



Youth and Political Participation in the Philippines: Voices and Themes from a Democracy Project

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Abstract

There appears to be a prevailing perception that the generation of young people today are uninterested if not apathetic to politics. But is that really the case? Are today's young generation truly disengaged from politics? This paper focuses on this question, drawing from a democracy project in the Philippines that involved young university students as volunteers in an election monitoring exercise. A content analysis of focus group data and reflection papers of students about their subjective experiences, feelings, insights and views regarding their participation in the project and politics in general believe in the conventional wisdom that the young are a politically impassive and indifferent generation. The youths are interested in political life around them and hold critical views about the behavior of politicians and political candidates. And even as they recognize the weaknesses and deficits in the political system, the youths are interested in political participation not just in voting but in other engagements that support democracy and good government. The paper concludes that today's youths are a promising generation of political activists whose energies, enthusiasm and aspirations can be mobilized and harnessed to strengthen democratic processes and achieve their aspirations for what they call 'good society,' 'good government' and 'good politics.'

Keywords: Democracy/ Election Monitoring/ Political Participation/ Youth/
Youth Voice/ Philippines

Introduction

A pattern of apathy and disengagement with politics among the youth exists across much of the world (Youniss et al 2002). In the Philippines, the traditional perception that the Filipino youths are uninterested if not apathetic to politics remains unchallenged. Some studies in fact tend to confirm this view. A survey of Filipino youths showed that the young consider being politically involved as least important in their life compared to having a good marriage, family life, steady job and good education (Sandoval, Mangahas and Guerrero, 1998). Another study noted that the youths' less than positive attitude towards being responsible voters, minimal social involvement and being uninformed about government have not improved over the years (Velasco n.d. as cited by Sta. Maria and Diestro, 2009). Still another study

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(Trends-MBL for Global Filipino Foundation 2001 as cited by Sta. Maria and Diestro, 2009) claimed that the youth's apathy and cynicism towards cultural values and national affairs would extend to government, politics and life in general by the time they reach the age of 19; they are cynical of government and the political institutions and processes in the country (PSSC 2003). And even as they participate in elections, the youths prefer being a follower and recipient of information and seldom act as activist-initiator or leader on political issues (National Youth Commission, 2010). In contrast, some studies noted that youths historically had been at the forefront of social movements, widely practicing their political rights and figuring as one of the most militant and active political groups for social change (Lanuza, 2004; Ogena, 1999). Whether or not the distinction of the political youth in the past is defined by 'period effect,' thus distinguishing them from contemporary generation, Deserves deeper analysis that a separate study can do.

Today's youth comprise roughly one third of the country's 100 million population with a median age of 23.5 As a distinct sector and critical component of societal change, they constitute a major stakeholder and political actor in shaping the country's present and future. They also provide a valuable reservoir for the country's future leaders, policymakers, innovators and change agents. Trite as it may seem, how the future will transform rests on the hands of the young. No less than the Philippine national hero Jose Rizal extolled the youths as hope of motherland. The crucial role of the youth in nation building has also been enshrined in Philippine laws and in country's governance structures and practices. It is by no means relevant to know if today's young generation, as the conventional wisdom suggests, are apathetic and disengaged from politics for it poses profound implications on the political life and future of the country.

This paper attempts to respond to the opening statement made above by examining what the Filipino youths think about politics in the country and whether or not they are indeed apathetic as commonly perceived. It is a preliminary exploration of the views and attitudes of the youth toward politics and does so by drawing meanings and nuances from the subjective experiences, insights, thoughts, feelings and perspectives of young university students who participated as volunteer monitors in a democracy project in the Philippines on campaign finance monitoring.

Youth and Political Participation

Defining who the youths are may draw different interpretations as this can be bound by a society's demographic, political, economic and socio-cultural contexts. It can be fairly assumed that countries around the world conceive youth differently. As a demographic concept (Atal, 2005), youth has biological and sociological aspects. It relates to an age group that is transiting from childhood to adulthood. Certain roles and expectations are associated with the youth, however, these social constructions can vary from culture to culture.

In social research, conceptualizing youth invokes three notions: as a generation, as a life stage and as a social group (Kovacheva, 2005). The concept of generation locates the young as a specific age groupings or generations within socio-



historical contexts. Each generation is said to have developed its own brand of habits and outlook, including political awareness, shaped and influenced as it were by major historic and social change that happened during their formative years. The second notion relates to young people's search for self-identity and the values that shape their consciousness. As a social group, youth is understood as a transition stage when the young start to establish their independence, seek a job after graduation and move out of parental home to live autonomously and establish own family.

Internationally, age is a common approach to distinguish the youth. There is, however, no universal agreement on what age cohort will be considered as youth or young people. What exist are age groups that vary depending on who is making the definition. The United Nations, for example, defines 'youth' as those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years. Within the UN family itself, agencies use different age categories. The UN Secretariat, UNESCO, and ILO identify the youth as belonging to the age group 15-34. For the UN Habitat, the youths are aged 15 to 32 years old. The UNICEF uses the term adolescent to describe those in the age bracket of 10-19. WHO groups the young people in the 10-24 range while UNFPA puts the youth in the 15-24 ages. (<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf>).

In the Philippines, the youths are officially defined as those persons with ages ranging from 15 to 30 years old, which the government considers as a "critical period in a person's growth and development from the onset of adolescence towards the peak of mature, self-reliant and responsible adulthood" (R.A. 8040). The definition is politically significant for it legally sets the minimum age for the youth's participation in youth councils. These youth councils are mandated by national law and serve as platforms for the young to implement socio-civic and community development activities that directly benefit their sector. But to be able to vote in general elections, existing law sets the voting age at 18.

As a transition period between childhood and adulthood, youth is a challenging stage when many significant events and decisions happen in a person's life. It is a phase when the young experience dramatic changes in their mental, emotional, behavioral and relational processes, and begin to develop their self identities, frames of mind and world views (Ogena, 2000), the period when the young become politically aware (Kovacheva, 2005).

Political participation is paramount in making democracy work for people and societies. It enables citizens to ventilate their views and concerns to government and officials and exert pressure on them to act on these concerns. It involves political engagement and public involvement in decision making (Lamprianou, 2013). Political participation relates to individual or collective action that supports or opposes state structures, authorities, and/or decisions regarding allocation of public goods. It can happen at the national or local level and can be expressed in verbal or written forms. Political participation can be, violent or non-violent and can be of any intensity (Conge, 1988). As a significant sector of society, the political involvement of the young in the processes and institutions of democracy has assumed a particular relevance. Youth involvement in politics makes government cater to their specific



needs as a sector and enables them to be co-author of transformation and further evolution of democracy and its institutions (Forbig, 2005).

A normative conception of youth participation in politics is about engaging in forming opinions and taking actions to bring about positive change in society. Their participation can take different forms such as voting in general elections, joining political parties and events, participation in youth organisations or issue-based NGOs or volunteering, participation in debates on youth or community issues, opinion-shaping through written press or youth radio, participating in online discussion for a writing or following blogs, and seeking information and learning about democracy such as participating in simulations of political processes, attending training or learning at school, engaging in youth organisations (EACEA, 2013).

New forms of social and political involvement in public life are emerging particularly among the young suggesting that youth politics is not confined solely to actions that aim to influence government policy but encompasses issues of wider social concerns (Kovacheva, 2005). Their political participation is expressed not necessarily through the conventional democratic politics like elections and campaigns but through novel modes such as leisure activities, volunteering and social work, boycotts, lifestyle politics, protest demonstrations and new social movements. From this point of view, the young of today are creating new forms of political engagement that are more appealing to them than those they inherited from their parents and grandparents (Forbig, 2005), consistent with their interpretations of what politics means and likely more attuned to their own needs, lifestyles and individuality (Sloam, 2007; Kovacheva, 2005).

The work of Ekman and Amna (2012) on political participation typology is instructive of how civic engagement is now construed as new form of political behavior. Civic engagement and social involvement such as taking interest in politics and society, discussing politics and societal issues with friends, writing to editors, belonging to a group with societal focus, volunteering in social work, and activity within community-based organizations are venues by which citizens can express their participation in political process. They categorize these as latent in contrast to manifest political participation like voting in elections and referenda, running for public office, contacting political representatives or civil servants, donating money to political parties or organizations, protest actions like boycott, signing petitions, demonstrations and strikes, even illegal protests such as civil disobedience or participating in violent demonstration. Not voting in elections and avoiding political discussion are forms of non-participation and disengagement from politics.

Political participation of the youth can thus take many forms ranging from the conventional democratic politics to more creative, novel and remarkably distinctive of contemporary generation, shaped and influenced as it is by their specific socio-political contexts and global social movements. And with the massive penetration of cellular phones, Internet, social networking sites, blogs and other ICT inventions in the everyday life of Filipinos, politically active youths have used these technologies in their engagements, civic and political wise (David, 2013).



The Democracy Project: A Background

In the run up to the 2013 national elections for senators, the Association of Schools of Public Administration in the Philippines (ASPAP Inc.) implemented a project called STAMP Program Extension: Sustaining Advocacy for Campaign Finance Awareness and Accountability¹ within the broad framework and objective of deepening democracy and advancing electoral reforms. Nine ASPAP member universities² from across the country participated in the project. Parenthetically, the Filipino youth start their college education normally at the age of 16 or 17 and spend four to five years to earn a baccalaureate degree. By the time they leave the university, they are in their early 20's. Three hundred thirty-two female and 161 male college students volunteered to participate. As monitors, the volunteers conducted field observation and inspection of printed campaign materials of senatorial candidates such as posters and flyers that were posted in public places in their respective communities. They also computed the estimated costs of these election paraphernalia. A group of faculty members per school coordinated and supervised the students for the duration of the project (ASPAP, 2013).

A series of meetings and consultative workshops with election experts were organized by the project team ahead of the field monitoring to discuss the design of the monitoring tool to be used by the student monitors. Reviewing and distilling lessons from similar campaign finance monitoring initiatives in the country informed the development of the tool. A crucial component of the project involved preparing and capacitating the students for their task as monitors. A two-day training was organized in each participating university to orient the students about the project as a whole and the tools and processes involved in monitoring. The training included presentations and open discussions of topics such as democracy and citizenship, relevance and contribution of citizen monitoring to clean elections, citizens' rights and responsibilities to monitor election spending, monitoring tools and processes, electoral laws, regulation of election campaign spending, and enforcement issues and constraints in the Philippines. During the training, the students organized themselves into working teams and identified the areas that will be covered in monitoring, specifically public places such as streets and parks that usually were used by politicians as staging grounds for their campaigning materials. The students were given a modest allowance for their transportation fares and meals (ASPAP, 2013).

The actual monitoring covered the first 45 days of the senatorial campaign period beginning from 12 February to 2 April 2013. The students used the monitoring tool and price computation scheme that the project developed for monitoring purposes. Apart from monitoring the election campaign paraphernalia, the students also observed whether or not the candidates were following the election rules on sizes

¹ASPAP implemented the project with a grant from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems and the US AID. This paper is written for academic purposes; the views and analyses expressed therein are solely those of the author.

²These include six state universities and three private universities: Nueva Vizcaya State University, University of Sto. Tomas, Ateneo de Naga University, West Visayas State University, Cebu Normal University, Western Mindanao State University, Mindanao State University Marawi, Mindanao State University - Iligan Institute of Technology and Ateneo de Davao University.



and location for posting and displaying the posters, tarps and related materials (ASPAP, 2013). As a caveat, it is worth repeating here that the paper's focus is on the political views of the students. It is not the objective of the paper to analyze the campaign expenses of the candidates. That exercise is worthy of a more thoughtful study than can be done here.

Exploring Themes, Meanings and Nuances: Voices of the Filipino Youth

This section discusses the attitudes of the student monitors towards politics and democracy in the Philippines. It explores their general political orientations by searching for meanings from their subjective experiences, insights, thoughts, feelings and perspectives that they shared in focus group discussions and in the reflection essays that they submitted to the project. It needs to be pointed out that the FGDs were organized as sharing sessions for the monitors to give their feedback and general assessment of how the monitoring was implemented. They were also asked to share how their monitoring experience affected their thoughts and views about politics and elections. A focus group discussion was each held in every participating university after completing the monitoring activities. On the average, ten to fifteen students participated in each focus group discussion. The essays were more directed at capturing the general reflections of the students about their experience, feelings, impressions, and learnings. It also asked a question about how their learnings from their experience can be applied and carried forward.

Basically, content and thematic analysis of the focus group documentations and reflection essays was done to capture the message and essence of the voices of the youths who participated in the project. And having been directly involved in the project, the author also drew from her own observations, insights and analysis in writing the paper. Project documents such as concept proposals, reports and pre- and post-training assessments were also used as additional sources in describing the project background and elaborating on the themes.

Certain themes characterize the youths' voices as the students participated in the project and expressed their views and thoughts about politics. The themes provide a window through which one can 'see,' understand and appreciate the meanings and nuances of the subjective experiences, thoughts, feelings and perspectives of the young about politics in the country. The analysis leads to a certain characterization of the youth's political outlook and attitudes, albeit it is important to mention that it is only indicative and the emerging picture is not necessarily representative of the country's young people in this age group.

Interest to Engage and Participate in Politics and Public Sphere

Are today's youth interested in politics and are they willing to participate? Campaign finance monitoring is relatively unheard of among the students and, likely in the whole country, especially as a distinct and specific advocacy for electoral and democracy reform. It is noted that, based on the pre-training diagnostic assessments that were done before the students were oriented on the project, most students never heard about campaign finance monitoring nor had they knowledge or idea what campaign finance was about until they joined the project as monitors. But perhaps



when presented the opportunity and support for their engagement, the youth will take interest and participate. Indeed, the monitoring project showed that contrary to being uninterested and apathetic, the youths have interest in and inclinations to engage in political activities.

A hearty eagerness to participate generally characterized the engagement of the students with the project. This is demonstrated by the number of students who joined, which exceeded expectations that some had to be declined because of logistical reasons, and their active attendance and participation throughout the project implementation, beginning from the two-day training to subsequent team meetings that they themselves organized to plan their activities and assignments, to strategizing how best to do their field work, to actual field monitoring, to processing of the data they collected and to the holding of focus group discussions as a last activity.

The actual monitoring entailed difficulties and to some extent physical risks on the part of the students. Students described how they walked the streets under the heat of sun, got lost, walked long distances, painstakingly scanned the street so as not to miss any single poster, sought the help of community elders/residents for safe mobility in the community, dodged stray dogs, experienced exhaustion due to exposure and walking, avoided fast moving vehicles in highways and, using a ladder that they ingeniously obtained from someplace, climbed walls/trees in their desire to get the exact measurements of posters. These were just some of the physical hurdles that the students experienced as they conducted monitoring in their communities. Worth mentioning, too, was how the students switched schedules and swapped places among themselves so that neither their attendance in classes nor their participation in monitoring would be sacrificed. It was natural to expect that, given the difficulties they encountered, the students would prioritize their studies and could have just put aside their involvement in monitoring. There was also no pressure for them to continue as their involvement was on a voluntary basis. Yet, the students chose to stay with the project, fulfilled their monitoring responsibilities up to the last day and “shared their precious time to finish the task without expecting anything in return.”

That the students were interested in political participation became evident in the post-training evaluation. When asked if there was an opportunity to apply the knowledge and skills they learned in monitoring election campaign spending would they be willing to do it, the students overwhelmingly responded in the affirmative. Their interest to participate in political advocacy like the campaign finance monitoring was also apparent throughout the focus groups and the essays. There was a general sentiment among them that advocacies like monitoring should be continued. They expressed their desire to participate again in future campaign finance monitoring.

Political Expectations and Behavioral Issues

Young as they may be, the youth have definite views about politics and share common political issues of national importance. It was evident from the focus groups and essays that the youths have clear expectations of how politicians should behave



not only when they are campaigning to win in elections but also when they eventually assume their post as public officials. At the same time they are aware and observant that politicians often stray from straight path

The students feel strongly about political corruption and seriously watch how politicians behave. They think that election campaigns are a breeding ground for corruption. They believe that the politicians will get back the “money invested on campaign” when they win in the elections, recognizing as well that without ‘much money,’ candidates can never win in elections, To them, this is a disturbing scenario, and they consider this kind of political behavior as “threat to the attainment of good public service.” Having been involved in the campaign monitoring made them realize to be careful with their votes and to keenly watch how politicians conduct themselves during elections.

There was a general sentiment among the students that they have to watch the politicians if they were following the election laws and rules. They expect that politicians should not be the first to violate the law because they are seeking public office. It was important for them to know this because it will indicate whether the politicians will be good followers of law especially when they are already occupying public office. They were skeptical about politicians being good leaders of the nation if they cannot abide first with the laws governing election campaigns.

The students also mentioned that citizens were unaware of the rules and regulations about campaign spending. To them, this lack of knowledge on the part of the citizens made it easy for politicians to violate the rules.

Volunteerism, Citizenship and Nationalism

If there is one thing that can be nuanced from the students’ thoughts and feelings, it is about how they felt that they were doing something for the country and how the experience aroused the spirit of citizenship and volunteerism within them. The focus groups and essays showed that students connect their participation to political values such as volunteerism, citizenship and nationalism. They expressed that they were serving the public in their own little way when they served as volunteers for election monitoring. They considered it a privilege to participate as election campaign monitors, an activity that “positively fosters volunteerism, heightens awareness and critical thinking about issues affecting the people and the nation.” The students stated that their participation as monitors gave them a sense of awareness as a Filipino and that what they were doing was a concrete expression of their citizenship, saying that they were “happy and proud to be part of this patriotic activity.” They saw their participation as a means of helping the country, a way for “paving the way for a clean and honest elections.”

It was also evident in the focus groups and written reflections that the students recognize the importance of citizen involvement in political activities. To them, citizen involvement in the election campaign monitoring was a step forward in making “great changes” in the Philippines because “citizens are being educated and made aware of reality.” As mentioned in the focus groups, the students realized that



there is need to increase citizen involvement and awareness and expressed the hope that soon the citizens will wake up to the call for changes.

In a broader context, the students saw a bigger picture of elections in terms of what politicians should do and not do during elections, that “voters must not just be contented in casting their votes but should be more concerned on how to assess candidates especially those running at the national level.” As voters the students recognized that they themselves must be “mindful of whom they give their vote to,” that they should become “watchful agent” of elections and campaign expenses of candidates.

The students also saw that their political participation and applying what they learned from their experience can be expanded by sharing their knowledge to student organizations that they are members of, and to their families and friends. Involvement in social activities and not just election-related activities was also seen as way of enhancing one’s awareness about social and political issues in the country. These results belie public perception that the young are a disinterested and apathetic group.

Awareness, Empowerment and Need for Political Participation

The students expressed that their experience and involvement in election monitoring provided them with an increased awareness in Philippine politics. They considered their engagement in the democracy project as enriching and fulfilling for it gave them the opportunity to experience “real politics.”

Being involved in the project had afforded them to monitor how politicians spend to win elections and identify those who follow and violate the election laws. Their participation enabled them to assess whether a candidate can be considered “good in office” based on their compliance with election rules and regulation. They came to realize and became “aware that some national officials seeking re-election were actually violators of election campaign rules and regulations.” Because of this, the students said that they have become more careful and “protective of whom they shall give their vote to.”

Their participation served as an eye-opener and made them realize how important it is to be vigilant during election. They also saw the importance of having an educated electorate. As monitors, the student became informed and abreast about what was happening in the political arena. They had also become more conscious and their ‘critical thinking was heightened’ especially about choosing the leaders of the country. Among the first time voters, they considered their exposure to ‘real politics’ as relevant and useful to them especially when they decide on their choice of leaders. As one student said, “awareness about the kind of candidate that should be selected during election must be given a lot of thinking.”

There were also expressions of sense of fulfilment among the students for having been involved in the monitoring activity. They felt grateful that they were part of the advocacy. They considered it a patriotic act and felt a sense of pride for doing it. The students were happy that they had a chance, some called it a rare opportunity,



to help the country through their participation in the project. Their real life participation in a political activity such as election monitoring has raised their interest and most everyone agreed that more volunteers should be encouraged and mobilized for future monitoring.

Students' articulations on how they can 'discipline the politicians' through their monitoring indicates a sense of power that the youth have when they participate in democratic exercises like election monitoring. The students believed that through their monitoring, politicians will be more wary in their expenses because they are being watched and can be reported to the country's electoral body for violations. The students believe that monitoring "gives the public the power to participate, encourage and take part in the election process."

Change and Faith in Democratic Process

Despite the many issues that the youth see in the behavior of politicians, the students still expressed their faith in democracy. Many expressed the view that the democratic way of life is still the best system for the country. It also surfaced in the FGDs and essays that they still regard elections as the best way to select the leaders of the country, even after having observed during their monitoring the election violations committed by politicians. As pointed out by one student, "elections are the cornerstone of creating a democratic political system."

And as they continue to support elections, they also voiced out their aspiration for clean and honest elections. In this regard, they look up to the Commission on Elections, the country's electoral body, to enforce the law and to ensure that politicians obey the rules and laws of elections.

Conclusion

The paper starts by pointing out a common perception of youths as uninterested and even apathetic with politics. But is that really the case, particularly in the Philippines? Are today's young generation truly disengaged from politics? This paper tried to answer this question, drawing from a democracy project in the Philippines that involved young university students as volunteers in an election monitoring exercise. To capture the thoughts and voices of the youths, a content analysis of focus groups and reflection papers of students about their subjective experiences, feelings, insights and views and other project documents was done. The results tend to belie what conventional wisdom suggests about the young being politically disinterested and indifferent.

In summary, what do the youth's voices tell us? It can be argued that, based on results, the youths are not disconnected from the political affairs in the country. They are interested in political life around them and have rather clear and unequivocal views and ideas about politics and democracy in the country. They hold critical views about the behavior of politicians and political candidates. Notwithstanding, they continue to have faith in democracy and believe in electoral process for installing leaders of the country.



The youths recognize the weaknesses and deficits in the political system. They express serious concern about the political future of the country noting that politicians do not mind violating election campaign rules to win elections. But even as they do, they manifest interest in political participation not just in voting but in other engagements that support democracy and good government.

Their participation has empowered them to believe that they can do something to help achieve or influence social and political change, by watching closely how politicians behave, being dutiful and conscientious voter and by sharing knowledge to families, friends and their own organizations. The monitoring experience itself proved to be an enlightening and worthy political awareness building process for the youths themselves who soon were going to make choices about the nation's political leaders as they voted in the 2013 election. The experience and analysis showed that involving and mobilizing young people in political processes affirms that the youth can provide an encouraging and fresh reservoir of enthusiasm, nationalism and idealism in having an active democracy. Their political experience with the democracy project kindled their sense of citizenship, volunteerism and love for the country.

The democracy project suggests that direct engagement of the youth can be an effective way of empowering the students. Participating in the project enabled the students to realize the efficacy of their participation in political process. Their experience in monitoring the campaign finances of the candidates gave them a collective sense of power over the politicians. It has made them realize to be careful and discriminating in entrusting their votes to politicians.

Engaging the youth to increase their interest and participation in political and democratic processes may be a daunting exercise especially in a political environment that is perceived as corrupt and the balance of power is dominated by a few political and economic elite. But when given the opportunity and support, and accompanied by adequate knowledge and skill building efforts, they are enthused to participate and to get involved. Their sense of citizenship and volunteerism, enthusiasm and energy can be mobilized and harnessed towards such democratic ends and aspirations they identified as 'good politics,' 'good government,' and 'good society.' Young as they are, and considering that that they constitute a considerable segment of the population, they indeed can be a potent force in influencing social and political change in the country. Optimistically speaking, there is reason to hope that the youths of today can become the country's future political activists.

Some implications for policy (action) and research can also be drawn from the students' experience and the democracy project in general. In terms of policy and action, opportunities can be created to encourage and enable the youth to realize the efficacy of their political participation. These opportunities can be in the form, for example, of democracy projects like the pre-electoral monitoring activity discussed in the paper. And with the new lease of life given to the youth councils in the country, government can lead in the creation of citizen initiatives for citizenship among the youths and generally an environment that engenders citizenship as well as leadership among the young. The academe and civil society including international organizations can also be encouraged and tapped as partners in engendering a culture of political participation among the youth in the country.



In the area of research, investigations can explore the trajectory of youth political participation in the country, whether their ‘early’ involvement in politics will be carried forward to adulthood as constructive political and civic participation. Modes of political participation of the youth from the civic engagement perspective can also be pursued, taking note especially of the popularity of the Internet and social media among the young and how this is being used nowadays for self-expressions and political participation. Whether involvement in civic and community life and processes of political participation prepares the young to be good political leaders also presents an interesting research inquiry to pursue. In this regard, it will be instructive to know how the youth councils in the country are able to contribute in the political maturation of the youth, particularly towards good citizenship and political leadership.

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