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The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

Department of Public Policy and Administration

**INSTITUTIONALIZING YOUTH
ASPIRATIONS IN THE PUBLIC POLICY
PROCESS IN EGYPT**

A Thesis submitted to

Public Policy and Administration Department

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Public Policy

Submitted

by

Mohamed Kadry Mohamed Ibrahim

Under the Supervision of

Ghada Barsoum, PhD

December 2014

**School of Global Affairs and Public Policy
Department of Public Policy and Administration**

**INSTITUTIONALIZING YOUTH ASPIRATIONS IN THE PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS
IN EGYPT**

**Mohamed Kadry Mohamed Ibrahim
Supervised by Dr. Ghada Barsoum**

Advisors:

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Abstract

After leading change in the 2011 revolution, and being the majority of the Egyptian population, young Egyptians became the focus of much attention. Youth empowerment and participation in shaping the future of their country became one of the primary concerns after the revolution. The research purpose is to identify the extent to which youth aspirations and dreams are incorporated in the process of public policy making.

The research takes the Ministry of Youth and Sports and Ministry of Manpower and Migration as a case study to see their role and experience in institutionalizing youth aspirations in the national public policy and the challenges involved in this process. The study particularly addresses the activities that took place towards this objective with particular focus on the Egyptian Youth Parliament at Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Development of the National Action Plan for youth Employment at Ministry of Manpower and Migration. In addition, the study dwells into how civil society organizations, both local and international, perceive the efforts done towards this objective and their contribution in the process.

The study builds on qualitative research methods in the form of in-depth interviews, and desk review of reviews related to national youth policies. The interviews were conducted with different stakeholders that were both influenced by and influencing the issue of focus in the current situation. These include: Representatives from the Ministry of Youth, Ministry of Manpower and Migration, civil society organizations, and from international organizations.

The analysis shows that an institutional framework to include youth aspirations in the public policy process is lacking in Egypt. Yet, there are some successful experience that can be replicated with the support of the international organizations and civil society. The thesis proposed a set of recommendations that could provide an institutional mechanism and framework to make sure youth aspirations are always included in the policy process.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the courageous innocent souls of the martyrs of January 2011, who gave their lives to their country for a better tomorrow. They gave up their lives to make a better future for their loved ones, and for their beloved Egypt.

They gave up their own dreams to make the dreams of millions of Egyptians come true.

I write it in honor to the young people that dreamed to build this future with their own hands but were not given the opportunity.

I present this thesis, hoping to follow in their steps in making a better tomorrow, and to make sure that they didn't give their lives away in vain. To follow up on their dreams and on the changes they made happen.

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I am also grateful to my interviewees, from Ministry of Youth, UNICEF and other international organization, and Youth NGOs as their input was the main ground in developing my thesis.

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1. Introduction

Today's young people are future leaders. Thus, the level of attention and focus on youth aspirations, energies, values and participation will shape the country's future, especially when the younger generation represents the majority of this country. Egypt's youth bulge is now at its peak, based on CAPMAS statistical yearbook, 68.3% of the total population are younger than 35 which reached in 2013 84,629,000 (CAPMAS, 2014).

For a developing country seeking real development, there should be real value to its human capital. It must make the best use of its historic opportunity of having the youth population rise at its peak, and utilizing all their abilities into energy for state building. Higher levels of participation and inclusion of young people, as well as addressing their issues and concerns in a collective and comprehensive manner through a concrete clear vision and strategy will allow for rapid fulfillment of the ambitions of the young people in addition to capitalizing their competencies and capabilities to achieve the desired development goal.

The thesis aims at contributing to the efforts towards the institutionalization of youth aspirations in the public policy process in Egypt. What we mean by institutionalization is about having a sustainable process for embedding youth aspirations into the social system. This process should include the development of all

required all rules, producers and the establishment of required bodies or institutions to ensure that the policy making process is inclusive to youth aspirations, whoever, the policymaker in charge. We will do so through studying other experiences locally, regionally and internationally based on reviewing all the literature discussing this issue.

In this framework we will discuss all possible mechanisms and framework that support the institutionalization of youth aspirations in the public policy process. We will also try to identify if it is important to have a specific focus on youth aspirations although they represent the majority of the population or we just need to focus on the effectiveness of the public policy process in meeting the public needs.

The thesis will try also to identify the current situation in Egypt building on interviews with officials at the Ministry of Youth, Ministry of Manpower and Migration, international organizations, youth NGOs, and Egyptian young people.

1.1. Background about Egyptian Youth

1.1.1. Demography of Young people Egypt

Based on CAPMAS statistical yearbook, 68.3% of the total population are younger than 35 which reached in 2013 84,629,000 (CAPMAS, 2014). Young people from 15 to 34 represent 37.4% of the total population: 25.8 % of them are between the ages of 15 and 19, 53.4 % between 20 and 29, and 20.7 % between 30 and 34 (CAPMAS, 2014).

1.1.2. Realities of Youth in Egypt

As previously mentioned, Egypt's youth bulge is now at its peak. Young people from 15 to 34 represent 37.4% of the total population (CAPMAS, 2014). The young population distribution in Egypt is mainly in the rural areas (Population Council, 2010. P.2-3). Two-thirds of young people (58.9%) live in rural areas, and almost one-third live in urban areas (31.6%) or informal urban areas (5.6%). Young people are geographically distributed throughout Egypt. 42.6% of young people reside in Lower Egypt, 34.2% in Upper Egypt, 21.4% in urban governorates and 1.75% in the Frontier Governorates (ibid).

Young people are the most likely to suffer from many social problems. Unemployment rate reached 13.2 % in 2014 (CAPMAS, 2014). Among young people 45.6

% are employed, 8.5 % unemployed, 25.1 % are inactive in the labor market due to enrollment in education and 20.8 are inactive and they are not students (Barsoum et al, 2014). There are great disparities in the percentages between the males and females, for example: the unemployment rate among young people is 8.6 %, the percentage among males is 5.2 % to increase to 11.9 % among females. Also the inactive young people who are not students reached 20.8 %, the percentage among males is only 4.6 %, and it increases greatly among females to reach 37.9 % (ibid).

1.1.3. Organizations serving / representing youth in Egypt

In general, young people in Egypt receive many services - that are aimed at their development - from all community sectors such as the government, NGOs, political parties and private sector. The controversial issue is that who is mandated and is able to represent youth in the policy process to make sure that their aspirations and needs are included in the policies.

In this context, Ministry of Youth and Sports is the only governmental organization that is concerned with the issues of young people in the Egyptian government. The real role of this ministry and its mechanism of action have been a controversy for a very long time. Should it be only the executive body of the government in serving young people in Egypt or it should be mandated to reflect youth aspirations in all state's public policies, because of its easy access to policymakers in the whole government.

This controversy was created based on the reality of the instability of how the state management defines this institution. Before 2000 it was named as the "Higher Council for Youth and Sports", then it became Ministry of Youth (only), then National Council for Youth, then Ministry state of Youth and finally it was integrated with Ministry state of Sports to become Ministry of Youth and Sports. It is worth mentioning that although the title has changed several times - which entails changing the mandate - the structure has not changed and the institution still has the same employees.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are an important actor in serving and representing youth, especially those who defines themselves as youth NGOs. NGOs are able to play both role in serving and representing youth due to their direct access to young people in all their presence contexts. In Egypt, there are many kinds of youth NGOs either youth-led NGOs (which is led by youth and serve youth) or youth-serving NGOs (which is led by adults but serve young people).

With regards to political parties, before the 25th of January 2011 revolution there was no strong political environment that allows political parties to have a real role and in the same time to encourage youth to take part in it. But after the revolution directly the situation changed, many young people started to join political parties, establish youth coalitions and alliances and there was some initiatives to establish youth political parties. Through these organizations, youth had organized many activities and events to discuss their aspirations and perspectives toward the social and political development in Egypt.

1.1.4. Youth Participation in Egypt

The situation in Egypt with regards to youth participation was not stable over the last three years. Before the 25th of January 2011 revolution youth participation was very poor. Based on the Survey of Young People in Egypt (2010) only 2.3% of all young people aged 10-29 have volunteered in an activity during the past year and only 12.2% of young people have registered to vote and have a voting card. Same situation was in the youth participation in political parties, which was also very poor which was less than one percent (0.39) (ibid).

Although after the revolution there was a notable increase in youth participation: in civic participation through joining NGOs, or in the political participation mainly in voting in elections and referendum and joining political parties, yet the Youth representation in the Parliament and Government was very weak. Few members in the parliament were under 35 years old and there was no member in the government under 35 years old.

Starting 2014, it is notable that the momentum of increased youth participation in the political parties started to fade and their activities almost disappeared to reach almost the same situation before the revolution.

On the other side, the new Egyptian constitution that was approved in January 2014, it identified in article 180 a percentage of 25% for youth under 35 years old as a quota in the local councils seats.

Also there was a decree by the Prime Minister Ibrahim Mahlab, asking all the ministers to assign two to four young people, from 30 to 40 years old, to act as “Assistants to the Minister” and having the following responsibilities:

1. Participate in proposing and the development of policies, plans and strategies that aims at the development of the different sectors, such as: education, health, environment, trade and industries, etc
2. Follow up the activities and the projects provided by the ministry, to be able to know the problems and the challenges that faces the ministry, so they can contribute in coming up with creative and innovative solutions for these problems and challenges
3. Any task assigned by the Minister.

1.2. Problem statement

Youth is a stage in life where aspirations of young people focus on getting proper qualifications through education and trainings, getting decent jobs with an adequate income, starting their own families, having an a suitable housing and living a decent life in a community that prospers social justice and rule of law. Then young people are faced by

the reality that all their aspirations turned to be the most pressing social problems: unemployment, inadequate education and training, lack of affordable housing, absence of equitable opportunities for empowerment and participation, and much more.

As such, the problem that this research is targeting, based on previous research, is that youth aspirations are not integrated in the public policies in a way that meets their expectations although they are the majority of the population. In addition to that, there is no clear mechanism or procedures or frameworks to ensure that youth aspirations are institutionalized in the public policy process in Egypt.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

The research aims at contributing to the research efforts towards the inclusion of youth aspirations and also the inclusion of young people themselves in the public policy process. The research will try to identify the extent to which youth aspirations and perspectives are included and incorporated in the process of public policies in Egypt and what are the mechanisms used to do so.

The research identifies the Ministry of Youth and how it sees its role in institutionalizing youth aspirations in the national public policy and what the challenges are. The study addresses the activities that are taken towards this objective, with particular focus on the Egyptian Youth Parliament. The research will also focus on Ministry of

Manpower and Migration and their experience in the development of the National Action Plan for Youth Employment and their efforts to include youth aspirations in this public policy.

In addition, the study delves into how international organizations and civil society organizations evaluate the efforts done towards this objective and their contribution in the process.

Additionally, the research also seeks to know how young people themselves see this issue and approaches those who are interested in taking part in the process, such as those who participated in the Egyptian Youth Parliament or in the development of the National Action Plan for Youth Employment.

The research studies the current situation of these efforts from the different points of view of the different target groups. The study concludes with a section of recommendations building on the international experience of engaging youth in order to ensure their active inclusion in national public policies.

1.4. Research Questions

The main research question for this research discusses the extent to which youth aspirations are incorporated in the National public policies and what are the mechanisms for their incorporation and institutional framework. More specifically, the study examines

the practical mechanisms to institutionalizing youth aspirations in the national public policies.

1.5. Research Methodology

To approach this research question, the study adopts qualitative research methods in the form of in-depth interviews, and the review of policies and publication related to Egypt's national youth policies.

The interviews were done with different stakeholders that are affecting and affected by the issue of focus.

These include:

- 1. Representatives from the Government (Ministry of Youth and Ministry of Manpower and Migration).** Interviews were conducted with 6 officials in the Ministry of Youth and Ministry of Manpower and Migration who were/are responsible for the different programs or activities that seems to aim at youth participation in the different public policy process. Interviews attempted to identify how these ministries envisions their role in institutionalizing youth aspirations in the national public policy and what are the challenges. Questions will also asked about the activities that have been implemented toward this objective, with a focus

on the Egyptian Youth Parliament and the development of the National Action Plan for Youth Employment.

2. Young People. Interviews were conducted with 2 of the young people who participated in the Egyptian Youth Parliament. Questions were asked about how they evaluate the experience in the youth parliament, and if it really provided them with a space to participate in the policy making process.

3. Civil Society organizations. Interviews were conducted with 6 representatives of different civil society organizations and it attempted to identify how civil society organizations envision the situation of the inclusion of youth aspiration in the public policies and the efforts they have done for such cause. Questions were asked about how they evaluate the efforts done for this cause and if their contribution had made any difference. As well as what could be the effective mechanism to ensure a sustainable and institutional framework.

4. International Organizations. Interviews were conducted with 5 representatives from different international organizations. The research identifies the efforts done by international organizations to ensure youth participation and inclusion in the policy process. The research focuses on the efforts done by the UNICEF in

establishing a National Youth Policy and the efforts of the ILO in the establishment of the National Action Plan for Youth Employment.

Secondary data sources in the form of existing publications relevant to the issue of institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process, its mechanisms and institutional framework. For the recommendations part, the analysis is built on research for other practices on inclusion of youth aspiration in the public policies in other countries. The objective of this process is to explore similarities and differences and lessons that could be learned for Egypt from these several experiences. The study also builds on knowledge products and manuals produced by different local and international civil society organizations.

Primary data Sources that I have collected in 2007 were used as part of my research in a graduate diploma. The research was assessing one of the youth initiatives that were concerned about youth participation in the development of the National action Plan for Youth Employment.

2. Literature Review

The initial review for the relevant literature to the topic of this thesis to be able to create a knowledge base that would support the discussion, the researcher had an overview about the topics covered in the literature related to public policy process, good governance, participatory policy making, youth development, youth participation, youth organizations, and youth policies.

Therefore, the researcher concluded that the literature reviewed for this research is divided into three thematic sections: profiling youth, participatory policy development, and institutionalizing youth aspirations.

The section on youth profiling looks at literature that focuses on the different definitions of youth by different organizations and countries. As well as the characteristics of youth, how youth are perceived, whether as a challenge or as an opportunity, and finally what are their needs.

The section on participatory policy development discusses literature on the policy process and stages at which young people can have an active role. It also discusses the role of youth organizations and international organizations in affecting the policy process, their role in the establishment of the mechanism or the institutional framework that supports the inclusion of youth aspirations in the national public policy process.

Finally, the section on 'means to institutionalizing youth aspirations in the national public policies' looks at literature addressing practical mechanisms such as establishing a national youth policy or a national youth strategy. In addition, the section examines the different institutional structures that could ensure that. Such structures include national youth councils, national youth commission, and youth desk.

2.1. The Profile of Youth

2.1.1. Youth definition

Youth are those in the transitional period between being dependent during their childhood and being independent when they reach adulthood (United Nations, 2014:1, and World Bank, 2007:8). It could also refer to a person between the ages of leaving compulsory education, and finding their first job. To have active social and economic participation and to take control of their own lives and bear social commitments (Section for Youth of the Bureau of Strategic Planning, 2004:4).

The UN General Assembly Resolutions (50/81 and A/54/59) states that due to flexible definition and changing economic, political and socio-cultural circumstances around the world, the age bracket for youth should also be flexible and different from one institution / country to another. For example UN Secretariat, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNICEF,

WHO and ILO consider youth as those between 15 to 24 years old (United Nations, 2014). UN Habitat considers youth as those between 15 to 32 years old (ibid.). The African Youth Charter considers youth as those between 15 to 35 years old (ibid.). Despite the diversity within this heterogeneous group, they pass through similar experiences and challenges (UNESCO, 2012).

2.1.2. Youth Definition in Egypt

In Egypt, the State Ministry of Youth affairs defines youth as the age group between 18 – 35 years old (World Bank, 2007:8). This difference is due to the fact that large sectors of young people in Egypt till the age of 35 are still facing the same problems and challenges as other youth of lower age in different places. Those problems include, unemployment and limited access to decent jobs, inadequate education, training and capacity building opportunities, low health awareness and so many other challenges. Hence, they have not reached the full independence stage yet (ibid).

2.1.3. How Youth are perceived

Youth are perceived differently, either as a challenge (problem) or an opportunity. Each perception constructs the approach of policies set by any state and how they are formulated and implemented.

Those who perceive them as a challenge, see youth as being viewed homogeneous, innocent, naïve and lack experience about the realities of the adult world (World Bank, 2007:8, and Brandon, 2006:5), therefore they can be viewed as irresponsible, can be easily manipulated, mentally underdeveloped, lacking critical thinking, analytical skills, they just spend free time focused on play instead of work, and they bear no worries and responsibilities that adults have (Brandon, 2006:5). Due to adultism, which views adults as being better than youth and youth being inferior to adults, promotes depriving young people from participation and sharing their points of view even in the issues related to their lives. They are viewed as being constantly in need for the protection of an adult. Therefore, they must follow adult rules, decisions and authorities (Brandon, 2006:5-6, and Cruz, 2004:1). This problem-oriented perception has dominated many governments' approaches in dealing with various youth related policies (Denstad, 2009:14).

While those who perceive youth as an opportunity, view them as being very active, vigor, and full of enthusiasm (World Bank, 2007:8). They are also citizens who bear a range of social, political and civil rights and the state should ensure they have an active role and participation in governance according to age and maturity rather than passively managing their lives (Brandon, 2006:7). From this perspective of seeing youth as an important valuable resource in the society as full citizens, there should be all means and ways to empower and build their capacities to get their full potential in contributing in the society (Denstad, 2009:15-16).

2.2. Participatory Policy Development

The national public policies are set to deal with many complex challenges in all sectors (education, unemployment, health,, etc) in order to solve these societal problems and meet people needs. In such a situation the government is unable to solve all these societal problems on its own with its very limited resources, especially that these problems is affecting largely young people who represents the majority of the population. What makes the situation harder is that the expectations of young people are always higher and faster than the performance of the government. Knowing that the government is asked to meet youth aspirations in its public policies, previous literature showed that meeting these expectations effectively requires the efforts of actors and stakeholders in the society including youth themselves in all the processes of the public policy development.

In this framework, this section will investigate the definition of public policy, the process of public policy, the participatory public policy process and the importance of youth participation in the public policy processes.

2.2.1. Defining Public Policy

There are many approaches to the definitions for public policy in the literature, some of them are:

Cochran (1999) focuses on the actions of the government, noting: "*The term public policy always refers to the actions of governments and the intentions that determine those actions.*" The same notion was stressed earlier by Dye (1972:18) describing policies as "*whatever governments choose to do or not to do*".

While Daneke and Steiss (1978) focuses on the actual decisions taken by the decision makers, translating their specific desired objectives, noting: "*A broad guide to present and future decisions, selected in light of given conditions from a number of alternatives; the actual decision or set of decisions designed to carry out the chosen course of actions; a projected program consisting of desired objectives (goals) and the means of achieving them*"

B. Guy Peters (1999) definition focused on the government's acts that affects citizen's life, noting: "*Public Policy is the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents as it has an influence on the life of citizens.*"

All the previous definition have concluded that public policy is how the government sees the societal issues, what is their vision and desired objectives in dealing with these issues, and how this vision will be translated into decisions and actions.

2.2.2. Policy Process

In order for the public policy to appear and to be translated into actions, there is a process that transforms the policy ideas into actual programs and activities. There are many theories that outline the policy making process.

According to Birkland (2011) policy process follows six main steps:

1. Issue emergence
2. Agenda Setting
3. Alternative Selection
4. Enactment
5. Implementation
6. Evaluation

According to Dunn (2012, p. 43), the policy process follows eight main steps:

1. **Agenda Setting:** where elected & appointed officials place problems on the public agenda
2. **Policy Formulation:** formulating alternative policies to deal with a problem or the issue
3. **Policy Adoption:** with the support of the legislative majority
4. **Policy Implementation:** an adopted policy is carried out by administrative units

5. **Policy Assessment:** auditing & accounting units in government, determine whether the policy is achieving its objectives.
6. **Policy Adaptation:** auditing and evaluation units report that policies need adaptation
7. **Policy Succession:** the agencies responsible for evaluation along with policy makers acknowledge that a policy is no longer needed because the problem dissolved. They decide to maintain the policy and either build on it or redirect it.
8. **Policy Termination:** if the agencies responsible for evaluation determine that a policy or an entire agency should be terminated because it is no longer needed.

Although all these theories had set a vision for the process how it should follow in a specific stages and steps, but it doesn't has a stage or a step that ensures that the proposed policy ideas really reflects public needs in an earlier stage. It is only in the policy assessment stage after the policy is already implemented and the public resources are already used, which could have been used in the wrong policy.

2.2.3. Participatory Policy Development Concept

2.2.3.1. Defining participatory concept

Participation in policy development is not a new concept, yet it is not applied in many contexts and countries. Therefore, the discussion of participation in general and in

many frameworks like policy-making and policy process will always be on top of research agendas and development programs. Participation or participatory approach has many different definitions: for example according to World Bank (1996:3) Participation is about equal influence of all stakeholders to the policy making process, noting: *"Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them"*.

The UK Aid's Department for International Development (2010) has also defined participation but with a link to a right's perspective, noting: *"Participation is enabling people to realize their rights to participate in, and access information relating to, the decision-making processes which affect their lives."*

To ensure a participatory approach for policy development, policies should be inclusive. According to the OECD (2009:14) this means that all the efforts should be done to get citizen's voices included as much as possible in the policy making process. To do this, efforts should be done to remove any barriers that hinder the participation of the people specially those who are willing but unable to participate due to barriers such as socio-economic, political, geographical and cultural barriers. The efforts should also increase the appeal for participation for those who are able but unwilling due to lack of interest in politics or lack of trust that their inputs will be taken in consideration (ibid).

2.2.3.2. Youth Participation

Although young people represent the majority of the Egyptian population, but literature showed a very weak youth participation in all fields and specifically in the policy making process.

According to UNICEF (2001) youth participation or adolescent participation can be defined as "*adolescents partaking in and influencing processes, decisions and activities*". In this sense, participation is about providing space for youth to exercise power which comprises many meanings in different contexts (UNICEF, 2001) such as: accesses to information, forming and expressing views, taking part in activities, and being able to make choices.

Thus, Youth Participation reflects the meaning of active involvement of youth, not just taking part in an activity. The active involvement include youth participation in the process of identification of their problems, discussing possible solutions, decision making, planning, implementation targeting their problems and finally evaluation of these activities through civil society organizations.

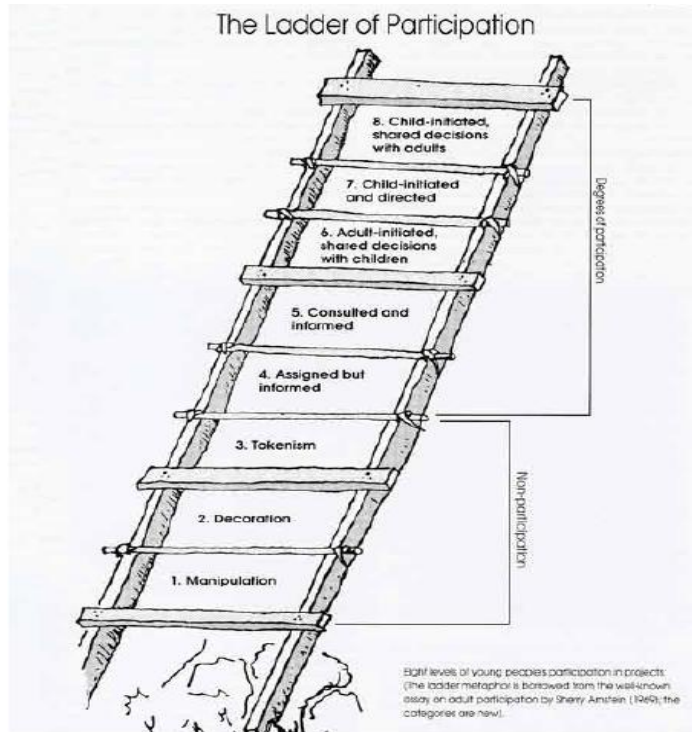
The perception of youth participation should now change from partial participation in making decisions that only affect them, to full participation in making decisions in all aspects of the community and society in which they live (National Council for Voluntary Youth Services, 2014).

2.2.3.3. Levels of participation (Participation Ladder)

In many cases some governmental agencies claimed that they include youth in the public policy process and decision-making, yet this involvement could be either manipulated or fake for media presentation. To identify the real participation especially for young people, a tool was presented by an American psychologist, Roger Hart, in a book he wrote for UNICEF in 1997 called "*Children's Participation: The Theory And Practice Of Involving Young Citizens In Community Development And Environmental Care*". Hart presented the tool as a participation ladder, through which he identified eight levels of participation represented by eight ladder rungs.

Hart's ladder divided the levels into two groups. The first group consists of the non-participation levels which are represented by the lower three rungs of the ladder (Manipulation, Decoration, and Tokenism). The second group consists of the participation levels, which are represented by the upper rungs of the ladder (Assigned but informed, Consulted and informed, Adult-initiated and shared decisions with young people, Youth-initiated and directed, Youth-initiated and shared decisions with adults).

Figure (1) Harte's Participation Ladder



Source: Roger A. Harte, Children Participation, from Tekonism to Citizenship

The different levels/rungs of the ladder can be explained as follows (Denstad, 2009:41-43):

Level 8: Youth initiated shared decisions with adults. In this level, the decision of what to be done is taken by both adults and youth in a shared manner, and the program and projects are initiated and led by youth.

Level 7: Youth-initiated and directed. In this level, the program and projects are led by youth with a little input from adult only in a supportive role.

Level 6: Adult-initiated shared decisions with young people. This level is the opposite of the previous two levels, as the programs and projects are initiated and led by adults, yet the decisions were taken with youth in a shared manner.

Level 5: Consulted and informed, in this level the programs and projects are initiated and led by adults, they only consult and inform youth about how their input will be used.

Level 4: Assigned but informed, in this level the programs and projects are initiated by adults and assign a specific role for youth, and informed about purpose of their involvement and decision-making process.

Level 3: Tokenism. In this level the programs and projects are initiated and led by adults, and youth may be consulted with a minimal opportunity to choose or to give feedback about how their role is.

Level 2: Decoration. In this level the programs and projects are initiated and led by adults, and youth are informed about the decision with no input to be expected from them in the decision-making.

Level 1: Manipulation: In this level the programs and projects are initiated and led by adults, and youth are directed without even informing about the purpose of their role while pretending that it is inspired by youth.

2.2.3.4. Benefits / Importance of Participatory Policy

Development

Providing more space for people in general and youth specifically to participate in all the processes of the policy development has lots of benefits for the government as stated by the OECD (2001:19) (2009:23-24):

- Increase citizen's trust in government, due to greater transparency and accountability.
- Help achieve better outcomes at lower cost.
- Have a greater reservoir of resources got from the citizens, civil society and private sector.
- Higher compliance and ownership by the decisions taken.
- Reaching more innovative solutions.
- Increasing level of active citizenship and numbers of citizen's initiatives to contribute to community development.
- Improving the quality of policies developed.

2.2.3.5. Benefits of youth participation

Active youth participation has shown many useful impacts on young people, thus driving the forces for more effective youth participation to:

- Youth Participation is essential to a healthy democratic society to increase their engagement political.
- It will lead to improved and better-targeted and more effective services and projects. As involving young people in all processes including planning and management of the activities will achieve the objective of fulfilling young people's needs being based on their reality.
- It will develop the skills of young people such as: leadership, negotiation, self-confidence,,etc. They will witness their opinions and experiences being valued and directly contributing to positive change in their community (National Council for Voluntary Youth Services, 2014).

2.3. Institutionalizing Youth Aspirations

Although young people represent the majority of the Egyptian population, with a percentage of 68.3 % of the total population (CAPMAS, 2014), youth suffer from the most pressing social problems like: employment creation, provision of adequate health and wellbeing services, proper education and training, affordable housing, space providing equitable opportunities for empowerment and participation.

At this stage of their lives, they draw dreams and aspirations that would let them cross these realities. Unfortunately, public policies do not reflect their aspirations, dreams,

and hopes. To achieve this, youth aspirations have to be institutionalized in the public policy process in a sustainable manner rather than ad hoc initiatives from individual decision makers.

As mentioned before public policy is how the government sees the societal issues, what is their vision and desired objectives in dealing with these issues, and how this vision will be translated into decisions and actions. So having youth aspirations institutionalized in the public policies is about how the government sees and realizes the young generations and their problems and aspirations, how this realizations is translated into specific objectives and intentions then into decisions and actions. In addition to that how young people are taking part and participating in the policies that deals with their own issues.

This section examines the means to institutionalize youth aspirations in the national public policies. What are the practical mechanisms such as establishing a national youth policy, which was the most popular mechanism, adopted by many countries and supported by many international organizations, yet, there has been other mechanisms such as national youth development strategy. It will also examine the institutional frameworks that could ensure that such as: National Youth Council, National Youth Commission, and National Youth Parliament. They all seemed to have the same mandate and same structure

2.3.1. Institutionalization Mechanism: National Youth Policy

2.3.1.1. Defining National Youth Policy

Since the 1990s, the global concern with youth development issues was raised. International organizations put great efforts to address youth needs and to raise awareness of different stakeholders on the importance of investing in youth and their capabilities and competencies. Recently the concerns shifted towards the means for institutionalizing the commitments towards youth development to make sure their aspirations and needs are included and taken in consideration in the public policy process through the formulation of National Youth Policies, that's why there are many definitions for the National Youth Policies, like:

UNESCO (2004) definition focuses on how the policy should reflect future needs and the qualities it should constitute, noting:

“Any long-term national policy should have a clear, consensus-based vision of the kind of men and women for tomorrow’s world needs. We may differ on the type of society we want to build, but we should agree on the qualities of the individuals that will constitute it”(UNESCO, 2004).

The International Council for Youth Policies (2005) and Investing in Youth Policy website (2013), focuses in their definition that it is a policy documents that reflects the state's commitment to youth needs, noting:

“A National Youth Policy (NYP) is a declaration and commitment of the priorities, directions and practical support that a country intends to give to the development of its young men and women. It clearly defines the place and role of youth in society and the responsibility of society to youth and should be supported by the following three universal concepts: ‘Participation’, ‘Equity’ and ‘Cohesion’ (International Council for National Youth Policies, 2005).

“A national youth policy is a policy written and owned by a country – government, young people and other key stakeholders. It demonstrates that country’s commitment to, and strategic directions for, promoting and progressing the wellbeing and participation of young people. Ideally, it has a vision and objectives to create opportunities for young people to become ‘skilled, healthy and productive members of society’; and specific strategies to translate policy into action” (Investing in Youth Policy, 2013).

The National Youth Policy document of South Africa (2009) also reflects the state’s commitment to youth needs. In addition to that, it stressed on the principle that young people are equal partner, having equal opportunities to reach their potential through the active involvement in the state development, noting:

“The National Youth Policy is a framework for youth development across the country. It endeavors to ensure all young women and men are given meaningful opportunities to reach their full potential, both as individuals and as active participants in society. The Policy addresses the major concerns and issues critical to young men and women and gives direction to youth programs and services provided by government and nongovernment organizations. Through the National Youth Policy, the Government declares the importance of the active involvement of young people in national development, demonstrating the distinctive and complementary roles of all Government ministries, the non-government sector and youth groups in youth development; providing a framework with common goals for development and promoting a spirit of co-operation and coordination” (South African National Youth Policy, 2009).

2.3.1.2. Importance of the National Youth Policy

The main importance of the national youth policy is to institutionalize youth aspirations and efforts towards youth development. The development of a special policy for youth reflects the recognition and commitment of the state in addressing youth needs in a comprehensive manner. There are also many other specific benefits that serve the main importance of the institutionalization, such as (ESCAP, 1999:7):

- Acts as a declaration for the national commitment and vision toward youth development and the role youth in the national development in the future.
- Identifies the aspirations and needs of youth.
- Sets the clear articulation for the challenges that face youth and the current opportunities that could encourage youth to mobilize their resources to develop themselves and have an effective role in the development of their country.
- Provides a clear road map for youth development with common specific goals and objectives as a guide for the legislative and executive authority while setting the national public policies.
- Determines the unique and complementary roles of the different community sectors: governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private sector, and youth groups, towards youth needs, and the means for coordination and cooperation among them in collective actions and strategies.

- Provides clear pathway for the inter-ministerial cooperation within the cross-sectional public policies to be implemented by the different ministries and departments inside the government.

2.3.1.3. Priority Target Group of the National Youth Policy

Young people are not a homogenous group, and their needs are diverse. Therefore, all interventions designed to address their needs should be also diverse. To effectively address these issues, the national youth policy and programs targeting these issues should be coordinated and synergized across all different sectors involved.

The national youth policy should recognize the diverse challenges and problems facing the youth with their diverse backgrounds. It should recognize that these challenges and problems are unique, multilayered and require involvement of various stakeholders, players and service providers across different sectors. Therefore it is important to identify priority targeted youth groups with their broad categories requiring specialized and tailored interventions. They include, but are not limited to the following:

- Young men and Women
- Rural and Urban young people
- Literate and Illiterate young people
- Employed and Unemployed young people

- Disadvantaged young people

The national youth policy while targeting all youth, it is expected to acknowledge that there are groups of young people who become disadvantaged due to the reality of limitation of resources. Therefore, the national youth policy should set its priorities towards those most marginalized and excluded youth groups. These groups of disadvantaged youth should get an immediate attention in positive discrimination manner, and they include:

- Young women
- Youth with disabilities
- Unemployed youth
- School drop outs
- Youth in rural areas
- Street youth and Orphaned youth
- Youth at risk i.e. youth living with chronic diseases

2.3.1.4. Key Strategy Areas of the National Youth Policy

The national youth policy is expected to include priority issues that contribute to youth development. They should be identified and prioritized by youth themselves to be the focus of the policy.

The national youth policy should aim at having both long-term benefits, and also

provide immediate interventions with short and medium effects. The interventions should be designed in a collective and comprehensive approach toward the key strategy areas.

- **Economic Participation**

Economic participation means the participation and involvement of youth in employment and business enterprise, and the strategies that address this issue (National Youth Commission, 1997, p. 37). Egyptian economy to flourish and can be able to compete in the international market it needs qualified labor force with high productivity and entrepreneurial skills to lead their own business. Youth who join the labor market in great numbers every year are either a load on the Egyptian economy or the means to flourish it.

- **Education and Training**

Education and training is one of the important key strategic issues, through it youth get prepared for their future (National Youth Commission, 1997:28). The level of education and training and skills youth acquire from them is an important factor in how their life is to be, which is the direct impact. The indirect impact is that, if youth are highly educated and highly skilled they will positively contribute in their community on the economic, political and social level.

- **Health and Wellbeing**

Young people are expected to perform well in the Economic Participation and Education and training to be able to affect positively the nation's development. To do so,

they have to maintain very good physical and mental well-being (National Youth Commission, 1997:34). The healthcare system is not just expected to provide a good service for youth with poor health conditions, but also supportive environments that encourage a healthy lifestyle.

- **Housing**

One of the main concerns of youth in this transitional period is to create a family, this requires conditions, such as a convenient job with a reasonable income. It also requires an adequate place to live in. Young people expect to find an adequate place that accommodates their expected families. This place should access basic services such as: schooling, transportation, healthcare providers and security. It also should be environmentally clean and most importantly, affordable.

- **Leisure time**

Youth at this stage, with this level of dependency, have lots of leisure time. This time is an important resource that if utilized through useful channels, can support the overall goal of the National Youth Policy and support all other key areas. There should be various channels that provide youth with a variety of options on how to use their leisure time according to their own interest, such as:

- **Art and Culture**

Through arts and culture, youth can express their own personal and collective views on society and the world in a peaceful and creative way (National Youth Commission, 1997:39).

- **Sports**

Sports and physical education are an important tool to maintain and improve the health of youth and overcome the negative effect of the modern living habits (National Youth Commission, 1997:47). Sports are also one of the effective means of personal development. Sports help youth acquire personal discipline, leadership and teamwork skills. As well as being a source of joy, sports promote the values of peace, unity, and understanding among youth (Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports, 2002:13).

- **Youth Empowerment and Participation**

To ensure the effectiveness of any public policy in addressing the real aspirations and needs of youth, there must be a mechanism that ensures the involvement of youth in all the phases of the public policy process (planning, implementation, and evaluation) (Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports, 2002:15). Such mechanisms will add to the sense of ownership and partnership towards the National Youth Policy, thus providing all their available resources, motivation and commitment to make this policy achieve its goals (ibid).

In some other experiences, they included

- Peace and absence of violence
- Safety, security, and justice
- Welfare and community development
- Environment and tourism
- Science and technology
- Youth and Media

2.3.1.5. Stakeholders of the National Youth Policy

Development of National Youth Policy involves various stakeholders who either relates to the issues in direct or indirect way:

Youth: who are the group that are targeted by this policy in the first place, and suffers from the problems and all the consequences resulted from not addressing their issues.

Government: As being responsible for setting the overall state strategy towards the development of all sectors and also the effective usage of state's resources. Their policies regarding youth issues will affect youth in a direct manner.

Private sector: As the role of the government started to decrease in the provision of services. In many fields, the private sector is the main provider of the service, as in Youth employment creation, housing, health services,,etc.

Civil Society: As Egypt steps towards democracy, there should be a great emphasis on the important role of civil society organizations. There should be enough support for them to play their role actively in filling the gap of services the government is not able to provide. Civil society organizations can offer diverse programs and activities that assist young people in accessing resources to fulfill their needs.

Whole community: The high rates of unemployment have a great impact on the whole society. It leads to greater poverty rate, drop in health and education levels. It also caused a rise in the rate of drug addiction, presence of slum areas, illegal migration, crime rate, and many other problems that negatively affect the development of the whole community. Addressing all these issue in the way the creates citizen's satisfaction, makes it mandatory to involve citizens themselves to act as an active stakeholder in the policymaking process.

2.3.2. Institutionalization Framework

In the previous sections, we have discussed the policy process and the importance of youth participation in the different phases of the policy process to ensure the inclusion of their aspirations in the public policies. Then we discussed the mechanisms that ensure this inclusion and reflect the national concern to youth issues through the national youth policies.

In this section, we will discuss the possible institutional frameworks through which youth are allowed for more permanent participation, characteristics, what are their roles,

structures, and key challenges based on other experiences in the world. The general review for the literature concluded that the most prominent and famous institutional structure that is established to ensure youth representation and participation is called the National Youth Council, so the literature review will focus on this kind of institution. However, there are other titles, like National Youth Parliament, National Youth Commission, and Youth Desk, but they are very close in their role and mandate.

2.3.2.1. National Institutions representing Youth

In addition to the governmental institutions that are supposed to manage youth related affairs such as: Ministry of Youth or Youth authority, there are many structures that represent youth. Based on a study by "Taking IT Global¹" (2006), it was found that those structures had many forms and many titles mostly of which are youth-driven and little of which are state-driven. Some include youth, and others act as an umbrella organization for other organizations (Taking IT Global, 2006:7).

For example, the youth-driven institutions in countries like Armenia, Belgium, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Nigeria, Portugal, Russia, Slovenia, and Netherland have a structure called 'National Youth Council'. In Germany, they name it the 'Federal Youth Council', where in Turkey it is the 'National Youth Parliament'. In other countries like

¹ TakingITGlobal is one of the world's leading networks of young people learning about, engaging with, and working towards tackling global challenges.

Greece, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Uganda, and Ukraine they call it as the ' National Council for Youth Organizations' being an umbrella for many youth organizations.

An example of state-driven institutions is the National Council for Youth Policy in Costa Rica. Other examples are: the 'National Youth Commission' in the Philippines, and in Zambia they call it the 'National Youth Development Council '(Taking IT Global, 2006:10-31).

As mentioned above, the most prominent and famous institutional framework for such cause is the National Youth Council, so the focus of the discussion will be on National Youth Councils.

2.3.2.2. Defining National Youth Council

National Youth Council is defined as an entity composed of youth, which serves as an advisory or advocacy body to the government or donor agencies (USAID, 2009:2).

2.3.2.3. Characteristics of National Youth Councils

The National Youth Council should represents youth and allow more permanent participation to oversee all youth related issue in the country. Should also act as a key influencer and partner in the public policy process. In order to achieve the previous goals, it should possess certain characteristics (Taking IT Global, 2006:9):

- Should be run by Youth,
- Independent from the government,
- Operate following a democratic elective process,
- Umbrella organization for all national youth organizations, youth activists and researchers concerned with youth development.

2.3.2.4. Importance of the National Youth Councils

The importance of the National Youth Councils comes from many reasons (Taking IT Global, 2006:33):

- **The desire of youth organization to create an umbrella organization** on a national level to be much stronger and more effective in influencing youth issues (Youth Policies).
- **Wide representation for youth**, from different geographical, economical, social and political backgrounds.
- **Establish an effective channel to link between the Government and Youth Organizations**, which allows for better communication, hence leading to better cooperation with governmental institutions and efficient implementation of youth policy's programs and projects.
- **Organize and coordinate the work of youth NGOs** among each other. Ensure fair and balanced distribution of tasks, resources, and funding opportunities among

youth organizations.

- **Better promotion for Youth participation and youth policy.** Providing a sustainable framework for participation rather than ad-hoc opportunities for participation in a top-down approach, as an initiative by the government in the form of youth consultations.
- **Create a platform for representing youth globally,** through which it can coordinate many activities with other National Youth Councils or youth organizations from other countries.
- **Create a database for active youth organizations, youth activists, and any youth service organization.**

2.3.2.5. Mandate and role of National Youth Councils /

Mission statement

The National Youth Council mandate can be divided into two main levels (Taking IT Global, 2006:39):

- **The youth policy level:** through which its works on youth macro issues such as speaking on behalf of youth, advocating youth issues and policies, lobbying to change social structures to accommodate youth aspirations and concerns.

- **The youth development programs and projects level:** through facilitating and implementing projects and programs that contribute directly to youth development and raise the quality of life for youth.

Based on a study by "Taking IT Global" (2006) 'study about National Youth Councils', themes to be identified as an integral part in the mandate of the national youth councils, could be as following:

1. Advise government, liaise between government and youth
2. Coordinate youth projects nationally
3. Facilitate international youth cooperation
4. Promote youth participation
5. Improve the quality of life of young people
6. Promote democracy
7. Forum for dialog on youth concerns
8. Protection/realization of the rights of children and youth
9. Provide information to Member Organizations
10. Facilitate youth development

2.3.2.6. Key members/actors in the National Youth Councils

For effective achievement of the mandate of the National Youth Councils, there are many key actors and members who should be involved (Taking IT Global, 2006:34):

- Youth / Youth leaders
- Youth organizations
- Students / student organizations
- Young politicians / youth wings of political parties
- Local youth councils, if there is
- Research centers, interested in youth studies
- Government institutions

2.3.2.7. Criteria for Membership

Based on a study by "Taking IT Global" (2006) study about National Youth Councils, the membership for the National Youth Councils shall be open for anyone who accept to serve voluntary the mandate of the council, yet there are a set of membership criteria for the different actors/members:

For youth organizations:

- Self-managing in structure.

- Allow youth participation in its decision-making process.
- With a youth majority in its membership (each country follows its definition for youth and their age bracket).
- Provide different development programs and services for youth

For young Individuals

- Age membership (Each country follows its definition for youth and their age bracket).
- Majority of members and leadership (for example in Slovenia, 70% should be between the age of 15 to 29).
- Member organizations must have a minimum number of active members (for example in Lithuania members ranging from 100, 400 in Greece, 25,000 in Germany).

2.3.2.8. Key challenges to face the establishment of National Youth Councils

The establishment of the national youth council in many countries faces many challenges. It is important for this research to study them, since there is no similar independent structures in Egypt and any future ones face such challenges. Those challenges can generally be (Taking IT Global, 2006:35):

1. Lack of youth policy
2. Political hindrances
3. Lack of state support for youth activities and youth participation.
4. Lack of understanding of the importance of youth participation – Adulthood
5. Lack of official recognition by the State
6. Securing funding and other resources,
7. Balancing the objectives of the various different youth organization, especially if there is a political polarization among youth.
8. Organizational challenges (Clear structure for the council, communications and coordination procedures, clear roles and responsibilities among the members)
9. External challenges are due to the political situation in the country.

2.3.2.9. Priority areas of work

Based on all literature and the real experiences in the priority areas of work of the national youth council, it should focus on the following (South African National Youth Policy, 2009) (UNESCO, 2004) (Denstad, 2009):

1. Youth Policy
2. Youth Participation
3. Youth representation & promotion
4. Information and communication

5. Network-building
6. Advising government, lobbying
7. Volunteerism
8. International cooperation/relations
9. Poverty eradication
10. Unemployment
11. Provide programs to members
12. Non-formal education
13. Education
14. Environment/quality of life
15. Government relations
16. Media & public relations/info distribution
17. Democracy & human rights

3. Study Findings

The research investigates the extent to which youth aspirations are incorporated in the public policy process in Egypt. The research focuses on the major stakeholders of the issue of study, such as the government (Ministry of Youth and Sports and Ministry of Manpower and Migration), youth NGOs, international organizations and young people, and identifying the role of each one and the efforts exerted towards the institutionalization of youth aspirations in the national public policies.

3.1. Ministry of Youth and Sports

Ministry of Youth and Sports is the only governmental organization that is concerned with the issues of young people in the Egyptian government.

Throughout the research, I interviewed four officials who are responsible for the different programs or activities that are related to youth participation. Interviews tried to identify how the Ministry of Youth envisions its role in institutionalizing youth aspirations in the national public policy and what the challenges are. I tried to investigate more about the activities that have been implemented for this objective. The researcher found out about one of the activities called the Egyptian Youth Parliament. It is considered on a global level as one of the forms to institutionalize youth participation and youth aspirations in the national public policies.

3.1.1. Historical Overview

Ministry of Youth and Sports throughout the last 20 years had gone through many changes in its name and role:

1. **In the 1990s**: It was named as the “Supreme Council for Youth and Sports” under the leadership of Abdel Moniem Omara.
2. **In 2000**: They changed its legal framework from a supreme council to a Ministry and divided it into two ministries: The **Ministry of Youth** and The **Ministry of sports**. The Ministry of Youth in five years had three different Ministers. They are: Ali Eldin Helal, Mamdouh Elbeltagy, and Anas Elfeqy.
3. **In 2005**: The cabinet changed the legal organizational framework of the ministry to become a **National Council for Youth**, under the leadership of Safi Eldin Kharboush, while keeping the same employees and almost the same organizational structure. The National Council for Youth operated till after 25th of January revolution. After the revolution directly they it was announced that Amr Hamzawy (Egyptian politician) was nominated to be the president of the National Council for Youth but he refused, and Safi Eldin kharboush continued till December 2011. In December 2011 a new government were appointed under the leadership of Kamal El Ganzoury, and he appointed Khaled Abdel Aziz to be the president of the National Council for Youth.

4. **In July 2012:** After the presidential elections and after assigning a new government under the leadership of Hisham Kandeel, they changed its legal framework again to become a **State Ministry for Youth Affairs**, under the leadership of Osama Yasin.
5. **In July 2013:** After a new government was assigned they changed it again to be the “**Ministry of Youth**” rather than a “**State Ministry**” under the leadership of Khaled Abdel Aziz.
6. **In February 2014:** After the resignation of The Minister of Sports, the cabinet decided to combine both Ministries to become "**Ministry of Youth and Sports**" still under the leadership of Khaled Abdel Aziz.

3.1.2. Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Youth and Sports (2013 – 2017)

In this section, the research reviews the Strategic Plan for the Ministry of Youth and Sports based on two main sources the "Website" and the "Action Plan Document 2013 - 2017" of the Ministry of Youth and Sports. I tried to identify if the strategy, including the vision, mission, objectives and activities, has something to do toward youth participation and institutionalizing youth aspirations in national public policies either its own policy or the policies of the other ministries.

In the initial review of the Ministry's Website and Action Plan Document, I found that there were some differences and mismatches in the articulation of the strategy components, and they are mentioned later for relevance. Also in some sections in the sources the current name was used as well as the previous name as "State Ministry" instead of "Ministry".

Strategic Framework / Mission

The initial review for the sources, it showed the same observation of inconsistency between them, the statement below had two different titles. The website of the ministry calls it the “**Strategic Framework**” while the action plan calls it the “**Mission of the Ministry**”, but they did not use the whole statement, the last seven words were deleted.

The statement had focused on building capacities of young people and enabling them to have active political participation through working with other stakeholders including other governmental organizations.

“Building the capacities of adolescence and youth and developing them spiritually, morally and culturally, scientifically and physically, psychologically and socially, economically and enable them to have active political participation through working with ministries, associations and individuals” (MOYS, 2014)

The strategic objectives of the Ministry of Youth and Sports (2013 - 2017) (MOY, 2014):

After reviewing action plan document and the website, we concluded 13 strategic objectives for the Ministry, one of them is about deepening political and community participation.

1. Instill and develop the value system characterizing the Egyptian personality
- 2. Deepening political and community participation.**
3. The development of cultural and health awareness.
4. Participation in the provision of a decent economic situation.
5. Maximizing the use of free times.
6. Ensure freedoms.
7. Build a mental image for the ministry.
8. Enhancing communication and dialog.
9. The development of studies and research.
10. Raise professional, administrative and technical competencies for the workers of the Ministry.
11. Development of effective and efficient operations
12. Activation of the strategic partnership
13. Optimal use of available resources.

Main fields of works of the of the Ministry of Youth and Sports

This section is only mentioned in the action plan document for 2013 -2014, the main fields of work of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, are following the strategic objectives which has the same statement of the objective of deepening political and community participation:

1. Instill and develop the value system characterizing the Egyptian personality.
- 2. Deepening political and community participation.**
3. The development of cultural and health awareness.
4. Participation in the provision of a decent economic situation.
5. Maximizing the use of free times.
6. Youth Facilities (investment)

Strategic initiatives of the Ministry of Youth and Sports

This section is only present in the website of the Ministry. This section mentioned only one part about civic education programs, which is related to strategic objective of deepening the political and community participation.

Major initiatives:

- Renovation of youth centers and the facilities of Ministry of Youth.
- Implementation of programs and activities within the youth centers and activation ministry's pathways

- Training and Employment Initiative (youth academy - Employment fairs - labor-intensive project)

Priority initiatives:

- Legislative initiative (Youth Act – Youth Regulations)
- Anti-addiction and drug abuse
- Literacy
- **Civil Education Programs**
- Adolescents, youth and girls Parliament

Internal and external initiatives:

- Build and strengthen the marketing capabilities of the Ministry
- The development of the structure of the ministry
- Activation of local and regional protocols
- Efficient allocation of budget items (2012 - 2013)
- Setting budget (2013 - 2014)

3.1.3. Ministry's Programs and Activities

As the research is focusing on the institutionalization of youth aspirations in the national public policies, so we will focus on the field of the **“Deepening political and community participation”** in the analysis.

In this field, there are 50 different activities that target 2,674,324 Young people, and they are as following:

- Training Courses, targeting 50,420 young people.
- Competitions, targeting 1,005,700 young people.
- Ceremonies, targeting 2,900 young people.
- Conferences and Forums, targeting 12,718 young people.
- Exhibition, targeting 3,000 young people.
- Projects and Initiatives, targeting 24,150 young people.
- Public Sessions and discussions, targeting 37,900 young people.
- Simulations, targeting 480 young people.

3.1.3.1. Egyptian Youth Parliament

After interviewing some officials in the Ministry of Youth and Sports, it was found that one of its major activities is the “**Egyptian Youth Parliament**”. This activity runs on a large scale under the “**Central Department for Parliament and Civic Education**” and managed by a specific department coordinating its activities. The Youth Parliament gets its importance from being one of the internationally recognized models to institutionalize youth representation and participation in the decision making process just like National Youth Councils.

According to the brief description document for Egyptian Youth Parliament provided by the Parliament Department, the parliament is described theoretically as following:

3.1.3.1.1. Introduction about the parliament

According to the official program document, youth parliament is educational capacity building programs, where youth can express freely their views and get trained on the democratic practice, participate in the decision making through serious discussions on their state issue in a scientific way. Youth parliament is a small model of People's Assembly

Objectives:

- Developing political awareness
- Solidification of democracy values
- Support spirit of participation
- Develop the dialog capabilities for youth
- Freedom of speech and mutual acceptance in an organized democratic framework

Operational framework

- The organizational procedures of the youth parliament follow the internal policy of the people's assembly.

- The internal division of committees is the same as the people's assembly
- The practical training on: practicing accountability roles of the parliament (Questioning, Quest, Interrogation)
- Role of the parliamentarian work
- Educational programs in the political development through high calibers from university professors specialized in constitutional law and political sciences
- Provide publications that contribute in the capacity building of youth for active participation

Implemented programs

Political development programs that contribute in building the capacity of youth:

Topics include: political and parliamentarian concepts, constitutions, political systems, electoral systems, practicing political rights law, role of people's assembly and shoura council in the Egyptian Political System, legislative role of the parliament, relationship between the legislative, executive authority, political parties and its role in community development

Youth Parliament Activities:

- Simulation models
- Managing the electoral process
- Parliamentarian sessions to discuss the important issues and problems with decision makers
- Attend some public hearing sessions for some the people's assembly sessions and its

thematic committees

How the parliament is formed

- Open membership call
- Membership registration
- Establishing the parliamentary divisions
- Open call for bureau membership which is composed of 23 youth (One Chairman, Two Deputies (Preferred one should be female), treasurer, and heads for 19 thematic committees (similar to the people's assembly committees)

Membership age framework

- From 18 till 24 years old

3.1.3.1.2. Youth representation in the Egyptian Youth

Parliament

One of the main strength points about the parliament is the mechanism of its composition for youth members, which theoretically happens on four levels ensuring youth representation on the grass root level. (Governmental Official working at Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2014)

The first level is done through establishing a **“Parliamentarian Section”** inside Youth Centers. The process starts by opening a call for membership for young members in the eligible youth centers.

Not all youth centers can take part in the "Youth Parliament Program", they either become one of the **“Renovated Youth Centers”** or fulfill some criteria such as: having high turnout on the center, large number of members, large population density in the area of the youth center and can form a parliamentarian section of at least 50 members.

The parliamentarian section should form an elected structure that includes: one president, two deputies (one of them preferred to be a female), one treasurer and nineteen head for the sub-committees.

The second level is the youth parliament on the **Sub-Area Department** level, which is composed of up to 15 youth centers. The elected youth from the parliament sections elect themselves for another similar structure but on the Sub-Area Department level including: one president, two deputies (one of them preferred to be a female), one treasurer and nineteen head for the sub-committees.

The third level is the youth parliament on the **Governorate Level**, which includes all the elected members from the **Sub-Area Department level**. Which in turn elect themselves for another similar structure but on the governorate level including: one president, two deputies (one of them preferred to be a female), one treasurer and nineteen head for the sub-committees.

The fourth level is the youth parliament on the **country Level**, which includes all the elected members from the governorate level. Which in turn elect themselves for another similar structure but on the country level including: one president, two deputies (one of them preferred to be a female), one treasurer and nineteen head for the sub-committees.

3.1.3.1.3. How Egyptian Youth Parliament was perceived?

In a certain stage young people and the community misinterpreted the Egyptian Youth Parliament's objectives. They dealt with it as if it is an extension of the real parliament. Even the known people and parliamentarian used to support their own kids in the electoral process.

"After winning the elections on the level of the directorate, I was promoted to run for the elections on the governorate level and it was harder competition. As candidates are sons of known people or parliamentarian who support their kids in the elections thinking that this way, they will be an extension for the real parliament."(Former member of the Youth Parliament, 2014)

The young people running for the elections for the youth parliament, started to give promises to the voters that will provide social services for them if they elected them like providing job opportunities, and providing health services at the expenses of the state

(which will be provided by their parents and relatives).

"I had equal votes with a young man who was a relative for a parliamentarian and leader in the National Democratic Party (The ruling party at this time). The final re-election round was one of the hardest experiences I ever had. The young man was promoting himself by promising that he will employ 15 people, as well as other things. I didn't have those capabilities, and it was my first experience to join such elections in the youth parliament. The young man said that he will provide job opportunities and if there are problems his parliamentarian relative will intervene to solve it, he also promised if someone is ill, he will get him an approved letter to get medical treatment at the expenses of the state. And the competition became only just to get the title, to be able to meet the governor or any important official."(Former member of the Youth Parliament, 2014)

Some of the young people have also invested lots of money in their electoral campaign, spent on organizing meetings, ceremonies activities and conferences which is the same activities done by the people running for the real parliament.

"In one case in Sharkia governorate, a young man spent on his advertisement campaign 50,000 in organizing meetings, ceremonies, activities, and conferences as if he is running for a real parliament, and it was almost a real model for the real parliament". (Former member of the Youth Parliament, 2014)

The big families in some governorates used to make deals and agreements about which family will elect their son or daughter in the elections

"It was the same case in many governorates, in another situation I think in Fayoum the competition was between 2 young people one is the son of a current parliamentarian and the other to a former parliamentarian and both belongs to big families and competition was so hard as they were telling each other you took the real parliament, so leave the youth parliament to our son"(Former member of the

Youth Parliament)

3.1.3.1.4. The elections of the Egyptian Youth Parliament

Although the original composition of the youth parliament includes elections on four levels, it was not done on a regular basis and in some stages election on the country level and governorate level were banned due to many challenges.

"The elections on the country level were done only once in 2007, and the last elections on the governorate level were in 2010" - "In 2013, there were no elections due to the security situation" (Governmental Official, 2014)

3.1.3.1.5. Banning the elections of the Youth Parliament

There were challenges that prevented running the elections on a regular basis, which kept the focus of the youth parliament limited to the awareness program. Some of those reasons are **political order** to close any channel for any banned religious groups to take part of the Ministry's activities.

"In 2013 there were no election due to the security situation and the desire of some religious people to enter the Ministry through Youth Parliament to have a voice."(Governmental Official, 2014)

Another reason was due to the **behavior and actions of young people**. From the point of view of governmental officials in the Ministry of Youth and Sports, some acts

from the members of the Parliament were not appropriate that's why they stopped the elections and kept the activity on a low profile limited to awareness rather than participation.

"Young people were taking it seriously and thought it was a real parliament. They started to cause problems as if they were real parliament members and also created Business Cards for themselves. One of the young people went to the governor's office and told them that he wants to meet the governor. The young man pushed the office door and wanted to enter. When the top management heard of this incident, Dr. Safi Eldin Kharboush ordered to stop the process on the country level and even on the governorate level. He ordered for the elections to stop and for awareness trainings only to proceed on the governorates level. (Governmental Official, 2014)

From the point of view of the members of the Egyptian Youth parliament, they believe that they have played their role well in the parliament by creating real participation in the decision-making process. This was done either by questioning the decision makers when they attended a real parliamentary session or by meeting the decision makers in their local communities to discuss their problems. Members of the Egyptian Youth parliament believe that the Ministry of Youth have taken all measures to stop this real participation through banning the elections and lowering the participation age bracket from 30 to 24 years old to exclude a category of youth that has more life experience and participated in the labor market.

"When we reached the stage of the Youth Parliament in the National level and the Head of the parliament was a medical doctor. In 2005, we attended a session in the

real parliament, and we presented real Questioning, Quest, and Interrogations. They were creating this program for awareness only, and they found out that young people are presenting Questioning, Quest, and Interrogations. Then in 2006 they reduced the age bracket from 30 to 25 to exclude this generation whom they thought were cats but turned out to be lions." (Former member of the Youth Parliament, 2014)

The officials also did blame the members of the youth parliament for their acts when they visited the parliament. He disrespected their participation and described them as kids and warned them that this limit cannot be reached again.

"In one of the preparatory meetings for the elections, an official who was a head of a central department told young people "Did you get carried away thinking you are in a real parliament, you are small children and we created you. But for the president of the youth parliament to threaten the Governor, this stage should never be reached. (Former member of the Youth Parliament, 2014)

3.1.3.1.6. Challenges facing the Youth Parliament

In many governmental activities, the absence of supervision and accountability were the main challenges facing the youth parliament. The governmental employees who were coordinating the program to their own favor and utilizing opportunities that should have been directed to the members of the youth parliament.

"My biggest challenge was the coordinator of the parliament who was a governmental employee in the directorate in the Ministry of Youth. This employee was not active, and he did not support us in implementing our activities. Even when there was an activity by the Ministry of Youth to be directed to the Youth Parliament members, he directs it to his relatives and the people he knows. That was a general problem, most of the employees were members of the National Democratic Party,

and when they want to serve people in their neighborhood or village, they were using the activities for this purpose. For example, when there is a trip, instead of inviting youth parliament members, the employee would send names of relatives or friends, and the problem was that nobody revised those names and it was managed by personal interests". (Former member of the Youth Parliament, 2014)

3.1.3.1.7. Youth Parliament and Youth Participation in Policy Making

As mentioned previously, the Egypt Youth Parliament was established to have an awareness role only, so it has nothing to do with giving an opportunity for young people to participate in policy-making. Moreover, when young people started to create this space for themselves they banned the elections and lowered the age bracket of participation. The only opportunity that was giving to the members of the youth parliament to meet policy-makers was through the annual closing ceremony of the parliament activities.

"The Youth Parliament didn't give the members the opportunity to participate in policy-making, but it gave them this opportunity through the annual closing ceremony of the parliament activities "The National Conference for Youth Parliament". We used to organize it every year, and we used to invite the Ministers concerned with the issues on the scene, such as education and scientific research." (Governmental Official, 2014)

The parliament had also cooperated with other ministries in implementing projects, which are programs initiated by adults. This kind programs represents the level four at the participation ladder: **Assigned but informed**, where the programs and projects are initiated

by adults and assign a specific role for youth, and informed about purpose of their involvement and decision-making process.

"We have implemented a project in cooperation with the Ministry of Environment, about awareness through youth centers. Also, another awareness Project with "Anti-Addiction and treatment trust fund" that is operating throughout the whole year". (Governmental Official working at Ministry of Youth and Sports)

3.1.4. Ministry of Youth and Sports and Public Policy

In this section, the research identifies the relationship between the Ministry of Youth and Sports, and youth participation in the policy-making. First, it discusses the internal policy of the ministry, how it was developed and how youth are involved in the development of this policy. Second, it discusses the efforts done by the ministry towards the development of a National Youth Policy. Third, it also discusses the relationship of the Ministry with other ministries policies.

3.1.4.1. Ministry's internal Policy

In the attempt to further understand the process of the internal policy of the Ministry, how it is developed and how youth are involved in the development of this policy, interviews were conducted with different senior level officials in the ministry. With regards to the internal strategy or policy of the ministry, it was found that the ministry had suffered

for a long time from the lack of an internal policy or a strategy. The programs of the ministry were done activity by activity, with no long term strategy till 2013, when an action plan was developed that includes the vision, mission and strategic objectives of the ministry. We previously discussed some flaws in the strategy – such as not including a big activity of the Egypt Youth Parliament - but it provided a clear overview of the planned activities and the targeted young people.

"We lack the long term vision of policies. The performance is very short term based on the political system present in that time and its agenda". "We performed from 2006 till 2013 without an action plan. Therefore, I am accountable, and the government is accountable, for the objectives set. Before that time what the ministry was just doing what have been asked by the government and the prime minister, president or the first lady. There was no plan to follow." (Senior Governmental Official working at Ministry of Youth and Sports)

With regards to youth participation in the development and implementation of the Ministry's policy and programs, it was found that there is no mechanism to include youth in any stage in the planning process of any policy or a program to identify their needs, interests and aspirations in the policies and programs they develop.

"Our problem is how our policies fulfill all the needs of adolescents and youth. First, we don't have public opinion polls, to know 'what youth want'. The Last thing we did was in 1999, a book about "Interests of Adolescents and Youth in spending leisure time". Since 1999 and till now, no field research has been conducted on youth to know their needs. We have passed through different periods and many revolutions that changed youth tendencies, interests and preferences in how they spend leisure time." (Senior Governmental Official working at Ministry of Youth and Sports)

Another challenge is that the Ministry's program managers used to design their policies and programs based on indirect identification of the needs of young people, and two different officials at the Ministry mentioned that notion.

"The Second and important part: is that all the activities being performed are superior, including setting the plans and programs. The ministry places a set of activities and then invites young people to participate in them, and not vice versa. The ministry should first identify their needs and interests and then build accordingly its action plan. Our performance is based on the efforts of the senior officials or the department responsible for the task. Through their communication with youth in an indirect way, to know their interests and preferences to fulfill the needs of adolescents and youth."(Senior Governmental Official working at Ministry of Youth and Sports)

As mentioned by a senior governmental official working at The Ministry of Youth and Sports: the Ministry deals with youth in mass numbers, filling in spaces by huge numbers with a superficial approach towards the activities that truly build the capacities of young people.

"All the concern was to include youth to participate in cultural activities and public sessions while invite high caliber speakers including academics and professionals. We fool our self as a Ministry, by considering that by doing so we include them in a dialog. I strongly believe that many activities inside the Ministry are based on mass mobilization of youth that's why we didn't get fulfilling results. When there is an event and you need 500 young people to attend, there is huge difference between putting young people on a bus and they come to fill up the seats and to take their meals, and if these 500 young people came to attend out of interest". (Senior Governmental Official working at Ministry of Youth and Sports)

3.1.4.2. Ministry of Youth and Youth Policy

In Egypt, there isn't a clearly defined National Youth Policy, but all the issues to be addressed within the framework of the National Youth Policy are addressed on its own. Such policies are: education policy, employment policy, health policy, housing policy,,etc. There isn't a National Youth Policy that fulfills the components and structure mentioned previously in the literature review.

In this section, the research identifies the efforts done by the Ministry in the development of a National Youth Policy. It was found that there were no concrete efforts in developing it: there have been some attempts to develop a national Youth Policy through organizing some workshops in cooperation with different international and local organizations. What the Ministry was doing especially during the period of the National Youth Council is organizing annual National Youth Conferences and to invite policy makers to discuss their policies individually with the young participants.

“Some National Youth Conferences were conducted annually during the period of the National Council for Youth on general issues related to the National Youth Policies such as education, health, and politics. Its objectives are to invite some Ministers concerned by the implementation of these policies. To inform youth about the current policy and then come up with workshops to conclude the mechanisms for implementing this policy. That was done five times through the annual conference and that was done from 2006 till 2010.”(Senior Governmental Official working at Ministry of Youth and Sports)

3.1.4.3. Ministry of Youth and Public policies of other

Ministries

In this section, we try to identify the relationship between Ministry of Youth and Sports and other ministries. Have other ministries approached them to conduct meetings with young people while planning to formulate a youth related policy? Did they cooperate together on policy level or program level?

Research uncovered that none of the above took place. The Ministry of Youth and Sports has not been approached by any ministry to assist them in reaching young people to consult them in the development of their policies. Yet, there has been an approached to cooperate on program level through signing a Memorandum of Understanding together.

“It didn’t happen that any Ministry approached us to meet with young people to develop their policies, yet, the cooperation is to achieve these policies through joint programs among ministries, within MOUs” – “For example We will sign an MOU regarding an illiteracy program targeting 1 million citizen in cooperation with GALAE (General Agency for Literacy and Adult Education) and Ministry of Education.”

(Senior Governmental Official working at Ministry of Youth and Sports)

3.2. Ministry of Manpower and Migration

This section identified another case study about Youth participation in policy-making of the “The National Action Plan for Youth Employment (NAP)” in Egypt led by Ministry of Manpower and Migration. This case is an initial success in inclusion and participation of young people in policy-making

3.2.1. National Action Plan for Youth Employment (NAP)

The NAP was officially launched in 2009, as a five-year plan from 2010 till 2015 (International Labor Organization (ILO), 2010). Yet, the history of the NAP goes to 2003, when Egypt became one of the Lead Countries of the UN Secretary-General's Youth Employment Network (YEN) (a partnership between the United Nations, the World Bank and the ILO) (ibid).

As a YEN Lead Country, Egypt was committed to submit its National Action Plan on youth employment. It was supported by the ILO Sub-Regional Office for North Africa and the Employment Sector at the ILO's headquarters, in partnership with the YEN Secretariat (ibid). The discussion about NAP on the local level started in 2003 involving the ILO Sub-Regional Office for North Africa and the Minister of Youth (Ali Eldin Helal). It also involved the Minister of Manpower and Migration (Ahmed El-Amawy) (ILO former Director, December 2013).

After that, the whole government was replaced including the Minister of Youth, Minister of Manpower and Migration. The Director of the ILO Sub-Regional Office for North Africa was also replaced, and all the procedures for the preparation of NAP were stopped. The discussion resumed again and started officially after organizing a Capacity Building Workshop for youth NGOs about Youth Employment by ILO, GIZ (formerly named as GTZ) and the YEN Secretariat.

By the end of the workshop, a follow-up meeting was done between the stakeholders attending the workshop and they agreed upon the following for the finalization and implementation of the NAP (Workshop Report, 2006):

1. Build alliances and partnerships with key national stakeholders (government, civil society, and bilateral and multilateral institutions working in Egypt).
2. Form a NAP Steering Committee (NAP-SC), led by the MOMM involving all key national stakeholders as the inter-institutional mechanism to finalize and implement the NAP.
3. Create a structured work program, timeline, and regular meetings for the NAP-SC.
4. Define the different roles and responsibilities for the proposed stakeholders within the NAP-SC.
5. Agree on priority areas with short, medium and long-term goals, to ensure a realistic approach to the delivery of the NAP.

6. Commitment to involve youth in the finalization and implementation of the NAP through the endorsement of youth's proposal for an Egyptian Youth Consultative Group (EYCG) and the agreement that 3 representatives from this Group would have standing seats on the NAP-SC.
7. Agree on strengthening the alliance with the National Council for Youth to activate synergies and ensure coherence with the National Youth Strategy.
8. Take the initiative to contact and inform key government bodies, including the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning, to raise awareness about the NAP and their potential role in supporting it.

3.2.2. Youth Participation in NAP development

In June 2003, the "Second Meeting of UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Youth Employment" was organized by International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Youth Employment Network. During this meeting, the UN Secretary-General had a discussion with the Youth Consultative Group of the Youth Employment Network. The meeting stressed on the importance of youth participation in formulation and implementation process of the National Action Plan for Youth Employment.

In February 2006 after serious discussions between the Egyptian Young participants and YEN following up on the meeting held in Geneva, YEN organized a Capacity Building Workshop on Youth Employment. The workshop was organized in

partnership with the ILO Sub-Regional Office for North Africa in Cairo, the German Government's GTZ with the support of the Egyptian Ministry of Manpower and Migration, together with Egyptian youth organizations.

This workshop brought together 26 Egyptian youth organizations from both the national and grassroots levels. They came together in a dialog with government officials, employers' and workers' organizations, multilateral institutions and the donor. The dialog was on how to better push forward the hopes, aspirations and expertise of young Egyptians in relation to youth employment (Workshop Report, 2006).

The workshop aimed at providing practical advice, tools and advocacy to support Egyptian youth groups, to scale up their activities on youth employment, and to enable them to have an active role in the preparation and implementation of the Egyptian NAP.

In November 2006, another capacity building training program was done for the members of the EYCG by the ILO and GIZ and in this round UNICEF and World Bank joined forces. Later in early 2007, GIZ hired a management consultant to support the EYCG to develop its strategic and action plan (ibid).

3.2.3. Mechanism of youth participation in NAP development

During the workshop, the young participants discussed and came out with recommendations for youth input in the development and implementation of the NAP.

They also drafted an action plan on the specific tasks and roles needed to make these recommendations become reality, and to be presented in the final plenary session of the workshop in the presence of the Aisha Abdel-Hadi, Minister of Manpower and Migration. Youth recommended a mechanism to ensure ongoing and sustainable youth participation in the NAP process. They gave a detailed picture of such a proposed network structure of youth NGOs, an Egyptian Youth Consultative Group for the NAP, (EYCG), including details of its potential membership, objectives and activities.

The Minister of Manpower and Migration, in response to these recommendations and proposals, welcomed this initiative taken by youth and emphasized the essential need for inter-ministerial and multi-stakeholder alliances in fighting youth unemployment. She specifically referred to youth as partners, urging the creation of such a Youth Consultative Group. Asking them to join as members in the National Action Plan Steering Committee (NAP-SC), tasked under the leadership of her Ministry, along with developing and implementing the NAP.

The Egyptian Youth Consultative Group (EYCG), by the end of the workshop agreed upon the next steps to better institutionalize proposal through developing Terms of Reference for the EYCG and delivering them to the MOMM to obtain official recognition. They elected representatives to represent the EYCG in the NAP-SC that was planned four months after the training (May 2006) to set a work plan for the activities to be done to support the NAP process.

3.2.4. Young People Assessment for their participation in NAP development

Although that the NAP formalization process only lasted for almost one year till mid-2007 and was not launched till 2009, the experience of the EYCG as a model for youth participation in policy-making was unique and there was no similar experience like it in Egypt.

An assessment done in 2008 for the EYCG's members to evaluate their own experience in the group and the relationship with the government, and their results were as following (Ibrahim, 2008):

Concerning the member's evaluation for their performance, the most three significant results were: when asked if they believe that the EYCG had a good organizational and administrative qualification, 75% answered by no, and only 25% answered by yes. When asked if they believe they had a good partnership and networking inside the group, again 75% answered by no, and only 25% answered yes. And when asked if the EYCG had a strong background about youth needs they were divided equally 50% answered by yes and 50% answered by no (ibid).

With regards to their relationship with the government, the members were asked three main questions. First, when they were asked if there were there any obstacles in the membership in the participation of the EYCG in the NAP-SC, 62.5% answered yes, and

37.5% answered by no. Second, when they were asked if they thought that the views of the youth representatives in the NAP-SC were taken into consideration, 75% answered yes, and 25% answered no. Third, when they were asked if they thought that the relationship between the EYCG and the Government (MOMM) was cooperative and depended on mutual dependence. 12.5% answered yes, and 87.5 % answered no (ibid).

3.3. Role of International Organizations

It was found that there were some attempts by international organizations to support the efforts of Youth Empowerment, Participation, and institutionalizing their aspirations in the national policies through assisting the process to develop a National Youth Policy. In this section, the research focuses on the role of the UNICEF due to its leadership in youth empowerment on many different levels.

3.3.1. UNICEF's work on Youth Empowerment and Participation

UNICEF has a specific Program for "Adolescent Development and Participation". This program has three main objectives one of which is (UNICEF, n.d.):

- Strengthening acquisition of employability skills, entrepreneurship skills, and life skills
- Promoting and supporting adolescent rights in participation and civic engagement
- Generating data and advocating evidence-based policies for young people

The objectives that are concerned with youth empowerment are translated into many programs and activities

UNICEF had established a partnership with the Ministry of Youth and Sports, to implement a “Civic Education Programme”, aiming at equipping young people with knowledge, skills, and necessary attitudes for active citizenship and civic engagement (UNICEF, n.d.).

In addition to the civic education program, special efforts are directed to build the capacity of youth groups, as well as school student unions as a mechanism for adolescent and youth participation, as well as to promote the engagement of young people around child and youth rights through social media (ibid).

UNICEF has an important role in advocating policies related to youth issues through producing new research and data and feed them into policy dialogue. They have supported many national surveys and knowledge products to facilitate evidence based

youth policy dialogues, while encouraging young people to have an active participation role in the processes (ibid).

In their work with The Ministry of Youth and Sports, UNICEF has adopted a method to ensure a long term and sustainable positive change inside the ministry by dealing with them as a partner of success not just as a donor. This methodology is based on building the capacities of the leaders, building their strategic management skills, how they view their roles and responsibilities, and in the approaches and mechanisms they adopt to implement their work, thus understanding its impact and value and adhering to it.

"In 2003, we worked with many ministries and we signed with them MOU. We did not deal with them as a donor who gives money. What we care about is the capacity building component and tried to create a positive effect on the long term." (Program Officer in the UNICEF, 2014)

In the framework to promote and support adolescent rights for participation and civic engagement, UNICEF established a partnership with the Ministry of Youth and Sports. The partnership was to implement a "Civic Education Program", which got famous for credibility more than other programs in Egypt. Most importantly the reason for that, was its great concern and support of the ministry and the new implementation methodology.

"The program that became the most well-known was the Civic Education Program. The Civic Education Program was getting a lot of attention from the president of the national council for youth. He felt that this is the thing he wants to speak about and show how proud he was. Then he created a department called Civic Education". (Program Officer in the UNICEF, 2014)

UNICEF convinced the Ministry of Youth to depend on young people in training their peers. UNICEF provided training of trainers for young people from all over Egypt, and then these young people trained other young people in their communities using non-formal education techniques.

"We worked with the ministry to train youth as trainers, and then they train other young people. Now they have a large team of young people from the civic education program supporting all their programs. When they cooperate with other institutions as well, they bring the young trainers of the civic education program. I consider this a positive change." (Program Officer in the UNICEF, 2014)

UNICEF also focused on the reform of the policies that affects directly young people, rather than working on policies in general they worked on the bylaws and ensure youth participation in its formulation. For example, when they focused on the student's bylaws and they have consulted students on their expectations and needs to be included in the proposed student bylaws.

3.3.2. International Organizations and National Youth Policy

Many international organizations were concerned about the issue of youth participation and the development of the National Youth Policy. Many of them gave and still giving a priority to this issue due to its importance on both local, regional and

international agenda. They tried to support through many activities such as: organizing workshops with youth NGOs about their vision for the future, and about their issues.

"The National Youth Policy was on our Agenda and the Agenda of the regional office. The last thing we achieved was an initiative with the Egyptian Federation for Youth NGOs. In association with them, we organized an Open Space Workshop about the National Youth Policy, and shared the outcomes of the workshop with the Ministry of Youth and Sports". (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

Some have supported Ministry of Youth and Sports in their activities on both the local and regional level, and giving their feedback on the National Youth Policy document developed by the National Democratic Party in 2005.

"We aided the Ministry of Youth several times. For instance, when they conducted a regional conference with the Arab league about Youth Policy. We organized an open space workshop about "Towards future's vision for Youth Issues" and we sent them the outcomes of the workshops as well as our comments on the National Youth Policy document of the National Democratic Party and on the process". (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

3.3.3. Challenges faced by international organization in Institutionalizing Youth Aspirations in the public policy process

International organizations have witnessed and were involved in many initiatives and efforts towards institutionalizing youth aspirations in the national public policies. They took part in the efforts exerted towards the development of a National Youth Policy, establishment of National Council for Youth and the development of the National Action Plan for Youth Employment. Out of experience some concluded that the challenges facing those efforts were how to turn ideas in the policy documents into action. There could be a perfect policy document, but the problem is how to put it in action, and who is to be responsible for following up the implementation.

"The problem concerning the National Youth Policy in Egypt is not to have a policy document but the problem is how to put it in action, and who is to be responsible to follow it up. The problem is even if there were a great policy document and a great action plan, who will be responsible to follow up with the implementation and the objectives of the policy? There is no one. I wish that the Ministry of Youth would play this role, and to realize that the National Youth Policy is multidisciplinary and that it includes many ministries. The Ministry should have a secretariat to follow up the implementation of all results and all activities."
(Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

From their experiences, many believe that Ministry of Youth is still suffering from the lack of a long-term vision of what they really want to achieve. That's why the

administration seemed to lack the will or interest to institutionalize youth aspirations. This also reflected on their activities, which were carried out on an ad hoc manner.

"I didn't ever feel that there is a serious administration that wants to do something about the National Youth Policy." "The main challenge of The Ministry of Youth is that they do not have a vision or objectives so their work is very ad hoc." (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

In the efforts of establishing the National Council for Youth, they have witnessed the start of the idea of having a council with a board of trustees with a majority of young people to represent young people. What actually happened was that they changed the name of the Ministry of Youth to the 'National Council for Youth' with a board of trustees. They moved the whole structure of the Ministry to the council, which turned to be a bureaucratic institution without any change in what it offers

"I liked very much the idea of establishing a real National Council for Youth, and it was the initial idea and at that time they were discussing that around three quarters of the representation will be young people and the rest will be experts, and the council will have a board of trustees. What actually happened was that they changed the name of the Ministry of Youth to The National Council for Youth, and they created a board of trustees but it was useless. Finally, the entire Ministry transferred to the Council. The board of trustees was working in one direction and the whole ministry working in another direction. The idea was good, but it was changed and by time it was forgotten." (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

The situation towards the development of a national youth policy is still in the same stage since 2004, even the previous efforts done to advocate for its development was faced

by many challenges such as the continuous change in the leaders inside the ministry, absence of the right understanding for the National Youth Policy and why it is needed, absence of the believe that it is needed, and the absence of a strong civil society, youth organizations and youth groups to call for the importance of the National Youth Policy.

"Since 2004 we have been in the same point. If we conclude the challenges that led to that they will be, the continuous change of leaders inside the ministry, absence of correct understanding of the National Youth Policy, and absence of the believe that it is necessary. We need a strong civil society, youth organizations and youth groups to call for the importance of this policy. Why should anyone care as long as no one spoke and asked for it, and as long as all ministries are still working, and everything is fine and nobody is complaining." (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

One of the advantages, that some international organizations see the Ministry of Youth and Sports unique in having flexible and open leaders who have a great desire to work and cooperate with many organizations.

"The Ministry of Youth is the ministry that is most flexible in accepting new ideas and cooperating with other institutions. However, their main challenge is that they do not have a vision or objectives so their work is very ad hoc. If you speak to any leader in the Ministry of Youth, they are open for ideas and show a willingness to implement and work." (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

While the biggest challenges in the ministry is the lack of coordination and the duplication in roles and responsibilities between the different departments while there is no cooperation between them.

"There is a lot of duplication between roles of departments and divisions, and there is no cooperation between them. For example, there is a department called 'civic education department' and another department called 'volunteering department' and both come up with youth initiatives." (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

3.3.4. International Organization's vision towards youth participation in policymaking

With regards to institutionalizing youth aspirations in policy through effective youth participation in the policymaking process, international organizations think that Ministry of Youth should play more active role in that. Youth issue is a cross cutting issue in many policies, there must be a secretariat that is following how youth issue is targeted in all these policies.

"I wish that Ministry of Youth play this role, and to know that the National Youth Policy is a multidisciplinary thing that includes many ministries and it Ministry should have a secretariat to follow up the implementation of all results and all activities". (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

The development of National Youth Policy should not be the responsibility of the Ministry of Youth alone, as youth issues is a cross cutting issue. So it should be the responsibility of all concerned ministries and they should have a continuous involvement.

"National Youth Policy should not be the responsibility of Ministry of Youth at all, they may be the initiator and help to get young people to the different Ministries. But the top administration doesn't understand that Youth Policies means that all

ministries will be involved: Ministry of education will be involved, Ministry of higher education will be involved, Ministry of Health, Ministry of housing, ministry of Manpower, all of them will be involved" (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

To have a National Youth Policy that really addresses the needs of young people, it should involve young people in all the stages and provide them with the space to give their feedback equally about the policy. The main challenge is the ability to have a real representation of young people including vulnerable and disadvantaged.

"Young people should have a role in the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of policies. It should be recognized that it is necessary to allow them to comment on any policy or bylaw that affects youth". "The main challenge is to have true representation of youth and to reach the vulnerable youth in the formulation of the National Youth Policy or at least include their priorities, and the biggest challenges they face." (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

Also young people should play an important role in the implementation and the follow up of the national Youth Policy to ensure the effective translation of components of the policy to real results on ground.

"Youth should have a strong role after the consultation. There should be sort of a committee working on the formulation of the policy with experts in policy formulation, and youth should have a role in the formulation process too. The part we are not used to is to have young people play a role in the implementation and follow-up of the policy." (Program Officer in an international organization, 2014)

3.4. Role of Youth NGOs

Theoretically NGOs are considered to be much closer to the people. They are in direct contact with them in their communities. They also can represent people and speak on their behalf with all other stakeholders. In this section the research will focus on the role of youth NGOs in supporting the efforts towards the institutionalization of youth aspirations in the national public policies.

The research identified the presence of a network of youth NGOs that played an important role in the efforts mentioned earlier.

This network of Youth NGOs is an official network that was registered at the Ministry of Social Solidarity in 2006 as "The Egyptian Youth Federation". It is considered the only registered federation for NGOs working with young people. The federation is composed of 14 organizations from 5 different governorates (Cairo, Giza, Alexandria, Minia and North Sinai).

The federation aimed at empowering the youth NGOs so that they can better serve their communities through different channels such as networking and capacity development.

3.4.1. Youth Federation work on Youth Empowerment and Participation

Youth organizations gave a lot of attention to the issue of youth empowerment and participation in decision-making or policy-making process. Although there are no channels for youth participation in the decision-making or policy-making in the national public policies, yet they have tried to implement these values internally inside their own organizations.

The Egyptian Youth Federation is an example for being envisioned to represent young people. They have taken some measures towards that such as recruiting employees for the federation who are young people, and involving them in the annual strategy development.

"The Egyptian Youth Federation is concerned with Youth Participation in decision making, this concern is derived from how EYF envisions itself as representing the indecent voice of Youth." "The employees hired were youth, they were an integral part of setting the strategy of the Organization, together with the board of directors in 2012. The programs were designed in collaboration with the youth groups working with EYF". (Former member of the Egyptian Youth Federation)

The Egyptian Youth Federation carried out projects serving the aim of promoting youth participation. This was done in cooperation with many organizations such as The Ministry of Youth and Sports, Microsoft, EFG Hermes, UNICEF, the Danish Youth Council (DUF), the British Council, Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), and The German Development Cooperation (GIZ).The projects are as follows:

- *Ambassadors for Dialogue project*: bringing young people from Egypt, Jordan and Denmark to train them on "Dialogue Tools", so that they conduct interactive and challenging dialogue activities for thousands of young people at universities and high schools in the three countries. The project provided young people with the opportunity to discuss and debate cultural differences, religion, family life, politics, and tradition – whatever the young people wish to engage in a dialog about (EYF, 2012).
- *Building the Capacity of Youth NGOs to Foster Adolescent Participation*: In partnership with the UNICEF, the project aimed at building the capacity of the member NGOs to be able to act as an effective network that serves in members and to act as umbrella institutions for adolescent groups, fostering adolescent participation in community development (ibid).
- *"Egypt at the Crossroad"*: Which was a series of seminars targeting youth from all over Egypt and from different disciplines. The seminars discussed issues that are relevant to the transition that Egypt is undergoing, their understanding of this period, discovering their potential to change and improve the social reality of Egypt, and developing their own project ideas and implementing them effectively. The aim is to support young people to shape their futures independently and join social dialogue in Egypt (ibid).

3.4.2. Youth Federation and National Youth Policy

Youth NGOs had played an active role in the efforts initiated by UNICEF to promote the development of a National Youth Policy. The Egyptian Youth Federation cooperated with UNICEF and Ministry of Youth and Sports (National Youth Council that time) in this context and had lead the content development and the implementation of the workshops organized for the purpose of promoting National Youth Policy.

"EYF was handling the content of the workshop as well as the participants of the workshop. It designed comparative analysis for the different processes of Youth Policy development. And facilitated a three-day open space for gathering relevant topics and themes that young civil society activists from different governorates would be interested in". (Former member of the Egyptian Youth Federation)

Although the discussion during the workshop was positive and the recommendations of the workshop were good, yet there was no follow up on these ideas to build on them and actually achieve the development of the National Youth Policy

"My feedback about the workshop is average, and this is only because nothing was developed based on it from any of the partners and the leadership of the ministry changes frequently". (Former member of the Egyptian Youth Federation)

4. Conclusion

Analyzing the findings with regards to identifying extent of institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process in Egypt. Also investigating the different experiences and roles of the different stakeholders of the issue such as Ministry of Youth and Sports, Ministry of Manpower, UNICEF, Federation of Youth NGOs and Egyptian Youth Consultative Group. We can summarize the conclusions under five main topics:

1. The role played by Ministry of Youth and Sports toward institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process.
2. The role played by Ministry of Manpower and Migration toward institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process.
3. The role played by International Organizations toward institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process.
4. The role played by Civil Society organizations toward institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process.
5. The extent of including youth Aspirations in the public policy process

First: The role played by Ministry of Youth and Sports toward institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process.

In this section will conclude the role Ministry of Youth and Sports played towards the institutionalization of youth aspirations in the public policy process in Egypt: how this

reflected in their strategy and activities, in their internal public policy, in the other public policies and efforts toward the development of youth policy.

Ministry of Youth and Sports strategic plan

- Although the Ministry of Youth and Sports had developed a strategic plan that included mission statement, strategic objectives, field of work, initiatives and activities but the interview from the ministry itself, international organization and civil society mentioned that the ministry lacks a strategic vision. That's why most of their activities are ad hoc that do not contribute to the overall strategy in sustainable manner, which turns their strategy components to be just a template.
- Also the Ministry's mission statement and objectives mentioned that they are focusing on political and community participation, yet it was found that there was nothing to do with the inclusion of youth aspirations in the public policy process.

Youth Inclusion in Ministry of Youth and Sports' internal policy

- The Ministry of Youth has no mechanism for youth inclusion and participation in the development of its own internal policy, and heads of departments used to design their policies and programs based on indirect identification of the needs of young people. This means that, according to the participation ladder, youth are in the lower rungs – between the first and the second rungs (Manipulation and

Decoration). Where programs and projects are initiated and led by adults, and youth are either directed without even informing or informed about the decision with no input to be expected from them.

Ministry of Youth and Sports Inclusion in other Public Policies

- No cooperation between the MOY and any other Ministry on the level of the Policy-making: other Ministries do not consult MOY or ask MOY to invite young people to consult them on their policies. They only cooperate in program level

Ministry of Youth and Sports' Activities / Egypt Youth Parliament

- Egypt Youth Parliament is not supporting youth participation at all in decision-making, although it has a very wide mechanism for youth representation all over Egypt.
 - All of its activities is limited only to awareness and has nothing to do with real youth participation in policy-making.
 - When youth just started to participate and deal with policy-makers and to have real participation and empowerment, Ministry of Youth and Sports stopped the elections and reduced the age bracket to 24. This was done with disregard to the definition of youth, which is up to the age of 35. In doing so, they excluded a category of youth that has more life experience and have participated in the labor market.
 - Misconception by youth and their families about the parliament

- Young people were called as kids as they thought they are in a real parliament

Ministry of Youth and Sports and Youth Policy

- In Egypt there isn't a clearly defined National Youth Policy, There is no National Youth Policy that fulfills the components and structure mentioned previously in the literature review. All the efforts done by the Ministry of Youth and Sports was supporting the organization of workshops and seminars discussion the

Second: The role played by Ministry Manpower and Migration toward institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process.

- Ministry of Manpower and Migration had supported young people initiative to take part in the development of the National Action Plan for Youth Employment, and they accepted the invitation of the ILO to attend the youth workshop. MOMM made sure that young people group (EYCG) are invited to the preparation meetings of the NAP.

Third: The role played by International Organizations toward institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process.

International Organizations strongly supported the efforts of Youth empowerment, and the development of the National Youth policy. Unfortunately, they did not find true

will from the Ministry of Youth and Sports to achieve it. They did this through organizing workshops and trainings.

Another case study, showing a successful case of Youth Participation in the development of the National Action Plan for Youth Employment, revealed a higher level of youth participation in the participation ladder that reached the 5th rung (Consulted and informed). The programs and projects were initiated and led by adults, but youth are consulted and informed about how their input will be utilized. As shown in the case study, international organizations had an important role in supporting and paving the road for more effective youth participation, through different channels:

Capacity building

International organizations had supported youth participation through building the capacities of youth and assist them to have effective and active representation and organization. International organizations had organized two capacity building training programs and hired a management consultant to assist in the lack of youth to management skills.

Dialog with the government

International organizations had a significant role in opening channels of dialog and communication between youth and the government. As mentioned earlier, during the last day of the first capacity building program, a meeting between the Minister of Manpower

and Migration and International organizations was held. In the meeting, they made sure that the MOMM will include youth officially in the NAP-SC through specific tasks.

Fourth: The role played by Civil Society organizations toward institutionalizing youth aspirations in the public policy process.

Youth organizations had played an active role in facilitating the discussion of issues with young people. Unfortunately, there was no true indication that they have initiated or exerted efforts to advocate youth participation in decision-making and policy-making process. Their involvement was clear when international organizations facilitated the dialog with the government.

Fifth: The extent of including youth aspirations in the public policy process

- From the previous conclusion, it is clear that the extent of including youth aspirations in the public policy process in Egypt is very weak. There is no clear active youth participation in policy making in Egypt as there is no sustainable structure or mechanism (formal or informal) to support young people to play this role.
- Government does not provide any institutional framework or mechanism to ensure the inclusion of youth aspirations in the national public policies, even when it happened at MOMM, it was an individual case because of the support of the international organizations.

- International Organizations and civil society organization are providing good support and exerting efforts. They succeeded to create a successful model that can be replicated through capacity building and connection with government.

5. Recommendations

According to the current situation and to ensure an effective institutionalization for youth aspirations in the national public policies, we will try to propose a set of recommendations following the success models international and local level. The recommendations will seek the concept of institutionalization, which means that the inclusion of youth aspirations becomes part of the system and a sustainable process, not just related to individual efforts.

The recommendations will make sure to involve all community sectors and all stakeholders concerned with the Youth issue, and identifying a specific role for each of them, they are as follows:

- Youth
- Youth NGOs
- Government
- Private sector
- Civil Society Organizations
- International Organizations

The recommendations are set on two main levels: first the institutional or the organizational framework and second the implementation mechanism.

First the institutional or the organizational framework

There should be a body or an organizational framework that truly represents young people in Egypt and mandated to represent young people in policy-making process. As per the literature review, there are many forms to act as an institutional framework for youth representation. Such as The National Youth Council and The National Youth Parliament, and it is expected to have the following:

Recognition

- It should be officially recognized by the government or the parliament through an official act or decree.

Representation and Composition

- The members should be young people.
- It should be representative for the Egyptian youth geographically, socially and economically – we could follow the model of representation of the "Egypt Youth Parliament".
- It should have youth representatives from the relevant ministries dealing with youth issues. Their role is to update the council with what have been done in their ministries and discuss their available resources.

- It should have youth representatives from Youth Organizations, Youth Studies Centers, any youth relevant organizations.

Mandate

- It should be the voice for young people and channel through which the government and other decision policy makers are always informed of the views and aspirations of the youth.
- It should act as a coordination body for youth organizations.
- Should have the leading role in designing a multi-disciplinary and integrated National Youth Policy or National Youth Development Plan in collaboration with all ministries responsible for youth issues.
- Perform the Monitoring and Evaluation for implementation of the National Youth Policy or National Youth Development Plan using result-based Management Approach and setting clear key performance indicators.
- Act as an advisory or a resource center for youth affairs for any concerned stakeholder in the country.
- Advocate for youth issues and mobilize resources for the different youth programs and activities done by themselves or other stakeholders.

Second the implementation mechanism

There should be a mechanism that ensures that all youth aspirations are mainstreamed in all the public policies in Egypt in a comprehensive manner. As per the literature review there are many forms to act as this mechanism. One of them is National Youth Policy or National Youth Development Plan, and it is expected to have the following:

- It should be a multi-disciplinary and integrated policy that includes all policies related to youth affairs such as: Education/Training, Employment, Health, Housing, Leisure time, Culture and Heritage, etc
- Commitment and involvement are necessary from all concerned ministries toward this mechanism.
- It should have a high-ranking official recognition to ensure the commitment of all stakeholders toward the policy or plan.
- It should be developed after a long process of youth consultations.
- It should clearly state who is responsible for the coordination of the overall policy or plan.
- It should follow the format of an effective policy, not just an outline for what each ministry is doing. It should have specific goals and objectives that are translated to concrete activities.

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7. Appendices

Appendix One

Interview guide for interview with a representative from Ministry of Youth:

A. Cooperation with other ministries:

1. How do u cooperate with other ministries?
2. Do you cooperate on policy level?
3. Do they consult you in policy formulation?
4. If yes, give examples?
5. How do you evaluate this cooperation?
6. If no, why do u think they don't?
7. And how do you see the situation should be?
8. Do you cooperate on program level? If yes, give examples?
9. How do u evaluate it?
10. Did the revolution made any changes in how the other ministries cooperate with you?

B. National youth policy

1. Is there any efforts to develop a national youth policy

2. Who is supporting these efforts (departments and organizations)
3. How do u see the policy should do?
4. How do u see the role of the ministry in it?
5. How do u see the role of young people in it?

Interview guide for interview with a representative from an International organization / NGOs working on youth policy? (UNICEF, ILO, UNESCO, UNFPA, Youth Federation)

General

1. What are your areas of focus with regards to youth issues?

Cooperation with other ministries:

2. What Ministries do you cooperate with on the youth issues?
3. How do u cooperate with other ministries?
4. How do you cooperate with Ministry of Youth?
5. Do you cooperate on program level? If yes, give examples?
6. How do u evaluate it?

7. Do you cooperate on policy level? Do you assist them in developing their strategies?
8. If yes, give examples?
9. How do you evaluate this cooperation?

10. If no, did you try to approach? If yes, why do u think they don't?
11. And how do you see the situation should be?

12. What obstacles that u face in cooperation on both program and policy

A. National youth policy

1. Is there any efforts to develop a national youth policy
2. With whom you work to support these efforts (departments in Ministries and organizations)?
3. How do u see the policy should do?

4. How do u see the role of the ministry in it?
5. How do u see the role of young people in it?
6. How do you see your role to support these efforts?

7. What are the challenges that is facing its development
8. Obstacles in integrating youth

Interview guide for interview with a representative from Egypt Youth parliamentary?

A. The role of the Egypt Youth Parliament

1. What is the role of the Egypt Youth Parliament?
2. How youth become members in the Egypt Youth Parliament?
3. What is the structure of the Egypt Youth Parliament?
4. What are the activities of the Egypt Youth Parliament?
5. How do you outreach other youth (Website, Facebook,,etc)
6. How did u join?
7. What obstacles do you face?
8. What is your recommendations?
9. Did the revolution made any changes in how the other ministries cooperate with you?
10. Do you exchange experience with other youth parliamentary in any other countries? What do we miss in our model?
11. What do you proposes to develop the Egyptian model?

B. Cooperation with other ministries:

1. Do you do any activities related to the inclusion of youth aspiration in the national policies with other Ministries?
2. If Yes, Give examples?
3. How do you evaluate it?
4. If no, why do u think they don't?
5. And how do you see the inclusion of youth aspiration in the national policies should be?
6. Do you cooperate on program level? If yes, give examples?
7. How do u evaluate it?

C. National youth policy

1. Is there any efforts from the side of the Egypt Youth Parliament to develop a national youth policy?
2. With whom you work to support these efforts (departments in Ministries and organizations)?
3. How do u see the policy should do?
4. How do u see the role of the Egypt Youth Parliament in it?
5. How do u see the role of young people in it?
6. How do you see your role to support these efforts?

Interview guide for focus group with young people both who did and did not have any service from the Ministry of youth?

1. What are the most policies that you feel affects your future?
2. Do you feel that your aspirations are taken in consideration in these policies?
3. Have you ever participated in a consultation session about preparing a policy?
4. If yes, give example
5. If no, why do you think they don't?
6. Have you ever participated in the activities of the Ministry of Youth?
7. If yes, How
8. If no, why?
9. Have you heard about the Egypt Youth Parliament?
10. What do you expect the role of the Egypt Youth Parliament?