

**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN PAKISTAN**



By

Mumtaz Jahan

National University of Modern Languages

Islamabad Pakistan

November 2020

**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN PAKISTAN**

By

Mumtaz Jahan

M.Phil. Pakistan Studies, National University of Modern Languages, 2020

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

In

PAKISTAN STUDIES

To

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,

DEPARTMENT OF PAKISTAN

STUDIES.



National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad

November 2020



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

THESIS/DISSERTATION AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Social Sciences for acceptance:

Thesis/ Dissertation Title:

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN PAKISTAN

Submitted By: Mumtaz Jahan

Registration #: 1425 M.Phil./PS/F17

Name of the Student

Master of Philosophy

Department of Pakistan Studies

Dr. Fazal Rabbi

Name of Research Supervisor

Signature of Research Supervisor

Prof Dr. Shahid Siddiqui

Name of Dean (FSS)

Signature of Dean (FSS)

Brig. Muhammad Badr Malik

Name of Director General

Signature of Director General

Date

CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

I Mumtaz Jahan

D/o Abdul Ghafoor

Registration #1425-Mphil/PS/F-17

Discipline: Pakistan studies

Candidate of M.Phil. (Pakistan studies) at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis (Title) **Role of Civil Society Organizations in Promoting Political Participation in Pakistan** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of M.Phil., is my original work and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that I shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtained any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

I also understand that if evidence of plagiarism is found in my thesis/dissertation at any stage, even after the award of degree, the work may be cancelled at the degree revoked.

Signature of Candidate

Date

Name of Candidate

ABSTRACT

Pakistan has a significantly higher ratio of the younger population comprising of just over 60 per cent, however, these young voices are largely unrepresented in the political system thus a majority of them are excluded from policy development. The focus of this study is to analyze the role of civil society in promoting youth participation in the political process. The methodology of the study includes a review of the existing stock of literature on youth participation in politics and the role of CSOs in the promotion of youth participation in politics, followed by collecting and analyzing primary data from 200 university students aged 18-29, and interview from 10 members of CSOs working in Pakistan. Finding from both Survey and the interview shows that like other democratic countries, there is strong role and space available for CSOs to play in engagement of youth for political participation in Pakistan, but a limited number of CSOs are working specifically on political participation of youth. Most CSOs don't work in this domain given its dependence on government rules and regulation and are not allowed to work on the political emancipation of youth that resultantly makes the government accountable to the people. Another reason is the CSOs lack financial independence and sustainability and their function as a watchdog and making the political leadership and governments accountable to the public is weak. Those CSOs engaged in promoting youth political participation do it by arranging workshops, seminars, social gathering, public talks and publishing its reports for the youth political empowerment in Pakistan. Thus the study concludes the role of CSOs in promoting and enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan is limited.

Keywords: Civil society, Political Participation, Youth

DEDICATED

TO

My Teachers

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I feel obliged to thank Almighty Allah, the greatest companionate and efficient to all the human beings, who blessed me with health, talented teachers, good friends and expression of thoughts.

Research work is an arduous undertaking and requires help, guidance and support of many people. I have the honor to express my heartiest gratitude and profound indebtedness to extend thanks to my kind and brilliant teacher, my supervisor Dr. Fazal Rabbi (Head of the department) Assistant Professor of Pakistan Studies, NUML Islamabad. His patience, constant encouragement, guidance, constructive criticism and valuable suggestions were of immense help to me during the entire tenure of my research period.

I am indebted in profound to respected Mr. Hamid Bukhari (Assistant Professor) and Dr. Shoaib Malik (Assistant Professor) who always been a source of knowledge to the contemporary domain of Pakistan studies and political thought. The knowledge and skill I learnt from them during my M Phil helped me in my research work for this thesis.

I am indebted to my dear husband Fazal Ali, my brothers Rizwan Karim and Imran khan, my parents and my children, for their all kind of support they showed in completing this journey of knowledge and research.

Mumtaz Jahan

List of Abbreviations

CSO	Civil Society Organization
CS	Civil Society
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
NGO	Non-Government Organization
AKF	Aga Khan Foundation
EC	Electoral College

CONTENTS

S. NO	TITLES	P/O
7	INTRODUCTION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Statement of the problem ii. Aims and Objectives of the Study iii. Research Questions iv. Significance of the Study v. Justification of the Topic vi. Limitation of the study vii. Research Methodology viii. Literature Review ix. Organizations of the study 	10-15
8	CHAPTER-1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 Civil Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil Society vs. Civil Society Organizations • Functions of Civil Society • Topics addressed by Civil Society 1.1.2 Civil Society Organizations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-Governmental Organizations • Difference NGO's and other forms of Civil Society Organizations • Associations and Unions • The characteristics of civil society organization/associations • Fields of Action and Civil Society Organizations 1.2 Political Participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.2.1 Political Actions 1.2.2 Political Participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forms of Political participation: • Types of Political Participation • Reasons for non-participation in political life • Summary 	16-36
9	CHAPTER-2: LITERATURE REVIEW <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1 Literature on Civil Society/CSO 2.2 Literature on Political Participation 2.3 Literature on Connecting Civil Society Organizations and Political Participation 	37-50
10	CHAPTER-3: CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN PAKISTAN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.1 Civil Society/Civil Society Organizations (CSO): Evolution and Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.1.1 History of Civil Society 3.1.2 The Formation and Development of Civil Society 3.1.3 Civil Society and State 3.1.4 Civil Society and Law 	51-83

	<p>3.2 Civil Society Organizations in Pakistan</p> <p>3.2. 1. History of Civil Society Organizations in Pakistan</p> <p>a). First Period: The Colonial Time</p> <p>b). Second Period: The Cold War Era</p> <p>c). Third Period: The Bipolar and Post-Bipolar</p> <p>3.2.2 CSO’s Laws in Pakistan</p> <p>3.2.3. Rhombus/Scope of Civil Society Organizations in Pakistan</p> <p>3.3 CSO’s and Political participation of youth in Pakistan</p> <p>3.4 Challenges/Problems of CSO’s and Youth Political Participation in Pakistan</p>	
11	<p>CHAPTER-4: RESEARCH DESIGN</p> <p>4.1 Mixed Methods Research</p> <p>a. Justification of Mixed Methods Research Approach</p> <p>b. Concurrent Triangulation Design of mixed method</p> <p>4.2. The Population</p> <p>4.3. Quantitative Research Method</p> <p>a. Survey</p> <p>b. Questionnaire (Measurement Instrument)</p> <p>c. Convenient Sampling Technique</p> <p>c. Quantitative data analysis procedure</p> <p>d. Qualitative Data Analysis</p> <p>4.4. Qualitative Research Method</p> <p>a. Interview</p> <p>b. Thematic Analysis Technique</p>	84-89
12	<p>CHAPTER-5: FINDING AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>5.1 Survey Result (Finding and Analysis of the Quantitative Part of the Study)</p> <p>5.2 Findings and Analysis of the Qualitative Interview from CSO’s Members</p>	90-111
13	CONCLUSION	112
14	BIBLIOGRAPHY	113-117
15	APPENDIXES	119-121

INTRODUCTION

The concept of civil society and civil society organizations (CSO) are not new to the academic debate. In the modern democratic world, civil society organizations are emerging almost as vital entity that demonstrates various roles across the globe like dealing with humanitarian issues, development, poverty alleviating, contributions to democratic culture of governance etc. The concept and history of the evolution civil society and CSOs varies from country to country.

The concept of Civil society and its definition itself remains a dilemma in academia, and not so simple to be understood easily. However, the common characteristics of CSOs make it easy to understand like independent of the direct control of the government, nonprofit, voluntarily, legal entity etc. Generally, the term CSO is interchangeable with NGO, while NGOs are a subset of CSOs. The roles of CSOs have become part of the development process since the inception of this concept. The role of CSOs includes as watchdogs (monitoring government and institutions), advocate (raising awareness for a change) and service provider.

Civil society organizations play an important role in the promoting, and development of democratic culture. It is considered as the engine of democracy that promotes and represents the most vulnerable and marginalized group of society. It usually understands the needs of the people of a democratic country and enhances the state/government awareness about the people needs. Civil society organizations are an intermediary entity, which stands between the private sphere and the state. It is considered the third pillar of democracy.

Civil society organizations are considered the realm of organized social life as voluntary, largely self-supporting, self-generated, and autonomous from the state, bound by a set of shared rules or legal order. In general, civil society organizations involves citizens to act collectively in the public sphere to express their needs, interests, exchange ideas, achieve mutual goals, make their demands on the state and hold the government accountable. Civil society organization excludes officials, individual, profit-making business enterprises, or any political efforts to take control of the government or state. Actors in the civil society organizations need the protection of an institutionalized legal order to guard their freedom of action and autonomy. Thus civil society organizations not only restrict state power when it's come to citizen exploitation but also legitimates the state authority if the authority is based on the rule of law.

There are CSOs around the globe working on youth political rights and promotion of democracy. International CSOs like UN agencies and Commonwealth office efforts are prominent. Like any other democratic country, the role of civil society organizations in Pakistan cannot be ignored. Civil society organizations in Pakistan are mostly working in the humanitarian sphere of life focusing on the poverty alleviation, human rights, health, child labor along with women rights, education, and democracy etc. The civil society organizations in Pakistan are including social welfare organizations, faith-based organization, trade union, human rights organizations, women rights groups, and democratic-governance issues etc. The most notable Civil Society Organizations working for the youth welfare and political participation are Youth Parliament Pakistan, Barghad Organization for Youth Development, PILDAT (Youth Parliament), College of Youth Activism (CAAYAD), UNDP Policy development Project, Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, Youth Front Pakistan, Youth Engagement Service Network, Voice of Young's Welfare and Development Society.

I. Statement of the problem

The role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in sustainable development and vibrant democratic culture has been recognized by intellectuals and international development agencies. In developing countries like Pakistan, CSOs have predominantly gained significant attention, as an instrument for public involvement and participation. However, the question emerges about the efficacy of CSOs and as to whether or not, they have succeeded in realizing their objectives including enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan.

II. Aims and Objectives of the Study

Like any other democratic country, the role of civil society organizations in Pakistan is very important. In Pakistan, CSOs not only working as a service provider in the humanitarian fields, and advocate masses needs, demands, but also playing its role to monitor governance and institutions, and raising awareness for change. In this thesis, an attempt is made to explore the following objectives.

- To identify the role of CSOs in creating awareness among youth about political participation?

- To examine the role of civil society organizations in facilitating and enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan
- To explore the relationship between the two main variables i.e. civil society organization (Independent variable) and political participation (dependent variable)

III. Research Questions

The primary target of this research work is about the role of CSO's working for youth political participation in Pakistan. Hence this study is conducted under the following two objectives.

1. What is the role of CSOs in creating awareness among youth about political participation?
2. How the role of civil society organizations remains effective in facilitating and enhancing of youth political participation in Pakistan?
3. What is the relationship between the two main variables i.e. civil society organization (Independent variable) and political participation (dependent variable?)

IV. Significance of the Study

In an academic discourse, any research endeavor must yield two significant purposes; it must quench the academic rigor by adding theoretically in the subject matter and secondly, it must yield certain interventional policies and measures to help overcome the certain social menace and thus suggest solutions in this regard. The present investigation serves both the purposes vehemently.

As a matter of fact, in Pakistan, few NGOs/ CSOs are working on this particular aspect of youth and if there are any, very few of them are working regarding political empowerment of youth. So as the questions raise that in Pakistan why the youth (constitute 29 % of the total population aged of 15-29) are not changeover from civic engagement to political engagement and adjust in the political structure.

V. Justification of the Topic

The focus on youth, in terms of their engagement in the political arena, and the role of CSOs in promoting youth political awareness and participation, is relatively a new topic and need to be investigated.

Ample literature is available on civil society organizations and political participation, but no one so far hardly conducted any research to find a connection between the civil society organizations and youth political participation. Having an extensive literature review, the researcher came to know that there is hardly any literature available on the role of CSOs in creating awareness among youth about political participation. Thus the topic of this thesis was selected to contribute and add some valuable information in the field of academia.

VI. Limitation of the study

This study is limited to the federal capital of Pakistan, Islamabad. Interviews were conducted with members or associated with CSOs and the survey was conducted in the four public universities of Islamabad.

VII. Research Methodology

This chapter explained the research design of the study that a mixed-method approach of both qualitative and quantitative has been adopted to conduct this research work. A total of 200 respondents from 4 federal public universities of Pakistan were sampled in a quantitative survey, to measure the political participation of youth and their connection with CSOs. Besides, a total of 10 interviews were conducted with the members of CSOs based in Islamabad to understand the role of CSOs in facilitating/enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan. Both survey and Interviews gave the researcher a detailed picture of the issues under investigation.

VIII. Literature Review

Having an extensive discussion on the theoretical perspective of the concepts of civil society, and youth political participation, this chapter is about literature review. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part represents literature on civil society, the second part about political participation, and third on the connection between CSOs and Political participation of youth in Pakistan context. This chapter also represents the gap in the existing literature.

IX. Organizations of the Study

Apart from the introduction, this thesis consists of five chapters.

The first chapter is about the Theoretical Framework. It comprised Conceptual and Operational Definitions of the Key Terms and Main Variables of the study under investigation. The concept of civil society, civil society organization, forms of CSOs, and its functions, the topic addressed by CSO, its characteristics and field of action of CSOs has been discussed in the first part of this chapter. The second part of this chapter deals with the concept of political participation; political actions, Forms/types of Political participation and the reasons for non-participation in political life have been analyzed in this part of the chapter.

The second chapter is about the literature review. Literature in the forms of books, articles, newspapers, reports and online sources have been consulted in this chapter. Having an extensive discussion on the theoretical perspective of the concepts of civil society, and youth political participation, this chapter is about literature review. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part represents literature on civil society, the second part about political participation, and third on the connection between CSOs and Political participation of youth in Pakistan context. This chapter also represents the gap in the existed literature.

This chapter has examined the role of civil society organizations in facilitating/enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan. This chapter consists of four parts. In part first, the evolution and development of Civil Society Organizations have been examined in detail. In the second part, the history of CSOs in Pakistan in historical perspective is analyzed. The third part of this chapter deals with the connections between CSOs and political participation of youth in Pakistan. The fourth part is identified by the Challenges/Problems of CSOs and Youth Political Participation in Pakistan.

The fourth chapter comprises important aspects of research design for conducting the study. Mixed methods research was applied to this research study. Mixed method study comprising a qualitative interview and quantitative survey- questionnaire. The quantitative survey questionnaire was used to collect data regarding youth political participation, while a qualitative interview was conducted from the members of various CSOs regarding its role in awareness and

facilitating youth political participation in Pakistan. Both these approaches discuss population, Sample and sampling techniques for each method.

Chapter fifth is about the analysis and findings of the methodology implied to conduct this research study. This chapter is divided into two parts. Part first, deals with the finding and analysis of the quantitative part of the study while part second deals with the analysis of the qualitative interview conducted from the members of the CSOs working on the youth political participation.

Apart from conclusion and suggestions for future research; bibliography and appendixes have been placed in the end.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The first chapter is about the Theoretical Framework. It comprised Conceptual and Operational Definitions of the Key Terms and Main Variables of the study under investigation. The concept of civil society, civil society organization, forms of CSOs, and its functions, the topic addressed by CSO, its characteristics and field of action of CSOs has been discussed in the first part of this chapter. The second part of this chapter deals with the concept of political participation; political actions, political participation types/forms and no-participation reason in political life have been analyzed in this part of the chapter.

1.1 Civil Society

The concept of civil society is a key phrase usually used by human rights organizations, charitable foundations, journalists, corporate executives, politicians, and citizen. Today civil society is understood as a realm of social life, as a “third sector”¹ of society consisted of voluntary associations, charitable groups, human rights organizations, clubs and unions; distinct from government and business. The term and language of civil society are used for socio-political development of society; resistance to totalitarian regimes; and “disputed political phenomenon as the decline and restricting of welfare states, the rise of the free-market economy, and the growth of social movements”.²

Civil society is an expression that has become more and more fashionable in recent years. Note that not everyone who talks about it defines the concept in the same way, which, in fact not make it clear to understand civil society. So this conceptual debate will clear and give us a clear understanding of the meaning of civil society and CSOs. The concept of civil society can be defined in two ways:

On the one hand, the concept of civil society itself is a particular arena within the human society, different from the family, market and state; such field is usually considered as “public space”, consists of large numbers of well organized various groups i.e. association, unions, clubs etc and usually considered less or more independent from the state. These homogenous groups are formed not only by neither single voice nor represent the voice of a single individual interest. In

¹ Michael Edwards, *Civil Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 64.

² John Keane, “Civil Society, definitions and approaches,” *International Dictionary of Civil Society*, 2010. https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-0-387-93996-4_531

contrast, citizen freely comes together in the form of groups or social movements for exchanging or working together with common objectives.

On the second hand, the concept of civil society means the collective efforts of citizen for democratizations. In this sense civil society serves as a political call for more democracy.³ Thus the civil society and democracy relationship is deep-rooted and will be discussed in detail in the coming pages.

- **Civil Society vs. Civil Society Organizations**

The above discussion of civil society in the form of groups means CSOs give us an insight into the general features of civil society and civil society organization such as:

- Within society, civil society/CSOs fits into the “public space”.
- within society, different from the family, market and state
- neither designate a homogenous group, nor isolated citizen
- collective efforts of citizen for their respective centres of interest, aiming at reciprocal exchanges and the pursuit of common objectives.
- work as independent, and don’t for the pursuing of functions of the state,
- Do not pursue state functions, but are only interested in independent political participation.⁴

- **Civil Society Functions**

In the literature, the functions of civil society are found in various forms. Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk identified “seven basic functions of Civil Society” i.e. advocacy, protections,

³ Henry Veltmeyer, “Civil Society and Local Development”, Campo Grande, 9, no. 2 (July-Dec. 2008), http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1518-70122008000200010

⁴ United Nations Development Programme, *Civil Society: A Guide to Civil Society Organizations working on Democratic Governance*, http://www.undp.org/content/dam/aplaws/publication/en/publications/democratic-governance/oslo-governance-center/civic-engagement/a-guide-to-civil-society-organizations-working-on-democratic-governance-/3665%20Booklet_heleWEB_.pdf

accountability, socialization, social cohesion, facilitation, services delivery. Searching the existed literature on civil society, one can summarize the following functions of civil society.

a. The Protective Function

In general, “civil society must provide freedom for citizens and to protect them from the state” arbitrariness, that includes “protection against state interference in the private sphere”, and the guarantee of both social and public space availability. Thus, civil society organizations take care, for example, of checking political projects concerning securing citizen rights (fundamental) by taking measures “to react against this offence”. Protections the rights of minorities, and women as included especially. We can see that there are various types of CSOs working for the rights of women, minorities and children rights in Pakistan.

b. Control Functions

The control function is usually considered the functions of CSO for securing citizen freedom. “It is very dependent on the protective function since it is here about the observation and control of political power. One of the fundamental obligations” within the framework of the control function is, for example, the control of the elections, to guarantee the fair conduct, in compliance with the fundamental rules of democracy. In this context, within Pakistan, several civil society organizations are working in related to electoral politics.

c. The Participation Function

This is about the democratic and participative socialization of people. This function is the promotion of political culture (political culture is the representation of all cognitive, emotional positions, as well as judgments, relating to political problems, and in particular, positions concerning the general order and the organization of the political system in a society) within the society according to citizen’s wishes. By this is meant an increase in general interest in politics that is, an increase in “motivation and the ability to participate in political events”. Thus civil society/CSO’s is assumed to be the school of democracy. “The latter would serve, alongside the strengthening of democracy, to recruit targeted democratic elites for state decision-making bodies. As an example of the participation function, we can cite the direct role of representatives of the civil sector in the formulation of bills and other regulations or decisions”.

d. Relief Functions

The Relief Functions (of the State)

Relief function of society to be described as “civil society contributes to alleviating, in the strict sense of the term, the State, the government and” the political world. “On the one hand, there is effective financial relief - by the fact that citizens voluntarily, and often without remuneration, assume social obligations. Therefore, it is still a reduction in the direction of an increase in efficiency.” Thus, “today, society is faced with complex new issues, known as mega problems, which cannot be resolved at the state level alone. These are problems that need to be addressed on several levels”. This is, “for example, globalization or the environmental problem which is getting worse and worse. Civil society thus fulfils social obligations which go beyond the family, but which at the same time are not at all - or not sufficiently - taken into account by the forms of representation of the interests of established organizations, and which, moreover, neither the market nor the state can solve it properly. We can take as examples the self-help and mutual groups which are becoming more and more numerous. Members of these groups often find themselves in a difficult situation: disoriented, severely depressed, desperate, and alone, also feeling like they have been abandoned. This type of group generally replaces deficient family structures or the state, which remains” destitute in the face of this type of private problem.

e. Articulation Function

In this function “Civil society can help open effective channels for the production, gathering and articulation of community values and social interests, outside of political parties and parliaments. Private and social subjects are then tackled by civil society and conveyed to political opinion. Civil society thus acts as an intermediary between citizens and the state. Citizen initiatives are an example of an articulation function of civil society. Citizens often tackle problems relating to an area of direct experience and organize themselves to act directly, without going through the intermediary of parties or associations, in unacceptable situations that drag on or that they deem dangerous.”

In the context of Pakistan, CSO initiates its actions, for example, in the case of road extension and destruction of green built by CDA in Islamabad etc.

f. The function of settlement

Due to its “networks of associations, initiatives and movements, civil society accepts overlaps in terms of membership. These cross memberships in multiple groups can help build bridges between the most deeply rooted conflicting positions in the life of society: they can help to soften social conflicts. Besides, the emergence of social solidarity and the strengthening of social cohesion, through the common achievement of common objectives, constitute a positive side effect within civil society organizations”.

g. The Democratization Function

This is about the contribution of civil society to the process of forming public opinion and popular will.⁵

- **Topics addressed by civil society**

The thematic areas addressed and dealt with by civil society cannot be completely delimited. First of all, no topic cannot be the subject of public discussion and become a focal point for the action of civil society groups. It can therefore be global themes, such as environmental issues or the world capitalist economy; but it can also be more limited, such as the role of women, domestic sexual violence or the mistreatment of the mentally handicapped in everyday life. As small clubs and associations are also part of civil society groups and themes such as sport, art or other leisure activities can be the subject of social or civil engagement.

Civil society, therefore, includes in its work all the questions, interests and themes that concern individuals and groups of individuals in society. The latter are included in the societal debate, through the people and groups of people who represent civil society organizations; this is how their positions affect public opinion, can be discussed in public, and may even end up being accepted.

1.1.2 Civil Society Organizations

⁵ Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk, “Civil Society, Civic Engagement, and Peace Building”, paper no. 36 (October 2006), <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/822561468142505821/pdf/378130Peacebuilding0WP3601PUBLIC1.pdf>

There are several forms of civil society organization. They all have as common characteristics autonomy, self-regulation or self-discipline, volunteering and solidarity, as well as different fundamental democratic values (freedom of opinion, freedom to meet, etc.), considered as the basis of 'organization. The most well-known “forms of civil society organization are clubs or associations, unions, citizens' initiatives, self-help and mutual groups, as well as non-profit organizations and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations)”.

CSO/NGOs hold a special place in the circle of these different forms of organization and are often referred to in the literature as “Drivers of civil society”.⁶ It is for this reason that, in this thesis, a special focus has been given to NGOs/CSOs and its role in enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan.

- **Non-Governmental Organizations**

The term NGO stands for the nongovernmental organization which are working for the public interests rather than a commercial one. It describes a range of organizations and groups from aid agencies, to development, policy-making and watchdog activist groups etc. which includes the diversity of organizations i.e. private, voluntary, and non-profit organizations.

What is so special about this form of civil society organization? NGOs define themselves as voluntary, private, independent unions (of the State, parties or economic entities), which are not however governed by the particular interests of their members, and whose real objective is to take into account certain social and political interests which have been neglected, and which they want, in a way, to advocate.⁷

Furthermore, NGOs do not work for profit, so non-profit organizations are all organizations that have a formal structure, are independent of the state in terms of organization and are not profit-oriented; they are administered independently, their mode of association is not imperative. However, it does not mean that people who work for an NGO are not paid. A large part of the

⁶ Joseph Antwi-Boasiako, “Drivers of civil society organizations’ participation in Ghana’s governance processes,” *Development in Practice* 29, no. 8 (2019): 1075-1082.

⁷, S. T. Young and K. K. Dhanda, “Role of governments and nongovernmental organizations.” *ST Young, & KK Dhanda, Sustainability: Essentials for Business* (2013): 214-241.

members are indeed made up of volunteers and honorary members, but managers are generally compensated for their expenses. Here are, for example, some international NGOs well known to the public: Amnesty International, an organization which works worldwide to protect human rights; Greenpeace, whose main objective is the protection of the environment etc.⁸

- **Difference between NGO's and other forms of Civil Society Organizations**

The difference between NGOs and CSOs and other forms such as clubs and unions, for example, is that the latter represent the interests of their members outwards, while NGOs, address themes, which nobody feels responsible for in particular, but which, ultimately, concern the whole of society, or at least major social groups that are sometimes overlooked, and must therefore be dealt with. NGOs thus endorse these issues and replace, in the discussion, the groups concerned, because the latter are, for example, difficult to organize, or else incapable of representing their interests directly, because they are marginalized, neglected or abused in society. NGOs are almost the lawyers of these disadvantaged groups or in temporary or permanent difficulty, and speak on their behalf. A large number of Non-Governmental Organizations working in the field of development cooperation. This is why we sometimes see them as the “Heart of civil society”.⁹

Today there are thousands of NGOs worldwide. These NGO's are involved in the fields of development, the environment, health, family planning, human rights, women's and citizens' rights, the establishment of peace, at the national level, international or global. Regarding the forms of organization in the NGO category, the one which is considered to be the most frequent is made up of members of free will.

Another peculiarity of NGOs is that, unlike other civil society organizations, they often have international representation, and operate in several countries; they are recognized as advisers, both to national and international governments, and to official organizations such as the United Nations. This particularly gives them great opportunities for influence and space to maneuver.

⁸ David Lewis and Nazneen Kanji. *Non-governmental organizations and development* (London: Routledge, 2009), 1-16.

⁹ Thomas Carothers and William Barndt, *Foreign Policy*, No. 117 (Winter, 1999-2000), 19. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1149558.pdf>

Besides NGOs, associations are also suggested to be civil society actors. In general terms, an association is defined as a free union of voluntary people, who work permanently for the achievement of a specific goal, whose religious, scientific or cultural objectives are of public order. Besides, as intermediaries between society and even the individual, and the State, these people play one of the roles of civil society by connecting the interests of the latter.

Like NGOs, associations do not work for their profit. The majority of their activities are indeed carried out by volunteers. However, members will likely be employed and paid regularly thereafter. The fields of activity of associations can be located both in a specific country and at the international level as at the regional or local level. But among these, the associations are mainly concentrated in the regional and local domain.

- **The characteristics of civil society organization/associations**

The characteristics of civil society organization/associations can be summarized in five points which can be formulated differently in each association.

- 1). Formality: As a group, associations retain a certain form of formality.
- 2). No distribution of Profit: The aim of an association does not consist in making profits.
- 3) Independence: Associations are independent of the State and any administration, and demonstrate their independence.
- 4) Personal disinterest: Associations refrain from aiming for their interests; their members are not entitled to exercise their activities for personal gain.
- 5) Public and General Interest: Associations must work for the public and ensure that they serve the general interest.¹⁰

- **Fields of Action and Civil Society Organizations**

¹⁰ L. David Brown and Archana Kalegaonkar. *Addressing Civil Society's Challenges: Support Organizations as Emerging Institutions* (Boston: Institute for Development Research, 1999), 1-20

Civil society organizations can act in different forms. It depends on the theme and the field of action in which they are engaged. This can range from simple club activities, to achieve common interests, to the representation of workers' interests in the world of politics and business, through unions.

From amongst CSO, the fields of action of NGOs can be broadly described as being “Advocacy” work. As NGOs represent certain social groups, which themselves have no possibility of adequate representation. In this context, all the actions of NGOs should be considered as advocacy and advocacy work. They are thus the advocates of those in society who have no say, or who have no way of being heard, in the face of society, and the world of politics and the media. NGOs use different instruments and act in various fields. Their main activities are, among other things, “Campaigning”, the provision of their expertise, as well as “Lobbying”. Campaigning” means the conduct of campaigns; the aim is to convince both state actors and those in the private economy, as well as society as a whole: the aim is to encourage them to change their behavior. In these campaigns, it is often a matter of simply carrying out information work. Concrete actions may occasionally be added to it. The other instruments, notably expertise and lobbying, are highly interdependent since in this case, there is an input of expert knowledge, that is to say, an input of expertise, conveyed and induced in political decision-making processes. But if business associations, trade unions, non-governmental organizations and other associations, or larger companies, try to influence in a targeted way how to legislate, these processes are then called lobbying.¹¹

1.2 Political Participation

The concept of political participation is seen as the involvement of members of a given community on an individual, class-group, national-ethnic, religious or another basis in the process of political-power relations. The participation of people in politics is one of the means of expressing and achieving their interests. Not all participation in public life is political. If people

¹¹ Lisa Jordan and Peter Van Tuiji, *Political Responsibility in NGO advocacy exploring emerging shapes of Global Democracy*, Europe’s Forum on International cooperation, April 1998. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/176-general/31355.html>

take part in solving industrial and professional problems, in managing equipment and things, without affecting the distribution of power, then such participation is not political. Participation takes on the quality of the political, when an individual, group, layer, class are involved in political-power relations, in the decision-making and management process, which is political. Without knowing about political action, it will difficult to understand political participation. So first of all here political action has been analyzed in detail, then followed by political participation.¹²

1.2.1 Political Actions

The political process consists of actions. The concept of political action is defined as the intervention of a person or group in the relations of power of a given system to adapt it to their interests, ideals and values. The activities of social groups or individuals associated with the desire to improve or change the socio-economic and political order. Political actions orient the political system towards the achievement of certain goals, expressing the interests of various groups. These interests are clothed in a theoretical, ideological form. From what ideology the participants in the political process adhere to, not least depends on whether their activities are aimed at revolutionary changes in society or its reform.

Political action is always committed in a specific situation, therefore, an analysis of the objective state of affairs, specific conditions, before starting to act. It is necessary to identify the specifics of each situation to choose the right methods and means of political action because the transfer of strategies that were successful in one situation does not bring success to another.

In politics, it is very difficult to separate individual and collective actors of political action. Often they act together: the leader and the masses, party leaders and rank-and-file members. Therefore, there are several classifications of subjects of political action. So, the French political scientist M. Duverger divides them into class, territorial and corporate groups.¹³ The concept of

¹² Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie. *Participation in America: Political democracy and social equality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 44-50. See also Patrick J. Conge, "The concept of political participation: Toward a definition", *Comparative Politics* 20, No. 2 (Jan., 1988), pp. 241-249.

¹³ Maurice Duverger, *Political parties: Their organization and activity in the modern state*. Methuen, 1959.

classes is central to Marxism, where they are defined concerning the means of production. Outside of Marxism, classes differ in image and standard of living, income, prestige, and other criteria.

However, all authors agree with such class characteristics as the inequality of living and working conditions, the hereditary transfer of privileges (property, status, the circle of connections). Classes have unequal chances, wealth levels, legal privileges, and cultural advantages. The formation of territorial groups is based on solidarity. The main territorial group is a nation, belonging to which is recognized by every person especially acutely. Therefore, conflicts between nations are particularly fierce, surpassing even class conflicts in this respect. Territorial groups also include communes, regions, and provinces.

Political action can be characterized taking into account various criteria. Thus, a positive political action is distinguished, consisting of doing something to achieve a specific goal, and negative, consisting of stopping to do something. The abstinence position is not neutral, as it always has certain consequences. The one who abstained facilitated the actions of others. Keeping things from going their way is called abstinence. Someone who practices abstinence sometimes believes that he is outside the political game, outside the interests of groups. However, in practice, this position strengthens a certain political line.

Political action can be characterized as rational and irrational. Rational action means that his agent has a clear idea of the goals, knows the methods adequate to these goals, is able to effectively apply them, setting a system of priorities, and is also able to change the strategy if it does not lead to the desired results. Practice shows that the rationality of political action is more ideal than a widespread phenomenon. The talent of a leader is measured, in particular, by the ability to approach this ideal.

As for irrational political action, it usually fails due to the inability of politicians to link goals and means, blind attitude to reality, which they consider following their dogmas and schemes. This is the basis of political illusions, which often lead to sad consequences for society. The real political actions that we observe daily are a combination of various degrees of rationality and irrationality. And political life itself is a combination of achievements and mistakes.

Political action can be considered as inertial and creative. Inertial actions reproduce accepted norms of behavior, the existing political system, preserve it. Creative actions bring

changes, new moments, and dynamics to politics. Political systems operate, as a rule, based on these two types of actions, alternately experiencing the stages of stability and change. In them, there is neither absolute stability nor constant changes.

Political action can be spontaneous or organized. As a rule, the actions of elites are more organized, which allows them to maintain their dominance, develop strategies and tactics, and implement their plans. However, in any political action, there may also be a fraction of spontaneity, chance, and inconsistency.

Besides, not all actions of political system leaders can be controlled, which leads to the emergence of spontaneous movements pushing their leaders. In a real political struggle, there is always a synthesis of conscious actions and elements of spontaneity, unforeseen and uncontrolled actions.¹⁴

The types of political actions depend on the type of social transformations, on the attitude of political forces to reality. As a result of political actions, political systems change both quickly and slowly. The maximum radius of action is possessed by revolution, rebellion, insurrection, counter-revolution, peasant war. The revolution is the overthrow of the dominant groups, the transformation of society as a whole. Social and political revolutions arise as a result of growing contradictions in society. Their reasons may be different, but the main one, undoubtedly, is that the ruling classes lose their legitimacy. A revolutionary explosion can be caused by war, a political crisis, intervention, deadlocks in solving social problems, political corruption, etc.

Few types of social and political revolutions are distinguished: anti-imperialist (national liberation, anti-colonial), bourgeois, popular, people democratic, socialist. Revolution is an extremely complex phenomenon. The ruling classes and groups are losing economic and political power. New political elite appears, offering society a new development project, managing based on other values and institutions. Revolutionary processes, as a rule, are violent; suggest an open clash of groups fighting for domination.

¹⁴ Niilo Kauppi, *Toward a reflexive political sociology of the European Union: Fields, intellectuals and politicians* (London: Springer, 2018), 204-210.

Few stages are distinguished in a victorious social revolution: its maturation (revolutionary situation), explosion, victory, and institutionalization. These stages vary in duration, accompanied by destruction, human casualties, the internal struggle among revolutionaries. It is no accident that they say that revolution devours its children. If successful, the revolution ends with the creation of new political and state institutions, new life forms that are protected by the new elite, including with the use of violence.

One of the main dangers of a victorious revolution is the granting of privileges to certain groups. A contradiction arises between the ideals proclaimed by the revolutionaries and the new political elite, and privileges, which gives rise to criticism and disappointment of the broad masses. The revolutionary elite, like any other, is subject to corruption, understood as the use of political influence for personal purposes. Perhaps the strongest resistance to revolutionary change is due to people's consciousness. It is also impossible in a short time to radically transform society. All this causes disappointment in the goals, ideals and results of the revolution. Because not all segments of the population support revolutionary changes in society, a movement is forming that opposes the revolution.

The counter-revolution is a political movement led by groups removed from power, their representatives, those who broke with the revolution. The goal of the counter-revolution is the overthrow of the new elite and the restoration of the former order. The funds of emigrants and those countries that are interested in the liquidation of the revolutionary regime are used to finance counter-revolutionary movements. Typically, counterrevolutionaries use armed violence, economic sabotage, and political propaganda. If the broad masses support the revolutionary forces, then the counter-revolution is defeated. If the counter-revolution is successful, the stage of open restoration of power by the former ruling groups begins.

The open resistance of the people of legitimate authority can be expressed in rebellions, riots, peasant wars. A serious political problem for the Soviet government was peasant riots, the initiative of which often came from rural gatherings. The riot is the result of the indignation of the masses by the actions of local authorities, growing into disorder, pogroms.

The second type of political action is reform. They lead to social change without undermining the foundations of the existing system and power of the ruling class. The classic example of successful reforms carried out in the 20th century can be considered the reforms of

capitalism in developed countries, which did not change its essence but contributed to the solution of many social problems and the prevention of social conflicts.

The reformist strategy does not try to reorganize society as a whole based on a general plan, but only remove the obstacles that impede its normal functioning. Reformism is aimed at solving specific problems, it is characterized by the spirit of pragmatism. Success also depends on the timeliness of their implementation. Delayed reforms do not lead to a relaxation of social tension, but open the way to revolutionary processes, which precisely the reforms sought to prevent.

The third type of political action includes political upheavals: a coup d'état, a coup, a palace coup, a military conspiracy. They lead to changes in the sphere of power, primarily personal, through the use of physical violence. Coups d'état is usually the work of representatives of the power apparatus or the ruling groups them, while the coup is the work of political outsiders. Examples of specific political actions are rallies, demonstrations, strikes, meetings, pickets, marches, etc.

Special types of political actions are elections and the conduct of election campaigns, referenda, official visits of state and party delegations to other countries, and diplomatic negotiations.

A specific type of political action is populism, which is usually defined as an activity aimed at ensuring popularity among the masses at the cost of unfounded promises, demagogic slogans, appeals to the simplicity and clarity of the proposed measures. The populist in modern politics is an activist flirting with the masses. As historical practice testifies, populism flourishes in conditions of the low political culture of society due to the special political mentality of the masses.

In modern conditions, there is no reasonable alternative to reforms. All political forces must strive for agreement, creating an atmosphere of trust, forming a mechanism for communication between people from the highest level to ordinary citizens. An alternative to civil consent is enmity; violence produces only retaliatory violence and hostility. Therefore, from the

arsenal of political actions, far from any should be used, taking care of the civil peace and prosperity of the state.¹⁵

1.2.2 Political Participation

The concepts of “political participation” and “political activity” in the educational literature are not always divorced. The concept of “political participation” has developed within the framework of behaviorally oriented (behaviourist) research, where the individual is the starting point of the analysis. The concept of “political activity” was formed in several studies where analysis does not begin with a separate individual, but with society as a whole. The activities of social groups and individuals associated with the desire to improve or change the socio-economic and political order. Political actions are associated with the expression of interests of various groups. The ideology of the participants in the political process depends on whether their activity is aimed at revolutionary changes in society or its reform. In any political system, there are also certain norms, rules of the game, which participants in the political process must observe.

Political participation allows us to identify the real role of the citizen, individual layers, groups, classes both at the local level and in the political system of society. If citizens take an active part in the formation of the elite, in determining the main goals of the policy, and monitoring its implementation, then such a political system can be considered based on participation. In such a society, political elites play the role of loyal servants of society, adequately representing the interests of the masses.¹⁶

Political participation depends on the political regime. So, in a democratic society, this “participation is universal, free, proactive and effective in resolving issues” related to citizen essential interest. It is for them a means of achieving goals, fulfilling the needs for self-expression and self-affirmation, in the manifestation of a sense of citizenship. A democratic state provides such free participation with “legal norms and procedures, as well as a relatively even distribution” of such resources of participation as “money, education, knowledge of decision-making

¹⁵ William Little, Sally Vyain, Gail Scaramuzzo, Susan Cody-Rydzewski, Heather Griffiths, Eric Strayer, and Nathan Keirns. "Introduction to Sociology-1st Canadian edition." *Victoria, BC: BC campus. Retrieved from <https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology>* (2014), 507-530.

¹⁶ Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie. *Participation in America: Political democracy and social equality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 102-110.

mechanisms, free time”, and social media access various sectors of society. A “democratic society allows such forms of protest and disagreement as rallies, demonstrations, marches, pickets, strikes, petitions.”

The authoritarian regime part of the population completely or partially excludes from participation in politics. A totalitarian society seeks to mobilize the masses in the ritual actions of supporting the regime. Citizens, under pain of punishment and economic sanctions, are forced to go to rallies, demonstrations organized by the ruling elite. In this case, the political participation of the masses is under tight control by the ruling group, they are manipulated to strengthen power. In a dictatorial-totalitarian society, all forms of political protest and even disagreement are prohibited. Those who disagree with the current political course are declared enemies of the people, intruders; repression is applied to them.

- **Forms of Political participation:**

Political participation is expressed in two main forms: direct (immediate) and indirect (representative).

Direct participation takes place within small political communities, where the masses at meetings make decisions by a majority vote. It is characteristic of “local government and self-government carried out by citizens through local Councils of Deputies, bodies of territorial public self-government, local referenda, meetings and other forms of direct participation in state and public affairs”. From of direct participation of citizens in solving the most important issues of state and public life are national and local referenda, which are also the part of the objectives of the CSO.

With indirect participation, the masses choose their representatives to exercise political power: The larger the society, fewer opportunities for self-government. Indirect participation provides more opportunities for distorting the will of the masses, since elected representatives; deputies can pursue their interests that do not coincide with the interests of those they represent. The masses may lose control over their representatives, and the degree of their political participation is reduced. However, representative participation is the only one possible in large political systems.

Depending on the political regime, traditions, size of the territory, population, development of means of transport and communications in each society, a different combination of direct and indirect political participation is observed. Political parties, socio-political organizations and movements act as mediators of participation in modern society, and elections are the main form of it.¹⁷

- **Types of Political Participation**

For the political participation of citizens, both objective conditions (the alignment of political forces, the political culture of society) and their subjective attitude to the political system, the motives for participating in politics, their values, needs, knowledge, and information are important. These and other factors influence whether a person becomes or does not become part of a political whole.

One of the most developed political participation schemes includes the following elements:

- reaction (positive or negative) to impulses emanating from the political system, not related to the need to participate in any actions;
- participation in the delegation of authority (election). This is electoral behavior;
- participation in the activities of political and other organizations;
- performance of political functions within the framework of state and other political institutions (including in parties, etc.). This function is carried out by professional politicians, officials, deputies, leaders and functionaries of parties;
- direct actions (participation in rallies, demonstrations, etc.).

The types of participation are very unequal. Some of them occupy a modest place in political life, others are highly developed, which allows us to judge the political culture of a particular society. So, of all forms of political activity in the West, the most developed is electoral, although the percentage of voters in different countries varies. Even party membership is often limited to participation in the election campaign of a given party, voting for its candidates.

¹⁷ James W. Ceaser, "Direct Participation in Politics", *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 34, No. 2, The Power to Govern: Assessing Reform in the United States (1981), 121-137.

If people's activity is aimed at maintaining the existing order, then the political system supports it. If certain groups demand changes, then the ruling circles may react differently to them in democratic and undemocratic countries, even using violence. If the decision-making process is concentrated exclusively in the offices of the authorities, then the masses alienated from politics appear in it only as executors. Political life can take to the streets and become a popular activity, but even then this action is determined by the type of society.

In a democratic society, street politics- this is a necessary element of political life, a factor in the feedback of power and people, a form of democracy. The political participation of the masses is activated if the mistakes of power lead to a conflict with society. Then rallies, marches, processions become a way of expression of the will of popular movements, parties, and the masses.

Political participation can be directed against the actions and decisions of the authorities, expressing protest, indignation, and rejection of this political line. Political protest- this is a type of negative reaction of an individual (group) to the current political situation in society or the specific action of individual state bodies and political opponents. As a rule, a protest arises where ineffective strategies and technologies for exercising power operate. Forms of political protest include acts such as political and civil disobedience, petitions, boycotts, property damage, sabotage, murders, abductions, terror, partisan actions, revolutions, wars.¹⁸

- **Reasons for non-participation in political life**

Those People who are interested in politics and actively participate in it, as a rule; usually constitute a minority. Most show apathy and indifference, which is a characteristic feature of many political systems. There are various reasons for this. So, many people are excluded from political life due to the low level of personal development, education. They have lost faith in their capabilities; they do not believe that they can influence political processes.

A group of apathetic citizens who are not interested in politics stands out. They deal with their own problems and hobbies, professional careers. Some of them consider politics boring, unattractive, and incomprehensible. Alienation from political life as it may be the result of the

¹⁸ Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie. *Participation in America: Political democracy and social equality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 26-32.

organization of the political system. People are disappointed in politics because they do not see a significant difference between political parties and their programs. They believe that few will make political decisions anyway, regardless of their participation in voting and other political actions. They do not feel the personal benefits of politics, believing that it serves only the interests of the elite. There are groups of people who are hostile to the political system and its institutions. They occupy the position of political boycott, non-participation. In the changed conditions, they can become active participants in the political process. The level of political participation is influenced by such social factors as education, socio-economic status, age, gender, place of residence, profession, access to political information, socio-economic situation.

It should be noted that in the modern era the stereotype of politics has changed, which was formerly an elite sphere, a matter of privileged classes. Unimpeded, general and equal participation of citizens in political life is the result of the struggle against estate, class, property, national and sexual qualifications, and the struggle for civil and political rights. The real active political initiative of the people is a fact already at the end of the 20th century. The general direction in the development of political relations is associated with their democratization, the expansion of political participation of citizens, and overcoming political alienation.¹⁹

Summary

What is political participation?

The common quotations are as follow to understand political participation:

1. "Political participation refers to people in their role as a citizen and not, says, a politician or civil servants".
2. "Political participation is understood as an activity (action)-simply watching television or claiming to be curious about politics does not constitute participation"
3. "The activities of citizen we defined as political participation should be voluntary and not ordered by the ruling class or obliged under some law or rule"

¹⁹ Phil Parvin, "Democracy without participation: A new politics for a disengaged era." *Res Publica* 24, no. 1 (2018): 31-52.

4. “Political participation concerns government and politics in a broad sense of these words (political system) and is neither restricted to specific phases (such as parliamentary decision making, or the input side of the political system), nor specific levels or areas (such as national elections or contacts with officials).”

Certain other common characteristics have been proposed, and debated in the academia but these about four features of political participation seem to be undisputed.

Political participation allows us to identify the real role of the citizen, individual layers, groups, classes both at the local level and in the political system of society. If citizens take an active part in the formation of the elite, in determining the main goals of the policy, and monitoring its implementation, then such a political system can be considered based on participation. In such a society, political elites play the role of loyal servants of society, adequately representing the interests of the masses.

Civil society has an important role in democratization, especially at the local level. In young democracies like Pakistan, this function often remains dependent on the development of democracy at the national level, where citizen initiatives are also a concrete example. In this context, information sessions are often organized to inform public opinion on a particular subject. They thus contribute to the process of forming public opinion and will. Other (local) groups, which organize for example a weekly or monthly discussion session, belonging to civil society, also produce active work in the service of this process of forming public opinion and will.

In this thesis, the more focus is made on the democratization functions of the civil society and its connection with the youth of Pakistan for political participation. The focus of the study is the students of federal capital universities. In the coming chapters, and extensive analyses has been made.

CHAPTER-2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Having an extensive discussion on the theoretical perspective of the concepts of civil society, and youth political participation, this third chapter is about literature review, which has identified a gap in the existed literature. This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part represents literature on civil society, the second part about political participation, third on the connection between CSOs and Political participation, and the fourth part consisted literature on political participation of youth and the role of CSO in the Pakistani context.

2.1 Literature on Civil Society/CSOs

The concept of civil society is not at all new. It has its origin in Greek literature, that is to say, more than 2000 years before our contemporary era. The famous philosopher Aristotle has the credit to use the term civil society for the first time. The Greek phrase “koinonia politike”, was used by Aristotle which was later one translated to Latin and then to the English language, thus the term was considered as union, association, and partnership. In this process the Aristotle word

of civil society has lost its meaning, and no one considered its meaning as a cultural group, union or assembly of the people. Later on, in Latin “societas civilis” an assembly without dominant hierarchy, composed of people sharing the same points of view, what we then called “polis”, that is to say, citizen or political society.²⁰

Citizens with a “certain asset decided together and mutually to defend their interests within this association, without the interference of any state authority. This is how they were supposed to succeed in doing Good. It should be noted that large sections of the population, women and slaves, for example, were excluded from this form of participation, did not enjoy this right. In this conception, the terms State and Society still designated the same phenomenon”. The idea of a civil society conceived as a sphere of action to be differentiated from the State was born during the Age of Enlightenment (in the 17th and 18th centuries).

The ideas of Hobbes, Locke, Hegel, Marx, Tocqueville, and Gramsci have been central to the evolution of civil society concept a contested space for ideological and cultural expression. The concept was also discussed by Hegel, evolved in the 19th and 20th centuries, as a distinct space of civic engagement, to represent the interests of citizens against the exploitative control over the state and business by economic and political elites. So contemporary concept, of civil society is understood as third sector of the state that it is the self-expression and self-conscious amongst citizens to the public and private sector accountable to the collective interests of the third sector or the civil society.

It acquired its modern character, with the contribution of John Locke²¹ and C.D. Montesquieu²², who defined civil society, a community of citizens live together and having the

²⁰ Aristotle (384-324 BC) is one of the most famous and influential European philosophers. He had either established himself or strongly influenced several disciplines, including scientific theory, logic, biology, physics, ethics, poetic theory and state theory. Niklas Luhmann, “The World Society as a social system”, *International Journal of General System* 8, no. 3 (1982): 131-138.

²¹ John Locke (1632-1704), was an influential English philosopher. His political philosophy had an important impact on the Declaration of Independence of the United States, the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of the French Revolution and thus significantly influenced most of the constitutions of liberal states.

²² Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a writer and theorist of the French state.

right of speak. They must be enough autonomous to enjoy the rights of cooperation, association and to decide essential issues within the public sphere and through debate. However they must be able to live together with social equality, tolerance and respect the law (but not with too much pressure from the state). Thus they emphasized on the citizen autonomy and living in groups form. John Lock noted that “it was the duty of the state to guarantee citizens equality before the law, liberty, integrity and property. If he did not comply with this principle, citizens had the right, as a citizen society, to rebel”. Charles de Montesquieu attributed much less to citizen society the role of state controller than that of intermediary between citizens and the state. There were, in his opinion, two spheres to differentiate well: that of politics, on the one hand, and that of citizen society, on the other. But that did not imply that society was apolitical; on the contrary, it had a duty to make the interests of citizens better known and better represented before the State.²³

Alexis de Tocqueville²⁴, later, “considered civil society as the place of birth and exercise of citizen virtues, such as participation, so, for him, it was the School of Democracy and Freedom. With this idea (civil) society became more and more a public political body, which observed and criticized the actions of the state”.

The philosopher Georg Hegel²⁵ also had his own interpretation of the concept of civil society. According to him, “this concept designated an independent space, outside the natural sphere of the family and the higher sphere of the State: citizens can, as private persons, pursue their legitimate particular interests (in first, their economic interests), to settle their differences and, to a certain extent, to settle their affairs. Civil society played the role, in the structuring of its interests, of intermediary between the individual and the State”.

²³ Peter Gibbon, "Some reflections on 'Civil Society' and political change." In *Democratization in the Third World*, pp. 23-56. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1998.

²⁴ Charles Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) was a French publicist, politician and historian. He is considered to be the founder of comparative political science. His most famous work, "Democracy in America", describes, among other things, democracy in the context of civil society. Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. Vol. 10 (Regnery Publishing, 2003).

²⁵ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) was a German philosopher, considered to be the most important representative of German idealism. Its philosophy aims to describe reality, systematically and definitively, in the multiplicity of its appearances, including the historical development of these forms of expression. Norbert Waszek, *The scottish enlightenment and Hegel's account of 'Civil Society'*. Vol. 120 (Springer Science & Business Media, 2012).

The revival of civil society is associated with the socio-political and economic changes occurred throughout the world especially after 1989. With the demise of USSR, the global trends changed in favor of democracy, and role of civil society became strengthened with the passage of time. Voluntary organization in the shape of CSOs deeply involved mostly in the central and Eastern Europe, were connected with the rule of law, and struggling for the demands of the people. CSOs in the Asian countries too got momentum to work for the rights and development of masses.

Defining civil society/CSO is, indeed, a difficult task. Although the term became popular in 1980, but there are important changes that took place in the development sector. Presently, the concept has evolved from variety of platforms comprising of different organized groups which have various functions and sizes. Today, CS is “recognized as a diverse and wider ecosystem of individuals, communities and organizations”. Civil society is considered an independent sector, consisted of huge voluntary organization (CSOs) and associations. It maintained various ideologies, objectives and interests. CSOs is thus considered as a separate entity different from the state and political spheres (political parties and legislature).

2.2 Literature on Political Participation:

The assessment of political participation of masses in the democratic societies is a modern debate backed started about few decades earlier. The initial studies conducted on the political participation of citizen only concentrated to electoral participation, that why many people want to vote and other don't. On the whole, the phenomenon of political participation in modern world literature has received quite comprehensive development in terms of structure, forms, levels, methods, ideological and social aspects, and law enforcement, and efficiency, i.e. both formal and essential aspects of the phenomenon.

To date, the widest theoretical basis for studying the problem of political participation is provided by the work of Western, in particular American, political scientists and sociologists. In the western literature, methods and methods of this study have been developed and generalized; forecasts are made about the nature of the manifestations of political participation in various socio-political conditions. So, for example, the categories of political participation as the activities of a group of people guided by political interests are devoted to the works of S. Verba, M. Goel, G. Almond, R. Dahl, R. Cloward, M. Conway, L. Milbright, R. Mills , S. Lipset, F. Greenstein, N.

Ny, F. Piven and others. These studies include analysis of a wide range of different ways in which the subject participates (or does not participate) in politics (both at the individual level and through the mediation of social institutions) and is based on a powerful empirical base.

With the passage of time the scope of political participation of people was enhanced through the addition of other behavior like campaigning, attending meeting and monetary contribution. Such study of voting behavior was reflected in the works of few scholars i.e. “Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, 1944; Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, 1954; Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, 1954; and Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960”.

As the study of political participation conducted in many countries and the understanding of political participation became clear the subject of study became more deepened and broadened, and then it became possible for researcher to go ahead for certain finding.

The early studies of political participation was usually confined only to single democratic society or nation, and mostly in the United States of America, or any other European country. However, over the last few decades the scope of political participation studies speeded in many countries.²⁶

In the modern times the widest theoretical basis for studying the problem of political participation is provided by the work of Western writers, political scientists and sociologists. The literature on the methods of this study have been developed and generalized, forecasts are made about the nature of the manifestations of political participation in various socio-political conditions. So, for example, the categories of political participation as the activities of a group of people guided by political interests are devoted to the works of Sidney Verba, Gariel Abraham Almond, Henry E. Brady, Madan Lal Geol, Robert Alan Dahl, Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward and M. Margaret Conway.

Gariel Abraham Almond and Sidney Verba book *The Civic Culture: Political Attitude and Democracy in Five Nations*, represents a unique literature on the comparative politics and opens new methods of investigating in the theory of democratic politics, or political culture. It is one of

²⁶ Lester W. Milbrath, “Political Participation”, in S. L. Long, ed., *The Handbook of Political Behavior* (New York: Plenum Press, 1981).

the leading book in civic culture in the democratic society of the world; and compare the pattern of political culture in five nations across the globe i.e. US, UK, Germany, Italy and Mexico. His book is considered to represent political participation in a unique form.²⁷

Sidney Verba in an article represents a resource model of political participation, in which he outline that citizen of democratic societies participate in politics through their resources which include money, time, and civic skills, the essential for a political activity. He noted: “These skills are not only acquired early in life but developed in the nonpolitical institutional settings of adult life: the workplace, organizations, and churches and synagogues. These resources are distributed differentially among groups defined by socioeconomic status. A two-stage least squares analysis shows these resources have powerful effects on overall political activity, thus explaining why socioeconomic status has traditionally been so powerful in predicting participation. We disaggregate overall activity into three kinds of acts: those that involve giving time, those that entail donating money, and voting. Each requires a different configuration of resources resulting in different patterns of stratification across various political acts.”

This research work has adopted the Sidney Verba model of political participation and the variable is measured through voting, campaigns, making financial contribution (forms of electoral activities), attending public officials, attending meetings, and attending protests and getting involved either formally or informally on local issues.²⁸

Madan Lal Geol book *Political Participation in a developing Nation: India* is nice piece of work focused on the political participation of masses in the developing country India. In this book Geol has examined the political participation of Indian people through extensive research survey. The finding for this survey work reflects that in India, mostly in the cities the educated, professional and younger people are interested in politics of the country but that are reluctant to participate in the country politics by attending meetings and vote. He concluded that in India the

²⁷ Gariel Abraham Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic culture: Political Attitude and Democracy in five Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

²⁸ Henry E. Brady, and Sidney Verba, “Beyond Ses: A Resource Model for Political Participation”, *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 2 (June 1995), 271 (271-294)

modern member of the society are most disillusioned and apathetic to participate in actual politics of the country.²⁹

Robert A. Dahl article “A democratic Dilemma: System Effectiveness versus Citizen Participation” in *Political Science Quarterly* examined the democratic dilemma of masses political participation in democratic societies. He noted that “the people of a democratic nations are not only fully entitled to explore the trade-offs between system effectiveness and citizen effectiveness, but I believe that commitment to democratic values obliges them to do so.”³⁰

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward book *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, contributed to the ongoing debate of welfare reform in democratic societies. This book is a nice work to understand the economic cum political component of the welfare policy in democratic society. The central argument of the book is concentrated on the social unrest of a country, when poor masses put their demands in front of the government, and state act to control the behavior of the masses. The book is concentrated only on the United States but has far reached implication of any democratic country of the world. In his view large scale unemployment usually weakens or some time destroys the basic structure of social control. This book is a nice piece of work on the history and functions of welfare system to curtain poverty.³¹

M. Margaret Conway work, *Political Participation in the United States*, examined the political participation patterns of citizen and has offered five various explanation for those pattern of participation. This book is focusing on the political participation of masses i.e. who participates, in which form they choose in participation, and what people hope from their participation to accomplished? The reasons behind non-participation in the political activities of masses in the United States have also been identified in her book. The third edition of the book examine in more detail the citizen participation in election 1998, reflecting the electoral behavior of US and the role of political mobilization in recruiting masses to actively participate in the politics. However the

²⁹ Madan Lal Geol, *Political Participation in a developing Nation: India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1976).

³⁰ Robert A. Dahl, “A democratic Dilemma: System Effectiveness versus Citizen Participation”, *Political Science Quarterly* 109, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 23-34.

³¹ Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).

book has no detail of civil society role in mobilization of youth to participate in the politics of the country.³²

Endless debates on the definition of political participation have been presented by scholars. To mention a few of the most widely used conceptualization, political participation is defined as:

-“Those actions of private citizen by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics”.³³

-“Those actions of private citizen that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and or the actions they take”.³⁴

-“All voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system”. (Kaase and March 1979: 42)

-“Action by citizens which is aimed at influencing decision which is most cases ultimately taken by public representative and officials” (Parry et al 1992: 16)

-“Affords citizens in a democracy an opportunity to communicate to government officials about their concerns and preferences and to put pressure on them to respond” (Verba et al. 1995:37)

-“Any dimensions of activity that are either designed directly to influence government agencies and the policy process, or indirectly to impact civil society, or which attempt to alter systematic patterns of social behavior”. (Norris 2001: 16)³⁵

-“Behavior which affects or is intended to affect the decisional outcomes of government” (Milbrath, 1969: 1)

³² M. Margaret Conway, *Political Participation in the United States* (Florida: University of Florida, 1999).

³³ Lester W. Milbrath and Madan Lal Goel. *Political participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?*. (New York: University of America, 1977), 2.

³⁴ Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, *Participation in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 2-3.

³⁵ Jan W. van Deth, *Studying political participation: Towards a theory of everything*”, <https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/c8b57aab-51d9-4aca-b65d-4510ccfc19a3.pdf>

-“Activity by private citizens designed to influence governmental decision-making” (Huntington and Nelson, 1976: 4);

“All those activities through which the individual consciously becomes involved in attempts to give a particular direction to the conduct of public affairs, excluding activities of an occupational or compulsory nature” (Townsend, 1969: 4)

-“Taking part in the processes of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies” (Parry et al., 1992: 16);

-“All voluntary activities by which individuals or groups want to influence the selection of rulers and representatives and/or the making and outcome of public policies” (Meyer, 1991: 11)³⁶

Although emphasizing distinct aspects differently, the common understanding of political participation is evident from these quotations.

5. “Political participation refers to people in their role as citizen and not, says, as politician or civil servants”.
6. “Political participation is understood as an activity (action)-simply watching television or claiming to be curious about politics does not constitute participation”
7. “The activities of citizen we defined as political participation should be voluntary and not ordered by the ruling class or obliged under some law or rule”
8. “Political participation concerns government and politics in a broad sense of these words (political system) and is neither restricted to specific phases (such as parliamentary decision making, or the input side of the political system), nor to specific levels or areas (such as national elections or contacts with officials).”

Certain other common characteristics have been proposed, and debated in the academia but these about four features of political participation seem to be undisputed.

2.3. Literature - Connecting Civil Society Organizations and Political Participation

³⁶ Mateusz Wajzer, “Political participation: Some problems of conceptualization”, May 2015. https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/6834/political_participation_mw.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

In the modern times, almost everyone seems to believe that democracy is good, better, a perfect political engagement and best system of government. Still political scientists are interested in the various mechanisms which make democracy more better polity. The liberal definitions of democracy take it to be more than any given set of institutions; most account of democratic process is primarily concentrated in the structure and action of single actor-the state". However, the polity beyond the state slogan raised many questions about the system itself. Apart from state, academicians have identified two other sector of a democracy, i.e. the second sector is comprised of overall economic initiatives within society and the third sector is comprised of all residential organizational activity, excluding from the institutional setup of a state, and profit making activities. This third sector of a democracy is labeled as the civil society. Thus in almost every democratic country, civil society is considered as the third pillar of system itself. The concept of civil society have been debated mostly in the literature i.e. Weisbrod, 1977, 1988; Adam B. Seligman, 1995; Slamon and Anheier, 1997; Brain O'Connell, John William Gardner, 1999; Terence Chong, James Gomez, and Lenore Lyons, 2005; Peter J. Burnell, Petter Calvert, 2004 and Michael Edwards, 2013.

The concept of civil society is not new to the field of social sciences. This concept have been debated in the academic circle for years, and shaped its meaning and definitions at the same. Though many have interpreted the concept of civil society according to their level of understanding, but still the debate existed amongst the political scientists, that what really civil society concept is? The concept of civil society is thus considered the most changeable term in academic literature.

Apart from civil society, the concept of political participation in modern world literature has received quite comprehensive development in terms of structure, forms, levels, methods, ideological and social aspects, and law enforcement, and efficiency, i.e. both formal and essential aspects of the phenomenon.

To date, the widest theoretical basis for studying the problem of political participation is provided by the work of Western, in particular American, political scientists and sociologists. In the western literature, methods and methods of this study have been developed and generalized; forecasts are made about the nature of the manifestations of political participation in various socio-political conditions. So, for example, the categories of political participation as the activities of a

group of people guided by political interests are devoted to the works of S. Verba, M. Goel, G. Almond, R. Dahl, R. Cloward, M. Conway, L. Milbright, R. Mills, S. Lipset, F. Greenstein, N. Ny, F. Piven and others. These studies include analysis of a wide range of different ways in which the subject participates (or does not participate) in politics (both at the individual level and through the mediation of social institutions) and is based on a powerful empirical base.

In the contemporary literature on the concepts of “the civil society” and “political participation”, there too seems to be debate on their connection and interlinking.

One of the most important contributions to the ongoing debate has been presented by Diamond in 1994 which provides future goal for understanding the relationship between civil society and democracy (political participation). Apart from lengthy debate on the understanding of civil society from various directions, Diamond tried to make it clear that civil society can benefit democratic countries. After Diamond, the debate in academic field on the nature, directions, types and classification of civil society, civil society organization enhanced but little knowledge exists on the various ways by which different configurations of civil society influence democracy. Diamond noted that “we need to think about the features of civil society that are most likely to serve the development and consolidation of democracy”,³⁷ seems as necessary today as it was in the time of its writing.

2.4. Literature on Civil Society Organizations and Political Participation of Youth in Pakistan

An article “Civil society organizations and participatory local governance in Pakistan: An exploratory study”, has examined the role of CSOs in the local governance through public participation. It noted that although the role of CSOs is very important in promoting democratic governance at local level in many countries, but in Pakistan it can be “finds that the effectiveness of CSOs is very low due to various institutional and political constraints. Motivations for CSOs seeking citizen involvement have been instrumental in nature rather than motivated by

³⁷ Larry Diamond, “Rethinking Civil Society: Towards Democratic Consolidation”, *Journal of democracy* 5, no. 3 (July 1994), 5 (4-17). <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/225379/pdf>

participatory principles”. The paper failed to provide any assessment on the role of CSOs role in promoting youth political participation in Pakistan.³⁸

An article the “Role of Civil Society in Empowering Pakistani Women” written by Shehzadi Zamurrad Awan has examined the role of civil society in empowering women in Pakistan. She noted that though civil society organizations are playing its role in promoting women empowerment in the socio-economic and political fields but it’s rarely successive. In this modern social media age the role of civil society has failed to empower women of Pakistan and “in spite of the fact that more representation is given to the women in legislatures a large segment of female population is still struggling hard for the equal rights and the broad framework to improve the of female in socio-economic and political in Pakistan” is missing. This article is well-written to establish a link between the issues/problems of women empowerment and the contribution of civil society, to achieve a respectable status for the female population, within the various segments of the society.³⁹

A Report on the “Role of Civil Society Organizations in Governance”, noted that Civil Society Organizations have made a significant contribution to the process of poverty reduction, economic development and democratization in many countries of the world. As a part of civil society NGOs play a leading role in “activating citizen participation in socio-economic development and politics and in shaping or influencing policy”. However in Pakistan, the role of CSOs has been limited to only developmental works and has rarely contributed to the political setup. She noted that “in Pakistan the new NGO Bill is a reflection of the continued efforts of the government to “keep a close eye” on the CSOs.”⁴⁰

³⁸ Yeni Rosilawati, Zain Refique, Bala Raju Nikku and Shahid Habib, “Civil society organizations and participatory local governance in Pakistan: An exploratory study”, *Asian Social Work and policy Review* 12, no 3 (2018): 158-168.

³⁹ Shehzadi Zamurrad Awan, “Role of Civil Society in Empowering Pakistani Women”, *South Asian Studies* 27, no. 2 (July-December 2011): 439-458.

⁴⁰ Aisha Ghaus-Pasha, “Role of Civil Society Organizations in Governance”, in *6th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Towards Participatory and Transparent Governance* (Seoul, Republic of Korea, 24 – 27 May 2005), 3-8, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/4fd4/98b7d3d0a3f8c1508aac90db35d1d0b318bc.pdf>

A report of the Institute of Development Studies entitled “Civil Society and Social Change in Pakistan”, noted that the primary focus of CSOs is “to create an enabling environment to develop into institutions and work in a broad spectrum of social, economic, and political issues facing the country”. CSOs is emerging arena for political and social change in Pakistan, however due to political reasons the role of CSOs have been viewed positively and some time negatively by the government depending on its agenda. The report further added that “civil society organizations have been fostered by hostile political environment”, in Pakistan and thus CSO have built loose alliance. It added that “the first generation or category of NGOs have immense credibility in the community and receive large donations, most of these organizations, as a conscious policy, remain distant from the state with minimum interaction. They do not engage the government in any policy advocacy work. They also do not directly work for transformative socio-political change.” The report also noted that with the passage of time the political and social activists have found the space through CSO’s “to articulate and pursue a nonpartisan common agenda of promotion of democracy, improved governance, human rights and freedom of association and speech”, and provided direct input into the policy making, “NGOs and their discourse on these issues have filled an intellectual gap created by repressive governments, a rise in militancy and intolerance among sectors of civil society”.⁴¹

An article “Engaging the youth – citizenship and political participation in Pakistan”, written by Marie Lall has examined issue of youth political participation and explore the youth views on the politics of the country and how they disillusioned from the mainstream politics.⁴²

A report of the Center for International Private Enterprise titled “Enhancing Youth’s Political Participation in Pakistan” noted that the youth are enjoying equal right of political participation in Pakistan (aged 18 and above have the right for vote in elections). The youth of Pakistan includes students, professional, democrats and socialists; almost political active through various political movements but “often end up excluded from policy development and

⁴¹ Ayesha Khan and Rabia Khan, “Civil Society and Social Change in Pakistan”, Institute of Development Studies, Collective for Social Sciences Research, Karachi, March 2004, 1-36, http://researchcollective.org/Documents/khan_ayesha_2004_Civil_Society_and_Social_Change_in_Pakistan.pdf

⁴² Marie Lall “Engaging the youth – citizenship and political participation in Pakistan”, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 52, no. 4 (2014): 535-562

disillusioned with political leadership and institutions later on.” Thus even having 60% of the total population, the voice of the youth is hardly presented in the political setup of Pakistan.⁴³

An article “the Role of Civil Society Organization in the consolidation of democratic system of Governance of Pakistan”, has examined the role of CSO’s for the consolidation of a democratic system of governance in Pakistan. The paper outlined that “the authoritarian regimes in Pakistan did not let the civil society create an impact on political action”. However in the last decade CSOs has “actively participated in all spheres of life, promoting democracy and protecting the interests of the society in general. At present, the civil society dominates political discussion and debates”...and “made a significant contribution in strengthening democracy” but the role of “CSOs has been negligible in the case of citizen empowerment and citizen participation, therefore, it can be concluded that CSOs in Pakistan are not able to work properly.” However, the article did not provide any discussion on the role of CSOs in promoting political participation of youth in Pakistan.⁴⁴

An edited book of G. Shabbir Cheema and Vesselin Popovski, *Engaging civil society: Emerging trends in democratic governance*, has noted that various CSOs are undertaking several unconventional role for strengthening democratic culture in Pakistan. Apart from elections where the role of CSOs is limited, it organized briefing session for the parliamentarian, “Some CSOs have started monitoring the performance of the parliament and the provincial assemblies. Other organizations are engaged in spreading awareness about democracy among young students in schools. The Youth Parliament project has been initiated by a CSO to groom young people for more political roles, promote political consciousness among the youth and provide a platform for youth to articulate their views in a democratic but structured manner.” Though this book is a nice

⁴³ Fayyaz Bhidal, “Enhancing Youth’s Political Participation in Pakistan” Center for International Private Enterprise Washington DC: 25-6-2005, <https://www.cipe.org/blog/2015/06/25/enhancing-youths-political-participation-in-pakistan/>

⁴⁴ Shahid Habib and Zain Rafique, “The Role of Civil Society Organization in the consolidation of democratic system of Governance of Pakistan”, *ISSRA Paper Xi*, Issue 2, (2019): 17-28.

work on the role of CSOs in Pakistani context but it deals only historical perspective and has rarely discussed the role of CSOs in enhancing political participation of youth in Pakistan.⁴⁵

CHAPTER-3

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN PAKISTAN

This chapter has examined the role of civil society organizations in facilitating/enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan. This chapter is consisted of four parts. In part first, the evolution and development of Civil Society Organizations have been examined in detail. In the second part the history of CSOs in Pakistan in historical perspective is analyzed. Third part of this chapter deals with the connections between CSOs and political participation of youth in Pakistan. The fourth part is identified the Challenges/Problems of CSOs and Youth Political Participation in Pakistan.

⁴⁵ Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, “Civil Society engagement in democratic transition in Pakistan”, in G. Shabbir Cheema and Vesselin Popovski, eds., *Engaging Civil Society in democratic governance* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2010): 193-213.

3.1 Civil Society/Civil Society Organizations (CSO): Evolution and Development

It is commonly perceived that the concept of CSO emerged during leading wars where volunteers served the war victims in 1855 at Crimea. Thus, CSO emerged as a unit of philanthropy to serve the war victims. Since 1800 to 1950, the European missionaries and the social work spread to support legitimacy and colonial rule in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. By 1910, there were 344 private non-profit organizations in Europe and North America. They received subsidies from their home governments, and later these groups evolved into developmental NGOs. In the subcontinent, the independence movement itself was a milestone which gave birth to several CSOs.⁴⁶

There are three approaches to study the history of CSOs, i.e. mythological, philosophical, and a modern approach. According to mythological perspective, historical development of CSOs roots back to the period of civilization around 3500 BC, where people live in a community, need social security, and help corporations. Meanwhile, these communities develop rules and laws to govern the society while the leaders in society develop different myths, cultures, and religions. Along with the development of human civilization, the barter system also came into practice to fulfill the human needs.

After a multitude of changes these social patterns developed into present day NGOs. While the modern perspective, regarding formation of CSOs, states that CSOs are said date back to the European and missionary travelers after they were guided by Arabs and Asians. After the Second World War, most of the relief NGOs turned into development NGOs. International Red Cross (IRC) came into being in 1850, while more organizations like International labor organization (ILO) came into being in 1919 after First World War, CARE was established in 1945, and OXFAM in 1942 and many more social philanthropic organizations were born after the formulation of league of nation.⁴⁷

Researcher has investigated that present state of NGOs was already set before 400 BC in Greece. Freedom, democracy and autonomy were the essence of these civil societies. A sudden

⁴⁶ Benedikt Stuchtey, "Colonialism and Imperialism, 1450–1950 Colonialism and Imperialism." (2011).

⁴⁷ Aqueil Ahmad, "Introduction The Meaning and Metaphors of New Age Globalization." In *New Age Globalization* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2013), 1-15

increase can be seen in the number of CSO (in the forms of NGOs) in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The CSO were mostly working for: the rights of the people, well being, gender, justice, safety etc.

In the 20th century, with the increasing size of CSOs, the work with regards to human rights, gender, justice, and ecological issues, advocacy, social and political rights, gave CSOs a new direction. Due to the rise of communalism and capitalism in Western countries, its structure was completely renovated. With the increasing size of CSOs over the last few decades, the scope of CSOs was more concentrated on developmental agenda across the globe. A large number of CSOs are seems to be active in the socio-cultural, economic and political rights of the people.

Around the world there are numerous CSOs working with government to assist different problems regarding communities. Mostly having extended projects of international issues and one form can be in the shape of NGOs. Global CSOs like UNDP, UNICEF have similar projects around the world regarding the implementation of millennium development goal (MDG). Apart from developmental agenda, these CSOs also concentrated on the democratization, local governance, public administration, and electoral participation. Thus in the modern area, CSO's are considered the most important factor of influencing democracies across the world.⁴⁸

The role of CSOs in Pakistan is not different from the rest of other democratic countries. In Pakistan CSOs are also playing its role in the democratization process, and its link with youth political participation is an area need to be explored.

3.1.1 History of Civil Society

The idea of civil society is one of the important political ideas of modern times. Having arisen in the period of the ancient world, the concept of civil society went through a certain evolution, giving rise to various interpretations. It is known that society was formed along with the appearance of people; at a certain stage of historical development it became state-organized. However, elements of civil society were not always in it. Such a society (civil) from the perspective

⁴⁸ Sanjiv Kumar, Neeta Kumar, and Saxena Vivekadhish. "Millennium development goals (MDGS) to sustainable development goals (SDGS): Addressing unfinished agenda and strengthening sustainable development and partnership." *Indian journal of community medicine: official publication of Indian Association of Preventive & Social Medicine* 41, no. 1 (2016): 1.

of the broadest approach is a variety of state-not mediated relationships of free and equal entities. In civil society, in contrast to state structures, there are not vertical, based on subordination from below, but horizontal relations, the prerequisite of which is competition and interaction between legally free and equal entities. Civil society has a complex structure, including economic, family-related, ethnic, religious and other relations. To clarify the genesis (the history of origin) of the concept of civil society we need to turn to the views of thinkers of the past.

The first ideas about civil society have developed long ago, underwent a long evolution, starting from the era of the ancient world. The ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle called the foundation of civil society private property, which contributes to the fact that the citizen becomes independent and active.⁴⁹

Later, questions of this plan were reflected in the work of the Roman political figure and scientist, a supporter of the republican system, Cicero (106-43 BC), defined civil society as “an assemblage (of men) associated by a common acknowledgment of right and by a community of interests”.⁵⁰

In the middle of the 7th century, English philosopher John Locke concept of civil society is in substantiating the socio-political concept that is based on natural law and the theory of social contract. He argued that the foundation of civil society is private property, which is sacred and inviolable.⁵¹

We find a philosophical description of the foundations of civil society in Immanuel Kant. His civil society is concept is based on the freedom, liberty and equality of individual. His main idea seems to be the civil liberty of the person, legally guaranteed by law, is a necessary condition for self-improvement, a guarantee of the preservation and exaltation of human dignity. His

⁴⁹ Marty Sulek, "Civil Society Theory: Aristotle." *Scientist* 42 (2010): 5-20.

⁵⁰ Tanvir Anjum, “Historical Trajectory of the Development of the Concept of Civil Society in Europe: From Aristotle to Gramsci”, *Journal of Political Studies* 1, no. 2 (December 2010), 148-149.

⁵¹ John Locke, "The treatise of civil government [1689]." Retrieved August 20 (1764): 2009. <https://oll.libertyfund.org/pages/john-locke-two-treatises-1689>

“political philosophy focuses on the relationship among freedom (understood in terms of both autonomy and liberty), civil society, and the state.”⁵²

Kant made a significant contribution to the formation of ideas about civil society. In his work “Philosophy of Law,” civil society is defined as the communication (communication) of individuals through a system of needs and the division of labor, justice (legal institutions and the rule of law). It must be noted that the legal foundations of civil society are the equality of people as subjects of law, their legal freedom, individual private property, the inviolability of contracts, the protection of rights from violations, as well as streamlined legislation and an authoritative court.⁵³

Representations of civil society as a system of individuals' connections through economic, legal and other relations are reflected in the works of K. Marx and Frederick Engels noted that the state has acquired an independent existence along with and outside civil society. Mark noted that “it is not the state which conditions and regulates the civil society at all, but civil society which conditions and regulates the state, and, consequently, that policy and its history are to be explained from the economic relations and their development, and not vice versa.”⁵⁴

Studying the views of thinkers of past eras about civil society allows us to form two conclusions.

- Firstly, the process of the formation of bourgeois society laid the prerequisites for the formation of civil society. Citizens of bourgeois states differed significantly in terms of their social and legal status from the position of meek "subjects" of feudal society. Citizens, unlike subjects, were equal subjects, realized their interests in the conditions of law, on the basis of the introduction of private property, the labor market and free enterprise. This is not about the subjects of the monarch, but

⁵² Chris W. Surprenant, “Liberty, Autonomy, and Kant's Civil Society”, *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (2010): 79-94.

⁵³ Immanuel Kant, *The Philosophy of Law: an exposition of the fundamental principles of jurisprudence as the science of right* (The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 2001).

⁵⁴ Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels. *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: selected works in one volume*. Vol. 184 (International Publishers, 1968).

citizens with equal legal opportunities with all other fellow citizens, regardless of origin.

- Secondly, civil society as a whole is carried out through such non-governmental institutions as the family, the educational system, scientific and spiritual associations, professional, women's, youth organizations, various associations of representatives of various professions (doctors, engineers, lawyers, etc.)

Civil society contributes to the development and strengthening of democratic institutions, the transfer by the state of its authority to certain public organizations, and self-government bodies. It can be said that the structures of civil society are created primarily from below, and are not constructed by order of state structures. The subjects included in such a social sphere are independent from each other and interact as free and equal partners. The process of formation of civil society is complex and contradictory, characterized by duration. We can say that this process has not been completed in any of the existing countries.

3.1.2 The Formation and Development of Civil Society

The formation of civil society is one of the necessary conditions for advancing many countries of the world for the path of economic, political and legal reforms and the establishment of a rule of law state.

As we see civil society in its modern sense and meaning is a self-sufficient, directly independent of the state sphere of public relations, this is characterized by the fact that the individual, collective and state are in a balanced state. Such a coordination of relations is possible in the presence of certain economic conditions, namely, economic freedom, a variety of forms of ownership, market relations.

The history of the state-organized society, which replaced the primitive system, is divided into two great epochs:

- The era of caste-class societies based on the legal inequality of members of society
- The civil society based on legal equality.

A feature of caste-estate societies was a firm determination of the legal status in society and the state of each person belonging to a particular estate. The law of the Ancient World and the

middle Ages has always consolidated a social structure based on open (legal) inequality, primarily due to the division of labor, as well as ethnic, religious and other factors. The structure of the estate society and its relationship with law and the state were strongly influenced preservation of a number of remnants of collective property (especially land}, property subordinate to a special legal regime (communal property, royal, temple, monastery property, official allotments, estates, mayorates, etc.).

Caste-estate societies had a hierarchical structure: higher, less high, lower, unprivileged, and finally powerless estates differed; each of them had a special legal status. This determined the complexity and layering of the law of the estate society, which enshrines various legal statuses, privileges, duties, rights, and duties of various classes.

In the caste-class societies, the state and society partially merged in the sense that the state apparatus was formed from representatives of the privileged class (noble, free citizens, patricians), and the society itself rested on state law regulation and protection of class boundaries and privileges.

Accordingly, in the Ancient World and in the Middle Ages there were caste, varna, despotic, slave (aristocratic, tyrannical, democratic, oligarchic) states, feudal, in which the dominant estate carried out the functions of state power, monarchical (autocratic or estate-representative), republican, theocratic and others. A feature of all these states and their legal systems was the absorption of society by the state, supporting its estate division, interfering in the relations of property, production and life.⁵⁵

Societies of the Ancient World and the middle Ages were nationalized in the sense that the individual was in the grip of a number of state-legal prohibitions, orders, restrictions, his production and other activities, as well as his personal life, were under the constant control of officials, who, in turn, were also bound by many prescriptions. The formation and development of civil society is a special period in the history of mankind, state and law. Civil society arises in the process and as a result of the separation of the state from social structures, its isolation as a

⁵⁵ Robert Redfield, "Module 3 Social Structure and Social Change Lecture 18 Rural-Urban Continuum: Meaning and Context."

<https://nptel.ac.in/content/storage2/courses/109103023/download/Lecture%2016.pdf>

relatively independent sphere of public life and at the same time the denationalization of a number of social relations.

The category "civil society", different from the concepts of state, family, tribe, nation, religious and other communities, became the subject of study in the 8th and 9th centuries and is elaborated in Hegel's *Philosophy of Law*, which defined civil society as the connection (communication) of people through a system of needs and division of labor, justice (legal institutions and the rule of law), external order (police and corporations).⁵⁶

The *Philosophy of Law* noted that the legal foundations of civil society are the equality of people as subjects of law, their legal freedom, individual private property, the inviolability of contracts, the protection of rights from violations, as well as orderly legislation and an authoritative court, including a jury. Hegel understood civil society as a modern bourgeois society. Hegel's conclusions on the independence of civil society as a sphere of private interests in relation to the state (the embodiment of public interest), on the dependence of the social system on the division of labor and forms of ownership, became a huge step in the development of social sciences.⁵⁷

The study of civil society as a special stage in the development of mankind is based on many theoretical conclusions of modern sociology, political science, the theory of state and law, the theory of constitutionalism and other social sciences.

The ideological, economic, political prerequisites of civil society developed in Western Europe during the late middle Ages, during the Renaissance and the Reformation; in the struggle against class-feudal inequality and arbitrariness, the ideas of civil society began to be embodied in reality.

The historical milestone in the formation of civil society was the revolution in England (1640-1649), from which a number of historians trace the New Age. The formation and development of civil society is associated with a significant change in social ties and structures, legal and state relations. In contrast to the preceding estate and caste societies, civil society is based on the recognition of the universal legal equality of people, which determined a qualitatively new

⁵⁶ Zbigniew Pelczynski, *The State and Civil Society: Studies in Hegel's Political Philosophy* (CUP Archive, 1984), 114.

⁵⁷ Thom Brooks, *Hegel's Philosophy Of Law* (London: Oxford University Press, 2017).

position of the individual in society and the state. Vertical feudal structures were replaced by the prevalence of horizontal relations based on legal equality and the contractual principles of free people, relations that make up the essence of civil society.

Of immense social significance was precisely the fact that for the first time in the centuries-old history of mankind, all people, regardless of their social origin and position, were recognized as legally equal participants in public life, having a number of rights and freedoms recognized by law, giving everyone the opportunity to express themselves as a person endowed with free will, capable of being responsible for his actions and their legal consequences.

Thus the formation and development of civil society took several centuries. This process has not been completed either in our country or globally. Separate elements of civil society existed in some countries of the Ancient World (Greece, Rome), where the development of crafts and trade gave rise to commodity-money production, which was formalized and consolidated in a number of private law institutions (especially Roman private law). But these were only elements, centers of civil society that existed only in certain regions and combined with the vertical structures of caste-class societies.

On the scale of large regions of Europe and then America, three stages of the development of civil society can be identified, the transition from each of which to the next was marked by significant changes in the social and political system, social and political upheavals, mass movements, class conflicts, radical transformations of social ideology.⁵⁸

-At the first stage (approximately in 16th and 17th centuries), the economic, political and ideological prerequisites of civil society took shape. These include the development of industry and trade, the specialization of types of production and the in-depth division of labor, the development of commodity-money relations. With the support of cities and urban estates, centralized national states arose in a number of countries, possessing a number of features of modern states (sovereignty, state treasury, professional managerial apparatus, etc.). The revolution in social ideology, the rapid development of art and culture, the widespread dissemination of Protestant bourgeois ethics, the formulation of basic general ideas related to the notions of civil

⁵⁸ Klaus Eder,. "The making of a European civil society: "Imagined", "practised" and "staged"." *Policy and Society* 28, no. 1 (2009): 23-33.

society as a socio-political ideal, came to the same time. At the head of the struggle of the oppressed classes against feudal inequality and privileges were the townspeople. From the beginning of the revolution in England (1640), as noted, a number of historians are counting the New Time.⁵⁹

-At the second stage (approximately the end of the 17th-end of the 19th centuries), civil society was formed in the most developed countries in the form of initial capitalism based on universal legal equality and private enterprise.

-The socialization of civil society in the 20th century is the third stage of its development.

3.1.3 Civil Society and State

The formation and development of civil society was accompanied and is accompanied by a significant change in the state. An important role in the transition from an estate to a civil society was played by the centralized national states that developed in the late middle Ages, striving to eliminate the diversity of rights that existed during the period of feudal fragmentation. The new state was called upon to complete the process of the equation of social elements and turn the class society with its many divisions into a civil society, built on the basis of equal legal capacity.

From the feudal-specific states of the Middle Ages, the modern-day national states were distinguished by the concentration of power in the hands of the monarch, the creation of a state treasury, a centralized apparatus of administration and justice, a standing army, and the isolation of the state from estate, religious, ethnic and other social groups.

In the era of the formation of civil society, the qualities of a modern representative state began to take shape, which significantly distinguished it from the states of caste-class societies. The very concept of a state different from society was widely recognized only in modern times.

The essence of the matter is that under the pre-capitalist, class-caste system, the state practically coincided with some part of society and was isolated from the bulk of the population. In caste and estate societies of the Ancient World and the Middle Ages, the dominant social group

⁵⁹ David Cressy, *England on edge: crisis and revolution 1640-1642*. Oxford University Press, 2006.

was organized into the state and protected the privileges of the upper classes, on behalf of which (or their representative) the state power was exercised, which covered many aspects of the economic, economic, household, religious, spiritual social life. The coincidence of the organizational structures of society and the state was ultimately determined by the forms of ownership and division of labor that existed at that time in history.

Primitive forms of the division of labor, explained Marx and Engels, created a caste system in the state, led to the nationalization of a number of spheres of public life, since the original forms of private property bore the stamp of community.⁶⁰

The expression “civil society” arose in the 18th century, when property relations have already freed themselves from ancient and medieval communities. This is precisely what made the theoretical possibility of a separate study of the problems of society and the state, the emergence and development of sociology, political science, political science and other sciences studying the structure and dynamics of society and the state as independent phenomena. More important is the social consequences of the separation of society from the state, the state from society.⁶¹

One of the acute problems of the existence and development of civil society is the possibility of such government interference in public relations, which, breaking the fundamental principles of a society based on equality, can lead to the revival of class hierarchies. Therefore, the concept of "civil society" is most often used precisely in comparison with the concept of the state.

The separation of the state from society and the separation of society from the state are expressed in the difference in their structures, principles of organization and structure. This system is maintained by the company (taxes, fees, government loans). The constant and main goal of the state, its justification and legitimating is the protection of society and its management.

In contrast to the state, civil society is a horizontal system of relations and relations of citizens, their associations, unions, collectives, relations based on equality and personal initiative,

⁶⁰ Michael Levin, “Marx and Engels on the Generalized Class State”, *History of Political Thought*, 6, No. 3 (Winter 1985), pp. 433-453.

⁶¹ Marvin B. Becker, *The emergence of civil society in the eighteenth century: A privileged moment in the history of England, Scotland, and France* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994).

including the independence of the extraction of livelihoods (this applies to associations that contain due to voluntary contributions of their participants). The goals of citizens and their associations are diverse and variable in accordance with their interests.

Separation of civil society from the state has led to a number of state-legal consequences that determine the features of the modern state that distinguish it from the states of the caste-class era.

- First, the distinction between the areas of personal (private) and public (general) interests is reflected in the system of law, in dividing it into private and public. This division, outlined in the law of ancient Rome, where there were elements of civil society, is widespread in countries that embarked on the path of capitalist development. It is in the sphere of private law that the ideas of equality of members of society, their personal freedom and the inviolability of property, independence, liberation from the ideas of “collegiality” characteristic of estate societies, and submission to the authorities and collectives are consolidated.
- Secondly, the development of civil society gives rise to the idea of the constitution as a law that defines not only the structure of the highest authorities, but also the rights and freedoms of citizens (bill of rights, declaration of rights). As a result, the constitution itself becomes an agreement between society and the state on the delimitation of their fields of activity (the state is public authority, the sphere of common interests; society is the sphere of individual freedoms, private interests).
- Thirdly, the development of constitutional legislation consists not only in securing the rights and freedoms of members of civil society, but also in providing citizens with means to influence state power. In the structure of the supreme bodies of the state of the New Age, nationwide (and not only class) representative institutions of a parliamentary type appear and are established as permanent ones, with the right to approve taxes and fees received by the state treasury, as well as to adopt the most important regulatory legal acts (laws). Thus the emergence and development of representative democracy is a phenomenon characteristic of the era of the formation of civil society.
- Fourthly, the "principle of legality" corresponds to the nature of civil society, as it strictly conforms to the law, above all, the activities of the state and its bodies, the principle

underlying the idea of a "rule of law". With this understanding of the "principle of legality", the problem of the legality of the laws themselves, issued by the highest bodies of state power in the sense of their conformity to the universally recognized and legalized rights and freedoms of citizens, is designated. Only guided by this approach to the concept of "legality", a citizen in case of violation of his rights is placed on the same legal level as the state and its officials when considering and resolving a dispute about a violated right.⁶²

“A member of civil society has the right *in judicio stare* and, correspondingly, the duty of acknowledging the jurisdiction of the court and accepting its decision as final when his own rights are in dispute”⁶³ wrote by Hegel. In the era of feudalism, powerful individuals often did not appear at the hearing; they behaved defiantly towards judicial instances and considered calling a powerful person to the court as an unlawful act. This is a condition contrary to what the court should be.

3.1.4 Civil Society and Law

The legislative recognition of the legal equality of people on the basis of vesting them with rights and freedoms is the main sign and basis of civil society. The formation and adoption as the basis of social life for the legal equality of people, which laid the foundation for the New Age, is as profound a revolution in history as, say, the destruction of the primitive community of prehistoric times and the transition to the class-estate system of the Ancient World.

Civil society is based on an equal law for all, protecting general freedom (the ability to do everything that does not harm another) and the right to property. Of course, legal equality is not factual equality, but equality of opportunity - the dissimilarity of people and their social statuses. Moreover, in the initial period of the existence of civil society, the formal equality of people often looked (and essentially was) a lie and a lie for the majority of the poor, who were not able to adapt quickly enough to the new conditions of economic life. At the same time, the elimination of class privileges and legislative consolidation of equal legal opportunities for all created completely new conditions for the development of social relations. If the beginning of the real life of civil society was laid by the adoption and approval of the Bill of Rights (England, USA) or the Declaration of

⁶² Michele O'Kelly, "The Rule of Law and Advocacy in Civil Society." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 95, no. 380 (2006): 387-395.

⁶³ Hegel's *Philosophy of Right: Third Part: Ethical Life ii Civil Society*, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/pr/prcivils.htm>

Human and Citizen Rights (France), then civil society itself is a society of equal people, freely expressing their personality, creative initiative, society of equal opportunities, freed from unnecessary prohibitions and meticulous administrative regulation.

In the process of the formation of civil society and the modern state, the main source of modern law was legislation based on the principles of individualism, reflecting the emancipation of the individual, its liberation from estate, corporate and other feudal ties. At the center of the legal system of the New Age, it was precisely a person, individual and not estate-corporate entities. In this regard, human rights began to be regarded as natural and inalienable. With the development of a representative state, they were reinforced by an ever-expanding totality of citizens' rights.

Civil society corresponds to the rule of law. Unlike the police state (called the “command system”), the rule of law legislatively (usually at the constitutional level) secures the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, undertaking not only not to violate these rights and freedoms, but also to provide them with a guarantee system. These rights and freedoms are understood not as “permissions” for a member of civil society to do something, but as his ability to do everything that is not prohibited by law (freedom), and the opportunities provided for by the system of legal guarantees to fulfill his interests (rights).

The separation of society from the state and the subordination of the state to the law determine the division of the right of civil society into private and public. The difference in the structures of civil society and the state leaves an imprint on the methods of legal regulation of private and public relations. State bodies and positions are created by law, exist and must act strictly on the basis of law. The life and activities of members of civil society are not predetermined by law or conditional. The creation and activities of their associations may be regulated by law, but these associations are created and exist only by the good will of their participants.

Citizens have legal capacity, giving them the widest opportunity to make any transaction, except prohibited, in various areas of public and private life. Unlike citizens, state bodies and officials are endowed with competence that defines rather narrow parameters of their activity, predetermined by their purpose, subject of reference. The rights of citizens are guaranteed opportunities to use any good that they realize or do not realize at their discretion and desire. The use of law is not the duty of a citizen; Officials and state bodies are vested with powers (legal

obligations), which they are obliged to use in the exercise of their functions to achieve their goals and solve problems.

Relations between citizens, their associations, unions are based on the principles of equality, freedom, coordination. Their relations and relations are based on agreements, contracts. Officials and government are linked by subordination relations; each of them is subordinate to a higher authority (body, institution). In relations between private individuals or associations regulated by private law, the law establishes rules only for the future; it has no retroactive force. In public law, a law can be retroactive if the state improves the legal status of persons in some way; it must necessarily be retroactive if this law mitigates the punishment (or collection) for any offense or eliminates the wrongfulness of this act.⁶⁴

3.2 Civil Society Organizations in Pakistan

In Pakistan, the role of CSOs in promoting democratic values seems to be a complex issue, as the role of CSO remained different in Pakistan, since its independence. During the military regimes, CSOs followed by gradual space and a new shift has been witnessed in the form of judiciary democracy restoration movement.

Development of CSOs in Pakistan can be divided into three phases, i.e., before partition, after partition, and the contemporary phases. The second phase of CSOs was labeled with socio-economic and rehabilitation services for the new born state. Before partition two prominent platforms of all India Muslim League and Congress proved themselves as leading CSOs of that time. Both served their best to bring political awareness to the masses. From 1950 to 1990, CSOs in Pakistan went through a transition in their evolution process in the hands of civilians and dictators where Ayub's kindness or Z. Bhutto's populist style of handling CSOs, or Zia's assault on CSOs, targeting students, labor, trade union and lawyers was seen. Hence, from 1990 onwards, a major paradigm shift in the roles, activities, and priorities of CSOs was witnessed in Pakistan.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ibid. also see Arnaud Sales, "The private, the public and civil society: social realms and power structures." *International Political Science Review* 12, no. 4 (1991): 295-312.

⁶⁵ Muhammad Samrez Salik, "Evolution of Civil society in conflict prone countries of the 21th century", *NDU Journal* (March 2018), 27-41. <https://ndu.edu.pk/ndu-journal/2018/03-Evolution-of-Civil-Society.pdf>

The status of civil society organizations in Pakistan can be seen under the questions of:

- What is the current situation of CSOs in the Pakistan?
- Where are the peculiarities of weak performance of CSO in Pakistan?
- And what type of challenges the CSO are facing in Pakistan? and how to overcome those challenges.

Although there are no exact figures on the number of civil society organizations in Pakistan, due to permanent restructuring and insufficient data, the number of these CSO can be estimated at around hundreds and thousands and various organizations, which support local groups through their representations in the country.

From CSO, most NGOs work mainly at the regional or local level, within the framework of strictly defined programs and projects. Only a small part of these NGOs, namely five to ten, act at the level of the whole nation, having a central coordinating body as well as regional and local entities linked together. Most of the time, only a small part of the collaborators in an organization works on voluntarily, while the majority of the members work on salary engaging in politics of the country.

Most of the themes tackled by NGOs, and treated within the framework of their specific objectives, currently concern environmental issues. At the forefront is education in a responsible and efficient relationship with nature and natural resources. Other particularly valued areas are also the supply of sufficient drinking water, health prevention and AIDS prevention. Only a few NGOs are actually concerned with advancing the democratization process in the country.

From the perspective of cooperation between organizations, it should be noted that the latter do indeed cooperate on isolated projects, but that it is rather rare to see sustainable community work. This is undoubtedly the reason why civil society organizations in Pakistan have such a weak place. We will also discuss in detail about the other reasons for this weakness. To justify their existence, Pakistan's civil society organizations are some time bound to be based on the country's constitution, regulating the freedom to meet and the freedom of opinion. After this short introduction to the figures and structures of civil society organizations in Pakistan, we will discuss its problems and its particularities.

3.2. 1. History of Civil Society Organizations in Pakistan

The history of civil society/CSOs consisted of various stages/periods.

a). First Period: The Colonial Time

The first of them is developing, preparatory. This is about colonial time. The first capitalist firms and companies appeared on the territory of the future Pakistan, in its largest cities, Karachi and Lahore, separate associations of the bourgeois community were formed. The time of such changes for the Pakistani regions of colonial India followed shortly after their conquest by the British in the middle of the nineteenth century. A noticeable part of the then middle class were immigrants from the metropolis, often only temporarily coming to the colony.

To a large extent, counting on them, the colonial authorities adopted the first laws regulating the activities of civil and non-governmental organizations. In 1860, the Societies Registration Act was adopted, in 1863 the Religious Endowment Act, and in 1882, the Trust Act in 1890, the Charitable Endowments Act was added to the first three, and much later, in 1925, the Cooperative Act 10 was adopted. These laws governed throughout the subsequent colonial period the activities of civil, including community, organizations. And until now, they are the main regulators of the activities of most non-governmental organizations in Pakistan.⁶⁶

The number of non-governmental and non-profit organizations established during colonial times in Pakistan was not large. The regions forming it lagged behind a number of other regions of colonial India in terms of commercial and industrial development. Non-Muslim capital had a strong position in the Pakistani territory.

By the end of the colonial era in the sub-continent, mass protest movements intensified, which can be considered a manifestation of the activity of civil society in the broad sense. The Pakistani districts were again not among the most noticeable in this process (their entire population was according to the 1941 census; 28 million people, with a total population of 400 million) Nevertheless, Lahore became one of the prominent centers of all-Indian socio-political activity,

⁶⁶ Zafar H. Ismail, "The Legal Framework of the Nonprofit Sector in Pakistan." In *th Annual General Meeting of Pakistan Society of Development Economists, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad. 2002.*

while the cities of Peshawar and Karachi turned into its regional centers. The process of consolidation of religious communities and their civic, voluntary organizations, but up to 1946–1947, also went on implicitly.⁶⁷

b). Second Period: The Cold War Era

The second period in the history of civil society in Pakistan coincides with the era of the Cold War. External factors had a considerable, albeit mostly indirect, effect on the forms of existence and evolution of civic institutions. It manifested itself in the fact that mass movements and associations, especially at the initial stage of the country's existence, in 1947-1958, were built largely on a class ideological basis. The ruling circles of Pakistan did not hesitate to choose a pro-Western orientation that prevailed in the then post-colonial world, while opposition forces tried to find an alternative. As a result, groups of left-wing intellectuals that emerged before World War II became stronger; the Communist Party was formed with the help of Muslims who were members of the Communist Party (CPI) who moved to the country from India.⁶⁸

In 1951, the left forces were struck by the exposure of the anti-government "Rawalpindi conspiracy." Prominent "progressive" writers, representatives of the intelligentsia, were involved in the conspiracy of the military opposition. The harsh sentences imposed on the conspirators were soon commuted, but in 1954 the Communist Party was banned to clear the way for a close military defense alliance with the United States. Four years after the military came to power, led by Field Marshal M. Ayub Khan; all other political parties were banned. With the resumption of their activities in 1962, the ban on the Communist Party was not lifted. The checkpoint was legalized only in 1972, after pro-communist forces lost most of their mass support. One of the reasons for this was the assistance of USSR to India in the 1971 war that disintegrated Pakistan.

⁶⁷ Muhammad Samrez Salik, "Evolution of Civil society in conflict prone countries of the 21th century", *NDU Journal* (March 2018), 27-41. <https://ndu.edu.pk/ndu-journal/2018/03-Evolution-of-Civil-Society.pdf>

⁶⁸ Nadeem F. Paracha, "The rise and fall of the communist party of Pakistan", *Dawn*, April 13, 2014.

However, the rapprochement between Islamabad and Beijing, which has been growing since 1963, but communist civil society has weakened, and then completely eliminated. After such abandoned that was costly to all workers and communist parties and movements, preferring a more cautious, selective approach was adopted for left wing civil society. In addition to the checkpoint, whether it was underground or in a legal position, left-wing trade union and student organizations and associations, guilds and unions of left-wing writers, journalists and lawyers acted accordingly.

Since the beginning of the 70s, the number of centers of external influence on Pakistan and its civil society increased from the USA, the USSR and the PRC. China possessed great weight under the government, which the military put in power after the defeat of Z.A. Bhutto. But Chinese influence declined after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the subsequent change in Beijing's international course.

But two Islamic centers developed and strengthened - Saudi (Sunni) and Iranian (Shiite). The Saudis, by all accounts, played a significant role in the events that led in the summer of 1977 to an acute domestic political crisis and a coup committed by the military led by General M. Zia-ul-Haq. From that moment on, the right-wing (traditionalist, Islamic-conservative) deviation that emerged under Bhutto became predominant not only for state policy, but also for the civil society. The campaign launched by the President-General on the basis of Islamic political parties to Islamize society in general and its civil segment in particular resulted in significant, although often fronted, and resulted in major changes in the society.⁶⁹

Although the left tendency in the political life still made it felt fueled since 1978, the residual left trend still persisted in trade unions and peasant organizations, but the nature and structure of civil society actively ruled and “Islamized” during the Zia period. At the same time, elements of the former civil society were largely driven out of the country and found refuge in organizations of migrants that arose in the Diasporas, which has been steadily growing in the United States, Great Britain, and a number of other countries. A politicized civil society, thus

⁶⁹ Muhammad Samrez Salik, "Evolution of Civil society in conflict prone countries of the 21th century", *NDU Journal* (March 2018), 27-41. <https://ndu.edu.pk/ndu-journal/2018/03-Evolution-of-Civil-Society.pdf>

flowing across state borders, turned out to be wider than the internal one, helping the existence of the opposition under authoritarian and unpopular regimes.

Returning to the beginning of the second period in the history of Pakistani civil society, it should be noted that after the formation of the country in 1947, various non-political organizations of citizens located on now-Pakistani territory basically ceased to exist due to the departure of their active (to India and England) members and leaders. In their place, new structures were formed, mainly Muslim and targeted in the nature of their activities.

In large cities there have been appeared cooperatives (partnerships) for the development and development of new land plots. In the capital, at first, Karachi arose, for example, the Pakistan Employees Cooperative Housing Society (PECHS), the Defense Colony, etc. Their example shows the interaction of civilians (as private individuals participated in cooperatives) and state structures (the government and the armed forces assisted their employees).

Thus, civil society split into three main streams: politicized (left and right-religious in ideology organizations and movements; non-politicized (targeted and supportive, supportive purposes); and traditional (religious-communal, neighborly-related and clan-tribal).

The postcolonial period was marked by the adoption of two more laws on civil institutions. Both were adopted under military regimes and were in the form of presidential decrees. In 1961, the Decree on Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies was promulgated, and in 1984, the Decree on Companies, where Section 42 regulated the registration of non-profit organizations (Companies Ordinance (Section 42))⁷⁰.

c). Third Period: The Bipolar and Post-Bipolar

The third period of the existence of civil society covers the time of the crisis of the bipolar system of the international system and the modern era of the post-bipolar world. At this stage, the range of targeted, human rights and humanitarian, to protect the rights of women and minorities,

⁷⁰ T. Rashid, "Radicalisation of Civil Society: A Case Study of Pakistan", in: S.S. Pathanaik ed. *South Asia: Envisioning a Regional Future* (New Delhi, Pentagon Press, 2011), p. 155

educational and charitable non-governmental organizations has expanded significantly, largely under the influence of liberal-internationalist (cosmopolitan) trends in the world.

Cosmopolitanism (that all human are members of a single community) since the early 1990s actively encouraged by leading intergovernmental organizations – “the UN, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization” (since 1995), UNESCO, etc, that also affected the situation in Pakistan.

In 1995, the Pakistani government introduced a bill to Parliament that amended the 1961 decree on the “Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies Regulation and Control (Amendment Act)”. The amendments established that non-governmental charitable organizations must undergo mandatory state registration and can be banned and dissolved. This sparked protests from civic organizations and spurred the process of creating civic networks and forums, as well as the coordination of joint actions. As a result of the protests, the project never turned into law.⁷¹

At the turn of the 1990s and 2000s, Pakistan has basically developed the current structure of civil society in the narrow sense of its meaning and purpose. It has become quite comparable with similar ones in other countries.⁷²

3.2.2 CSO’s Laws in Pakistan

At currently in Pakistan various Laws are existed dealings directly and indirectly Civil Society Organizations, means the “Legal Framework of the Non-Profit Sector in Pakistan, detail is as follows:

- “The Societies Registration Act, 1860
- The Trusts Act, 1882
- The Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies (Registration and Control Ordinance), 1961
- The Companies Ordinance, 1984

⁷¹ Irfan Mufti, "Struggle of civil society organizations in Pakistan for pro-people legislation." *PLA Notes* 43: 23-25, <https://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/G01979.pdf>

⁷² Muhammad Samrez Salik, "Evolution of Civil society in conflict prone countries of the 21th century", *NDU Journal* (March 2018), 27-41. <https://ndu.edu.pk/ndu-journal/2018/03-Evolution-of-Civil-Society.pdf>

- Religious Endowment Act, 1863
- The Charitable Endowments Act, 1890
- The Mussalmans Wakf Validating Act, 1913
- The Mussalman Wakf Act, 1923
- The Mussalmans Wakf Validating Act, 1930
- The Charitable and Religious Trusts Act, 1920
- The Income Tax Ordinance, 1979
- The Income Tax Ordinance, 2001
- The Cooperative Societies Act, 1925
- The Industrial Relations (Trade Unions) Ordinance, 1969
- The Registration Act, 1908
- The Charitable Funds (Registration of Collection) Act, 1953
- Minimum Wages Ordinance, 1961
- Employees' Social Security Ordinance, 1965
- The West Pakistan Industrial and Commercial Employment (Standing Orders) Ordinance, 1968
- The West Pakistan Shops and Establishments Ordinance, 1969
- Employees' Old Age Benefits Act, 1976".⁷³

3.2.2. Rhombus/Scope of Civil Society Organizations in Pakistan

In Pakistan, the role of CSOs in promoting democratic values seems to be a complex issue, as the role of CSO remained different in Pakistan, since its independence. During the military regimes, CSOs followed by gradual space and a new shift has been witnessed in the form of judiciary democracy restoration movement.

Development of CSOs in Pakistan can be divided into three phases, i.e., before partition, after partition, and the contemporary phases. The second phase of CSOs was labeled with socio-economic and rehabilitation services for the new born state. Before partition two prominent

⁷³ Zafar H. Ismail, "The Legal Framework of the Nonprofit Sector in Pakistan." In *th Annual General Meeting of Pakistan Society of Development Economists, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad*. 2002

platforms of all India Muslim League and Congress proved themselves as leading CSOs of that time. Both served their best to bring political awareness to the masses. From 1950 to 1990, CSOs in Pakistan went through a transition in their evolution process in the hands of civilians and dictators where Ayub's kindness or Zulfikar populist style of handling CSOs, or Zia's assault on CSOs, targeting students, labor, trade union and lawyers was seen. Hence, from 1990 onwards, a major paradigm shift in the roles, activities, and priorities of CSOs was witnessed in Pakistan.

The status of civil society organizations in Pakistan can be seen under the questions of:

- What is the current situation of CSOs in the Pakistan?
- Where are the peculiarities of weak performance of CSO in Pakistan?
- And what type of challenges the CSO are facing in Pakistan? and how to overcome those challenges.

Although there are no exact figures on the number of civil society organizations in Pakistan, due to permanent restructuring and insufficient data, the number of these CSO can be estimated at around hundreds and thousands and then come the many foreign organizations, which support local groups through their representations in the country.

From CSO, most NGOs work mainly at the regional or local level, within the framework of strictly defined programs and projects. Only a small part of these NGOs, namely five to ten, act at the level of the whole nation, having a central coordinating body as well as regional and local entities linked together. Most of the time, only a small part of the collaborators in an organization works on voluntarily, while the majority of the members work on salary engaging in politics of the country.

Most of the themes tackled by NGOs, and treated within the framework of their specific objectives, currently concern environmental issues. At the forefront is education in a responsible and efficient relationship with nature and natural resources. Other particularly valued areas are also the supply of sufficient drinking water, health prevention and AIDS prevention. Only a few NGOs are actually concerned with advancing the democratization process in the country.

From the perspective of cooperation between organizations, it should be noted that the latter do indeed cooperate on isolated projects, but that it is rather rare to see sustainable

community work. This is undoubtedly the reason why civil society organizations in Pakistan have such a weak place. We will also discuss in detail about the other reasons for this weakness. To justify their existence, Pakistan's civil society organizations are some time bound to be based on the country's constitution, regulating the freedom to meet and the freedom of opinion. After this short introduction to the figures and structures of civil society organizations in Pakistan, we will discuss its problems and its particularities.

Is civil society in Pakistan able to fulfill its role in the process of democratization and development of the country, according to the duties and functions described above? What factors hinder their efforts and perhaps hinder the achievement of their objectives?

The study of the functioning of a narrowly understood civil society in various countries of the world is associated with the emergence in the early 1990s of international organization CIVICUS - World Alliance for Civic Participation. In 1999, a joint project was launched with the London School of Economics on the comparative study of civil societies in various countries. To construct a rhombus, four axes are distinguished - structure, values, space and influence. The first of the axes reflects the number of organizations, their distribution by sectors and regions of the country, resources, membership, etc., the second assesses the goals and objectives, norms and approaches that are shared and promoted by non-governmental and non-profit voluntary associations, the third gives an idea of legal, political and socio-cultural environment in which civil society exists, in particular, the attitude of society as a whole towards the spirit of voluntariness and social activity, and the fourth measures the contribution of civic organizations to the resolution of various social, environmental and political issues, the definition of the agenda of public interest, the adoption of decisions by the state and business.⁷⁴

Primary information for the project was collected mainly by questioning the leaders and participants of organizations and civil society groups. Pakistan was among the top ten countries where surveys were conducted in 2000-2001. Moreover, among them (in most Eastern European) he was the only Asian and Muslim country. In 2003-2006 A similar civil society index project spanned over 50 developed and developing countries in Europe, South America, Africa and

⁷⁴ Anheier, Helmut K. *Civil society: Measurement, evaluation, policy* (Earthscan, 2013), 127-127.

Oceania. Only Egypt and Turkey were among those surveyed from Muslim states, and only India, South Korea, and Vietnam were from Asian countries.

The indicators for Pakistan, which made it possible to "draw" the rhombus of its civil society, turned out to be quite good even when compared with such a developed and clearly "civilian" country as Holland. At the same time, Pakistani indicators were inferior to the Dutch on all sides of the rhombus (the Pakistani rhombus was, as it were, inside the Dutch). The third index (Wednesday) was especially strong (almost 40 percentage points), the Pakistani NGO had points less than Dutch and the first and second indicators, and the fourth index was 16 points (influence). In addition, Pakistani organizations as a whole were not quite comparable with the Dutch, as they were distinguished by much greater typological and genetic heterogeneity, the presence of a modern and traditional (not quite, essentially civil) sector. Assessing the scale and other characteristics of the civilian segment in Pakistan, the authors of the report on the preparation of the above-mentioned CIVICUS index also noted a lack of reliable and representative data. So, the number of registered and actively operating non-governmental organizations was estimated by them at 10–12 thousand. But with the addition of registered but not showing any activity organizations, the number of civil structures increased to 60 thousand.

The authors took into account trade unions as belonging to the civilian sector. Their number was estimated rounded at 8 thousand with a number of members of about 1 million people. This amounted to only 5% of the country's workforce. The latter was estimated at 20 million people and did not include unpaid working family members, especially numerous in agriculture and the informal sector (unregistered small business). The attribution of trade unions to the civic segment demonstrates the vagueness of its borders, although, in our opinion, it fully complies with its criteria - voluntariness and social activity. The facts testifying to the extremely limited extent of the trade union movement are essential for understanding the degree of organization of labor, as well as freedom in society, since one of the main reasons for the weakness of trade unionism is the restrictions imposed by the state in accordance with the "wishes" of the owners of enterprises. The authors of the report note that the size and role of trade unions in Pakistan since the 1970s, declined

steadily. This concerned both unions at enterprises and trade unions. Only 2 thousand trade unions, according to data for 2000, had the right to conclude collective agreements.⁷⁵

Among non-governmental organizations, educational predominated, followed by organizations for the protection of health and women's rights. Related thematically were children's and sports organizations and associations, as well as community development, neighborhood and religious. The so-called intermediate, intermediary and supporting structures focused mainly on the same goals, providing financial, technical and organizational assistance. Of particular note is the women's movement and women's organizations. Having originally emerged as elite clubs for women from wealthy families, the women's rights movement has come to the forefront of social and political struggle under the influence of the Islamization policy pursued by the Zia-ul-Haq regime in the 1980s. It was then that influential women's organizations were formed "Women's Forum of Action", which entered into the struggle against measures introduced by the authorities (Islamic laws of hoodies), which infringe the rights of women in court, in the proceedings on accusations of adultery and adultery, as well as other cases where the testimony of one man was equated with two women. The severity of the problem of discrimination and oppression of women was not resolved in the future, which affected the activity and decisive position regarding the few, but very influential women's human rights organizations.⁷⁶

It is difficult to assess the scale of funds that went through the channels of civic organizations. Contrary to popular belief, it was mainly Pakistani domestic funds, affected, in particular, traditions of charity, which turned out to be very characteristic of Pakistan. Since the 1960s Sattar Idhi is known for his charitable activities, having created organizations in Karachi and other cities of the country to help the poor, sick, orphans (the head organization is the Idhi Trust). The activities of Hamid Khan, who initiated a pilot project for the integrated development of one of the slum areas of Karachi - Orange, became widely known. Charity often focuses on the provision of medical services: the Shaukat Khanum Foundation provides assistance to cancer

⁷⁵Adnan Sattar and Rabia Baig, "Civil Society in Pakistan: A Preliminary Report on the Civicus Index on Civil Society Project in Pakistan", 2001, 5-7, <http://www.civicus.org/new/media/pakistan.pdf>

⁷⁶ Amrita Basu, ed., *Women's Movements in the Global Era: Power of Local Feminism* (Westview Press, 2010), 128, 164.

patients, and the Leighton-Rahmatulla Trust - for those who need treatment for eye diseases⁷⁷. A prominent place in the provision of health services has long been held by the Ismaili Aga Khan Foundation (more on this below) and some Christian missions.

As can be seen from the above examples, charity was often religious, communal in nature, but most often it was not associated with radical ideological principles and, as a rule, did not limit its activities to strict confessional boundaries. External, foreign sources mattered only to the largest and most well-known organizations implementing social and economic modernization projects for the protection of citizens' rights and the legal profession (assistance in criminal trials). However, some religious community organizations, having roots inside the country, were essentially international. The number of members in Pakistani NGOs was not significant. A systematic idea of the distribution of organizations in terms of their numbers was provided only by a 1991 survey by the United Nations Development Organization. At that time, one third of organizations had less than 50 members, 17% - 50–99, another 20% - from 100 to 149, and only 5% had more than 450 members. The survey showed that about 90% of those working in NGOs and NGOs were volunteers, and only 10% received remuneration for their work. Based on these data, the number of people employed in the civilian sector at the beginning of the 2000s. Estimated at about 250 thousand, which was from 0.5 to 1.6% of the workforce, depending on its assessment: 16-25 million people.⁷⁸

Composition of Various form/types of CSOs in Pakistan

S.N.	Major CSOs/nonprofit organizations	Number of organizations	Percent
1	Culture and Recreation	2452	5.5
2	Education and Research	20699	46.4
3	Civil Rights and Advocacy	7815	17.5
4	Social services	3704	8.3

⁷⁷ Ayesha Khan and Rabia Khan, "Civil Society and Social Change in Pakistan", Institute of Development Studies, (Karachi: 2004), 8-9.

⁷⁸ Adnan Sattar and Rabia Baig, "Civil Society in Pakistan: A Preliminary Report on the Civicus Index on Civil Society Project in Pakistan", 2001, 9, <http://www.civicus.org/new/media/pakistan.pdf>

5	Development and housing	3264	7.3
6	Healthcare	2700	6.1
7	Culture and leisure	2452	5.5
8	Religion	2184	4.9
9	Business and professional organizations	1705	3.8
10	Environment	103	0.2
	Total	44625	100⁷⁹

3.3 CSO's and Political participation of youth in Pakistan

The concept of civil society is often used in the context of democracy, and more recently its involvement in the enhancing of political participation of people in the electoral process, and governance issues. Abraham Lincoln, former President of the United States, described in 1863 the very essence of democracy with these few words: “the governance of the people, by the people and for the people.”⁸⁰ According to this declaration, the people-citizen of the state, is the real sovereign and must therefore be included in a consistent manner in the decision-making process. Fully echoing this conception, the idea of participation in a democracy still plays a decisive role today. Such participation can take place through the representation of citizens through their representatives in Parliament, or, in the context of participatory democracy, it takes place directly, through the citizen himself. As the latter form of participation turns out to be more effective and efficient, when citizens associate and “coordinate their interests, organized civil society plays an important role”.

⁷⁹ Ayesha Khan and Rabia Khan, “Civil Society and Social Change in Pakistan”, Institute of Development Studies, (Karachi: 2004), 3.

⁸⁰ *The Washington Post*, 31-3-2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/who-coined-government-of-the-people-by-the-people-for-the-people/2017/03/31/12fc465a-0fd5-11e7-aa57-2ca1b05c41b8_story.html

It also becomes an important complement to the simple representation of citizens' interests in Parliament. Indeed, at the level of this authority, the wishes of citizens cannot always be taken into account. This thought fits into the basic idea of political pluralism, one of the key elements of a democracy. Within political pluralism, we take as a starting points the different political interests and ideologies that exist within society. This pluralism is not understood to be a negative phenomenon as in an authoritarian system, for example.

On the contrary! The articulation, representation and realization of these interests are legitimate, and even expressly desired, even if it is only a question of guaranteeing the freedom of expression of minorities, at least. The latter could, in fact, be considerably reduced, due to majority decision systems, if the balance was not restored by the existence of this pluralism of interests. The articulation and representation of interests takes place through political parties and their main areas. But there are also, in addition, the organizations and clubs of the civil society, which represent particular interests, vis-a-vis the State.

Civil society thus becomes this much-prized “*Engine of Democracy*”, but it is also its source of energy and its very foundation. Because a democracy cannot be maintained because it is a machinery of political institutions and rituals: The human beings who live there must live democracy and be able to live too. They must participate and assert their interests. This is done, first, through engagement with civil society organizations. State is essential “to guarantee the rights of citizens; but it cannot and should not govern everything. Thus, more democracy does not mean more state, but more division of labor between the state, society and its citizens”. Civil society thus takes on the role of “counterweight vis-à-vis the State and the economic” sector. In carrying out this role, the principles of neutrality and independence must be taken very seriously.

“Only organizations that are independent and neutral vis-à-vis the state and the economic sector can observe and evaluate the actions of the latter, in an objective manner. They can then develop a personal position in the direction of general well-being, and support decisions or, on the contrary, oppose and act against them. In this sense, civil society plays an important role in the development of a country. In the ideal case, it can even bring new ideas and new approaches to the discussion of the various issues to be tackled; and it can always do so, independently or with state support”.

Modern definitions of “political participation has sought to incorporate informal political activities, including protests, social movements and, increasingly, voluntary activities in pressure groups, civic associations, charities, and other associations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights” noted that “Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law”.⁸¹

In the Article 32 of the 1973 constitution of Pakistan while focusing on the promotion of local government institutions noted that “the state shall encourage local Government institutions composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned and in such institution special representation will be given to peasants, workers, and women.” However, there is no article in the 1973 constitution of Pakistan regarding the political participation of youth in Pakistan. The political participation of youth is always been seen in Pakistan as student engagement in politics, and hardly no study can be found to see the overall youth political participation in Pakistan. Hence this study is too concentrated on the youth-students political participation and its connection with CSOs.

The history of students’ politics is a long debatable issue in the Pakistani context, whereas so some extent they shaped and are shaping the direction of government and state in Pakistan. With a huge population of youth in Pakistan, the government-state institutions and political parties are yet to reforms and bringing changes to their internal structures and outreach programs in order to engage with the youth of Pakistan. Along with the role of CSOs though claiming of promoting youth still need a lot more to engage youth politically to contribute to the democratic culture of Pakistan.

The non availability of literature in the academia to handle the issue comprehensively is too missing. Hence a very serious problem of gap in knowledge and understanding of the phenomena can be seen to possibly overcome in the coming years. The political history of Pakistan reveals the influential and revolutionary role of student’s politics in the country affair. Two factors always influenced the students politics in Pakistan i.e. oppression by the state and the issue of

⁸¹ United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights. <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>

corruption of politicians and political parties. Both the factors shaped and reshaped youth student's politics to increase violence or decrease of student's movements. The history of students union can be found even before the creation of Pakistan. Due to active student bodies of 50s and 60s, downfall of Ayub regime has been countersigned. In 1970, where leftist student groups were gave rise to Z. A. Bhutto mission, while the rightist student groups, were instrumental and active in downfall of his government. The ban on students union by Zia regime has severally affected the role of youth-students involvement in the politics of the country.

Student's active role can be seen in Musharraf period, whereas they actively participated in the protests-rallies against his dictator government, and challenged his anti-democratic policies.

The lifting of ban on students union in 2008 by PPP gives a new strength to students union and they raised their voice against the civilian leadership who don't meet the aspiration of the people.

3.4 Challenges/Problems of Civil Society and Youth Political Participation in Pakistan

As we explained previously, we attribute only a rather weak position to civil society in Pakistan, in daily social and political life. This can be demonstrated by the fact that, in many cases, it is always foreign NGOs (experts from different European, American and other Western institutions) that are asked for advice when it comes to develop new solutions to problems, or, overall, when it comes to providing expertise. Pakistanis civil society itself still seems to lack the authority necessary to assert and show its role in the face of these foreign organizations / institutions.

Pakistanis CSOs are apparently not yet in a position to solve their problems and make an active contribution to charting the course of the country's development and democratization. Pakistanis civil society does not seem to (yet) have sufficient confidence, although it shows, on different occasions, more local knowledge and knowledge about the country, compared to experts from outside. What is the origin of this lack of confidence and this overall weakness in the position of Pakistanis civil society organizations? If we conducted a survey today to ask people in Pakistan, what they mean by "civil society", and how they would describe its role, there would probably be

rather a majority of questioning looks or a simple shrug of the shoulders as an answer. Indeed, it is rare that someone can correctly answer the questions: "Civil society, who is it or what is it really?" And what exactly is it doing? "Regarding concrete political actions and events, above all, the population often does not understand what role civil society would have to play in these circumstances.

This ignorance is obviously the result of the lack of assertiveness of the organizations to which we alluded above, because a civil society, whose action is neither visible nor comprehensible to society, cannot have the consideration of the population, at large. And yet it is on this consideration that its existence depends, because, in the end, an organized civil society comes from the population and defends its interest's vis-à-vis the state and the economic sector. But if it does so only in theory or behind closed doors, that is to say that its messages are difficult, if not impossible to decode for the people, no confidence can be established. Civil society in Pakistan must therefore work on a sharper profile and better lend itself to the game of public personality. It must assert its presence vis-à-vis the State, and above all, in public, determine, assert and explain its positions. This is the only way to build a position of strength sufficient to build a valid counterweight against the power of the state

First, in this context, we must recognize and deplore the lack of assertiveness of several civil society groups. As we have already described, civil society plays the role, in the ideal situation, of a counterweight to the State, as a neutral and independent actor. As a counterweight, it critically judges both the actions and the general political decisions of the government, in order to finally take a position.

In Pakistan, this understanding of the role to be played has so far been little developed and the role has been poorly fulfilled. It is often observed that, even following a political decision by the government, no judgment or simple reaction is issued, even by civil society organizations which deal with the specific themes addressed. Thus, no equivalent force capable of opposing the state can be formed. In addition, this behavior reinforces another problem: that of the consideration of civil society among the population.

In all cases, the establishment of lasting coalitions between organizations dealing with the same themes would favor the construction of such a position of strength. Through this kind of

network, the work of NGOs could be designed more efficiently and gain more influence, in the long term, thanks to very specific fields of action within the poles of cooperation. The division of a global theme into various fields of action would allow the emergence of specialists on very concrete and well-defined themes. Such specialists would be easier for the public and the government to identify dialogue partners. In addition, a well-established network of coalitions of organizations would represent a greater force of opposition to the state and the economic sector - unlike countless organizations acting independently and in isolation from one another. And as we have already said: there are still very large gaps in this area of joint work in Pakistan.

Another factor that does not facilitate the integration of Pakistan CSO in decision-making processes is the lack of acceptance within the government. Indeed, it is not yet planned in this research work to consult CSO to advise the government on new projects, or to take advantage of their expertise. This often seems paradoxical, since the interests of government and civil society generally go in the same direction and could be protected more effectively, if government and civil society learned to work together. And yet, CSO continue to be considered as adversaries, presenting themselves as permanent opponents, to whom the right to speak should not be given too much. To still be able to participate in the decision-making process, several organizations then choose to build a coalition with the government, instead of working with their natural partners. They thus lose their primordial quality of independence and can no longer really assume the role of neutral and independent actor, hence, overall, a greater weakening of civil society.

In addition to these problems, which are all linked to the understanding of roles, as well as to their execution, there are still other difficulties, which significantly influence the work of civil society organizations in Pakistan and make it more difficult.

One of the biggest difficulties that civil society organizations are facing in Pakistan has to do with their funding. Almost majority of CSO including local NGOs have virtually no equity. They therefore cannot even have offices or work materials, let alone salaries for their employees. Often organizations operate entirely from private funds and hold their planning meetings in places made available to them by private individuals. This further leads to a further weakening of their position. Indeed, for very practical reasons, an organization without a concrete headquarters hardly leaves a good impression of professionalism with possible cooperation partners, who will find it difficult to trust them.

In addition, NGOs are very limited in their work and their possibilities. They have no means of carrying out their projects in real sense, because volunteerism in Pakistan is rarely existed rather than foreign NGOs members just working for getting the salaries, and rarely available in the eras where they needed to reach the masses at large. Fundraising at the start of each project takes a lot of work time. Theoretically, there are various promotion programs, which should financially support the work of NGOs. But in practice, the provision of these funds rarely goes without problem and on time.

CHAPTER-4

RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter comprises important aspects of research design for conducting the study. Mixed methods research was applied to this research study. Mixed method research is the combination or association of both qualitative and quantitative approaches, to inquiry the more complex issues. So here in this thesis a mixed method study comprising a qualitative interview and quantitative survey- questionnaire was applied.

The quantitative survey questionnaire was used to collect data regarding youth political participation, while a qualitative interview was conducted from the members of various CSOs regarding its role in facilitating political participation of youth in Pakistan. Both these approaches discuss population, Sample and sampling techniques for each method.

4.1 Mixed Methods Research

In this research work I used the mixed methods research of Johnson et al., noted: “Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e. g., use of qualitative and

quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.”⁸²

a. Justification of Mixed Methods Research Approach

Keeping in view the nature and demand of the study, a mixed method technique is more suitable to understand the problem. The “mixed method research is defined an approach to knowledge (both theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple perspective, viewpoints, stand points of qualitative and quantitative” research. Johnson and Anthony, noted: “Mixed methods research also is an attempt to legitimate the use of multiple approaches in answering research questions, rather than restricting or constraining researchers' choices (i.e., it rejects dogmatism). It is an expansive and creative form of research, not a limiting form of research. It is inclusive, pluralistic, and complementary, and it suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection and the thinking about and conduct of research.”⁸³

According to Creswell and Clark, mixed method research is “the combination of methods provides a better understanding than either quantitative methods or qualitative methods alone.”⁸⁴ To provide better understanding of an issue, problem, or phenomenon, the mixed method approach to research is used to gather, examine, and integrate both the qualitative and quantitative methods. The mixed method approach to this study allows both qualitative and quantitative data to supplement each other and permit for analysis, by taking advantages of the each technique.

b. Concurrent Triangulation Design of mixed method

The Concurrent Triangulation Design is one of the types of mixed method research. It is selected for this study to assimilate two different methods of quantitative and qualitative, an

⁸² R. Burke Johnson, J. Onwuegbuzie, and Lisa A. Turner, “Towards a definition of Mixed Method Research”, *Journal of Mixed Method Research* 1, no. 12 (April 2007), 123 (112-133). http://eshare.edgehill.ac.uk/14104/1/Toward_a_Definition_of_Mixed_Methods_Research_Jour.pdf

⁸³ R. Burke Johnson and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, “Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time has come”, *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 7 (Oct. 2004): 14-26.

⁸⁴ John W. Creswell and Vicki L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (Los Angeles: Sage Publication, 2011), 282.

attempt to confirm the cross validity and finding within a single research study. The concurrent design usually integrates the result of the two methods (quantitative and qualitative) in the interpretation phase. Such interpretation consists of the convergence of findings as a way to strengthen the claims or explain and lack of convergence that may result.⁸⁵

Both survey and interview were conducted concurrently. The concurrent data collection allows researcher to converge both qualitative and quantitative data to provide a more comprehensive insight into the construct of the study. Under the procedure the researcher collected both forms of data at the same time and integrate the finding while describing the overall results of this research work. On one hand the quantitative approach was applied to test theories and concepts, while on other, researcher interviewed civil society organizations members/experts, in order to comprehensively explore the problem.

This study consisted of three main objectives:

- To examine the role of CSOs in Pakistan.
- To analyze the political participation of youth in Pakistan.
- To explore the role of CSOs in facilitating/enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan.

In order to achieve the first objective of the study, the qualitative face-to-face interviews have been conducted from the members of CSOs, based in Islamabad.

For the second objective of this study, the researcher has conducted self-administered quantitative survey with the youth of four federal universities.

For the third objectives both survey and interviews techniques were integrated in order to get the clear picture of the research problem and finding of this research work.

4. 2 The Population

⁸⁵ Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie, eds., *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research* (California: Sage Publication, 2011), 229.

Population is well-defined and specific collection of individuals, objects or case of a large group out of which a researcher drawn the sample. The population of this thesis for both quantitative survey and qualitative interview; is four capital university Islamabad based.

4.3 Quantitative Research Method

The quantitative research method has been used by researcher to address the research questions. Its employs modes of inquiry such as survey in which instrument of collect date was used for statistical analysis. In this way the researcher achieve the objectives, measure the variable and find answer of research questions and hypothesis of intended research work.

a. Survey

Survey are widely used in quantitative research method to collect data in social sciences to describe the self reported characteristics, and opinion of the people. In a single Survey, a researcher usually inquires about many things and tries to examine variables and address hypothesis in a single survey. (Neuman 2006). To get information about public opinion, survey is considered the most important technique of research. Due to the nature of this research work, survey was conducted to get the opinion of youth regarding political participation and its engagement with the CSOs. The role of CSOs in facilitating political participation of youth was also thus inquired in this way.

b. Questionnaire (Measurement Instrument)

To find answers to research questions of this study, the researcher devised a quantitative survey instrument in the form of questionnaire. The research questions of this study have been operationalized by researcher into several statements in the questionnaire. All the three questions of this research work have been addressed in the study, in a comprehensive way.

c. Convenient Sampling Technique

In the statistical analyses of an issues, problem or phenomenon, sampling is usually taken from the larger population, to estimate characteristic of the whole population. For this study, Convenient Sampling Technique (also known availability sampling) has been used to collect data. Convenient Sample is basically the type of non-probability sampling method, to collect data from

the members of the population who are easily available to participate in a study. This particular sampling method involve information from individuals of the population wherever you can find them and wherever is convenient to approach.

The researcher has adopted the Convenient Sampling method from four federal capital universities students, the Quaid-e-Azam University, International Islamic University, Allama Iqbal Open University and National University of Modern Languages. The youth students of all these four federal capital universities are from all the regions of Pakistan.

The focus of this study is concentrated on the youth of Pakistan. Therefore, researcher has considered the definition of youth in the Pakistani context age ranged from 18 to 29. Two hundred 200 questionnaires were distributed and the data was collected by using the Convenient Sampling Technique.

c. Quantitative data analysis procedure

Data from 200 respondents was entered into SPSS for analysis. The researcher has distinctly measure the association between variables; the Civil Society Organization and Youth Political Participation.

d. Qualitative Data Analysis

Keeping in view of this research study main focus, to explore the role of CSOs in facilitating/enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan, interview were conducted with 10 leading CSOs members based in Islamabad.

4.4 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research is a type of scientific method of observation, to gather non-numerical data of an issue, problem or phenomena. In such type of research the concept or problem is investigating. It is used to answer to particular questions, used a certain type of procedures to

answer the question, collect evidences, and producing finding. Qualitative research method are mostly appropriate for a situation where little is known about the problem, and attempt are being made to generate new thinking, ideas through fieldwork in an organized way. This type of research is more effective to identify intangible factors about human and society i.e. social norms, gender issues, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, and the beliefs, emotions, and behaviors of individual or society. In qualitative research, participant observation, focus groups, and in-depth interviews are the most common methods of data collection.

a. Interview

In-depth interview is the most common, effective and powerful way of qualitative research method. In this research work, in-depth interview method/technique of the qualitative research has been used to get information from the relevant bodies and individuals associated with CSOs. In order to achieve the first and third objectives of the study, the qualitative face-to-face interviews have been conducted from the members of CSOs and associated individual, based in Islamabad i.e., Youth Parliament Pakistan, Barghad Organization for Youth Development, PILDAT (Youth Parliament), College of Youth Activism (CAAYAD), UNDP Policy development Project, Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, Youth Front Pakistan, Youth Engagement Service Network, Voice of Young's Welfare and Development Society. To measure the concept and explore the role of CSOs in facilitating/enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan, the in-depth interview was conducted.

b. Thematic Analysis Technique

The thematic analysis technique for analyzing the qualitative interview was used by researcher. Thematic analysis technique helped researcher to identify various themes of this study, to address the research questions. Researcher has transcribed all the data collected from Interview. Before going to analysis the whole data was read again and again in order to be clearer about the data and its relations with the objectives of the study. All the themes were reviewed and modified to interlink with the main themes or research question, of the study. In the final stage the researcher wrote up the final analysis of the data in a comprehensive way.

Summary

This chapter explained the research design of the study that a mixed method approach of both qualitative and quantitative has been adopted to conduct this research work. A total of 200 respondents from 4 federal capital universities of Pakistan were sampled in a quantitative survey, to measure the political participation of youth and there connection with CSOs. Beside, a total 10 interviews were conducted with the members of CSOs based in Islamabad with the aim of understanding the role of CSOs in facilitating/enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan. Both survey and Interviews gave researcher a detail picture of the issues under investigation.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter is about the analysis and findings of the methodology implied to conduct this research study. This chapter is divided into two sections i.e. section 5.1 deals with the finding and analysis of the quantitative part of the study while section 5.2 deals with analysis of the qualitative interview conducted from the members of the CSOs working on the youth political participation.

To find answers to research questions of this study, the researcher devised a quantitative survey instrument in the form of questionnaire. The research questions of this study have been operationalized by researcher into several statements in the questionnaire. The researcher has adopted the Convenient Sampling method from four federal capital universities students, the

Quaid-i-Azam University, International Islamic University, Allama Iqbal Open University and National University of Modern Languages. The students of all these four federal capital universities are from all the regions of Pakistan.

The focus of this study is concentrated on the role of CSOs in promoting youth political participation in Pakistan. Therefore, researcher has considered the definition of youth in the Pakistani context age ranged from 18 to 29. Two hundred (200) questionnaires were distributed and the data was collected by using the Convenient Sampling Technique. Data from 200 respondents was entered into SPSS for analysis. In this chapter the result of survey has been interpreted.

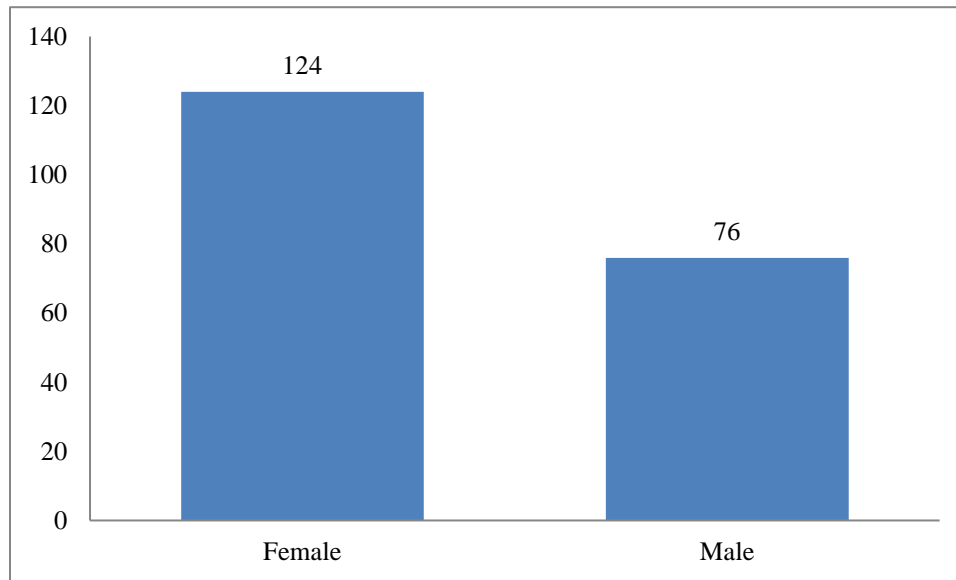
5.1 Survey Result (Finding and Analysis of the Quantitative Part of the Study)

This part of the thesis presents the finding/result of the quantitative survey. The finding includes the frequency of the patterns of role of CSOs and the political participation of youth in Pakistan. This quantitative part of the study shows those correlations of CSOs and political participation of youth in Pakistan.

Table 1: Gender of the Respondent of the Survey

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	124	62.0	62.0	62.0
Male	76	38.0	38.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 1

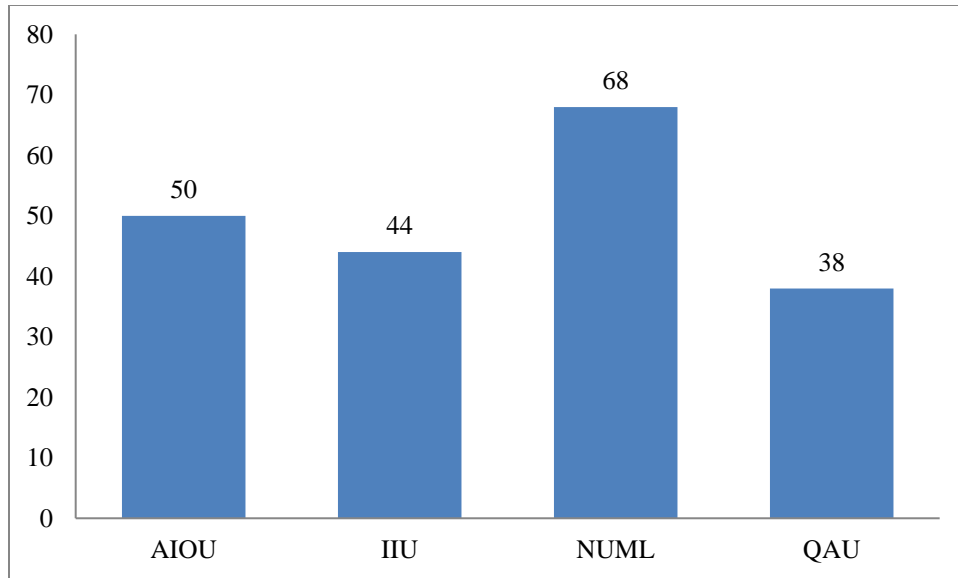


Table/Figure 1 suggests that out of 200 respondents who were selected through Convenient Sampling method 62 percent (124) were female while 38 percent (76) were males.

Table 2: Respondent of the Survey from four federal universities

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
AIOU	50	25.0	25.0	25.0
IU	44	22.0	22.0	47.0
NUML	68	34.0	34.0	81.0
QAU	38	19.0	19.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 2

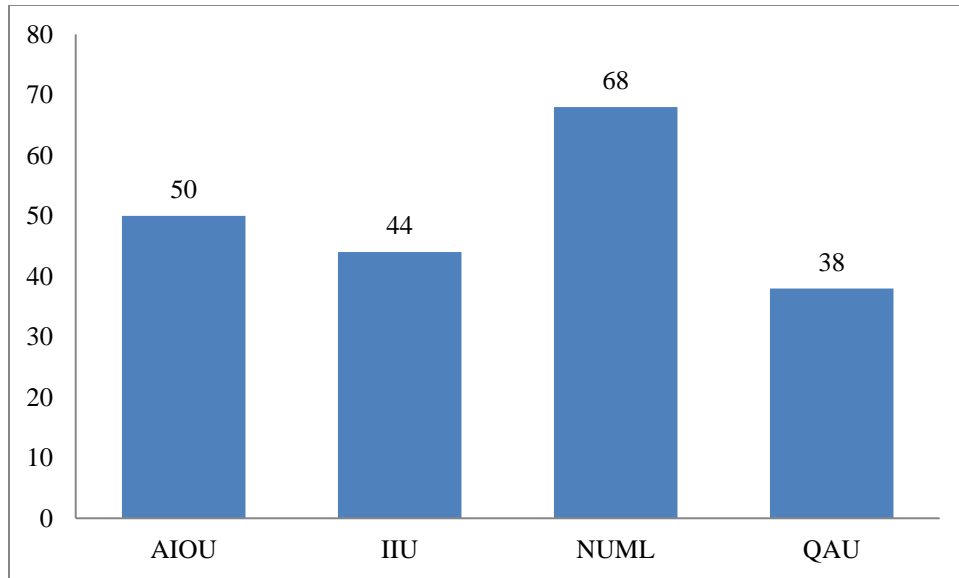


Table/Figure 2 shows that out of 200 respondent 25% (50) students from Allama Iqbal University, 19% (38) respondents from Quaid-i-Azam University, 22% (44) respondents from International Islamic University, and 34% (68) respondents from National University of Modern Languages participated in the survey.

Table 3: Qualification of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
FA	82	41.0	41.0	41.0
BA/BSc/BS	116	58.0	58.0	99.0
MA/MSc	2	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 3

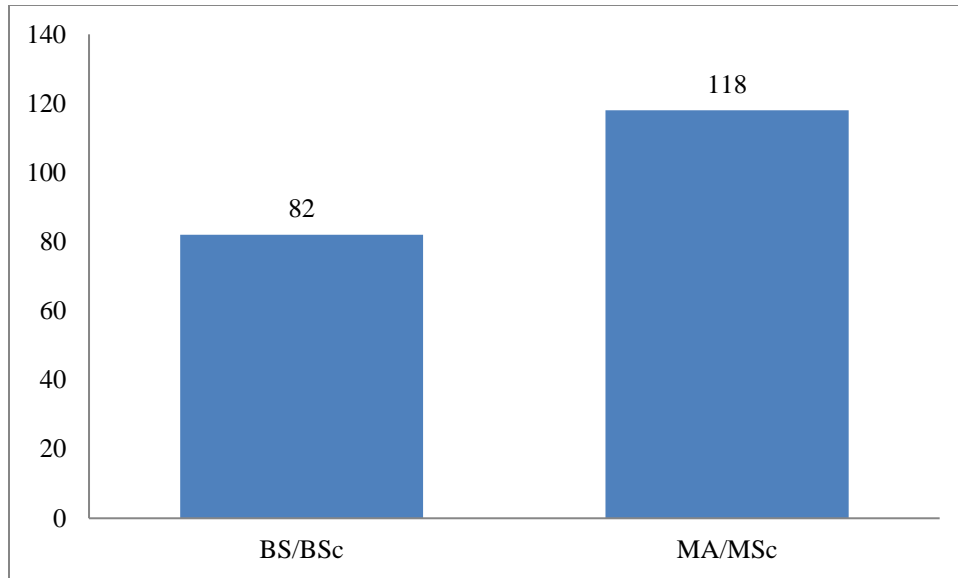


Table/Figure 3 shows, that out of 200 respondents the qualification of 41 percent (82) students were intermediate (F.A. FSC), 58 percent (116) students qualification was graduations (BA, BSc, BS) and only 1 percent (2) qualification was MA/MSc.

Table 4: Enrollment Program of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
BS/BSc	82	41.0	41.0	41.0
MA/MSc	118	59.0	59.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4

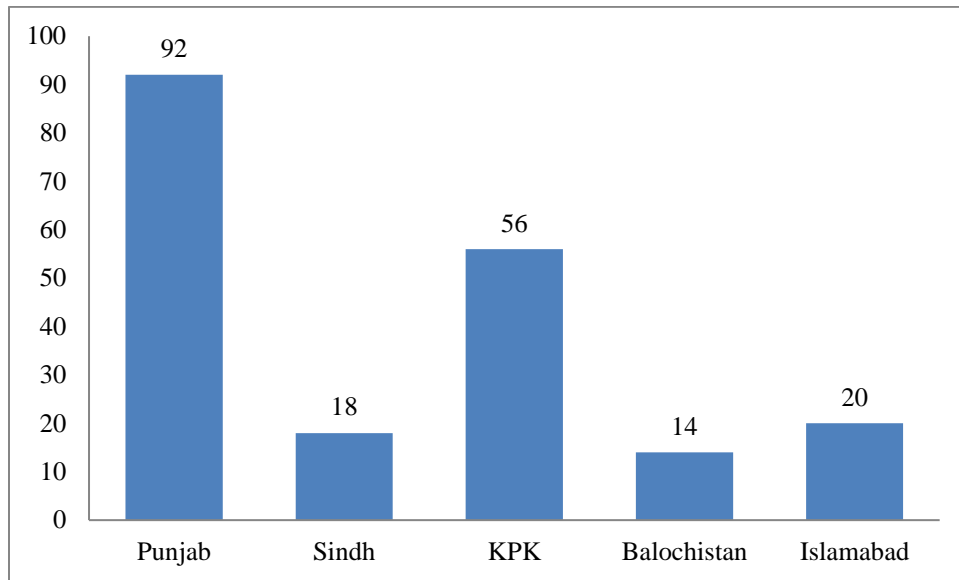


Table/Figure 4 shows that out of 200 respondents 41% (82) are enrolled in BS/BSc program while the majority of the respondents 59% (118) students are enrolled in MA/MSc programs in the four federal universities of Pakistan.

Table 5: Respondents Birth Province

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Punjab	92	46.0	46.0	46.0
Sindh	18	9.0	9.0	55.0
KPK	56	28.0	28.0	83.0
Balochistan	14	7.0	7.0	90.0
Islamabad	20	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 5

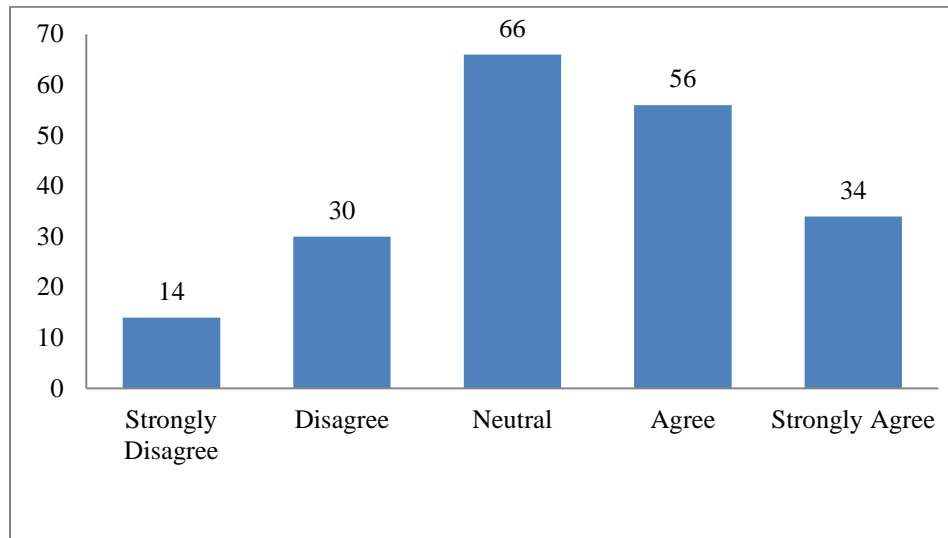


Table/Figure 5 shows that the 200 respondents of the survey birth place were across the whole country. The majority (46%) respondents were from the province of Punjab, 92 out of 200. 28% (56) respondents belongs to Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, 9% (18) from Sindh, 7% (14) from Balochistan while 10% (20) respondents were from the federal capital Islamabad.

Table 6: CSO's creating political awareness among the youth of Pakistan

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	14	7.0	7.0	7.0
Disagree	30	15.0	15.0	22.0
Neutral	66	33.0	33.0	55.0
Agree	56	28.0	28.0	83.0
Strongly Agree	34	17.0	17.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6

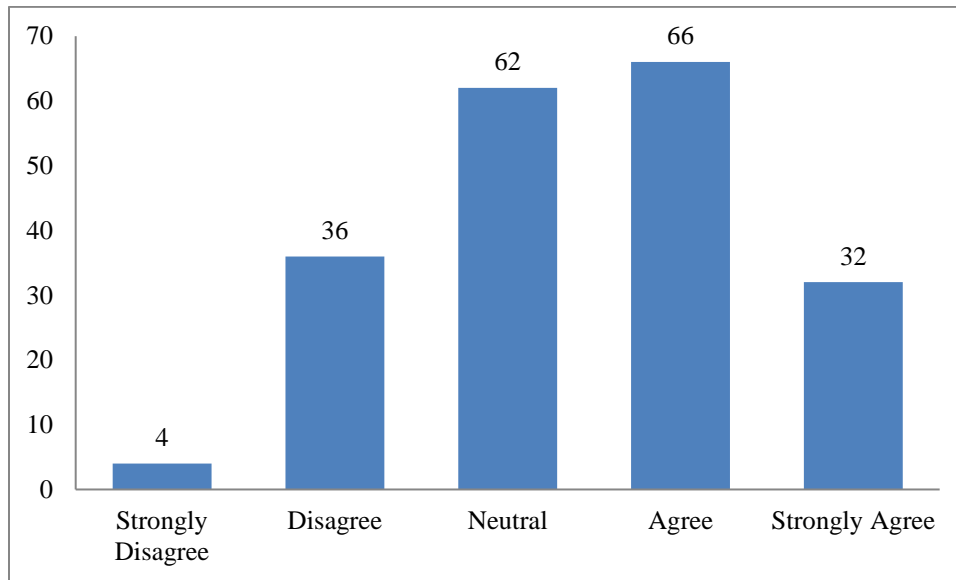


Table/Figure 6 is about the role of Civil Society Organizations in creating political awareness among the youth of Pakistan. The result presented in the table indicates that out of 200 respondents, 34 (17%) respondents strongly agreed that CSOs are creating political awareness among the youth of Pakistan, followed by 56 (28%) of the respondents who agreed while majority of the respondents 66 (33%) remained neutral. However 30 (15%) respondents disagree while 14 (7%) respondents are strongly disagree that CSOs are creating any type of political awareness among the youth of Pakistan.

Table 7: CSOs are promoting youth political participation in Pakistan

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	4	2.0	2.0	2.0
Disagree	36	18.0	18.0	20.0
Neutral	62	31.0	31.0	51.0
Agree	66	33.0	33.0	84.0
Strongly Agree	32	16.0	16.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 7

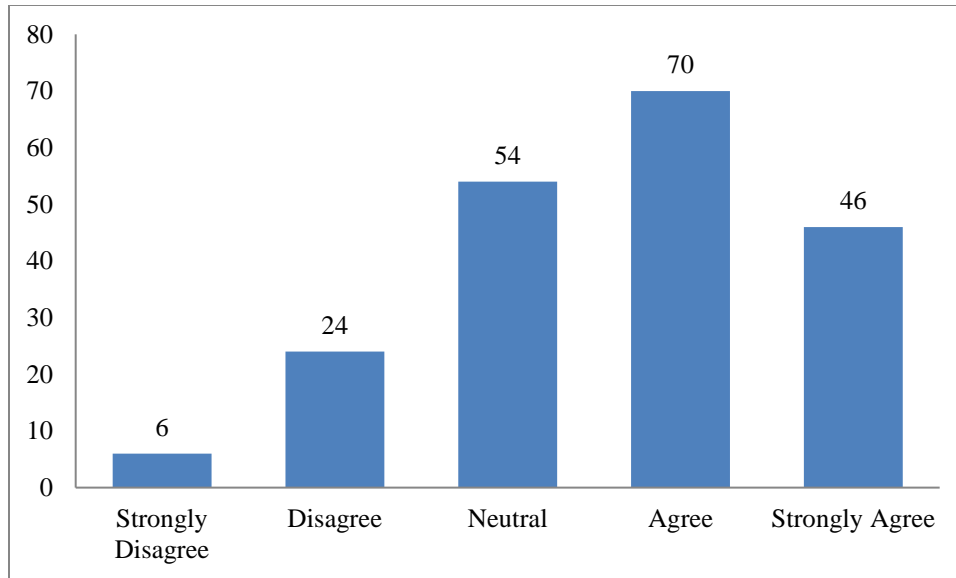


Table/Figure 7 illustrates the role of CSOs in promoting youth political participation in Pakistan. The result of shows that that out of 200 respondents, 66 (33%) agree to the notion that Civil Society Organizations are promoting the political participation of young people in Pakistan. 16% respondents strongly agree, while 31% remained neutral. Only 4 (2%) respondents strongly disagree while 18% disagree that CSOs is promoting youth political participation in Pakistan.

Table 8: CSOs motivate youth to engage with a particular party

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	10	5.0	5.0	5.0
Disagree	34	17.0	17.0	22.0
Neutral	64	32.0	32.0	54.0
Agree	78	39.0	39.0	93.0
Strongly Agree	14	7.0	7.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 8

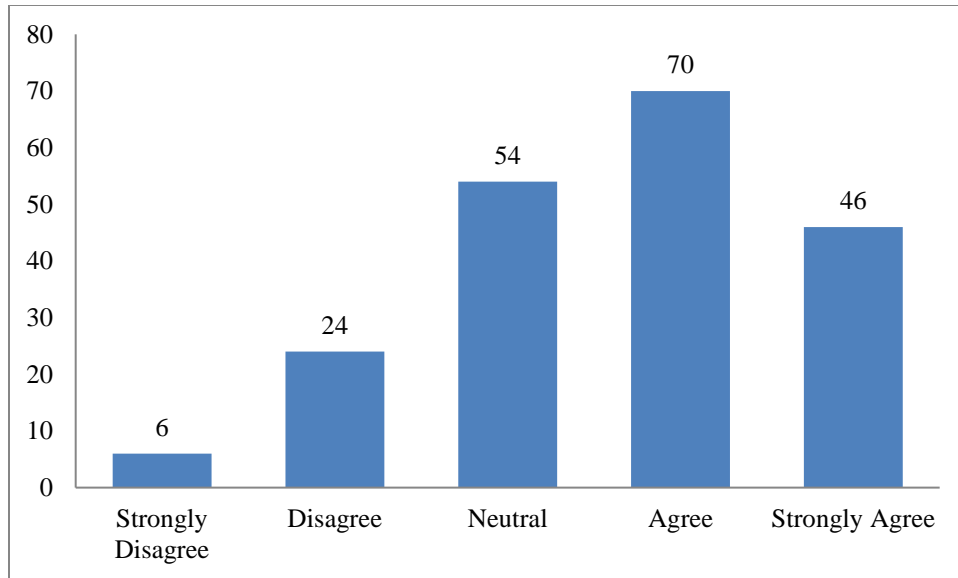


The result of the above Table/Figure 8 demonstrate that CSOs are highly influential to motivate the youth of Pakistan to engage with any particular party as they wish. 39% respondents agree to the notion while 7% strongly agreed. Out of 200 respondents 64 (32%) remained neutral. On the contrary 17% disagree and just 5% strongly disagree that CSOs in motivating youth to affiliate with a particular party. There are total 120 to 182 political parties in Pakistan, and the majority of the people of Pakistan are affiliated to these political parties.

Table 9: CSOs role to aware the youth about their political rights

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	6	3.0	3.0	3.0
Disagree	34	17.0	17.0	20.0
Neutral	82	41.0	41.0	61.0
Agree	60	30.0	30.0	91.0
Strongly Agree	18	9.0	9.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 9

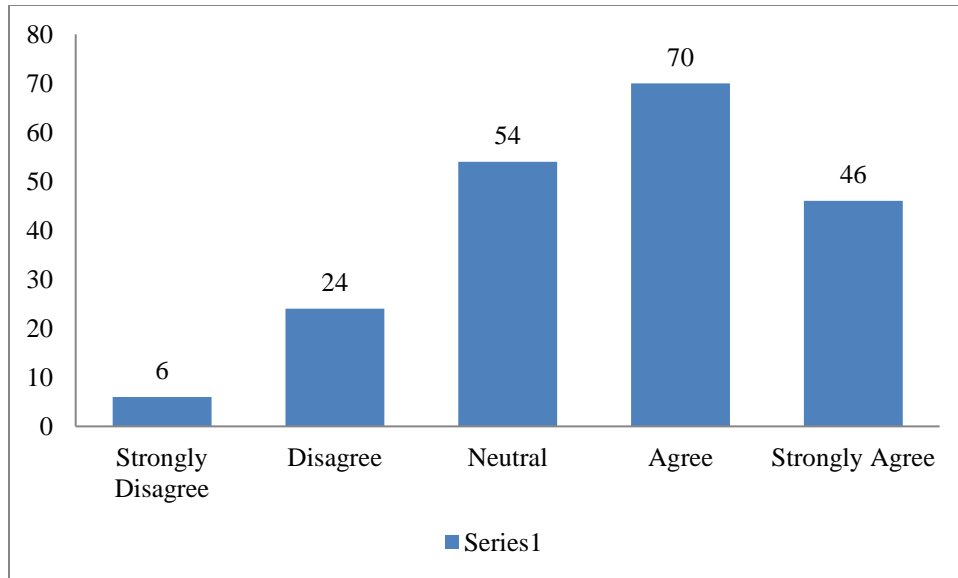


Table/Figure 9 shows the role of CSOs too aware the youth of Pakistan about their political rights. The majority of the respondents (41%) remained neutral, while 30% respondents agreed and 9% strongly agreed that CSO is playing its role to aware the youth of Pakistan about their political rights. Though 17% disagree and only 3% strongly disagree about the notion. The result of the table also shows that the majority of the respondents are aware of their political right which is one the fundamental rights of the people of Pakistan.

Table 10: CSOs encourage youth to participate in political activities

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	6	3.0	3.0	3.0
Disagree	20	10.0	10.0	13.0
Neutral	80	40.0	40.0	53.0
Agree	74	37.0	37.0	90.0
Strongly Agree	20	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 10

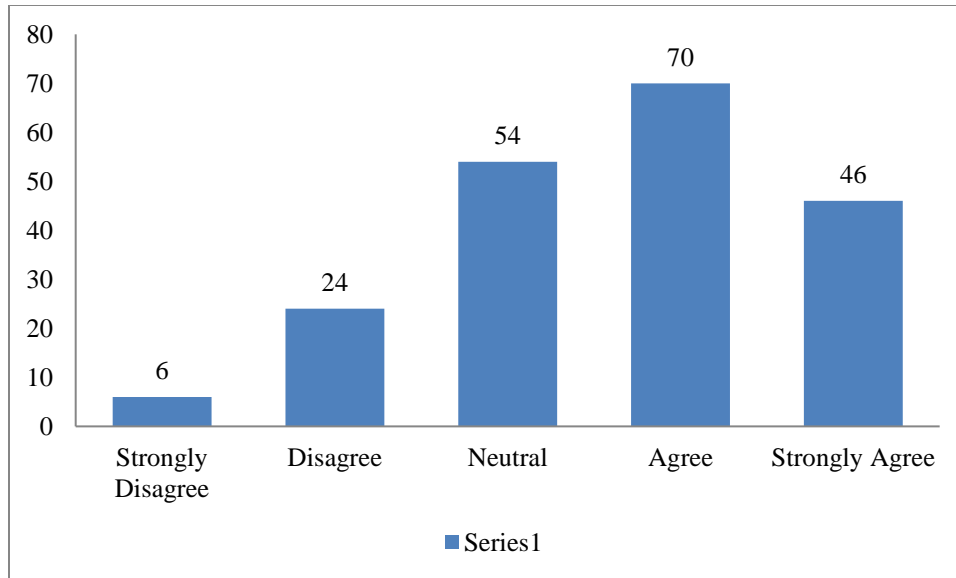


The findings of Table/Figure 10 revealed that CSOs role in encouraging the youth of Pakistan in participating in the political activities is highly influential. Out of 200 respondents almost half of the respondents agreed (74 agree, 20 strongly agree) that the role of Civil Society in encouraging the youngsters of Pakistan is affective. Only 10% disagree while 3% strongly disagree. However 40% of the respondents remained neutral to the notion.

Table 11: CSOs encourage youth to participate in political gathering

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	6	3.0	3.0	3.0
Disagree	22	11.0	11.0	14.0
Neutral	92	46.0	46.0	60.0
Agree	58	29.0	29.0	89.0
Strongly Agree	22	11.0	11.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 11

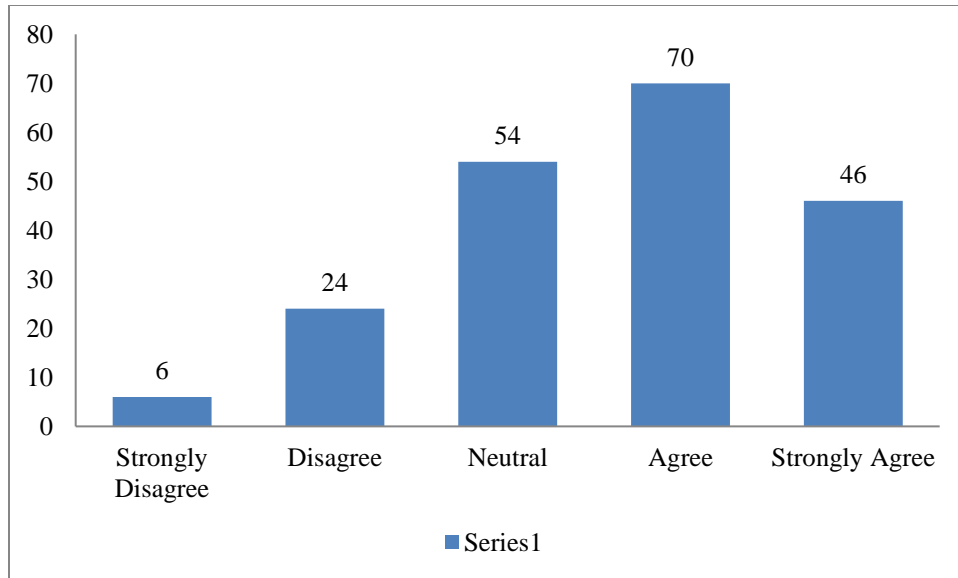


Table/Figure 11 illustrate that majority of the respondents almost half (92 out of 200) remained neutral that CSOs is encouraging the youth of Pakistan to participate in political gathering. 58 respondents agreed while 22 strongly agree to the notion. Though 22 (11%) of the respondents disagree while only 3% strongly disagreed. Political gathering is a popular culture in Pakistan, and those young people affiliated to any political parties are usually participated in the political gathering of their respective political parties. The result of the above table is supporting this notion.

Table 12: CSOs encourage youth to participate in peaceful protest

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	16	8.0	8.0	8.0
Disagree	14	7.0	7.0	15.0
Neutral	50	25.0	25.0	40.0
Agree	90	45.0	45.0	85.0
Strongly Agree	30	15.0	15.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 12

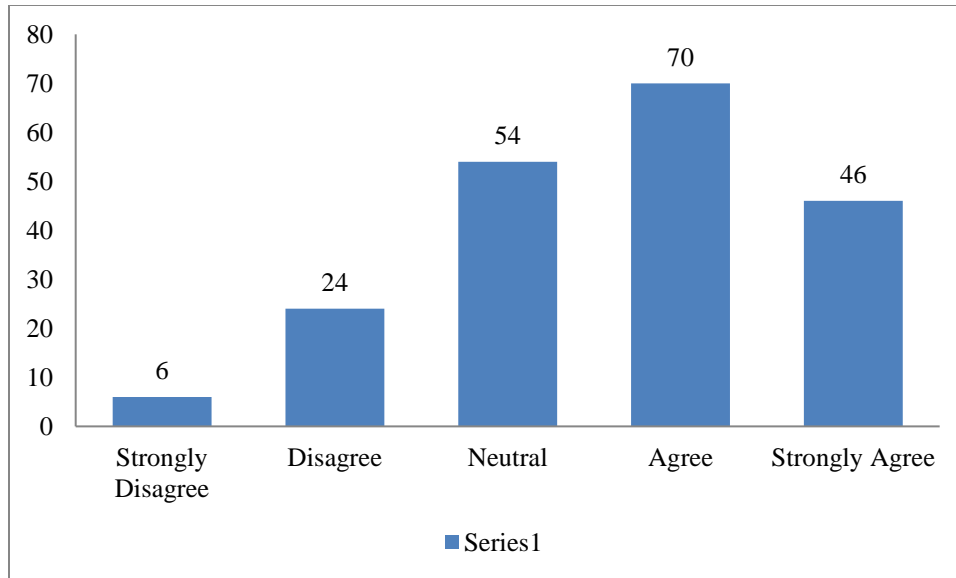


Apart from freedom of assembly and freedom of expression, the right to peaceful protest is crucial in any democratic system. The role of CSOs in encouraging the youth of Pakistan in the peaceful protest was evaluated through the above table only 7% and 8% of the respondents were disagreeing and strongly disagree to the notion, while 25% (50 out of 200) respondents remained neutral. The result shows that more than half of the respondents (90 agreed, 30 strongly agreed) agreed to the question, that civil society is playing its role to encourage the youth of Pakistan to participate in the peaceful protest.

Table 13: CSOs motivate people to cast their vote

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	4	2.0	2.0	2.0
Disagree	30	15.0	15.0	17.0
Neutral	46	23.0	23.0	40.0
Agree	90	45.0	45.0	85.0
Strongly Agree	30	15.0	15.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 13

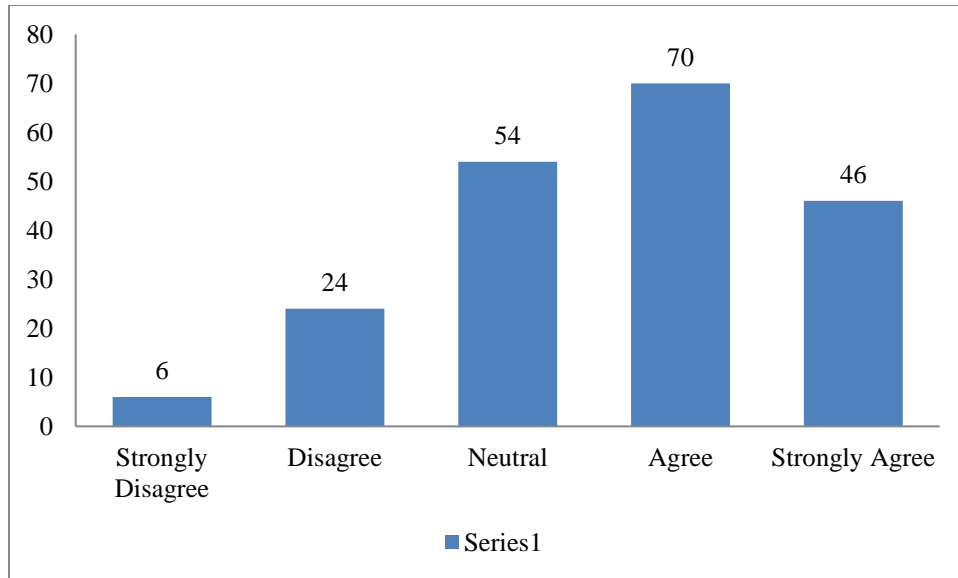


Table/Figure 13 illustrate that more than half (110 out of 200) of the respondents are agreed (15% strongly agree, 45% agree), that CSOs is motivating the people of Pakistan and especially the youth to caste vote and participate in promoting the democratic culture of Pakistan. However, 23% of the respondents remained neutral, 15% disagree, while 2% strongly disagree. the result of the table shows that casting vote in elections is one of the most important elements of the citizen to participate in promoting the democratic system of the country. The youth of Pakistan are well aware of importance of their vote, and are usually motivated by various CSOs to caste vote as illustrated in the table/figure.

Table 14: CSO's can be influential to change the political structure of Pakistan

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	10	5.0	5.0	5.0
Disagree	14	7.0	7.0	12.0
Neutral	90	45.0	45.0	57.0
Agree	46	23.0	23.0	80.0
Strongly Agree	40	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 14

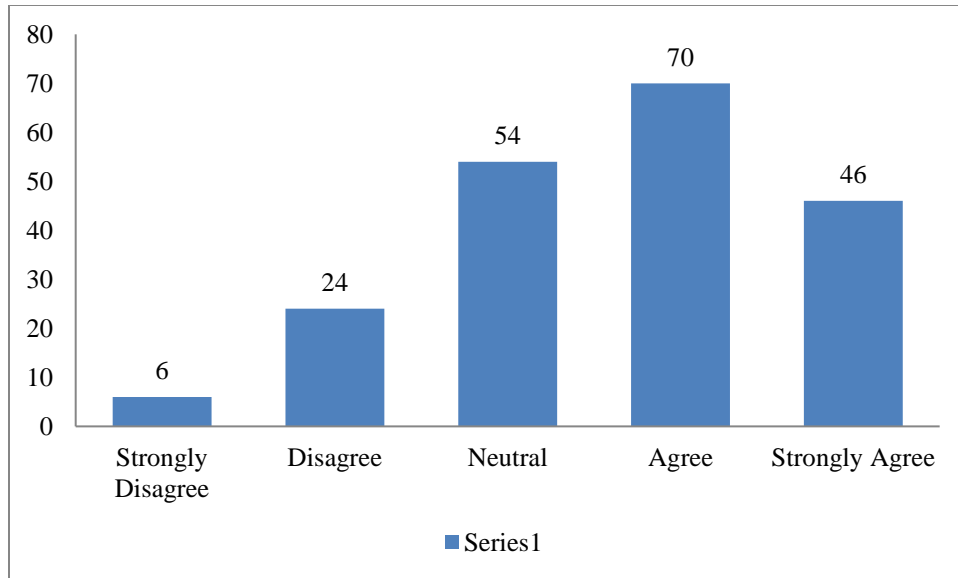


Table/Figure 14 shows that majority of the respondents are agreed to the notion that the role of CSOs to change the political structure of Pakistan is crucial. Out of 200 respondents, 46 agreed while 40 strongly agreed to the notion. However a great number of the respondents remained neutral to questions that CSOs role might be influential to change the political-democratic structure of Pakistan. Only a small percentage of the respondents (7%, and 5%), remained disagree and strongly disagree that CSOs can play any role to change the political system of Pakistan.

Table 15: CSOs role in strengthening democracy in Pakistan

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	6	3.0	3.0	3.0
Disagree	24	12.0	12.0	15.0
Neutral	54	27.0	27.0	42.0
Agree	70	35.0	35.0	77.0
Strongly Agree	46	23.0	23.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 15



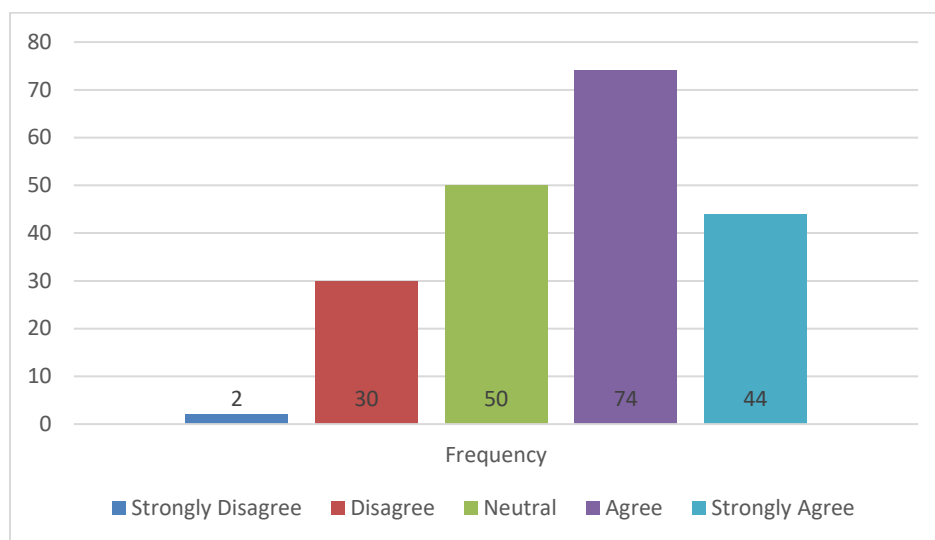
A large percentage of the respondents showed in the above table/figure, that the role of CSOs is very important to strengthening democracy in Pakistan. Out of 200 respondents, 70 (35%) agree while 46 (23%) strongly agree to the notion. 27% of the respondents remained neutral, 12% of the respondents disagree while only 3% strongly disagree that CSOs role is important to strengthening democracy in Pakistan.

Table 16 (Overall Summary):

Role of CSOs and Political Participation of Youth in Pakistan

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	2	1.0	1.0	1.0
Disagree	30	15.0	15.0	16.0
Neutral	50	25.0	25.0	41.0
Agree	74	37.0	37.0	78.0
Strongly Agree	44	22.0	22.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Figure 16



Table/Figure 16 is about the overall finding regarding the role of Civil Society Organizations in creating, enhancing and promoting Youth political participation in Pakistan. The result indicates that out of 200 respondents, 74 (37%) respondents agreed, 44 (22%) strongly agreed, and 50 (25%) remained neutral that CSOs, are creating, enhancing and promoting Youth political participation in Pakistan. However out of 200 respondents only 2 (1%) strongly disagree and 30 (15%) of the respondents disagree that CSOs are engaging in promoting political participation in Pakistan.

5.2 Findings/Analysis of the Qualitative Interview from CSOs Members

In this section researcher presents the finding of the interviews conducted from the mainstream CSOs members to insure the connection between CSOs and political participation and the role of CSOs in promoting youth political participation in Pakistan. Members of CSOs i.e., Youth Parliament Pakistan, Barghad Organization for Youth Development, PILDAT (Youth Parliament), College of Youth Activism (CAAYAD), UNDP Policy development Project, Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, Youth Front Pakistan, Youth Engagement Service Network, Voice of Young's Welfare and Development Society, were interviewed. The members of CSOs were asked to explain the connection between CSOs and political participation of youth in Pakistan. They were also asked to give their viewpoint about the role of CSOs in Pakistan society in general and in particular its contribution to aware and enhance youth political participation in Pakistan. These finding of

the qualitative interview were generated while applying the thematic analysis of collected interview.

1. Connection between CSOs and Political Participation of Youth

The majority of the CSOs members who were interview agreed that there is a strong connection between CSOs and the political participation of youth. Both CSO and Youth are raising awareness amongst the citizen to know their rights and work hard to achieve those rights from the government. CSOs connected the community and politically motivated youth. CSOs provides platform for the youth, to rise by educating them and participate in the political activities. Though there is a connection between CSO and youth political participation because CSO like youth parliament are catalyst in youth policy formation but these policies never forward in assembly or parliament rather discarded plus at union level there is limited seats for youth in politics which is attached with women seats as well.

2. CSOs Creating Youth Political Awareness

Majority of the CSOs members endorsed that creating political awareness is solely lie with political parties rather than CSOs, but when political parties leaving spaces by not doing anything for the youth, then CSO usually come forward to fill the gap. But the question how many CSOs are there in creating political awareness, many CSOs are performing their social role so we can say that mostly CSOs are less involving in creating youth political awareness. To elaborate their political role, sometimes CSOs arrange workshops, seminars for the youth. In any democratic country like Pakistan the role of CSOs is accountability and advocacy on government end to force them to play their role.

3. CSOs Fostering Youth Political Participation

Majority of the members acknowledged that that CSOs are promoting and enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan, by incentivizing them and bringing in interesting ideas, making them ponder over those as a food for thought and trying to implement it. However they agreed that the role of CSOs in promoting and enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan is limited. Politics cover all elements of society but CSO mostly filling the gapes of social issues and problem which state and machinery unable to deal. Political parties and government is responsible to work

on this paradigm of political participation of youth while CSOs major concern is dealing social and economic issues.

4. CSOs Awareness of Youth Political Rights

Mostly the respondents showed their consensus that CSOs is playing its role to aware the youth about their political rights, but their role is limited. These organizations are usually arranging seminars in different societies as well as by going to universities or through messages spread through social media. One of the respondent said “one CSO I need to mention is PYC (Pakistan Youth Council). It arranges programs once a week on radio and aware youth related to political issues happens in a whole week and make discussion and aware youth. But the impact is limited. Though many other CSO like youth parliament etc. are doing excellent, the polices they suggesting are just goes into bin. Instead if any political party or political institution is doing this role, then that has some impact, they can be heard but in case of CSO it is not possible for putting positive impact on society generally. Rather in my opinion CSO must raise voice against government for not fulfilling their role of creating political awareness.”

5. CSOs and Youth Political Activities (party affiliation, gathering, protest and voting)

The majority of the respondents endorsed that CSOs mostly put emphasis on vote casting which is fundamental element and a way towards all other political empowerment. In some cases they make up mock parliaments in which they follow the same methods/processes to make them familiarize with them that as a result create interest and encourage them to comprehend the electoral process. One of the respondent said “in my opinion regarding encouraging youth in them to participating in political activities and party affiliation, protest etc a big NO. The reason is while performing these roles may CSOs got biased and inclined any party, once one is biased they cannot perform their task in true sense. And hence the organization blamed for supporting specific political party. That is why mostly CSOs trying to stay away from political parties for not taking any tag of affiliation. Even CSO themselves avoid inviting for political talks such political personalities who do not possess positive image in society generally.”

6. CSOs influence in changing the Political Structure of Pakistan by focusing on Youth

By asking question of that either CSOs can be influential to change the political structure of Pakistan by promoting or enhancing youth political participation, the response was mixed. One respondent said “Yes, by feeding in the proper instructions and providing the proper information about the political situation of Pakistan, they can influence the youth for further political participation.” Another respondent replied that “I don’t agree with this question. CSOs don’t do such task rather they should not do. The political parties, government and political structure know what to do and how to do. Neither can change nor influence the system... Without practical work one cannot triumph over issues like the current example is IK government.”

The majority of the respondents agreed that it’s not the work of the CSOs to change the political structure of Pakistan, rather than it’s the change the political structure of the country, only politically entitled and hand on experience organization like political parties can influence and can bring changes to the current political structure.

7. CSOs and Strengthening of Democracy in Pakistan

The majority of the CSOs members who were interview agreed that the role of CSOs is important in strengthening democracy in Pakistan. They can strengthen the democracy because it gives the youth awareness on how to participate in the process and how it can be amended. One of the respondents said “too strengthen democracy in Pakistan, CSO like human Rights commission of Pakistan is doing great job.” Majority of respondents referred to CSOs role during dictatorships in the country, that many CSOs raise their voices against dictatorship.

8. CSOs and Youth Awareness of their Political Rights

Almost all the respondents concurred that the youth of Pakistan are not well aware of the political rights. One respondent said “Well I believe they are not well aware about it; they should learn how this can influence their live.” Another said “Not at all. Pakistani youth are unaware regarding their political rights. Even youth is unaware about their roles and responsibilities. Neither they are aware their rights nor they are taking any responsibilities. Voice spectrum is too loud by political parterres that are why political parties can be heard quickly.”

9. CSO and Youth Civic Participation

The participants showed mixed responses when they were asking about that either Pakistani youth are active in civic participation. Some says that Pakistani youth are not actively participated in the civic engagements, while other says that now with awareness the youth is becoming active in all walks of life but still require some more time in civic participation. One of the respondent said “Pakistani youth is segregated at different issues which prohibited them to participate in civic responsibilities, means youth only response positive related to collective call but when it’s about individual civic responsibility, their they are dumb and duff.”

10. CSOs independent-active in Pakistan-challenges it facing to create awareness and promote youth political participation in Pakistan

On the independent character of CSOs the respondents showed mixed answers. Majority of the respondents agreed that CSOs are not independent-active in Pakistan, as there’s always interference by the government involvement in peeking over small things that don’t matter a lot. Which as a result, creates barriers for the CSOs to prosper or work independently, also which affects the nurture of the youth participation, and takes a lot of time for to them to uplift themselves.

CSOs are dependent on many factors like their activities are dependent on availability of funds. No concept of self-sustainability in CSO. They cannot draw long term planning. In efficiency human resource and registration of CSO are other issues. Negative image towards CSO from society towards CSOs is another challenge facing by CSOs.

One of the respondents says “I would like to share my opinion CSO are playing basic role but they needs to accountable government and political parties for the introduction of any system which can trigger or enhance youth political participation. Secondly they should introduce a regulatory body system which can take youth policy recommendations from all youth parliamentary bodies. Thirdly from where you get policy recommendation, there should be a system of countercheck like do debate over the policies so that they can be implemented formally and constitutionally.

CONCLUSION

Apart from playing its active role in the humanitarian field, the Civil Society Organizations are also promoting democratic culture across the globe. It promotes civic participation in the political process and demonstrates people needs for the democratic reforms. It mobilizes facilities and enhances youth political participation. In Pakistan, CSOs not only working as a service provider in the humanitarian fields, and advocate masses needs, demands, but also playing its role to monitor governance and institutions, and raising political awareness amongst the youth for change. Thus the primary objective of this thesis is to examine the role CSOs in creating awareness, facilitating and enhancing of youth political participation in Pakistan. A quantitative survey questionnaire was distributed to 200 university students aged 18-29, and Qualitative interview were also conducted with 10 members of CSOs to examine and analyze the role of Civil Society Organizations in promoting Youth political participation in Pakistan. Finding from the both Survey and Interview shows that like other democratic countries, there is a strong connection between the

CSOs and political participation of youth in Pakistan, but limited numbers of CSOs are working on this particular domain. Though creating political awareness amongst the youth of Pakistan is the solely responsibility of politicians, but when political parties leaving spaces by not doing anything for the youth, then CSO usually come forward to fill the gap. But the question how many CSOs are there in creating political awareness, many CSOs are performing their social/developmental sectors role and mostly CSOs are less involving in creating youth political awareness. To elaborate their political role, sometimes CSOs arrange workshops, seminars, social gathering, public talks and publishing its reports for the youth political empowerment in Pakistan. Thus the role of CSOs in promoting and enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan is limited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Ahmad, Aqueil. "Introduction the Meaning and Metaphors of New Age Globalization."

In *New Age Globalization*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Anheier, Helmut K. *Civil Society: Measurement, Evaluation, Policy*. Earthscan, 2013.

Basu, Amrita. ed., *Women's Movements in the Global Era: Power of Local Feminism*.

Westview Press, 2010.

Becker, Marvin B. *The emergence of civil society in the eighteenth century: A privileged moment in the history of England, Scotland, and France*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994.

- Brooks, Thom. *Hegel's Philosophy of Law*. London: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Cressy, David. *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640-1642*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Creswell, John W. and Vicki L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Los Angeles: Sage Publication, 2011.
- Duverger, Maurice. *Political parties: Their organization and activity in the modern state*. Methuen, 1959.
- Edwards, Michael. *Civil Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009.
- Kant, Immanuel. *The Philosophy of Law: an exposition of the fundamental principles of jurisprudence as the science of right*. The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 2001.
- Kauppi, Niilo. *Toward a Reflexive Political Sociology of the European Union: Fields, Intellectuals and Politicians*. London: Springer, 2018.
- Lewis, David., and Nazneen Kanji. *Non-Governmental Organizations and Development*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Pelczynski, Zbigniew. *The State and Civil Society: Studies in Hegel's Political Philosophy*. CUP Archive, 1984.
- Rashid, T. "Radicalisation of Civil Society: A Case Study of Pakistan", in: S.S. Pathanaik ed. *South Asia: Envisioning a Regional Future*. New Delhi, Pentagon Press, 2011.
- Tashakkori, Abbas., and Charles Teddlie, eds., *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*. California: Sage Publication, 2011.
- Verba, Sidney., and Norman H. Nie. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Young, S. T., and K. K. Dhanda, "Role of Governments and Nongovernmental Organizations." In *ST Young, & KK Dhanda, Sustainability: Essentials for Business* (2013): 214-241.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Anjum, Tanvir. "Historical Trajectory of the Development of the Concept of Civil Society in Europe: From Aristotle to Gramsci", *Journal of Political Studies* 1, no. 2 (December 2010), 148-149.
- Antwi-Boasiako, Joseph. "Drivers of civil society organizations' participation in Ghana's governance processes," *Development in Practice* 29, no. 8 (2019): 1075-1082.
- Carothers, Thomas., and William Barndt, *Foreign Policy*, No. 117 (Winter, 1999-2000), 19.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1149558.pdf>
- Conge, Patrick J. "The concept of political participation: Toward a definition", *Comparative Politics* 20, No. 2 (Jan., 1988), 241-249.
- Eder, Klaus. "The making of a European civil society: "Imagined", "practised" and "staged"." *Policy and Society* 28, no. 1 (2009): 23-33.
- Johnson, R. Burke., and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, "Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time has come", *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 7 (Oct. 2004): 14-26.
- Johnson, R. Burke., J. Onwuegbuzie, and Lisa A. Turner, "Towards a definition of Mixed Method Research", *Journal of Mixed Method Research* 1, no. 12 (April 2007), 123 (112-133).
http://eshare.edgehill.ac.uk/14104/1/Toward_a_Definition_of_Mixed_Methods_Research_Jour.pdf
- Kumar, Sanjiv. Neeta Kumar, and Saxena Vivekadhis. "Millennium development goals (MDGS) to sustainable development goals (SDGS): Addressing unfinished agenda and strengthening sustainable development and partnership." *Indian journal of community medicine: official publication of Indian Association of Preventive & Social Medicine* 41, no. 1 (2016): 1.

- Levin, Michael. "Marx and Engels on the Generalized Class State", *History of Political Thought*, 6, No. 3 (Winter 1985), pp. 433-453.
- Marx, Karl., and Friedrich Engels. *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: selected works in one volume*. Vol. 184 (International Publishers, 1968).
- O'Kelly, Michele. "The Rule of Law and Advocacy in Civil Society." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 95, no. 380 (2006): 387-395.
- Parvin, Phil. "Democracy without participation: A new politics for a disengaged era." *Res Publica* 24, no. 1 (2018): 31-52.
- Sales, Arnaud. "The private, the public and civil society: social realms and power structures." *International Political Science Review* 12, no. 4 (1991): 295-312.
- Salik, Muhammad Samrez. "Evolution of Civil society in conflict prone countries of the 21th century", *NDU Journal* (March 2018), 27-41. <https://ndu.edu.pk/ndu-journal/2018/03-Evolution-of-Civil-Society.pdf>
- Stuchtey, Benedikt. "Colonialism and Imperialism, 1450–1950 Colonialism and Imperialism." (2011).
- Sulek, Marty. "Civil Society Theory: Aristotle." *Scientist* 42 (2010): 5-20.
- Surprenant, Chris W. "Liberty, Autonomy, and Kant's Civil Society", *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (2010): 79-94.

REPORTS

- Brown, L. David., and Archana Kalegaonkar. *Addressing Civil Society's Challenges: Support Organizations as Emerging Institutions* (Boston: Institute for Development Research, 1999), 1-20

- Ceaser, James W. "Direct Participation in Politics", *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 34, No. 2, The Power to Govern: Assessing Reform in the United States (1981), 121-137.
- Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Third Part: Ethical Life ii Civil Society*,
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/pr/prcivils.htm>
- Ismail, Zafar H. "The Legal Framework of the Nonprofit Sector in Pakistan." In *th Annual General Meeting of Pakistan Society of Development Economists, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad*. 2002.
- Jordan, Lisa., and Peter Van Tuiji, *Political Responsibility in NGO advocacy exploring emerging shapes of Global Democracy*, Europe's Forum on International cooperation, April 1998. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/176-general/31355.html>
- Keane, John. "Civil Society, definitions and approaches," *International Dictionary of Civil Society*, 2010. https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-0-387-93996-4_531
- Khan, Ayesha., and Rabia Khan, "Civil Society and Social Change in Pakistan", Institute of Development Studies, (Karachi: 2004).
- Locke, John. "The treatise of civil government [1689]." *Retrieved August 20* (1764): 2009. <https://oll.libertyfund.org/pages/john-locke-two-treatises-1689>
- Mufti, Irfan. "Struggle of civil society organizations in Pakistan for pro-people legislation." *PLA Notes* 43: 23-25, <https://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/G01979.pdf>
- Paffenholz, Thania., and Christoph Spurk, "Civil Society, Civic Engagement, and Peace Building", paper no. 36 (October 2006),
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/822561468142505821/pdf/378130Peacebuilding0WP3601PUBLIC1.pdf>

Redfield, Robert., "Module 3 Social Structure and Social Change Lecture 18 Rural-Urban Continuum: Meaning and Context."

<https://nptel.ac.in/content/storage2/courses/109103023/download/Lecture%2016.pdf>

Sattar, Adnan., and Rabia Baig, "Civil Society in Pakistan: A Preliminary Report on the Civicus Index on Civil Society Project in Pakistan", 2001, 5-7,

<http://www.civicus.org/new/media/pakistan.pdf>

United Nations Development Programme, *Civil Society: A Guide to Civil Society Organizations working on Democratic Governance*,

http://www.undp.org/content/dam/aplaws/publication/en/publications/democratic-governance/oslo-governance-center/civic-engagement/a-guide-to-civil-society-organizations-working-on-democratic-governance-/3665%20Booklet_heleWEB_.pdf

United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights. <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>

Veltmeyer, Henry. "Civil Society and Local Development", *Campo Grande*, 9, no. 2 (July-Dec. 2008), http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1518-70122008000200010

William Little, Sally Vyain, Gail Scaramuzzo, Susan Cody-Rydzewski, Heather Griffiths, Eric Strayer, and Nathan Keirns. "Introduction to Sociology-1st Canadian edition." *Victoria, BC: BC campus*. Retrieved from <https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology> (2014), 507-530.

NEWSPAPERS

Paracha, Nadeem F. "The rise and fall of the communist party of Pakistan", *Dawn*, April 13, 2014.

The Washington Post, 31-3-2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/who-coined-government-of-the-people-by-the-people-for-the-people/2017/03/31/12fc465a-0fd5-11e7-aa57-2ca1b05c41b8_story.html

Appendix-I

QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

Questionnaires (Closed-ended) for students

Name: (Optional) _____ Gender: _____

Department: _____ University: _____

Qualification: _____ Enrolled: _____

Birth Province: _____ Birth Place: _____

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Do you think that CSO's are creating political awareness among the youth of Pakistan?					

2. Do you consider that CSO's are promoting youth political participation in Pakistan?					
3. Do SCO's motivate youth to engage with a particular party?					
4. Do you think that CSO's is playing any role to aware the youth about their political rights?					
5. Do you consider that CSO's encourage youth to participate in political activities?					
6. Do you think that CSO's encourage youth to participate in political gathering?					
7. Do you think that CSO's encourage youth to participate in peaceful protest?					
8. Do you think that CSO's motivate people to cast their vote?					
9. Do you think that CSO's can be influential to change the political structure of Pakistan?					
10. Do you consider the role of CSO's important in strengthening democracy in Pakistan?					

Appendix-II

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW

Questionnaires (Open-ended) from CSOs members

Name: _____

CSO Name: _____

Position Held: _____

Length of Time at the Company: _____

What is the connection between CSOs (civil society organizations) and political participation of youth in Pakistan?

What is the role of CSOs in creating political awareness among the youth of Pakistan?

Do you think that CSOs are promoting and enhancing youth political participation in Pakistan?

Do you think that CSOs is playing any role to aware the youth about their political rights?

How CSOs encourage youth to participate in political activities i.e. party affiliation, gathering, protest and casting vote?

Do you think that CSOs can be influential to change the political structure of Pakistan by promoting and enhancing youth political participation?

Why the role of CSOs is considered more important in strengthening democracy in Pakistan?

Do you think that the Pakistani youth are well aware of their political rights?

Do you think that the Pakistani youth are active in civic participation??

Is CSOs independent-active in Pakistan and what are the challenges faced by the CSOs in trying to create awareness and promote youth political participation in Pakistan?
