth and peacebuilding

Youth, civil society organizations, Governments, and international organizations and institutions have all created tools and resources focused on engaging and enabling young people as leaders in peacebuilding. These have been developed primarily across agencies with the intention of facilitating collaboration to influence the entire youth and peacebuilding sector. They include the following:

United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250:
The Security Council unanimously adopted on 9 December 2015, Resolution 2250 (S/RES/2250) on Youth, Peace and Security. The adoption of

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270 United Nations Inter-agency Network on Youth Development, Working Group on Youth Participation in Peacebuilding, "Guiding principles for young people's participation in peacebuilding".

271 Amman Youth Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security. Adopted in Amman, Jordan, on 22 August 2015 . Available from https://www.unteamworks.org/youth4peace This point is further illustrated in the UN Security Council Resolution 2250 (S/RES/2250) Adopted by the Security Council at its 7573rd meeting, on 9 December 2015. Available from http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2250(2015)

this Resolution marks an historical achievement: for the first time in its history, the Security Council recognises that young people play an important and positive role in the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. The adoption of Resolution 2250 marks the culmination of years of advocacy by civil society for the recognition by the Security Council that young women and young men have a critical, positive role to play for building sustainable peace.

(http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc. asp?symbol=S/RES/2250(2015))

The Guiding Principles on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding[272] provide guidance on how young people should be engaged in conflict-affected and fragile environments. The Guiding Principles were developed by the United Nations Inter-agency Network on Youth Development's Working Group on Youth Participation in Peacebuilding,[273] which is a growing community of practice among United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations, academics, and youth-led organizations and individuals focusing on youth, peace and security to better coordinate efforts and influence smarter policies and evidence-based programming for and with young people in fragile and conflict-affected contexts. (https://www.sfcg.org/guidingprinciples/ and http://www.youth4peace.info/)

The Amman Youth Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security[274] articulates a youth-led common vision and roadmap towards a strengthened policy framework to support young people in transforming conflict, preventing and countering violence, and building sustainable peace.

Inspired by the women, peace, and security agenda and Security Council frameworks, the Amman Declaration calls for a United Nations Security Council resolution on youth, peace and security. (www.youth4peace.info)

The Youth Action Agenda to Prevent Violent Extremism and Promote Peace[275] outlines young people's understanding of violent extremism, what youth are doing to address and prevent it, and the opportunities presented for key stakeholders such as Governments, civil society, businesses, media, international organizations, and other youth groups to engage young people as partners in preventing violent extremism and promoting peace. (https://www.sfcg.org/the-youth-action-agenda-to-counter-violent-extremism/)

These instruments illustrate the growing demand for smarter tools and resources that support partnership with youth in peacebuilding. They also point to a trend towards inter-agency cooperation helping to influence the entire sector more effectively.

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272 Ibid.

273 This Working Group is co-chaired by UNOY Peacebuilders, Search for Common Ground and the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office and comprises more than 40 United Nations agencies, international non-governmental organizations, donors, scholars and youth-led organizations.

274 The Declaration was written entirely by young people and launched at the Global Forum on Youth, Peace and Security, held in Amman on 21 and 21 August 2015.

275 The Youth Action Agenda was produced at the Global Youth Summit against Violent Extremism, held in New York City on 28 September 2015.

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT

Selina Khoo and Andre Matthias Müller

INTRODUCTION

Sport in the modern sense is a hotly debated concept, as there are widely varying opinions on the extent to which it is understood to incorporate the many different forms of bodily movement, play, and games existing worldwide. Sport—specifically athletics—was historically a religious activity performed to please the gods in ancient Greece. Another important purpose of athletic training was preparation for wars and violent conflicts. In comparison, modern sport is rather secular in nature and is performed to accommodate various (arguably more peaceful) motives such as promoting health or getting together with others. This also means that it is more inclusive of a wider audience that can be mobilized for humanitarian purposes. Pierre de Coubertin was among the first who had the vision of sport being a universal movement of education towards peace, tolerance and development when he initiated the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. He likely thought that it was the younger generation that would benefit most from the lessons sport could teach because competitors were mostly younger people who would eventually be responsible for future development.

One reason sport rose to become one of the pillars of development efforts (and especially peacebuilding) relates to its inherently non-violent approach to nationalism, which stands in clear contrast to how nationalism was expressed a few centuries ago (through warfare and killing). Sport "conflicts" (competitive races, matches or games between nations or clubs) are resolved based on rules that constrain violence and encourage respect. Arguably, people who engage in sport learn those values and also experience extreme emotions, which are particularly vital for youth. The rise of sport-based development and peacebuilding projects in conflict-affected regions exemplifies how sport has proven capable of easing conflicts that might otherwise have escalated. For example, various programmes in the Middle East bring Israeli and Palestinian youth together via sport.

Sport has evolved from its cultic (ancient Greek) and elitist (industrializing British) origins into a secular, highly inclusive force that can contribute to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The working group initiated by the United Nations to drive the agenda on sport for development and peace is dedicated to seeing those Goals realized.

THE POTENTIAL OF SPORT FOR YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

What makes sport so valuable for young people? It is generally acknowledged that there are three broad areas in which sport can positively affect youth development. First, sport participation leads to personal (physical, psychological, educational and

social) development that is important for realizing youth potential. Hundreds of studies have reported the impact of physical training on various health parameters that in turn affect well-being. Further, acquiring a physical skill enhances self-confidence and provides mastery opportunities and experiences, which are important precursors to coping with challenging situations beyond sport. There are also numerous studies that have reported on the educational benefits of effectively implemented sport programmes. Apart from reduced school dropout rates among youth involved in sport, physical activity has been shown to increase levels of concentration and academic performance. Language learning through team sports exemplifies a direct link between sport and education. Extending the sport-learning connection even further, Right to Play is collaborating with Governments to successfully combine sport, education and peacebuilding activities for youth in low-income countries and in post-conflict settings such as refugee camps.

Second, sport has the capacity to support youth at risk (including unemployed and migrant youth) because it is structured around norms, behaviours and rules that are also desirable in the larger community. Participation in sport cultivates a sense of responsibility that can be applied to other areas of life.

Finally, sport offers young people the opportunity to acquire social capital through the development of contacts and networks. Strengthening social connections can help youth achieve a sense of belonging, gain access to resources outside sport, and in some cases improve employment prospects.

BOX 4.5.
YOUNG WOMEN AND SPORT

In spite of the clear benefits of sport, girls and young women customarily face more barriers to participation than do boys and young men and therefore tend to be less involved. Sport has traditionally been perceived as a primarily masculine activity centred around attributes such as strength, power and victory. In many societies, young girls are raised in a manner that they do not identify with such attributes and therefore have lower motivation to participate, have less confidence in their physical and sporting capabilities, and receive less support from others. Hence, especially during adolescence and in conservative cultures, the increased pressure to be feminine conflicts with what sport traditionally stands for. Moreover, girls can often feel that they are judged physically when engaged in sport. The perceptions of others critically observing their body can embarrass girls and effectively limit sport participation.

To make sport more appealing to girls and young women, sport programmes can incorporate activities that are in line with their preferences and strengths—cooperation rather than competition, agility rather than strength, positive reinforcement for skill mastery and effort rather than victory—or build on activities that are not "gendered" (including action sports such as Ultimate Frisbee). With this approach, it is possible to appreciate the body for what it can do rather than how it is perceived to look. If that can be achieved and more girls and young women are empowered to become involved in sporting activities, they can unlock physical, psychological and social assets that are transferable to other spheres (as shown by study results). Girls in the Game, based in Chicago, is an example of a programme that has embraced such a framework and effectively combines sport, health education and leadership training for girls.

BOX 4.5.

SPORT AND THE ENGAGEMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

The potential of sport to foster the inclusion and engagement of young persons with disabilities is immense; though their involvement in sport is not new, there is growing emphasis on utilizing sport geared towards youth with disabilities for community development and integration. Involving young persons with disabilities in sporting activities challenges what communities think about disability while also challenging the perceptions those with disabilities may have about themselves. In doing so, stigma and discrimination are reduced, and the skills, confidence and potential of youth with disabilities are realized.

In addition, sporting activities can provide a meeting ground for young people with and without disabilities to come together in a positive environment, learn from each other, and help eradicate preconceived notions of disability by focusing attention on the varying abilities of all youth.

However, for such efforts to be successful, sporting activities must be inclusive and adapted to accommodate the varying needs of all youth involved. If not, sport neglects its potential to provide a forum for inclusion and integration and instead remains an activity that excludes young people with disabilities.

Few realize that there are more than 17 international competitions for persons with disabilities, including three world-level competitions targeting athletes with disabilities—the Deaflympics (for athletes with hearing impairment), the Paralympics (for athletes with other forms of disability such as physical disability and visual impairment), and the Special Olympics (for athletes with intellectual disabilities).

SOURCE: Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments (Toronto, Right to Play, 2008), p. 171. Available from http://www.un.org/wcm/webdav/site/sport/shared/sport/pdfs/SDP%20IWG/Final%20SDP%20IWG%20Report.pdf.

What makes sport such a powerful tool for engaging youth? For one thing, sport typically brings a sense of joy and adventure not found in other daily activities. It offers youth the excitement they crave in a safe environment. For the most part, sport is a voluntary activity in which youth are intrinsically motivated to join. Sport is full of challenges that have to be tackled with acquired skills and through coordinated interaction with others (including teammates, competitors and coaching staff). This combination is optimal for engagement and positive development.

Sport is valuable for all youth but is particularly beneficial for young people who are marginalized. For example, participation in sport can facilitate the integration of migrant youth into their host societies.

Sport is always linked to the values, norms and culture of the society in which it is played. Young migrants generally have problems finding their way in their new environment, and participation in sport provides them with the opportunity to assimilate. Furthermore, when "different" people work together in a team, obeying the same rules to achieve a common goal, a sense of camaraderie emerges similar to that found in traditional communities where mutual support was necessary for survival. Recent research from Norway confirms that team sports such as basketball and soccer offer opportunities for migrant youth to develop a sense of belonging, whereas individual or expressive activities such as aerobics are more ego-centred and therefore less effective in promoting integration.

SPORT NOT FOR SPORT'S SAKE

It is worth pointing out that sport in itself is not enough to effect broader development, except at the individual level. This is because participation in an inherently competitive activity has limited potential to engage youth. As it is commonly assumed by Governments and non-governmental organizations that sport is, in itself, a solution for many youth-related problems, little thought is given to how the potential of sport might be interpreted and utilized more meaningfully. Research from around the globe has emphasized that sport must be regarded as a "hook" for engaging young people. The idea is to use sport to attract youth and to then add other activities beyond sport to bring about individual and community development and induce social change. For example, organizations can offer activities in neighbourhoods with disadvantaged youth, providing them with access to sport that they would not normally have (such as street

leagues). Through cooperation with specific organizations, activity modules relating to education, health, peacebuilding or other areas of interest can be added. Collaboration with non-sport-related organizations is essential because such organizations have the resources and expertise to implement comprehensive programmes with sport as a necessary building block. The focus is hence not on sport for pure sporting success, but on sport as a means to reach out to youth and engage them beyond sport.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations below are intended to guide policy and programme planning focused on sport for youth development.

Recommendations for youth

Contribute Knowledge. Provide "insider" knowledge to inform the content and delivery of sport for youth development programmes.

Contribute to Programme Development. Contribute actively to the creation and adaptation of sport for youth development initiatives and to relevant outreach (via social networks, for example).

Recommendations for Governments/policymakers

Design and Adapt Policies. Design and adapt policies and educational curricula to ensure that the potential of sport can be actualized to benefit youth on various levels.

Provide Funding and Infrastructure.
Provide funding and a safe and easily accessible sport infrastructure to engage as many youth as possible.

Engage Stakeholders. Cooperate with a wide range of stakeholders from various fields and sectors (including sport and academia), utilizing existing expertise in the development of sport for youth development.

Recommendations for all stakeholders

Engage youth. Actively involve youth as both leaders and informants in the design of sport for youth development programmes to learn what is wanted and needed from young people themselves.

Target marginalized youth. Implement programmes for marginalized youth, including migrant youth and youth with disabilities, in the areas where they feel safest and most at home (including neighbourhoods and common meeting places).

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

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CHAPTER

5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER five offers a synthesis of the recommendations presented throughout the *Report*. Arranged in easy-to-read summary form, the recommendations are intended to be used by young people and policymakers to engage in dialogue aimed at finding ways to better support and enhance youth engagement.

YOUTH POLICYMAKING: LESSONS FROM THE DEMAND SIDE

Throughout the present *Report*, experts provide clear recommendations for both young people and policymakers on how to enhance youth-led civic engagement in economic, political and community life.

While young people need to play a central role in addressing issues that affect them, they cannot tackle the multitude of challenges alone. It is only through active partnership, inclusive policies and decision making processes, and meaningful involvement that solutions to some of the key problems experienced by young people can be developed. In promoting youth engagement, support to young people must be provided and the respective roles of young people, policymakers, and the institutions through which they work, clearly defined.

Chapter one of the Report provided a broad overview on the issue of youth civic engagement. The following recommendations should be considered in the development, design, and follow-up of all youth engagement related initiatives and programmes.

Be explicit regarding the degree of youth participation. It is important that civic engagement initiatives explicitly define the degree of youth ownership and the decision-making

authority young people have with regard to programme activities. Successful civic engagement programmes include youth involvement in design planning, development, execution, and in monitoring and evaluation. This should be included as a norm in all youth engagement efforts.

Be relevant to young people's own interests and lived experience. Young people are more likely to be engaged by and passionate about issues that are relevant to their own culture and lived experience. The knowledge youth possess must be valued, and young people need an enabling environment that allows them to develop a certain level of expertise on the issues that influence their lives.

Be action-oriented. Organizations and agencies working with youth on civic engagement initiatives should clearly specify the civic goals they wish to achieve and provide real opportunities for young people to engage in action directed towards meeting those objectives. They must also ensure that youth engagement is real, substantial, and significant.

Value and foster analysis and reflection. While action is essential in developing civic skills and experience, there is great importance in reflecting on civic activity. For example, young people may be trained and engaged in designing,

implementing and evaluating research, conducting surveys and interviews of their peers, and presenting findings and solutions in public forums.

Provide opportunities for youth-adult partnership. Youth leadership emerges out of a complex set of skills, behaviours, actions and attitudes that are best developed through apprenticeships and other experiential processes requiring close partnerships between youth and adults. Adults often play a key role as mentors and motivators in youth leadership programmes.

Young people may be central figures in development, but responsibility for finding solutions to the problems of unemployment and underemployment, for ensuring youth representation in political processes, and for facilitating social inclusion at the community level lies largely with Governments, which must create enabling environments, policies and spaces for youth engagement.

The remainder of this Chapter sets out the key conclusions and recommendations arising throughout the Report as they pertain to the economic, political and community engagement of youth.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT

For many young people today, economic engagement has become more challenging owing to the dearth of decent employment opportunities, inadequacies in skills and education, the lack of support for entrepreneurship, and diminishing labour rights.

However, young people have shown themselves to be powerful agents in the creation of jobs and opportunities to enhance their engagement. Through internships, entrepreneurship and involvement in trade unions, young people are demonstrating their resourcefulness in overcoming the challenges and barriers to economic engagement.

The recommendations below focus on steps that can be taken to strengthen these efforts.

INTERNSHIPS

REVIEW INTERNSHIP OFFERS BY USING THE MAIN BENCHMARKS FOR QUALITY INTERNSHIPS	Young people considering or undertaking an internship should review the relevant terms and conditions in order to ascertain whether quality benchmarks are met in the internship offer. Examples of quality benchmarks can be found on page 39 of this Report.
COLLECT INFORMATION ON THE REGULATORY AND MONITORING FRAMEWORKS GOVERNING INTERNSHIPS IN A PARTICULAR COUNTRY, SECTOR OR OCCUPATION	Information should be collected on the minimal regulations and codes of conduct in place to protect trainees and interns to ensure that internships are in line with existing regulations.
CONTACT ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF YOUTH FOR ADVICE ON CONDITIONS GOVERNING INTERNSHIPS	Youth organizations, employers' organizations and trade unions can sometimes offer help in determining whether the basic conditions of internships are met and rights and entitlements are provided. They can also advise on the process to be followed in cases where such conditions, rights and entitlements are not respected.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP

INCREASE AND IMPROVE ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION	Governments, educators and civil society should work together to improve and expand the delivery of entrepreneurship skills education and programmes. Although formal education is the most convenient way to provide entrepreneurship training, outside programmes should also be developed in order to reach out-of-school and at-risk youth.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP

DESIGN SUPPORT SYSTEMS WITH TARGET POPULATIONS IN MIND	In designing relevant support systems, policymakers and practitioners should take into account the dynamism of youth as well as the local context in order to best serve the needs of young entrepreneurs, in particular young women. Programmes supporting young entrepreneurs should be flexible enough to accommodate young people's differences and avoid a one-size-fits-all approach.
INVOLVE THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND EXISTING ENTREPRENEURS THROUGH MENTORSHIP PROGRAMMES	Young entrepreneurs should be provided with "soft" (non-financial) support, including mentoring. Mentors play a crucial role in facilitating networking and connections and serve as positive role models. Young entrepreneurs who are mentored appropriately are far more likely to succeed in their endeavours.
INCREASE ACCESS TO CAPITAL	Increased access to financial resources and services is needed to facilitate successful youth entrepreneurship worldwide. The public and financial sectors should work together to develop better funding policies and mechanisms specifically targeting young entrepreneurs.
CREATE AND SUSTAIN AN ENABLING YOUTH ENTREPRENEURSHIP ECOSYSTEM	Governments, academic institutions, the private sector and others should work together to develop an enabling environment for youth entrepreneurship. For example, policymakers can establish legal and financial frameworks to encourage entrepreneurship, the education system can provide an appropriate learning environment and relevant practical training such as facilitating technology exchange and innovation, including ICT training, and support of youth participation in research and entrepreneurship centres. Private sector entities can provide knowledge, expertise, social capital and financial support.

TRADE UNIONS

ENHANCE EDUCATION ON LABOUR RIGHTS	Adequately educating young people about their labour rights is essential for their full economic participation. Educational institutions (from primary to post-secondary levels) should form partnerships with trade unions and Governments to ensure that young people are made aware of their rights in the workplace—long before they start their first job.

CHALLENGE POLITICAL APATHY AND EMPOWER YOUNG WORKERS TO GUIDE LEGISLATIVE CHANGE	Governments should actively involve young workers and unionized youth in the development and improvement of labour legislation and should promote their participation and representation in government structures and processes.
CREATE DECENT JOBS FOR YOUTH	Youth employment policies must recognize the labour rights of youth and support the role of trade unions in protecting young workers. These policies should facilitate the creation of decent work opportunities, moving away from the view of youth as a source of low-wage labour. Governments must consider the potential of youth in the development of national education and employment policies, working to ensure that the two are mutually supportive through the creation of internships, apprenticeships and vocational training.
ENSURE EQUALITY THROUGH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING	Unions should use collective bargaining to reduce gender and age inequalities in the workplace. Unions tend to be large and powerful enough to bargain effectively for fair treatment of their members, addressing problems of discrimination based on gender, age or experience and working to reduce wage and entitlement differentials.
INCREASE RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE	Global stakeholders such as the United Nations and the International Labour Organization must continue to provide support for research and discussion on young people's rights in the workplace, creating a space for a broader dialogue about strengthening the collective capacity and power of youth to assert their labour rights.
INCREASE UNIONIZATION	Unions should connect with young employees to organize in new workplaces and sectors and should stand ready to defend and actively work to expand legislated labour rights. Governments should adopt legislation to facilitate the organizing of workers by workplace or sector to ensure that as many workers as possible are covered by collective agreements. Private sector employers should collaborate with workers and unions in the creation of fair and safe workplaces.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

Young people participate in political life for a multitude of reasons and in a wide variety of ways. Low electoral participation and declining levels of engagement in party politics point to young people's disillusionment with the Government and formal political processes. At the same time, institutional and legal barriers to young people's participation, such as age restrictions in running for political office, have excluded many youth from institutional political processes. This exclusion undermines the representativeness and legitimacy of political systems and structures—and in many cases leads young people to seek alternative methods of political engagement. Through protests, demonstrations and digital activism, young people are expressing their opinions and demanding a greater say in political processes and outcomes. At the same time, the violent or extremist activity of some young people is indicative of the failure to adequately involve youth and meet youth development challenges.

Ensuring young people's meaningful involvement in institutionalized political processes is essential. Efforts to enhance such participation should be coupled with efforts to engage with youth using new ICT, social media and other forums and platforms through which young people connect and communicate.

The recommendations below focus on ways to further enhance young people's political engagement.

ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

PRIORITIZE YOUTH ISSUES AND INCLUDE YOUTH IN ADDRESSING CHALLENGES	Governments should assign priority to the concerns of youth and maintain an open dialogue with them. Young people—including activists—should be actively encouraged to participate in efforts to articulate and achieve political goals.
EMPOWER YOUNG PEOPLE THROUGH SOCIAL NETWORKS	Peer-to-peer mechanisms can be used to foster youth engagement. "Champion schemes" have proved effective as a recruiting tool, with youth urging or inspiring "people like them" to become more engaged.
IMPROVE YOUTH REPRESENTATION AND THE POLITICS OF PRESENCE	Measures such as the introduction of quotas or the creation of all-female candidate shortlists should be adopted to improve the representation of young people (especially female youth) in national parliaments and other decision-making bodies. Similar steps should be taken to ensure a more balanced representation of young women and youth from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds in the youth wings of political parties and youth representative bodies (such as youth parliaments and councils).
STRENGTHEN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION	Citizenship education should be introduced/improved and standardized in schools and in institutions of higher learning.

TRANSITIONS IN POWER

OPEN CHANNELS FOR INTERACTION	Institutional channels should be provided for direct interaction between government officials and youth to facilitate communication and joint action in policy development.
DECENTRALIZE POWER	Some decentralization is needed to facilitate youth access to the political process at the community level. For example, youth groups might bring members of parliament to gatherings of young constituents for consultations on education, unemployment, and other areas of special concern.
PROMOTE MEDIATION AND PARTICIPATION IN RESOLVING CONFLICT	Mechanisms should be created to promote inclusive institutionalized dialogue and participation in mediation and decision-making, in order to facilitate conflict resolution at the community and national levels in post-transition countries. Modules and texts on mediation should be developed for use in training by youth-led civil society organizations and political parties.
ENCOURAGE YOUTH TO SERVE AS ELECTION OBSERVERS	Youth should act as election observers, sit on national election commissions, and serve as polling station workers.
STRENGTHEN YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PARTIES	When political parties have strong youth wings and when youth quotas are introduced for central bureaus and decision-making committees, young people are better positioned to have a direct voice in policymaking.
ESTABLISH QUOTAS FOR YOUTH REPRESENTATION AND ENSURE MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION	Quotas need to be introduced for youth on parliamentary lists and for youth participation in national dialogue processes. Steps should be taken to ensure that there is a commitment to meaningful participation, wherein youth are included not to fill quotas but to participate in actual decision-making throughout the electoral cycle (before, during and after elections).
ENCOURAGE YOUTH TO SHARE THEIR EXPERIENCES	Young people should be encouraged and provided space to share their experiences—through youth networks, across party lines, and within civil society—so that they can benefit from lessons learned and best practices.

NEGATIVE ENGAGEMENT

FACILITATE POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	Governments and policymakers can address political disillusionment and disenfranchisement by restoring political agency to young people, by providing them the means to become agents of positive change within their own societies, by teaching conventional political literacy and socialization, and by exploring and endorsing alternative forms of engagement that may be more appealing to a younger cohort. Avenues for young people to legitimately express discontent with and grievances against the political establishment need to be created—and their concerns must be taken seriously.
CREATE INCLUSIVE IDENTITIES	More progressive and inclusive forms of citizenship should be promoted. Youth (and minority populations in particular) must be made to feel as if they belong and are not being marginalized; diversity, human rights and individual freedoms must be respected and supported. Steps should also be taken to eliminate intolerance, sexism, racism and xenophobia, and their highly corrosive effects on community cohesion, healthy identity development and civic responsibility need to be highlighted.
ADDRESS GRIEVANCES AND NARRATIVES OF VICTIMHOOD	Grievances and narratives of victimhood, whether real or perceived, should be addressed so young people know that their concerns are taken seriously.
ADDRESS SOCIOECONOMIC INEQUALITIES	The international community should address all forms of socioeconomic inequality by pushing for better governance, increased transparency, and greater democratization. This is particularly important in post-conflict States.

DIGITAL ACTIVISM

SUPPORT THE GROWTH AND ACCESS OF A RELIABLE, FREE AND OPEN INTERNET	Efforts must be stepped up to ensure that youth have reliable, open access to the Internet for social, political, economic and educational purposes. Action is needed to increase the availability of reliable broadband Internet access to youth, particularly those living in least developed countries. Efforts are needed to combat the suppression and mass surveillance of online activity, as both inhibit political expression, and to address oppression and harassment online.

TEACH DIGITAL AND CIVIC SKILLS TOGETHER	Youth should be developing digital media production and programming skills while also being exposed to political knowledge and critical and systems thinking applied to social and political problems and changemaking.

Educators should provide young people with opportunities to apply these skills in practical projects focused on changemaking at the local level. Such projects allow youth to test their mental models of theories of change, construct new media or technologies with a purpose, and gain confidence in their ability to assume a civic leadership role. |
| **ENSURE DIVERSITY IN DESIGN** | Ensuring that future technologies are inclusive and representative in terms of who can use them and how they can be used requires a community of designers characterized by diversity—in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, language and socioeconomic status—who can design with that diversity in mind.

Access must be provided to digital tools, relevant learning opportunities, and pathways to political participation that validate youth as effective citizens. |
| **FUND DIGITAL ACTIVISM IMPACT STUDIES** | Funding should be provided to support research on the evolving technology and impact of digital activism. Politically engaged youth can and should be at the forefront of this research as both practitioners and scholars. |
| **DEFINE THE ROLE OF YOUNG PEOPLE: TAKE THE LEAD AND TAKE RESPONSIBILITY** | Youth should support their peers through collaboration, mentoring and advocacy to ensure that more young people can participate civically and politically using digital tools. Youth who ascend to leadership roles in traditional institutions of corporate or government power should push for reforms that make those institutions more accessible, transparent and responsive to current and future generations of actualizing citizens. |
| **DEFINE THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTS: ADDRESS MISTRUST BY ENGAGING WITH YOUTH** | Governments may be able to address the mistrust and disengagement characteristically associated with traditional political processes by engaging more authentically with youth both online and offline. This means not only promoting civic hacking or creating more efficient channels of official communication and partnership, but also strengthening protections for freedom of speech, assembly, the press, and privacy.

In abidance with the rule of law and respect for human rights, governments should engage further through the provision of public services; access to public information and open government; accountability; and inclusive decision-making and responsiveness. |

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Growing recognition of the value youth engagement adds to the development process has led to a shift in how young people participate at the community level. Stakeholders, including youth themselves, have become progressively more aware of the personal and community benefits of youth engagement, and young people today are becoming more and more involved as collaborators, team members, leaders and decision makers within their communities. Such engagement often sets a young person on a lifetime course of broader engagement in political and economic life. Through their participation in voluntary activity, peacebuilding and sport for development, young people have been key stakeholders in shaping and contributing to community development. At the same time, the development and use of social media platforms and new ICTs has allowed young people to engage in new and innovative ways at the community level, further changing the landscape and allowing young people greater opportunities for engagement.

The benefits of such engagement and approaches to better supporting community participation among youth are outlined in the recommendations below.

VOLUNTARY ACTIVITY

ENABLE YOUTH TO SHAPE VOLUNTEERING	Policymakers and programme coordinators need to adapt approaches to fit the needs and motivations of young volunteers. Agencies, organizations and Governments should create an environment that enables diverse groups of youth to shape the respective agendas on what youth volunteering should be. In particular, efforts to ensure the meaningful engagement of young women should be undertaken at all levels.
ENSURE THAT YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE A SAY IN THEIR VOLUNTARY ENGAGEMENT	Young people should have a greater say in defining the terms of their voluntary engagement. There should be open discussion about the length and conditions of the volunteer activity, including whether or not any stipends for living expenses or compensation are offered.

PEACEBUILDING

DEEPEN UNDERSTANDING AND IDENTIFY YOUTH NEEDS AND PRIORITIES	A comprehensive and nuanced understanding of youth and their contributions to peacebuilding should be developed, including on the needs and priorities of youth. In particular the specific needs and situation of young women should be given attention. This will require further analysis of holistic and cross-sectoral theories of change.
ACKNOWLEDGE THE DIVERSITY OF YOUTH	It is important to acknowledge the diversity of youth experiences rather than simply focusing on youth as victims, troublemakers or peacemakers in conflict settings. Young people participate in informal governance and peace structures in a wide range of contexts outside of those affected by armed conflict. More youth-led research and analysis is needed to create a better understanding of such diversity so that positive youth voices and identities are given the attention they deserve.
ENSURE THE INCLUSION OF ALL YOUTH	Respect the experiences of all young people and develop targeted strategies to include youth from different backgrounds. Avoid stereotypical assumptions about gender norms and focus on the roles that girls, boys, young men, young women, and young transgender individuals can play in peacebuilding.
PRIORITISE YOUNG PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION	Enable young people's ownership, leadership, and accountability in peacebuilding processes and projects by involving young people in all phases of programming and policy development. Platforms and mechanisms for youth engagement in decision-making should be created.
ENSURE THAT EVIDENCE-BASED YOUTH POLICIES ARE ADOPTED	Governments should ensure that national youth policies are evidence-based, cross-sectoral, and are designed with the active participation of youth.
SUPPORT YOUTH MONITORING AND EVALUATION	Practitioners should develop programmes that provide youth with the ability to monitor and evaluate their own work to support their development and growth.
INVOLVE YOUTH-LED ORGANIZATIONS AS ADVOCATES	Practitioners should explore the possibility of engaging youth-led organizations as advocates of youth inclusion and involvement in policy decisions. Providing advocacy training would offer members of these organizations the opportunity to enhance their peacebuilding and mediation skills.
STRENGTHEN YOUTH -LED DIALOGUE IN THE COMMUNITY	In addition to facilitating communication between decision makers and youth, young people should engage in dialogue with the surrounding community as a means of establishing accountability and securing local and regional support.
ENGAGE CHILDREN AS PEACEBUILDERS	In order to promote continuity and strengthen the impact of their participation, children should be engaged as peacebuilders from a young age. Child and youth participation in peacebuilding must be supported by multiple stakeholders in a multitude of ways in order to strengthen the impact of their contributions.

SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT

FACILITATE YOUTH INVOLVEMENT IN PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT	Young people should be actively involved as both leaders and informants in the design of sport for youth development programmes so that it may be determined from youth themselves what is wanted and needed. Young people should be involved in the inception, adaptation and outreach of sport for youth development initiatives.
DESIGN POLICIES AND PROVIDE FUNDING FOR SPORT INFRASTRUCTURE	Government policies and educational curricula should be designed or adapted to ensure that the potential of sport can be actualized to benefit youth on multiple levels. Funding support and a safe and accessible sport infrastructure should also be provided to engage as many youth as possible.
PROMOTE MULTI-STAKEHOLDER COOPERATION	Governments should cooperate with a wide range of stakeholders from various fields and sectors (including sport and academia), utilizing existing expertise in the development of sport for youth development programmes.
IMPLEMENT PROGRAMMES FOR MARGINALIZED YOUTH	Programmes should be implemented for marginalized youth, including migrant youth and youth with disabilities, in the areas where they feel safest and most at home.

* M.T.A. Lopes Cardozo and others, *Literature Review: Youth Agency, Peacebuilding and Education* (Amsterdam, Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, 2015). Available from http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Youth-Literature-Review-May15.pdf.

ANNEX

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Chapter One: Introduction

PAT DOLAN is co-founder and Director of the UNESCO Child and Family Research Centre and an Academic Director of the Master of Arts programme in Family Support Studies at the National University of Ireland, Galway. He has worked with and for families as a practitioner, service manag er and academic for over 20 years. His major research interests are civic engagement among children and youth, family support, reflective practice and service development, youth mentoring models, adolescent resilience, and social networks. Professor Dolan also has extensive policy experience and was recently appointed to the Task Force on the Child and Family Support Agency in Ireland. He currently holds the prestigious UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement, the first to be awarded this honor in the Republic of Ireland. The UNESCO Chair delivers a comprehensive programme of work focused on the objective of promoting civic engagement and leadership skills among children and youth.

MARK BRENNAN is the UNESCO Chair for Rural Community, Leadership, and Youth Development and Professor of Leadership and Community Development at Pennsylvania State University. Dr. Brennan's teaching, research, writing, and programme development concentrates on the role of community and leadership development in the youth, community, and rural development process. In this context, much of his work has focused on community action, youth development, locally based natural resource management, economic development, and social justice. He is co-founder of the Global Network of UNESCO Chairs on Children, Youth, and Community. Dr. Brennan has over 20 years' experience designing, conducting, and analysing social science research related to community and rural development. This work has involved extensive comparative research throughout the United States, Europe, Africa, Asia and Central America. Dr. Brennan's research and programme development has been funded by a variety of government, foundation, and private sources and has resulted in over 120 publications in leading peer-reviewed journals, books, and outreach publications, and over 150 invited presentations at professional meetings. His recent books include *Theory, Practice, and Community Development* (2013) and *Community Leadership Development: A Compendium of Theory, Research, and Application* (2013).

Chapter Two: Economic Engagement

GIANNI ROSAS is the ILO representative for Italy and San Marino and senior youth employment specialist for Europe. He joined ILO in 1996. Over the past two decades he has held several positions both at ILO headquarters and in field offices, serving as a member of the technical cooperation team on employment and training, skills development officer, and employment specialist. From 2009 to July 2015 he was head of the Programme on Youth Employment. He participated in the review of the ILO mandate and

policy messages on youth employment and developed several country programmes on this topic. He has published papers and developed guides and manuals on a number of youth employment topics including skills development, employment policy, job quality and rights at work, labour market policies and institutions, and employment services. Prior to joining ILO, he worked as a project manager for several youth employment programmes sponsored by the European Commission and for a public-private company that supported group-based youth enterprises. Gianni holds a bachelor's degree in economics, a master's degree in youth employment promotion, and a postgraduate specialization in economics and law of the European Union.

CLAUDIA POMPA is a development expert and entrepreneur. She is a specialist in workforce and skills development, with experience in youth entrepreneurship, youth financial services and products, and small and medium-sized enterprise development. Previously, she was Senior Researcher with the Overseas Development Institute's Private Sector and Markets team. Claudia has more than 12 years of experience as an international development consultant and technical advisor and has worked extensively in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. Her work involves designing, reviewing, monitoring and evaluating complex development programmes, with particular focus on entrepreneurship and business development strategies and programmes.

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AMY F. HUZIAK works with the Canadian Labour Congress as the National Representative for Young Workers. She first became involved in labour activism through the United Food and Commercial Workers Union while she was a student working in retail in a newly unionized environment. Seeing the difference the union made in her life and that of her co-workers, Amy worked to become Chief Steward, and from there went on to be elected Young Worker Vice-President of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour. In her national role with the CLC, Amy is responsible for youth engagement and education within the labour framework. She serves the interests of young people across Canada, often working with trade unions and community organizations to develop initiatives for youth participation in the labour movement. She is also involved in broader politics and activism, working with youth and other age cohorts to facilitate an intergenerational understanding of activism and social justice.

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Chapter Three: Political Engagement

JAMES SLOAM is Reader in Politics, Co-Director of the Centre for European Politics, and Co-Coordinator of the Youth Politics Unit at Royal Holloway, University of London. He has published widely in the area of youth politics in Europe and the United States, including recent articles in *West European Politics* (2013) and *Comparative Political Studies* (2014). In 2012, James edited a special issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* focusing on youth, citizenship and politics in the United Kingdom. Some of his shorter pieces on youth participation can be found in *The Guardian* newspaper, on the Fabian Society and LSE Europe websites, and in *Political Insight* magazine. James's research was heavily cited in the British Government's 2009 Youth Citizenship Commission report and in the 2013 European Commission report "Political Participation and EU Citizenship:

Perceptions and Behaviours of Young People". He also collaborates with non-governmental organizations that seek to raise awareness of youth issues and increase youth turnout in British general elections.

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NUR LAIQ is currently an international consultant. She also has a visiting fellowship at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Nur served as social media chief content officer for the Indian National Congress Party in the 2014 general election campaign. Prior to that, she was a senior policy analyst with the International Peace Institute in New York. Here, she worked on United Nations peace and security policies and was head of the Arab Youth Project. Nur also worked with the European Commission in Brussels and for a Labour Member of Parliament at the House of Commons in London. She is the author of *Talking to Arab Youth: Revolution and Counter-revolution in Egypt and Tunisia* (International Peace Institute, 2013) and co-editor of *The Search for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Oxford University Press, October 2014). She is now working on a book on people, ideas and politics in the Middle East and North Africa.

AKIL N. AWAN is Associate Professor in Modern History, Political Violence and Terrorism at Royal Holloway, University of London. His research interests are focused around the history of terrorism, radicalization, social movements, protest, and new media. He has written widely in these areas, both academically and in the popular press. Dr. Awan is also regularly consulted by government bodies, think tanks, media agencies and other organizations in his fields of expertise, and has served in an advisory capacity to the U.K. Home Office and Foreign Office, the U.S. State Department and military, the Council of Europe,

and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, among others. Most recently, he served as special advisor on radicalization to the U.K. Parliament and as an academic expert on genocide with the delegation of the U.K. House of Lords to Srebrenica. He is Founder and Chair of the Political Science Association's Specialist Group on Political Violence and Terrorism.

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ERHARDT GRAEFF is a sociologist, designer, and entrepreneur. His work explores creative uses of media and technology for civic engagement and learning. He has written about evaluating media activism, designing drones to be more civic, bots and information privacy, cyberbullying, and political memes. He regularly leads workshops on civic media and participatory design for students, teachers, and social entrepreneurs. Erhardt is a Ph.D. researcher in the Center for Civic Media at the MIT Media Lab, an affiliate of the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, and a founding trustee of The Awesome Foundation, which gives small grants to innovative and promising projects. His website is erhardtgraeff.com.

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Chapter Four: Community Engagement

SARAH HUXLEY is a youth rights enthusiast. Her work focuses on co-creating the physical and intellectual spaces for young women and men to collectively tackle the social injustices that they and their wider communities face. She was the International Youth Policy Adviser for ActionAid from 2012 to 2015, and she is a trained child- and youth-focused anthropologist. Her special areas of interest are participation, governance, youth policy and

strategy, education, innovation and post-conflict transitions. She has worked on a number of practical publications, including managing the production of the 2008-2010 DFID-CSO Youth Participation in Development Guide. Sarah has worked for a diverse range of organizations, from grass-roots NGOs to international agencies. She was the lead writer for the first-ever crowdsourced online *United Nations World Youth Report* in 2011. Sarah's life and work is focused on helping make the world a more equal place. She is inspired by the hundreds of youth activists she has been fortunate enough to meet.

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LAKSHITHA SAJI PRELIS is the Director for Children and Youth Programs at Search for Common Ground, the founding co-chair of the United Nations Inter-agency Working Group on Youth and Peacebuilding, and co-chair of the Global Partnership with Children and Youth in Peacebuilding. He has over 20 years of experience working with youth, youth movements and youth-focused organizations in various conflict, crisis and transition environments. He has advised Governments and civil society actors in developing training programmes, drafting policy frameworks, and designing community participation programmes. He obtained his Master's Degree in International Peace and Conflict Resolution with a Concentration in International Law from the School of International Service at American University.

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SELINA KHOO is an associate professor at the Sports Centre, University of Malaya, Malaysia. She is involved in research to promote physical activity in youth, women, older adults, and persons with disabilities.

She has been invited to present her research at the International Forum on Children with Special Needs, IOC World Sport for All Congress, and Global Summit on the Physical Activity of Children. Selina has served on national and international committees, including the Women and Sports Committee of the Olympic Council of Malaysia, the Development Committee of the Far East and South Pacific Games for the Disabled, and the Asian Paralympic Committee. She is the current Vice-President of the Asian Society for Adapted Physical Education and Exercise and a member of the Commonwealth Advisory Body on Sport. Selina is also a National Course Director for the Olympic Council of Malaysia and facilitates Olympic Solidarity Sport Administrators courses.

ANDRE M. MÜLLER is a researcher in the area of physical activity and health. He is currently attached to the University of Malaya in Malaysia, where he conducts research on behavioural health—especially physical activity and exercise. He is mainly interested in understanding how to engage people in healthy lifestyles using modern technology. Andre has presented his research across the globe and has authored a number of scientific publications. Besides his academic work, Andre is a certified health and fitness coach with many years of experience. His interest in youth and sport stems from his contributions to the World Assembly of Youth.

A volunteer paints a
fresco on a wall during
Volunteer day in Goma.
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