



رابطة التضامن العراقية للشباب

Al-Tadhamun Iraqi League For Youth

مواطنة • قيادة • مبادرة

The Impact of Clan Identity-Based Policies on the Youth's Political Participation in Al- Anbar Governorate

By:

AL-TADHAMUN IRAQI LEAGUE FOR YOUTH

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Thanks and Appreciation

As part of the consideration given by Al-Tadhamun Iraqi League for Youth's (TILY) to providing its audience with a qualitative knowledge, this joint project, in which entities have joined efforts, was completed as a guide that supports researchers and those interested in studying the sociology of Iraqi clans and their identities.

TILY counts on the importance of scientific research in order to achieve benefits in the areas of human society, progress, cultural evolution and its continuity, and enrich people's culture and knowledge through the collection of various data and documents, in addition to the establishment and interpretation of facts.

As we highly value the efforts that contributed to the completion of this project, TILY expresses its thanks and appreciation to all those who took part in the research titled "The Impact of Clan Identity-Based Policies on the Youth's Political Participation in Al-Anbar Governorate". We are pleased to proudly mention those who helped us, starting with Assistant Professor Abdullah Bahr Fayyad, who's efforts we greatly value, and the project's coordinator, psychological researcher Thaer Abdul Jabbar Kamel, who has supervised this research and contributed to it from start to finish. We would also like to express our thanks to the experts and researchers for their valuable contribution and their commitment to objectivity when dealing with this project's terminology through coordinated efforts and a participatory spirit to make sure that the content matches the reality of the clan situation in Al-Anbar.

TILY would also like to express its thanks and appreciation to the official and non-state bodies that did not hesitate to grant us the facilities necessary for the work of the research teams in Al-Anbar Governorate by providing them with formal approvals from the start of the research project up to its final stages.

TILY extends all praise and appreciation to the young researchers of Al-Fallujah and Ramadi teams, who exerted outstanding efforts to distribute the questionnaire forms and collect data from the groups targeted by the research. In addition, the League praises and expresses its appreciation to those included in the research sample for their serious interaction when it comes to carrying out the tasks they were assigned, especially the speed and accuracy of their answers to the questionnaire.

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Introduction

The Iraqi society in general, and the society of Al-Anbar Governorate in particular was characterized by the plurality of clans, which has led to its members acquiring various cultures that directly affected their social and political behavior. The laws of geography constituted borders, within which social entities called clans were established. These entities organize the relations between their members and have interconnected features and ideas that represent the clan as an integrated social institution that has agreed-upon basic principles. Iraqi clans were characterized by the prevalence of the collective mindset (all for all), where the individual defends others because he is part of a group that guarantees his defense by others.

This comes in addition to the automatic solidarity that also prevailed among Iraqi clans, as there was no room for thoughts or hesitation when it came to defending the clan along with the resulting behaviors that are often coupled with caution, vigilance, attention and seriousness. Therefore, the issue of caring for youth was no longer a priority for the clans. It even went beyond that to become a local phenomenon that ended the role of young people in society as the partners of today and the men of the future, in spite of the essential and special role they play in supporting the society's journey and activating the process of comprehensive development and growth, for human, developmental and political considerations among others.

There were only few attempts to think about the youth's issues, problems, interests and trends and try to find the proper solutions for them in the past. However, the 21st century witnessed a significant increase in interest in this issue among many experts such as sociologists, psychologists and pedagogues, along with organizations, especially those concerned with youth, to the point where the so-called youth culture emerged as a distinct culture that includes a mindset, values, trends, traditions, clothes and music specific to young people, distinguishing them from other groups in society.

For all the aforementioned reasons, TILY launched a research aimed at shedding light on the impact of the clan identity of Al-Anbar Governorate's youth on their political participation and the extent of their understanding of the role they play in the political life. The research explains clan-related concepts and that of the political participation in order to achieve the purpose behind it through the clarification of those concepts based on the idea that considers that after each time cycle in history, societies' need to assert themselves and review their affiliations arises. Human groups, among themselves, place this affiliation within the framework of the features of human commonalities. They name this affiliation in a way that refers to the clan identity as one of the elements of citizenship and the concept of identity. The research also seeks to look into the concept of political participation as one of the modern concepts that stands out within the frameworks of common relations and interests.

Overview of Al-Tadhamun Iraqi League for Youth

Al-Tadhamun Iraqi League for Youth (TILY) is a non-governmental, non-profit and unbiased organization that seeks to deal with the issues of youth, build their capacities, promote civil values and the values of democracy among them, introduce them to basic human rights and promote these rights among them as well.

This organization was established in 2004 in cooperation with its international and local partners. It strives to empower young people, develop their ideas and advocate for their causes by launching campaigns supporting such youth-related ideas, prepare competent young leaders and build a youth network that shares the same objectives and aspirations. The League was able to attract a large number of young people in order for them to share their ideas, experiences and expertise, and develop their sense of cooperation and democracy.

TILY's work is based on the values stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, especially youth rights. It has encouraged the development of communications channels between young people and governmental and civil society institutions along with the elected officials in order to make the youth's voices heard and adopt their ideas. As a result, there is now a solidarity vision that matches young people's ambitions and future aspirations, whether they were political, economic or social.

Executive Summary

Political participation opportunities are a leading way to reach an inclusive policy, through which citizens can take part in the public decision-making process.

Democracy is considered a relative practice that can grow or decrease because it is subject to the objective and subjective considerations of any society. It is a historical process that starts when the minimum conditions of its practice are met, turning it into a social behavior and a way of life when it spreads to all institutions, from practicing it at home to the participation in the politics. This means that there will not be a true political participation without a democratic culture, which is based on the belief in the freedom of individuals and their citizenship, and in power sharing between the rulers and their peoples, constituting the basis of any legitimate rule founded on the people's satisfaction. The essence of democracy lies in the effective political participation that is taken and not given, thus stressing its importance as it holds all the basic rights and freedoms. The lack of competitiveness and dialogue in institutions reflects a lack of true democracy, which is why we link between participation and the democratic process. Many intellectuals confirm that participation is among the principals of democracy, as it clearly reflects political and intellectual pluralism through its political dimension. In addition, on the political scene, it clarifies the distribution of roles relevant to managing and organizing the political life, ensures that people are free to assume their responsibilities, protects their rights including their freedom of speech, refuses all forms of ideological, sectarian and clan-based discrimination and ensures everyone's participation in the decision-making process. This is important because power does not mean distributing shares and positions to formally satisfy the public, but rather means contributing to the management and monitoring of public affairs.

The youth's political participation in traditional societies, including rural societies that are clan-based, is highly affected by the symbols and values of the society in question. Young people's social entourage in Al-Anbar Governorate could impact their perceptions, political behavior and political positions due to the social upbringing, which divides society to distinct classes bearing titles such as honor and nobility among others. These sectoral influences in clan-based societies greatly contribute to stimulating the clan identity-based electoral behavior when it comes to any political position.

The organization seeks to evaluate young people's understanding of and perceptions towards political participation (their readiness, acceptance and interaction) in the urban and rural areas of Al-Anbar Governorate. So, the organization thinks that it is necessary to conduct a study on the impact of positive affiliation on the youth's exclusion from or interaction with political participation by conducting a field research that consists of a number of open-ended and closed-ended questions included in a questionnaire form designed by experts in the field. This questionnaire would allow us to identify the impact of clan identity on young people's political participation in the districts of Ramadi and Al-Fallujah, the largest inhabited districts of Al-Anbar Governorate. This research targeted young people living in rural areas and those with rural origins living in urban areas. The assisting working group consisting of young people, which was entrusted with distributing the questionnaire, took part in a special training session to improve their experience and build their capacities when it comes to distributing and monitoring the questionnaire and how to interact with the respondents in order to collect the required information. Therefore, the data was collected and the necessary statistical process was implemented. The results were then presented, analyzed and discussed in a scientific manner that relied on the

answers of the research sample. The importance of this study lies in identifying the extent of the clan identity's impact on youth's participation in the political process. This will hopefully allow the organization to present results, through which we can showcase the future vision and possibilities of the political sphere in the governorate, especially among young people.

This research was printed as a guide that explains the clan-based map from the youth's point of view and their political participation. In the final stage, meetings and forums will be organized to present the research and its results with the aim of developing the democratic perspective of clans and that of the civil society in a way that promotes the establishment of a good governance and limiting the potential conflicts that might arise in Al-Anbar Governorate as a result of this ideological fragmentation. Illustration (1) shows the research implementation steps:

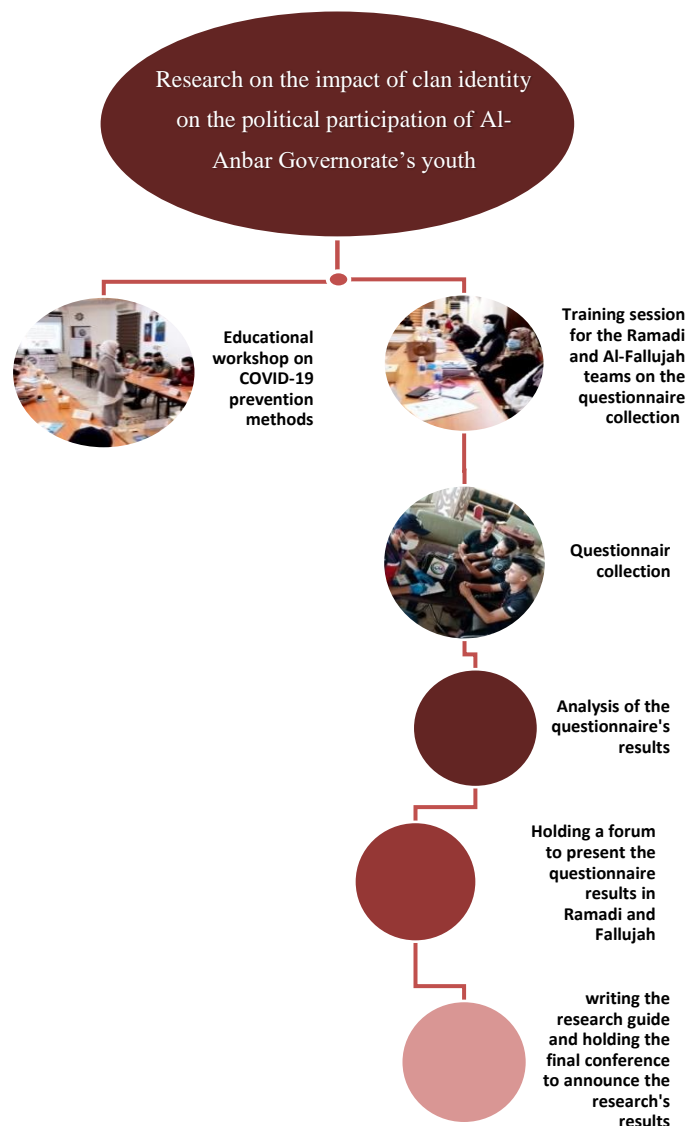


Illustration 1
The implementation stages of the research on the impact of clan identity on the political participation of Al-Anbar Governorate's youth

Questions raised by the research:

Political work is often seen as a space for older people and for people with long political experience. Hence, young people are marginalized because of their young age, limited opportunities and lack of experience despite the fact that the youth's higher political participation and their presence in decision-making positions benefit all citizens, not only young people. The questions raised by this research are as follows:

1. Does youth in Al-Anbar Governorate have a clan identity?
2. Does youth in Al-Anbar Governorate have the desire to participate in politics?
3. Does youth in Al-Anbar Governorate have a sense of responsibility towards their segment and preventing the marginalization of their role in the political sphere?
4. Does clan identity have an impact on the youth's political participation in Al-Anbar Governorate?

Research objectives:

1. Identifying the impact of clan identity on Al-Anbar Governorate's youth.
2. Identifying the level of political participation of Al-Anbar Governorate's youth.
3. Identifying the impact of clan identity on the political participation of Al-Anbar Governorate's youth.

Clan identify and the youth political participation situation in Al-Anbar Governorate:

Clan affiliation is one of the most important characteristics of Al-Anbar Governorate, as most of the clan members consider it as an essential pillar of the political system, considering it as the main reason behind the loyalty and affiliation and the substantial equivalent of political parties and forces.

Clans are currently facing a series of fundamental challenges threatening the structure of this traditional social system with worsening economic, social and political crisis in Iraq. This comes in light of the political system's adoption of the concept of a civil state, which fundamentally contradicts this structure and seeks to put an end to it.

In order to understand the clan principles in Al-Anbar, we have to review the path of its rise and the decline of the importance of its role in Al-Anbar Governorate's political life. Nearly a century before the establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1920, clan affiliation went through three significant types of leaderships: the leadership of blood, bureaucracy and money. These norms governed the development of clans along with their path upwards and downwards. They resulted in deep shifts that had a significant impact on the form of the clans, their role and their public national presence.¹

Clan leaders constituted, during the establishment of the Iraqi state and the period that followed the independence across all of Iraq's governorates, a main pillar of the political system, as the state recognized the role and social presence of those elders, while the political system received the support of these forces, which guaranteed the loyalty of the clan members.

The society of Al-Anbar Governorate has witnessed numerous changes, such as population growth, urbanization, bureaucracy growth, the rise of scientific mindsets, openness to the outside

¹ Adnan Yassin Mustafa, Baghdad (2018), Iraqi Clans and Their Political Role (2nd Edition), Dar Al-Hikma.

world, technological advancements, capitalism and relative individualism, which have all weakened the formal coherence of the clan-based structure. However, they were not able to abolish the fundamental cohesion of this structure found in the individual's loyalty to the clan.

Al-Anbar Governorate's society is considered a young one, as young people constitute the largest proportion of it. In addition, at least 80 percent of those young men and women are not affiliated with any political party or group and do not take part in partisan politics despite their high level of political awareness. This fact in itself takes us back to the following question: why does this group, which is most capable of dealing with this era and its components, remain out of the scene of events and away from the political and partisan structures and systems?²

The concept of clan identity:

The collective identity was formed since ancient times, when human groups came together and formed clans after the discovery of agriculture and irrigation. This is when the human being started to acknowledge his individual weakness, drew strength from his clan and sought to protect it, which led him to antagonize other clans and feel threatened and insecure. Tribal and ethnic affiliations became a source of pride, as expressed in Arab tribal pride poems and through the glorification of lineages and ancestors.³

American author and political scientist Samuel Huntington says that: "Identities are defined through the knowledge of oneself. However, they are the result of the interaction between self and others, as the way others understand an individual or a group impacts the way the individual or the group define themselves. That is why people need to define themselves to others."⁴

Identity is a set of general characteristics and features that characterize a particular society or nation and give it a unique personality provided that it is aware of this uniqueness. Therefore, identity gives the members of this group a sense of belonging to a particular social entity, whether large or small, pushing them to be loyal to it.

Accordingly, clan identity refers to the basic common features of a group of people, the most important of which is their belonging to the same lineage and being distinguished from other groups. The members of this group share the basic features that brought them together as a group, while they might differ in terms of other elements that do not affect their unity. For example, what brings a particular clan together is its members' belonging to the same lineage, presence in the same homeland and a long-shared history.

The expression of identity through the clan gives it a certain power, it is even intended as such in the face of the power of others. So, expressing an identity in its framework gives it power. That is why the expression of identities is often done collectively, whether to preserve the existing power structure or call for its change. Therefore, individuals define themselves or are defined based on their clan-based social affiliation or any other sub-affiliation.

² Iraqi Ministry of Planning; National Development Plan for Iraq (2018-2022).

³ Dawn Chatty, (2016), Tribes, Tribalism and the Contemporary political identity (Issue no. 15), Omran Journal for Social Sciences.

⁴ Asma Mohammed Abbas, (2018), The Formation of Partisan Coalitions and the Political Development in Society (Issue no. 2), Analytical study from the perspective of political sociology, University of Baghdad, College of Arts.

The concept of clan identity is misused in some cases. There also seems to be double standards in regards to thoughts related to the wrong concept of clan identity, which is adopted, due to their justifiable violent tone, by extremist and terrorist groups and those who refuse opposing opinions.

The prevalence of clan identity and the erroneous collective mindset lead to a rigid mind and stagnating and misleading thoughts that call for extremism coupled with fanaticism and blind radicalization. In order for us to get out of the narrow tunnel of clan affiliation into the vast universe, we need to ensure the prevalence of the national identity alongside the clan identity after understanding what it is truly intended for.

The concept of political participation:

The United Nations General Assembly, when declaring 1985 as the International Youth Year, identified four dimensions for youth participation:

1. Economic participation represented by job opportunities.
2. Political participation in decision-making and in power.
3. Community participation and volunteering to serve the society and develop the environment.
4. Cultural participation.⁵

Political participation refers to the set of practices undertaken by citizens or through which they exert pressure in order to take part in the making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of political decisions as partners without being pressured by the state.

It is, as Samuel Huntington described it, “the practice undertaken by ordinary citizens in order to influence the making of political decisions, whether individual or collective, organized or spontaneous, continuous or sporadic, peaceful or violent, legitimate or illegitimate and effective or ineffective.”

Jalal Abdullah Mouawad defines it as follows: “In its most general meaning, it is the right of a citizen to play a certain role in the making of political decisions, while in its most specific meanings, it is the citizen’s right to evaluate and correct the decisions after they are made by the rulers.”

Therefore, citizens have a right to exercise and a role to play in making the decisions, monitoring their implementation and correcting them after they are made. It is then the contribution of the individual in one of the political activities that affect the decision-making process. Other similar activities include expressing one’s opinion regarding a public matter, partisan membership, joining or cooperating with a civil society organization, running for elections and holding any of the executive or legislative positions.

There are three types of political participation:

1. **Positive participation:** It is consistent with the recognized principles such as justice, freedom, participation, democracy and the pursuit of reform and development.

⁵ The United Nations General Assembly, Lisbon (1985), Youth Year Declaration.

2. **Biased participation:** It either benefits the society's prevailing political system or goes against it.
3. **Negative participation:** It is the case when a person is neutral and distant from any form of political participation.

The stages of political participation:

1. Political interest:

This interest stems from simply caring for or following up on public issues for long or short periods of time and following up on political developments. Some individuals tend to take part in political discussion with their family members or co-workers, while the occurrence of such situations increases during the times of crisis or electoral campaigns.

2. Political knowledge:

This refers to the knowledge of figures that play a political role in society, whether on the local or national level, such as the members of the local council, the district's members of parliament and ministers.

3. Electoral participation:

It refers to taking part in electoral campaigns by financing them, helping the candidates, voting, submitting complaints and becoming a member of a party or organization, as illustration (2) shows.

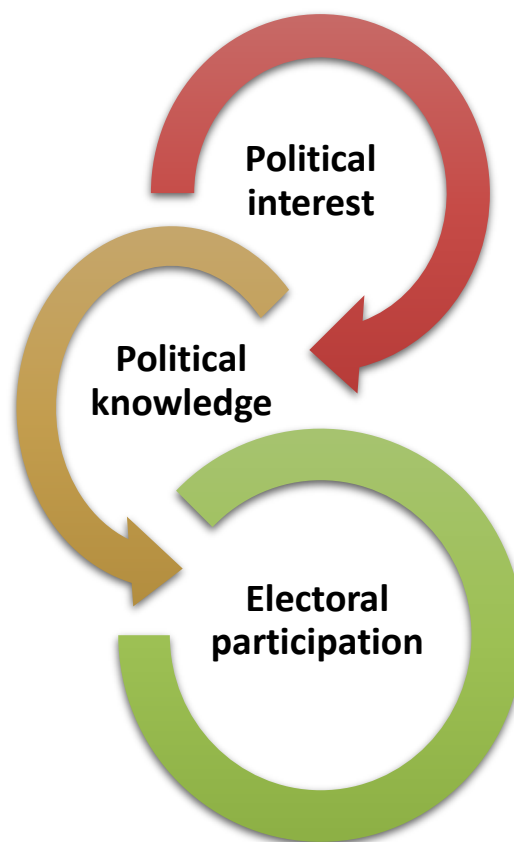


Illustration 2

Outline showcasing the stages of political participation

Youth and political participation

Political participation is considered the basis of democracy and the best expression of citizenship, which is represented through a series of activities that help in the practice of political power. The youth represent a large proportion of the population in Iraq generally and in Al-Anbar particularly, and have an effective and essential role when it comes to developmental issues. This pushed us to shed light on the youth's political participation in this research because they are the ones that have the energy and ability to give. They are the human capital capable of working and producing, as they are the solution to all of the society's problems.

It is safe to say that young people around the world are generally not represented adequately in political institutions and activities such as parliaments, political parties, elections, the judiciary and public administrations. For example, the voter databases in many countries show that young voters are less likely to take part in the elections than older citizens, in addition to their low rate of participation in political parties, parliaments and executive leadership roles. This has led many young people to feel political and social injustice and lose trust in official political processes. This situation also contributed to the increasing rates of poverty and unemployment, from which a large proportion of the youth suffer, in addition to a large number of them taking part in informal political processes.

Evidence show that young people tend to participate more in civil and social activities such as volunteering, helping others and taking part in awareness-raising campaigns, along with taking part in informal political activities such as demonstrations, marches and protests. They are usually the driving force of reform movements, while preferring not to take part in official political processes such as belonging to a political party, voting in elections or assuming executive positions.

The youth's political participation is composed of two types of activities:

First: Positive political activities, which are represented by the young people's behavior when they are somewhat satisfied with their political system and its executive powers, such as voting in elections, taking part in forums and conferences, joining political parties, joining advocacy groups, running for public office and assuming political positions.

Second: Negative activities, which are represented by the young people's behavior when they are not satisfied with their political system and its executive powers, such as demonstrations, sit-ins, protests and extremism.

The prevalence of positive political activities over the negative political activities or the prevalence of formal political activities over informal political activities depends on various social, political and economic factors. These factors include the young people's sense of belonging to their homeland and to what extent they feel that participating in the political life is a duty imposed by that sense of belonging.

Research Methodology:

The term “research methodology” refers to all the means adopted by researchers in order to complete their research. The descriptive research method was used here in order to make the methodology compatible with the nature of this field research, which can be used to identify the existing ties between various phenomena, explain them and give meaning to the relevant data. This helps us collect information and values that can help us accurately answer the questions raised by the research and find generalizable answers.

Research Tool:

The research tool consisted of a questionnaire form that included a range of open-ended questions, to which the research sample answered completely freely without any restrictions or conditions. It also included closed-ended questions that provided the respondents with between 3 and 8 options for them to choose 1 from in order to express their opinion in regards to the relevant question.

The form was prepared and codified in cooperation with a group of experts in the fields included in the research. It included 4 open-ended and 13 closed-ended questions to study the clan identity of Al-Anbar Governorate’s youth. It also included 6 open-ended and 14 closed-ended questions to study the political participation of Al-Anbar Governorate’s youth.

The research in question sought to identify the clan identity of youth and the extent of their desire to participate in the political life. In addition, after reviewing the literature on clan identity and political participation along with the definitions, characteristics and models that explained them, the questionnaire form went through several paths as follows:

- The Names of the experts that contributed to the preparation and codification of the questionnaire form:

<u>Full name</u>	<u>Scientific title</u>	<u>Specialization</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>
Sabre Bardan Ali	Professor	Counseling Psychology	University of Anbar
Abdullah Bahr Fayyad	Assistant Professor	Physiology	Open Educational College
Safaa Hamed Turki	Assistance Professor	Social Psychology	University of Anbar
Abdulkareem Abid Jomaa	Assistant Professor	General Psychology	University of Anbar
Azhar Mohammed Majid	Assistant Professor	Educational Psychology	University of Baghdad
Omar Abduljabbar Kamel	Lecturer	Political Sciences	Director of Smart News Agency
Mohammed Hamid	Lecturer	Statistics	Psychological Research Center

The Development of A Questionnaire Measuring The Impact Of Clan Identity On The Political Participation Of Al-Anbar's Youth:

First path:

For the purpose of achieving the research's objectives, TILY resorted to questionnaire development experts in order to put together a questionnaire capable of identifying the effect of clan identity-based policies and their impact on the political participation of Al-Anbar's Governorate's youth.

After that, an electronic form was launched, allowing young people who are willing to take part in the research and meet the requirements to apply. The applications were then sorted and the highest ranking and most qualified people to work on the research were determined.

TILY's officials later met with the applicants to choose 2 teams for the targeted districts consisting of 20 young men and women each for the cities of Ramadi and Al-Fallujah. The chosen applicants had to at least possess a first-level university degree in various specializations and have prior experience working with civil society organizations.



Second Path:

After forming the two working groups from Al-Fallujah and Ramadi, TILY organized a training workshop on the distribution and collection mechanism of the questionnaire forms in order to achieve the objective of the research titled “the impact of clan identity on the political participation of Al-Anbar Governorate’s youth.”

The workshop aimed at training the selected cadres, developing their questionnaire collection skills, especially the one prepared for this research, and teaching them how to interact with the targeted individuals. It also sought to prepare them so they can lead the political process and promote their role in the decision-making process, considering them as the main pillar of the society’s structure. In addition, the workshop stressed the importance of cultural and political awareness among young people along with their sense of responsibility when it comes to achieving the desired objectives by preparing a resilient generation capable of facing challenges.

The workshop consisted of 12 training hours provided on the course of two days through 3 sessions per day. It covered several training subjects that would realize the research’s objectives and develop the general and individual capabilities of the working groups’ members. The most important of those subjects were:

1. Meeting the respondents, their expectations, the objectives, the programs, the administrative arrangements and the pre-test.
2. Clarifying the concept of political participation, the types of personalities and how to deal with them and how to analyze the respondents’ answers.
3. Means of exchanging information and the basics of presenting and clarifying the questionnaire.
4. Effective communication between both teams, the use of the Kobo Toolbox program and the challenges.



Third Path:

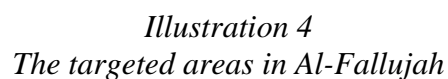
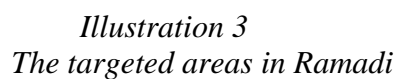
Due to the difficult circumstances the world is currently facing because of the coronavirus pandemic (Covid-19) and in order to preserve the safety of the assisting working group of Ramadi and Al-Fallujah along with that of the respondents', TILY organized an educational workshop on the prevention methods against the virus. This workshop was delivered by two trainers from the University of Anbar's College of Medicine specialized in dealing with viruses and communicable and infectious diseases.

It's sought to enrich the working groups' knowledge regarding this virus, develop their prevention skills, especially while carrying out their duties relevant to the collection of this research's questionnaire, and teach them how to face the health challenges that they might come across while working. The workshop consisted of 6 training hours in the form of three sessions delivered in a single day. The first session looked into the history of the Covid-19 virus and its emergence, its areas of prevalence in the world, how countries succeeded in limiting its spread, similar viruses, their similarities, their differences, the best prevention methods against the virus and the prevention methods recognized by the World Health Organization (WHO).



The sessions also clarified how to deal with societies that have high rates of infections, the virus' most common symptoms that can be recognized by the working group and how to avoid catching the virus through the prevention means TILY provided them with

The volunteering leaders of the youth working groups distributed the questionnaire in the targeted areas based on a regular map. The locations were determined through a GPS tracking system to monitor the movement of the questionnaire's distributors and ensure the correctness of their routes. The targeted areas included Ramadi and its suburbs (illustration 3) and Al-Fallujah and its suburbs (illustration 4). The orange dots represent the questionnaire's areas of distribution, while the numbers found inside the orange circles represent the number of forms distributed in the area.



Questionnaire on The Impact Of Clan Identity-Based Policies On The Political Participation Of Al-Anbar's Youth

The questionnaire was distributed according to the following variables:

1. Gender.
2. Age. From 22- 35 year.
3. Place of residence.
4. Marital status.

1. Gender:

Table (1): The proportional distribution of the research sample based on gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	929	77.41%
Female	271	22.59%
Total	1200	100%



Illustration 5 shows the proportional distribution of the research sample based on gender.



Illustration 5
The proportional distribution of the research sample based on gender

2. Place of residence:

Table (2): The proportional distribution of the research sample based on the place of residence

Place of residence	Frequency	Percentage
Rural area	647	53.91%
Urban area	553	46.09%
Total	1200	100%

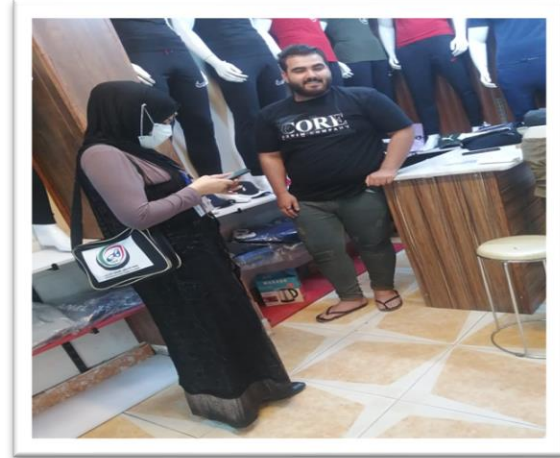
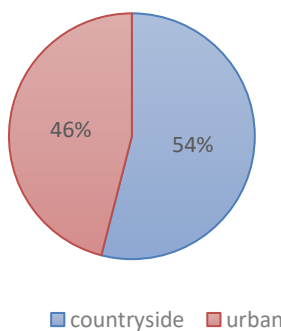


Illustration 6 Shows the proportional distribution of the research sample based on the place of residence.

The relative distribution of the study sample according to the place of residence



The relative distribution of the study sample according to the place of residence

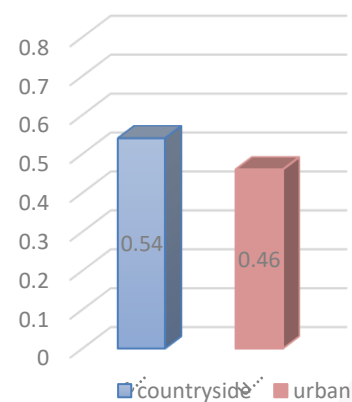


Illustration 6

The proportional distribution of the research sample based on the place of residence

3. Marital status:

Table (3): The proportional distribution of the research sample based on the marital status

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	628	52.33%
Single	556	46.33%
Other	16	1.34%
Total	1200	100%

Illustration 7 shows the proportional distribution of the research sample based on the marital status.

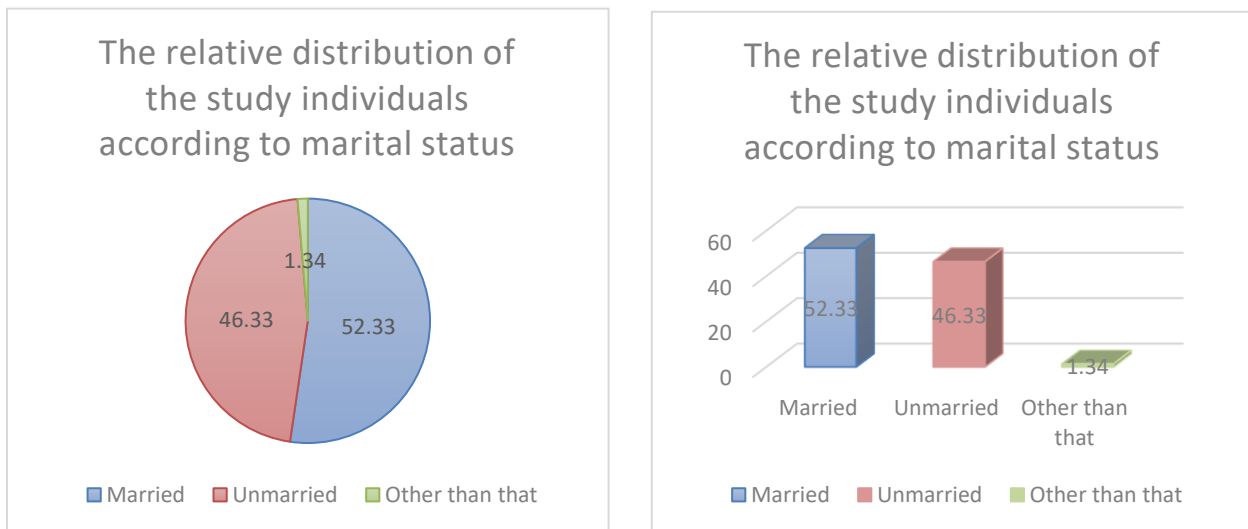


Illustration 7

The proportional distribution of the research sample based on the marital status

Presentation, Analysis And Discussion Of The Questionnaire Results:

The questionnaire on the impact of clan identity on the political participation of Al-Anbar's youth consists of 37 sections in the form of closed-ended and open-ended questions. The questions were put in place to measure two variables: the clan identity and the youth's political participation. After the results of the questionnaire were statistically analyzed by statistical experts and researchers, the following results were obtained:

First: Clan identity questionnaire results:

1. Presentation Of The Clan Identity Closed-Ended Questions Results:

Table (4) shows the results of the clan identity questionnaire's closed-ended questions.

Table (4): The presentation of the results of the clan identity-related closed-ended questions

Q	Sections	Agree		Not sure		Disagree	
		frequency	percentage	frequency	percentage	frequency	percentage
1	Clan affiliation helps its members achieve political gains.	648	54%	68	5.67%	484	40.33%
2	I try to convince people to support or join a political party headed by a member of my clan.	655	54.58%	109	9.09%	436	36.33%
3	I feel angry when a politician from my clan is accused of corruption.	625	52.08%	78	6.50%	497	41.42%
4	The impact of development and openness towards the outside world socially and culturally negatively on the authority of the clan in determining the behavior of the young politician.	867	72.25%	71	5.92%	262	21.83%
5	The forced displacement that occurred in the governorate affected the clan's power to determine the youth's political choices.	923	76.92%	75	6.25%	202	16.83%
6	The weak authority of the country's judicial institutions contributed to the expansion of the clans' political role.	752	62.67%	91	7.58%	358	29.75%
7	The youth's political role in the clan is limited to the execution without any true contribution to decision-making.	617	51.42%	52	4.33%	531	44.25%
8	I feel that my clan affiliation restricts my freedom when it comes to political participation.	879	73.25%	34	2.83%	287	23.92%
9	Clan customs and traditions restrict women's freedom in politics.	843	70.25%	71	5.92%	286	23.83%
10	The clan's educational values are essential to maintain the society's cohesion.	1017	84.75%	86	7.17%	97	8.08%
11	Strong clan affiliation has helped counter terrorism and sectarian political projects.	1013	84.42%	63	5.25%	124	10.33%
12	If a clan does not have a representative in parliament, its social position is weakened.	581	48.42%	84	7%	535	44.58%
13	Clans are an essential religious and popular pillar of the political system.	745	62.98%	151	12.58%	304	25.33%
The overall average of the closed-ended questionnaire answers		782	65.16%	79	6.62%	339	28.22%

Illustration 8 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the answers to the questionnaire’s closed-ended questions in relation with the clan identity of Al-Anbar Governorate’s youth.

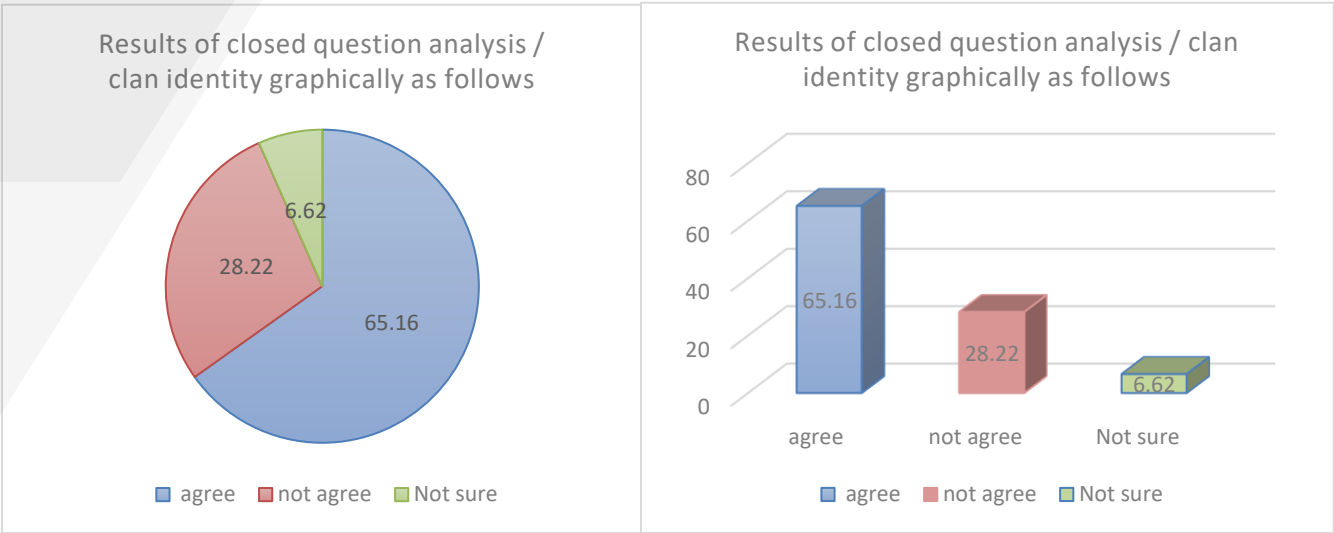


Illustration 8
The number of respondents and the percentages of the answers to the questionnaire’s clan identity-related closed-ended questions

2. Analysis And Discussion Of The Clan Identity Closed-Ended Questions Results:

The statistical measures of the data found in table (4) and illustration (12) determine the answers of the research sample to the closed-ended questions revolving around the clan identity and the extent of its impact on the political participation of Al-Anbar governorate’s youth.

The first question, “clan affiliation helps its members achieve political gains”, received an approval rate of 54%, while 5.67% of the respondents were not sure about this statement and 40.33% of them disagreed with it. Subsequently, these percentages show that the agreement and disagreement rates of the research sample were somewhat close when it comes to the impact of clan affiliation on any of its members achieving political gains, which will benefit the clan as a whole if he is elected. This highlights that half of the clan-based society still clings to clan affiliation, regardless of the interests of the governorate or the country.

When it comes to the second question, “I try to convince people to support or join a political party headed by a member of my clan”, it received an approval rate of 54.58%, while 9.09% of the respondents were not sure about the statement and 36.33% of them disagreed with it. The high percentage of agreement over this principle reflects the lack of national belonging and the prevalence of clan affiliation among young people. This reality keeps the society from selecting people with the proper competencies to occupy public positions based on their specialization and away from any partisanship and clan affiliation.

As for the Third question, “I feel angry when a politician from my clan is accused of corruption”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 52.08%, 6.50% and 41.42% respectively. This affirms that young people are holding on to clan affiliation as the answer “agree” received the highest percentage of the answers, indicating that most young people prefer their clan affiliation over thinking about truly belonging to their governorate.

The fourth question, “Development and openness negatively affected the clan’s power to determine the youth’s political behavior” *it means by the term development and openness here is the stage that followed the year 2014 and the reflection of the new environment into which they were internally and externally displaced, which greatly affected their openness to other cultures, as well as the cultural and social development of this environment, which was reflected in the behavior of young people after the stage of return, and this is what we witness on the youth in the countryside Clan environment*”, received the percentages 72.25%, 5.92% and 21.83% for the answers agree, not sure and disagree respectively. This high approval rate regarding this statement proves the extent to which people are still holding on to their clans, even if it came at the expense of the social openness we are witnessing today. This phenomenon weakens the intellectual culture that every clan-affiliate young person should have, especially in regards to politics, in accordance with the developments taking place around the world.

When it comes to the fifth question, “*The forced displacement that occurred in the governorate affected the clan’s power to determine the youth’s political choices*”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 76.92%, 6.25% and 16.83% respectively. This high approval rate reflects the youth’s commitment to clan-based laws and traditions after forced displacement, despite its harshness, introduced many clan members to new cultures and provided them with information and morals that go in line with the reality of our modern life, which prevails in civilized societies. However, as the answers show, the research sample still considers that it is important for the clan’s authority to remain the dominant one among its members.

As for the sixth question, “*The weak authority of the country’s judicial institutions contributed to the expansion of the clan’s political role*”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 62.67%, 7.58% and 29.75% respectively. The high approval rate in regards to this question, reflects the weakness of the intellectual capacity of clan-affiliated young people, the majority of whom highlight the importance of clan affiliation. However, most of them considered that the clan’s political role gained significance due to the weakness of judicial institutions, while they know that this role could be irrelevant when the institutions have greater authority.

The seventh question, “*The youth’s political role in the clan is limited to the execution without any true contribution to decision-making*”, received the percentages 51.42%, 4.33% and 44.25% for the answers agree, not sure and disagree respectively. These answers show that more than half of the respondents agreed on the idea that clans do not let young people contribute to decision-making, which reflects badly on them, undermining their role and excluding them from the decision-making process that would benefit the clan and its future. This comes in addition to the feeling resulting from the clans’ intransigence, which could weaken their personalities in the future.

Regarding the eighth question, “*I feel that my clan affiliation restricts my freedom when it comes to political participation*”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 73.25%, 2.83% and 23.92% respectively. This high rate of approval reflects the suffering of the youth due to the older clan members’ autocracy and the neglect of the youth’s opinions and aspirations regarding their future, especially from a political point of view. This sheds light on the clans’ negative way of thinking when it comes to youth and caring for their future.

As for the ninth question, “*Clan customs and traditions restrict women’s freedom in politics*”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored the percentages 70.25%, 5.92% and 23.83% respectively. This high approval rate stresses the weakness of the clans’ culture when it comes to granting women the right to practice politics. This reflects the loss of opportunities for women, that make up one half of society, to give their opinions and present their ideas that should be taken into consideration in order to build a distinct society where everyone enjoy equal rights and share the same duties.

When it comes to the tenth question, “*The clan’s educational values are essential to maintain the society’s cohesion*”, the answers, agree, not sure and disagree scored 84.75%, 7.17% and 8.08% respectively. The high rate of approval this statement got is a clear evidence of the impact of clan affiliation on the youth, especially the research sample. It reflects the youth’s interest in the clan-based education, which they consider essential for the society’s cohesion. They have forgotten the prevailing laws and customs in the country, which the government sets based on religious principles and those of the ruling regime, while the judiciary punishes any person that violates these laws. This reflects the youth’s strong clan affiliation, which has led them away from belonging to the country despite knowing that they and their clans are subject to the rule of law.

The eleventh question, “*Strong clan affiliation has helped counter terrorism and sectarian political projects*”, received the percentages 84.42%, 5.25% and 10.33% for the answers agree, not sure and disagree respectively. This high level of approval reflects the youth’s strong and arbitrary clan affiliation. The reality of things is actually different because they have neglected the importance of the army, police and internal security forces that played the main role in confronting and getting rid of terrorism. In addition, clans did not have a significant role regarding the confrontation of sectarian policies that have recently spread across the country.

In regards to the twelve question, “*If a clan does not have a representative in parliament, its social position is weakened*”, 48.42% of the respondents expressed their agreement, while 7% were not sure about this statement and 44.58% of them disagreed with it. The close rates of approval and disapproval recorded here reflect the youth’s indecision regarding whether it is important to boost the clan’s position by having a representative in parliament or not. The disapproval of this statement might be stemming from the feeling of cautiousness based on previous experiences, where neither the youth, the clan nor the governorate benefitted from the clan representatives in parliament. This might have pushed almost half of the research sample to opt for the disagree option instead of simply agreeing with the statement.

As for the thirteenth question, “*Clans are an essential religious and popular pillar of the political system*”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored the percentage 62.08%, 12.58% and 25.33% respectively. The higher rate of approval over this question shows that clans have a significant religious and popular role, which is normal in a society where most people belong to different clans. However, what is interesting here is that the “not sure” option received the highest rate here in comparison with the rest of the questions. This reflects the dispersion of the thoughts of some of the research sample’s respondents in regards to agreeing with this statement, which was also highlighted through the disapproval rate of 25.33%. This may be attributed to the varying nature of the development of clans and the contradiction between the past features and ideas of the clan and the current situation in the country, which was the result of wars, occupation and terrorism. These phenomena negatively affected every aspect of people’s lives in society, especially clan members, pushing clans to take new and different measures. This made some of the research sample’s members uncertain in terms of whether clans still constitute a main pillar of society or not.

3. Presentation, Analysis And Discussion Of The Clan Identity Open-Ended Questions Results:

The clan identity-related open-ended questions consist of 4 questions as follows:

- **Frist question: “I take part in the elections if:”. Its answers are as shown in Table (5).**

Table (5): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

First Question	I take part in the elections if:	Frequency	Percentage
1	One of the candidates is a member of my clan	429	35.75%
2	My clan supports a particular candidate	311	25.92%
3	Out of my commitment to the national interest	254	21.17%
4	Other	206	17.17%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 9 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the first question’s results.

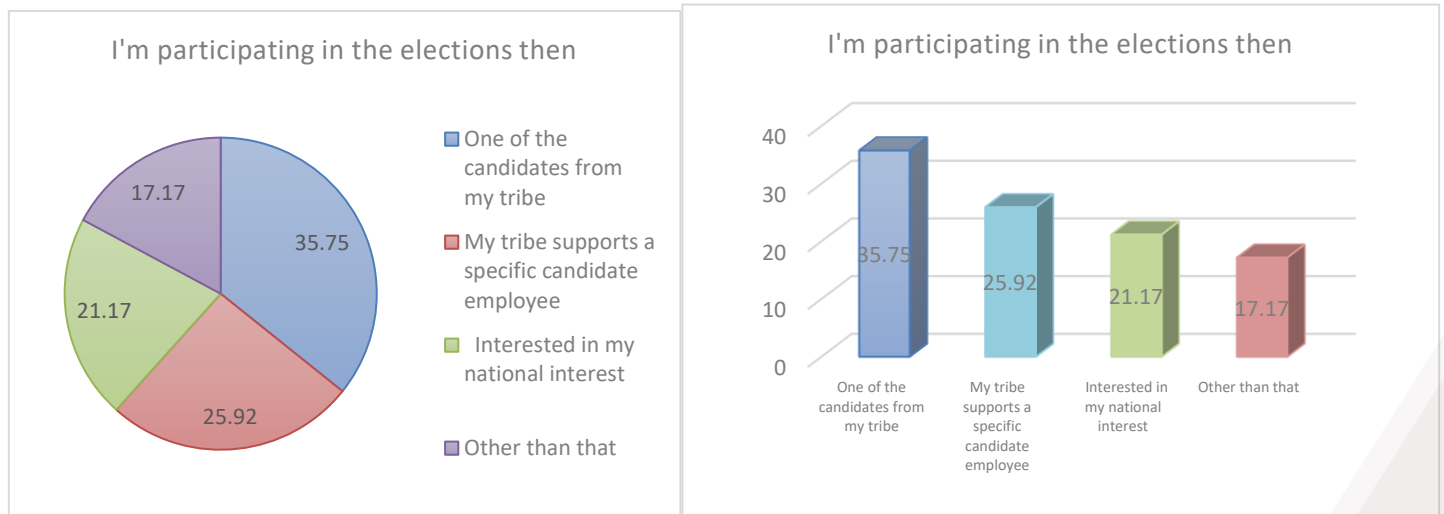


Illustration 9

The number of respondents and the percentages of the first question’s results

Table (5) and Illustration (14), dedicated to the first question “I take part in the elections if”, which provided respondents with 4 possible answers, show that the option “one of the candidates is a member of my clan” scored the highest rating with 35.75%. This highlights the fact that the respondents are still holding on to the clan affiliation that made them feel that a member of their clan would be their best political representative even if he was weak from a political point of view. This also shows that clan identity has the greatest impact on the political participation of clan-affiliated youth. The option “my clan supports a particular candidate” scored the second highest

rating with 25.91%, which shows the young people's level of loyalty to their clan, as they would support any candidate endorsed by it regardless of their desire to choose a suitable candidate. This leads to the failure of the electoral process through the election of unqualified people, especially for the young people who will lose the opportunity to elect the candidate they see fit. The option that got the third highest rating was "out of my commitment to the national interest", which scored 21.17%. This percentage highlights the awareness of clan-affiliated young people when it comes to choosing the right candidates to represent them politically. However, this percentage is considered low as it confirms the prevalence of the clans' interests over the national ones among clan-affiliated youth. Lastly, the option "other" scored the lowest percentage with 17.17%, reflecting the indecision of those young respondents in regards to choosing any of the other options.

- **Second question: "Frequent political rivalries between the members of the clan can lead to:". Its results are as shown in Table (6).**

Table (6): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

Second Question	Frequent political rivalries between the members of the clan can lead to:	Frequency	Percentage
1	Disagreements between them	372	31%
2	The development of their political vision	168	14%
3	The dispersion of their electoral votes	563	46.92%
4	Other	97	8.08%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 10 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the second question's results.

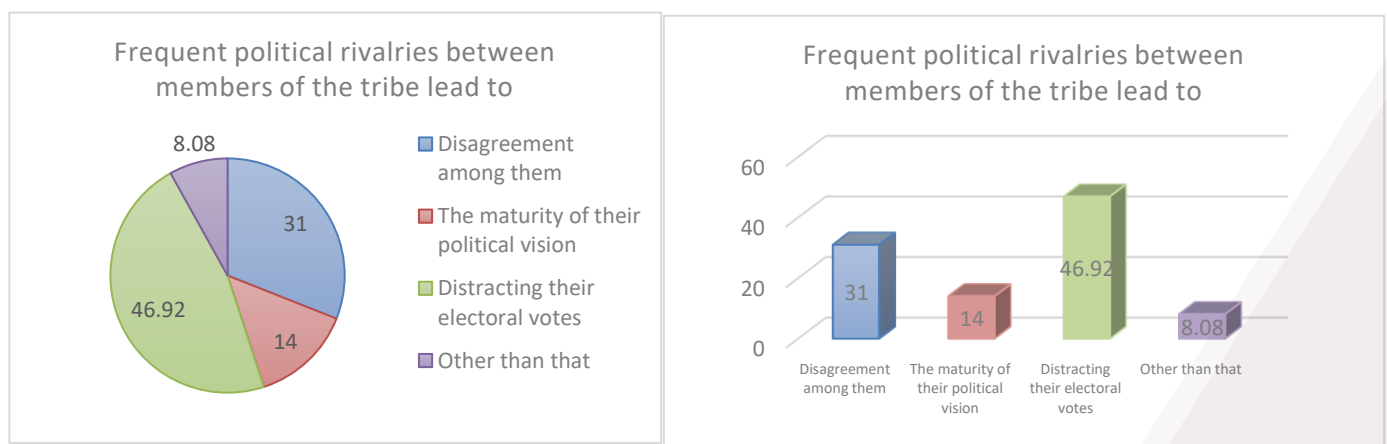


Illustration 10

The number of respondents and the percentages of the second question's results

Table (6) and Illustration (16), dedicated to the second question “Frequent political rivalries between the members of the clan can lead to”, which provided respondents with 4 possible answers, show that the option “the dispersion of their electoral votes” scored the highest rating with 46.92%. This indicates that almost half of the research sample’s young respondents fear the dispersion of the clan members’ votes between the clan’s candidates, which would lead to them losing the elections because their main objective is the clan’s unity. This confirms the youth’s loyalty to their clan and failure to choose the right person that represents the society, especially the youth, even if he was not a member of their clan. The option “disagreements between them” scored the second highest rating with 31%. These answers reflect the respondents fear of this issue causing disputes between the candidates of the same clan due to frequent rivalries between them, which would disperse the clan’s votes and lead to the loss of all of the clan’s candidates. These answers show the young people’s high level of clan affiliation, which prevails over them choosing the candidate they see fit for the job. The option that received the third highest rating was “the development of their political vision” with 14% of the answers. This percentage is low compared to the rest of the options, showing that the respondents that chose it do not take the candidates’ political maturity seriously. Instead, they focus on the importance of choosing one of the clan’s candidates, even if he lacks the proper political vision. They therefore confirm their high level of clan affiliation, even if it came at the expense of the interests of society and their personal interests. Lastly, the option “other” scored the lowest percentage with 8.08%, which reflects the respondents’ indecision when it comes to choosing the proper option, as they were not convinced by the remaining options or have other answers that were not among the featured options.

- **Third question: “I would be interested in attending political events and festivals if they:”. Its results are as shown in Table (7).**

Table (7): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

Third Question	I would be interested in attending political events and festivals if they:	Frequency	Percentage
1	Were in support of one of my clan’s politicians	462	38.50%
2	Were organized by a party I support	215	17.92%
3	Were in support of one of the governorate’s prominent politicians	423	35.25%
4	Other	100	8.33%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 11 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the third question’s results.

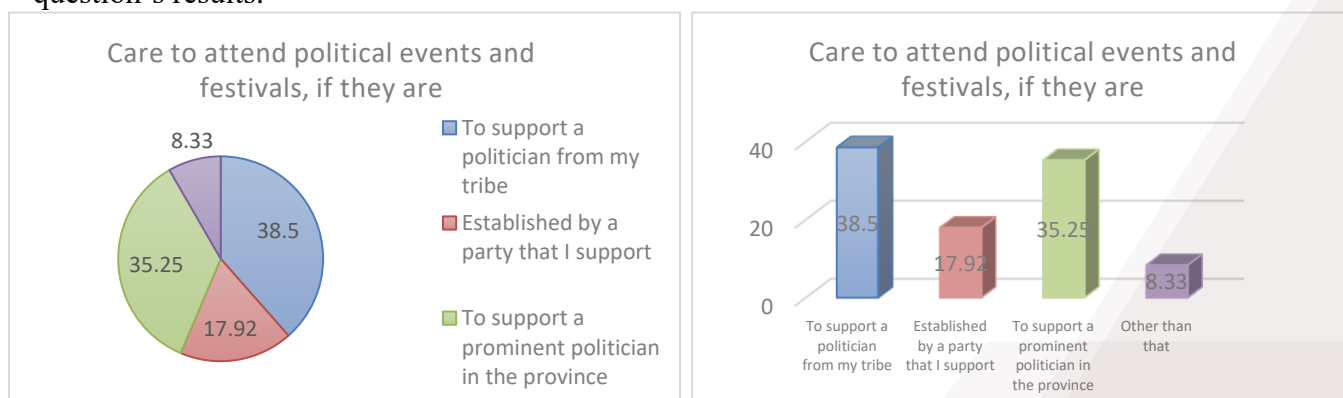


Illustration 11

The number of respondents and the percentages of the third question's results

Table (7) and Illustration (17), dedicated to the third question “I would be interested in attending political events and festivals if they”, which provided respondents with 4 possible answers, show that the option “were in support of one of my clan’s politicians scored the highest rating with 38.50%. This reflects the youth’s total conviction when it comes to supporting the candidates of their clan. They would therefore be interested in attending all the events that support their clan’s political candidate. By doing so, they prove that their clan identity is a priority of theirs, even if the candidate was not qualified to represent them and achieve their future desires and dreams. The option “were in support of one of the governorate’s prominent politicians” scored the second highest rating with 35.25%. This high rate of answers reflects the awareness of some of the research sample’s young respondents in regards to supporting the governorate’s prominent politician because they see him as the candidate that represents them best. In general, the largest percentage of the respondents did not choose this option, which shows that the clan identity prevails over the national identity among most of them. The option that scored the third highest rating was “were organized by a party I support” with 17.92% of the answers. This relatively low percentage indicates that most of the respondents are not interested in attending electoral campaigns organized by the political parties if the candidate was not a member of their clan. Therefore, they once again confirm that they prefer their clan identity over any other identity that could help them achieve their dreams and secure their future. Lastly, the option “other” scored the lowest rating with only 8.33% of the answer. This low percentage is either due to the fact that the respondents were either not convinced by the other options or had other answers regarding this question.

- **Fourth question: “The youth’s clan identity helps with:”, Its results are as shown in Table (8).**

Table (8): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

Fourth Question	The youth’s clan identity helps with:	Frequency	Percentage
1	Getting along with the national agenda (means that belonging to the clan helps to have a national consensus, away from factionalism and sectarianism.)	390	32.50%
2	Achieving integration in the work of public institutions (means that the tribal affiliation helps in enhancing work, experience and efficiency in public institutions.)	234	19.50%
3	Activating their capabilities and drawing them toward political and public work	311	25.92%
4	Supporting (youth) them as they exercise their political authority	202	16.83%
5	Other	63	5.25%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 12 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the fourth question’s results.

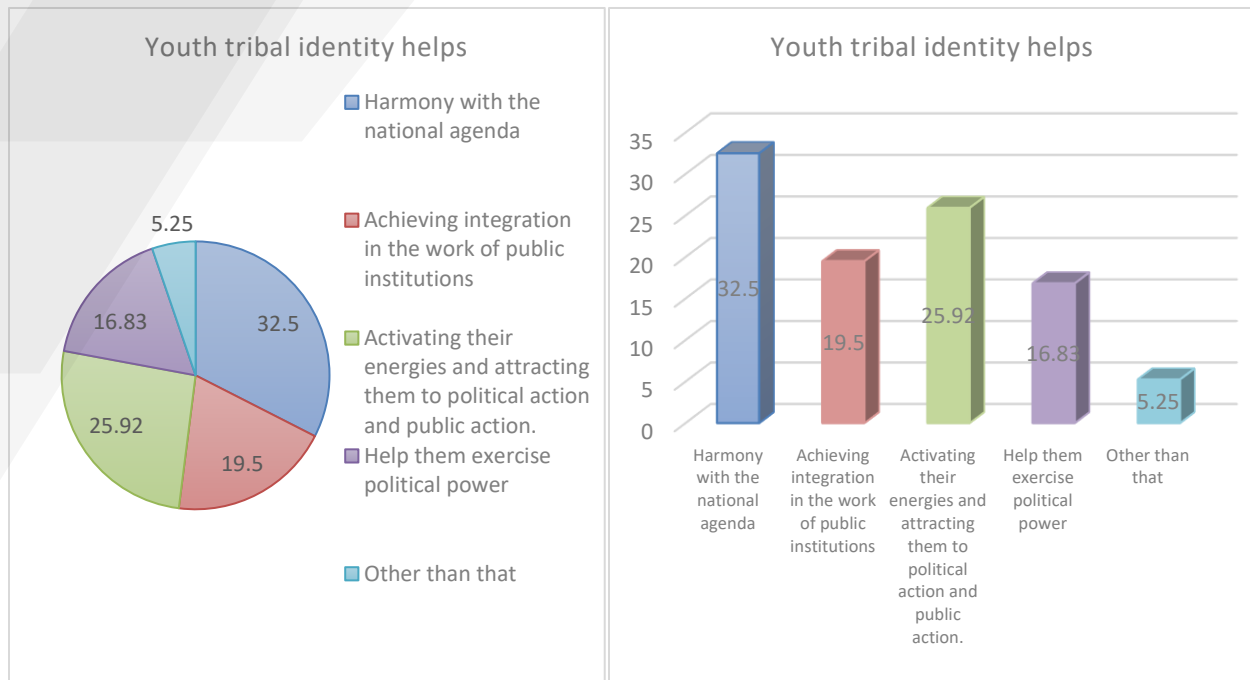


Illustration 12

The number of respondents and the percentages of the fourth question's results

Table (8) and Illustration (20), dedicated to the fourth question “The youth's clan identity helps with”, which provided respondents with 5 possible answers, show that the option “getting along with the national agenda” scored the highest rating with 32.50%, highlighting the interest of some young people in the clan identity, as they affirm its role in them getting along with the national agenda. They therefore prove that they are clinging to the clan identity and think that it is important for the clan to take part in all political decisions. The option “activating their capabilities and drawing them toward political and public work” scored the second highest percentage of answers with 25.92%. This shows that those respondents are holding on to their clan identity, which makes them think that it is the only way for them to activate the capabilities of clan members and attract them towards various fields, especially the political field. However, they seem to forget that all young men and women seek opportunities to activate their capabilities and get into the political field, as it is not just limited to them. The option that scored the third highest rating was “achieving integration in the work of public institutions” with 19.50% of the answers. This number reflects an increase in the trust of some of the research sample's respondents in the clan identity, as they see it as a main reason behind the achievement of integration in the work of public institutions. They therefore prove that they are following this identity, while forgetting that a large portion of the Iraqi society is ready to achieve integration in these institutions if they get the chance to. The option “Supporting them as they exercise their political authority” came in fourth with 16.83% of the answers, reflecting those respondents' clinginess to their clan identity, which, for them, helps people reach power. However, they disregarded the fact that others can make their way to power and work to put things back on the right track. Lastly, the option “other” scored the lowest percentage of answers with 5.25%. This is mainly due to the fact that those respondents were either not satisfied with or lost between the remaining options.

Second: Youth Political Participation Questionnaire Results:

1. Presentation Of The Political Participation Closed-Ended Questions Results:

Table (9) shows the results of the youth political participation questionnaire's closed-ended questions.

Table (9): The presentation of the results of the youth political participation closed-ended questions

Q	Sections	Agree		Not sure		Disagree	
		Frequency	percentage	frequency	percentage	frequency	percentage
1	The youth's economic conditions affect their level of political participation.	911	75.91%	71	5.92%	218	18.17%
2	A clan-based mindset weakens the youth's political participation.	712	59.33%	154	12.84%	334	27.83%
3	The freedom of the press helps the youth to shape their political awareness and acquire ambitious political ideas.	1011	84.25%	72	6%	117	9.75%
4	Existing political parties only grant youth and women a formal role.	891	74.25%	102	8.50%	207	17.25%
5	I learn about the political parties' programs to determine which one I want to be a part of.	629	52.42%	114	9.50%	457	38.08%
6	I make sure to enrich my knowledge regarding Iraq's political developments.	847	70.58%	71	5.92%	282	23.50%
7	I am interested in learning the constitutional texts related to the youth's political participation.	542	45.17%	175	14.58%	483	40.25%
8	I am keen to participate in the activities organized by youth and civil society organizations.	759	63.25%	98	8.17%	343	28.58%
9	The current political system is unable to cope with the youth movements and imposes tutelage upon them.	943	78.58%	114	9.50%	143	11.92%
10	I support a peaceful opposition to address the government's mistakes.	1002	83.50%	22	1.83%	176	14.67%
11	The democratic environment and the plurality of parties affect the clarification of the concepts of political participation for the youth. (It means that the democratic environment and the multiplicity of parties play a role in clarifying concepts and paths of political participation for youth.)	701	58.42%	198	16.50%	301	25.08%
12	I am keen to elect young candidates.	896	74.66%	53	4.42%	251	20.92%
13	The economic and political development has to start with the youth, as they possess the capacity and ability to give.	1098	91.50%	31	2.58%	71	5.92%
14	Political parties only attract young people during election seasons.	1036	86.33%	54	4.5%	110	9.17%
The overall average of the closed-ended questionnaire answers		855	71.29%	95	7.19%	250	20.79%

Illustration 13 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the answers to the questionnaire's closed-ended questions in relation with the political participation of Al-Anbar Governorate's youth.

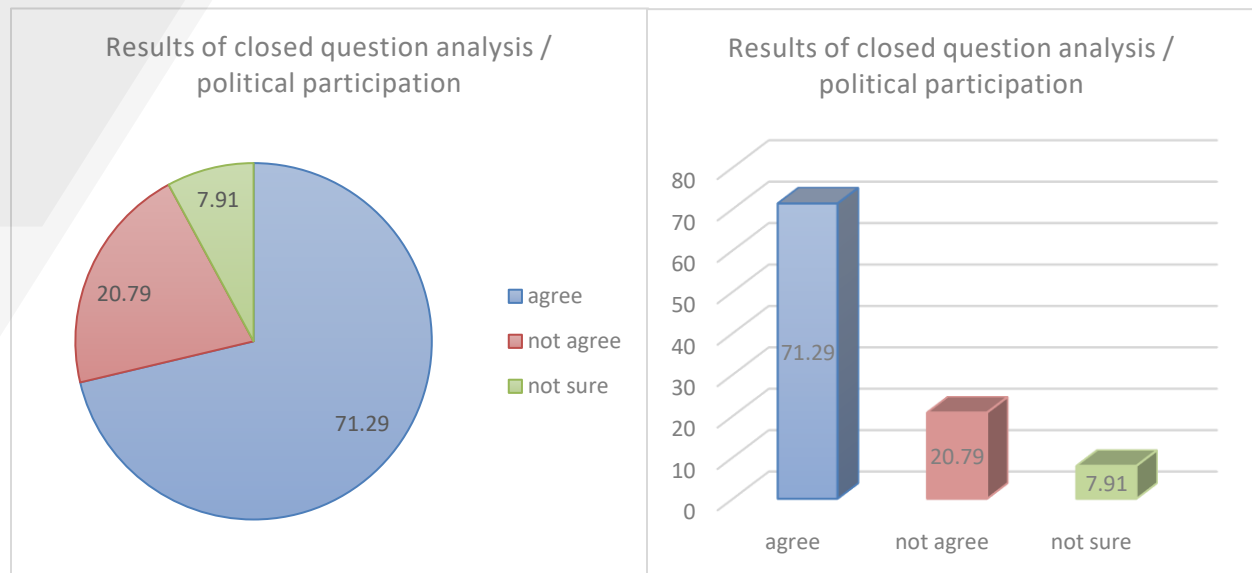


Illustration 13

The number of respondents and the percentages of the answers to the questionnaire's political participation-related closed-ended questions

2. Analysis And Discussion Of The Political Participation Closed-Ended Questions Results:

The statistical measures of the data found in table (4) and illustration (8) determine the answers of the research sample to the closed-ended questions revolving around the political participation of Al-Anbar Governorate's youth.

The first question, "the youth's economic conditions affect their level of political participation", received an approval rate of 75.91%, while 5.92% of the respondents were not sure about this statement and 18.17% of them disagreed with it. These numbers confirm that the economic conditions of young people affect their level of political participation. This reflects the importance of the role of the economic aspect in raising the youth's spirit and boosting their motivation towards political participation.

When it comes to the second question, "a clan-based mindset weakens the youth's political participation", 59.33% of the respondents agreed, 12.84% of them were not sure, while 27.83% disagreed with the statement. This high approval rate reflects the high level of recognition of more than half of the research sample of the fact that clan affiliation does not have a direct relation with politics. Instead, its duty is to care for the clan members and keep them safe without interfering in matters that fall outside of its scope of responsibility. The right place for the clan's sheikh and elderly is the sheikh's office, where clan members meet to solve their problems and receive guidance to remain on the right path.

As for the third question, “the freedom of the press helps the youth to shape their political awareness and acquire ambitious political ideas”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 84.25%, 6% and 9.75% respectively. This very high rate of approval reflects the youth’s awareness and acknowledgment of the role of free press in guiding young people towards the right political path and boosting their ambitions in this area, as they are the leaders of the future that, under the right guidance, will play the main role in building the country away from any personal interests.

In regards to the fourth question, “existing political parties only grant youth and women a marginal or superficial role”, 74.25% of the respondents agreed, 9.50% of them were not sure, while 17.25% disagreed with the statement. This high percentage of approval showcases the youth’s lack of trust in the existing political parties. This is due to several reasons, the most important of which being the fact that these parties did not grant young people and women suitable roles in the establishment of the country. Instead, the role of these political parties was limited to including those close to them for their own personal benefits by resorting to partisan and sectarian labels among others. This situation has destroyed the dreams of many young patriots that used to dream of building a nation that embraces all of its citizens away from all these labels.

The fifth question, “I learn about the political parties’ programs to determine which one I want to be a part of”, received an approval rate of 52.42%, while 9.50% of the respondents were not sure about the statement and 38.08% disagreed with it. The high approval rate here shows that half of the research sample’s young respondents are interested in the political field and try to learn about the parties’ political programs, hoping that one of them will be compatible with their ideas and dreams for the future. However, despite the high approval rate, the remaining half of the research sample did not express interest in learning about the political parties’ programs for reasons that could include their lack of trust in some parties that did not accomplish anything for the benefit of the Iraqi people throughout their time in power.

As for the sixth question, “I make sure to enrich my knowledge regarding Iraq’s political developments”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 70.58%, 5.92% and 23.50% respectively. The high level of agreement over this statement confirm that young people follow up on the political developments in Iraq. This is a positive result, which proves that they are interested in their homeland and reaffirms their sense of patriotism, their love for their country and their great desire to achieve stability in it through leaders that care for Iraq and its people. This situation pushes them towards political practices that come in line with their ideas and through which they wish to realize their dreams and those of the Iraqi people.

In regards to the seventh question, “I am interested in learning the constitutional texts related to the youth’s political participation”, 45.17% of the respondents agreed, 14.58% of them were not sure, while 40.25% disagreed with the statement. The closeness between the approval and disapproval rates of this statement shows that half of the research sample is interested in keeping track of constitutional texts related to the youth’s political participation, which proves their level of awareness of and interest in all matters that tie youth to politics. However, the remaining half of the research sample disagreed with this statement. Their lack of interest in this issue could be due to their willingness to participate in political activities away from the constitutional texts that address this matter. They could therefore look at the current situation in the country and determine their level of political participation accordingly.

The eighth question, “I am keen to participate in the activities organized by youth and civil society organizations”, received an approval rate of 63.25%, while 8.17% of the respondents were

not sure about this statement and 28.58% of them disagreed with it. The “agree” option scoring the highest rate, despite it being a fairly moderate percentage, reflects the youth’s interest in such organizations that seek to raise the youth’s awareness and guide them onto the right path, especially in the political field. The fact that this question did not receive a very high approval rate can be attributed to the young people’s lack of interest in such organizations or the large number of organizations that do not acknowledge the level of their importance and responsibility when it comes to attracting and guiding young people towards to right path in order to achieve their future dreams.

When it comes to the ninth question, “the current political system in unable to cope with the youth movements and imposes tutelage upon them”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 78.58%, 9.50% and 11.92% respectively. The high approval rate confirms that the research sample understands the political system and what it does in terms of reducing the role of youth in politics and suppressing their dreams in achieving the desired development and stability for the country. Young people are the most informed when it comes to the state’s youth-related policies, as most forums that worked on enriching the youth’s culture were closed across the country. The state also sought to suppress young people’s ideas that aspire for a better future. In addition, the state avoids hiring young people despite most of them acquiring university degree. Therefore, the state has created a huge gap between it and young people, which cannot be bridged unless all of the youth’s dreams and future aspirations are achieved.

As for the tenth question, “I support a peaceful opposition to address the government’s mistakes”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 83.50%, 1.83% and 14.67% respectively. This high approval rate clearly reflects the young people’s culture, their support of a peaceful opposition, their understanding of its importance and significant role in forcing the government to respect the wishes of the opposition. Some political parties and authoritarians in the government do not support such opposition and might even resort to suppressing this type of opposition with the most violent means. However, such an opposition has a major role in showcasing the true image of what the Iraqi youth is experiencing to the world. It can also contribute to the correction of the government’s approach in regards to this very important segment of society in order to fulfil the youth’s wishes and take their opinions into consideration when making decisions, which will surely benefit the country in the future.

In regards to the eleventh question, “The democratic environment and the plurality of parties affect the clarification of the concepts of political participation for the youth”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 58.42%, 16.50% and 25.08% respectively. The numbers show that the answer “agree” received the highest rating in spite of the importance of democracy and the plurality of parties, which serve the society. Young people experienced a concept of democracy that is different from the general one found in developed countries. This is particularly true in light of the circumstances the country has been living under after the occupation in addition to the abnormal plurality of parties that have filled the political scene, especially as some of them are seeking to ensure their viability and that of their interests away from the interests of Iraq and its people. That is why most young people find that democracy and the plurality of parties negatively impact the attraction of youth towards political work by drifting away from educating the youth about the political scene and hindering their participation in the political process. This pushes young people further away from the political scene, costing the country a very important segment of society that could have a main role in the establishment and development of the society in the future.

The twelfth question, “I am keen to elect young candidates”, received an approval rate of 74.66%, while 4.42% of the respondents were not sure about this statement and 20.92% of them disagreed with it. The high approval rate of this question proves that young people trust themselves and are committed to finding a place for them in the political sphere. It also shows that they are keen to find counterparts that can help them realize their future dreams as they will be suffering from the same level of injustice and deprivation under the country’s current circumstances, which have deprived them of their most basic legitimate rights that are acknowledged by religion, logic and all of the international norms. They therefore need someone their age that shares the same mindset to represent them, as they feel that this choice would be the best in order for them to fulfil their aspirations and build their future.

When it comes to the thirteenth question, “the economic and political development has to start with the youth, as they possess the capacity and ability to give”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 90.50%, 2.58% and 5.92% respectively. This very high level of approval this question has received shows the extent to which young people are determined and are convinced that they can lead the country and achieve the highest standards of economic and political development. This is possible thanks to the youth’s capabilities, namely their strong will and great potential, which will lead the country to safety by overcoming all the wrong policies and renouncing their harmful repercussions that have brought the country to its lowest with the ramping poverty and ignorance among others. These negative phenomena have been the work of the political scene since the occupation and are spread under religious, sectarian, clan-based and partisan labels. Young people constitute the segment that is one of the segments most affected by such issues. That is why they need to lead the country in the future because they have the ability to correct what is wrong, which is a long and tiring process that requires patience, a trait only found among young people.

As for the fourteenth question, “political parties only attract young people during election seasons”, the answers agree, not sure and disagree scored 86.33%, 4.50% and 9.17% respectively. This question’s very high level of approval reflects the extent to which young people are aware and acknowledge the lies spread by the political parties prior to the elections. (We refer through this analysis to the policies and procedures followed by political parties in the pre-election stage, which include making promises and guarantees to meet the needs of young people, and in the post-election stage, which is represented by the failure to fulfill any of these needs and promises. Which became understandable and clear to young people.) It has become known for the youth, after witnessing four elections since the occupation ended, that the promises made parties and opportunist individuals are just lies that disappear as soon as they are elected and make their way to the parliament or to power. This contributed to young people developing an idea that considers such individuals as people that do not care about Iraq and the well-being of its people. Instead, they only care about the interests of their parties and their own personal interests. Therefore, we think that political parties work tirelessly to marginalize young people, suppress their ideas and future aspirations and exclude them from the political sphere. However, the research sample’s high approval rate in regards to this question shows that young people have become completely aware of such illusions used by some political parties. They are now prepared to not fall for these illusions and find proper alternatives in other candidates that can serve them and elevate the Iraqi society to the highest levels.

3. Presentation, Analysis And Discussion Of The Political Participation Open-Ended Questions Results:

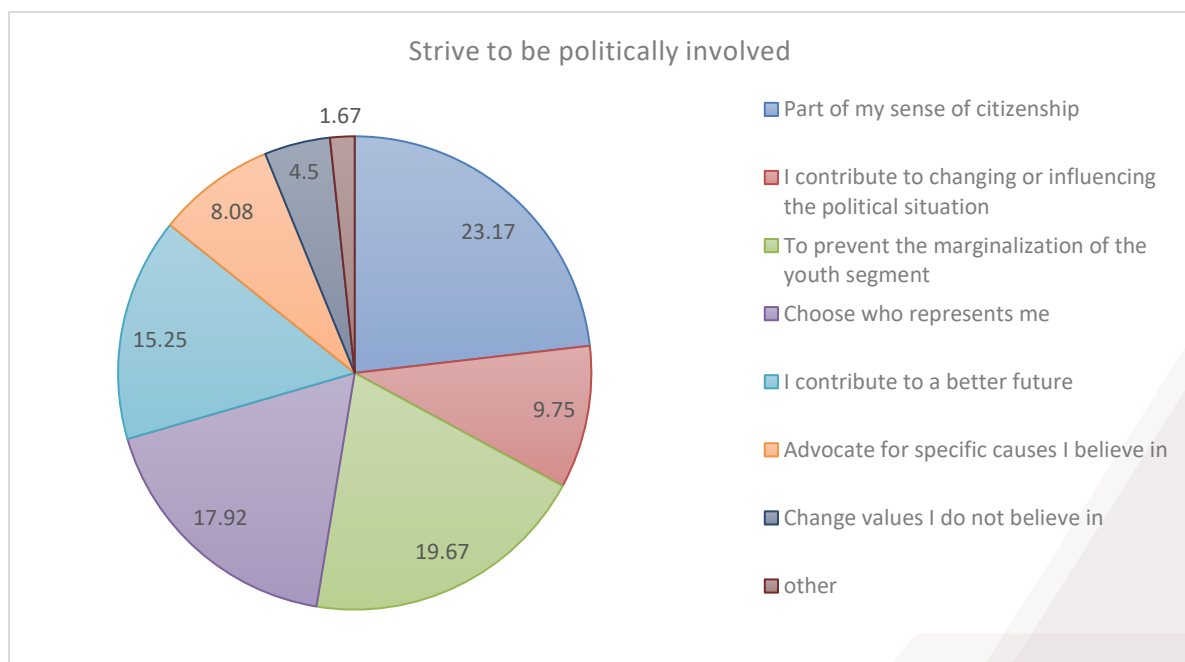
The open-ended questions relating to the political participation of youth consist of 6 questions as follows:

- **First question: “I am keen to participate in the political life because:”. Its results are as shown in Table (10).**

Table (10): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

First Question	I am keen to participate in the political life because:	Frequency	Percentage
1	It is a part of my sense of citizenship	278	23.17%
2	I contribute to change or make an impact on the political situation	117	9.75%
3	I can prevent the marginalization of youth	236	19.66%
4	I can choose the candidate that represents me	215	17.92%
5	I can contribute to a better future	183	15.25%
6	I can defend causes that I believe in	87	8.08%
7	I can change values that I do not believe in	54	4.55%
8	Other	20	1.67%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 14 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the first question’s results.



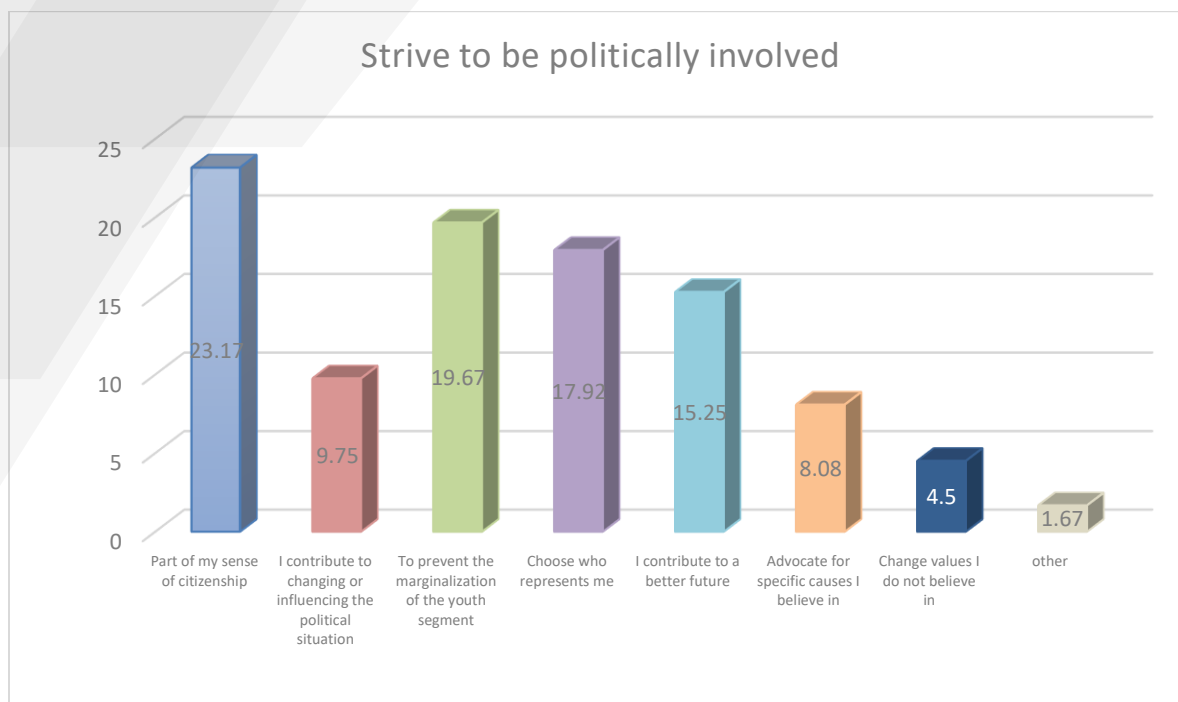


Illustration 14

The number of respondents and the percentages of the first question's results

Table (10) and Illustration (14), dedicated to the first question “I am keen to participate in the political life because”, which provided respondents with 8 possible answers, show that the option “It is a part of my sense of citizenship” scored the highest rating with 23.17%. This indicates that those young respondents have a sense of political responsibility towards their homeland and that their political participation originally stems from their sense of citizenship and their acknowledgement of the importance of the youth’s participation in the political process, as they feel the youth’s suffering and are familiar with the circumstances they are going through, in order to obtain the rights, they deserve. The option “I can prevent the marginalization of youth” scored the second highest rating with 19.66%, proving that some young people feel aggrieved because of their living conditions that are the result of the state marginalizing them and their role in building the country. This goes against their ideas and dreams of working to force the government to treat them as citizens who have the right to represent young people in politics. The option “I can choose the candidate that represents me” came in third with 17.92%, which shows that young people need someone to represent them in politics and hopefully convey their suffering under the current policies that did not give them a proper role when it comes to building the society. The option “I can contribute to a better future” scored the fourth highest rating with 15.25%, confirming that young people desire to build a better future for the country and its people and achieve their dreams that have been stolen for decades. The option “I contribute to change or make an impact on the political situation” was fifth with 9.75%, which shows that some young people have the desire and ability to change and make an impact on the political situation, especially the youth aspect of it, and find better alternatives in order to improve society on all levels. The remaining options, “I can defend causes that I believe in”, “I can change values that I do not believe in” and “other”, followed with 8.08%, 4.50% and 1.67% respectively. These low percentages prove that a small number of respondents have somewhat limited and selfish views because the question mainly focuses on the personal aspect and not the public interest one. Therefore, it seems that most of the research

sample's respondents have a wider view of things and are selfless, as they mostly chose the options proving that opt for public interests over their personal ones.

- **Second question: “How do you evaluate your political participation:”. Its results are as shown in table (11).**

Table (11): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

Second Question	How do you evaluate your political participation:	Frequency	Percentage
1	I am interested in following up on public and political issues over various periods of time	655	54.58%
2	I am interested Knowing or contacting local and national political figures	389	32.42%
3	I am interested Contacting parties, taking part in public activities and organizing some events	156	13%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 15 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the second question's results.

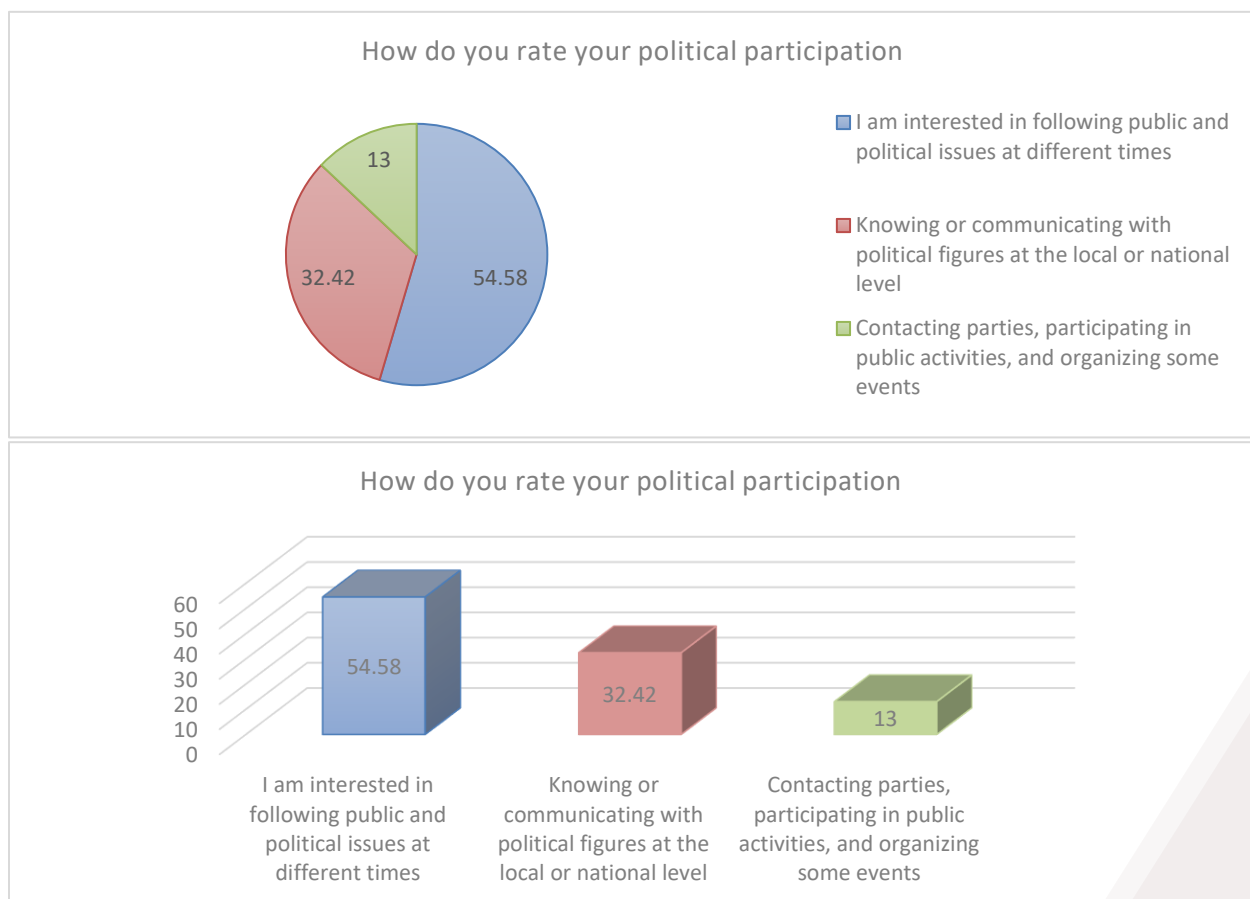


Illustration 15

The number of respondents and the percentages of the second question's results

Table (11) and Illustration (26), dedicated to the second question “How do you evaluate your political participation”, which provided respondents with 3 possible answers, show that the option “I am interested in following up on public and political issues over various periods of time” scored the highest rating with 54.58%, confirming that more than half of the research sample evaluate their political participation by following up the on public and political issues that happened and are still happening in Iraq. This reflects the awareness and knowledge of young people when it comes to what is happening around them, in addition to their ability to form a realistic idea and come up with positive solutions that could be used in the future to reject negativity and put the political process back on the right track. The option “Knowing or contacting local and national political figures”, scored the second highest rating with 32.42%, confirming that those young respondents evaluate their political participation based on knowing and contacting politicians so that they can make their future ideas and aspirations heard. They do so while hoping that one of the politicians would adopt a certain idea of theirs that might change the difficult circumstances under which they are living. This comes in addition to the youth’s attempts to enter the political sphere through other means by getting closer to politicians that respect young people and want to improve their situation. As for the remaining option, “Contacting parties, taking part in public activities and organizing some events,”, it scored the lowest ranking with only 13%. This reflects the research sample’s lack of trust in most of the political parties that did not only kill young people’s ambitions, but also blocked all their activities and events that benefit the society, after exploiting such activities to serve their own interests.

- **Third question: “What is the form of your political participation:”. Its results are as shown in table (12).**

Table (12): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

Third Question	What is the form of your political participation:	Frequency	Percentage
1	I constantly update my electoral card to secure my vote	337	28.08%
2	I take part in the election campaigns and propaganda of some candidates	202	16.83%
3	I am interested in attending political forums and conferences (as an opponent or a supporter)	244	20.33%
4	I register to become a member of a political party	145	12.09%
5	I participate in the elections as an observer	272	22.67%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 16 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the third question's results.

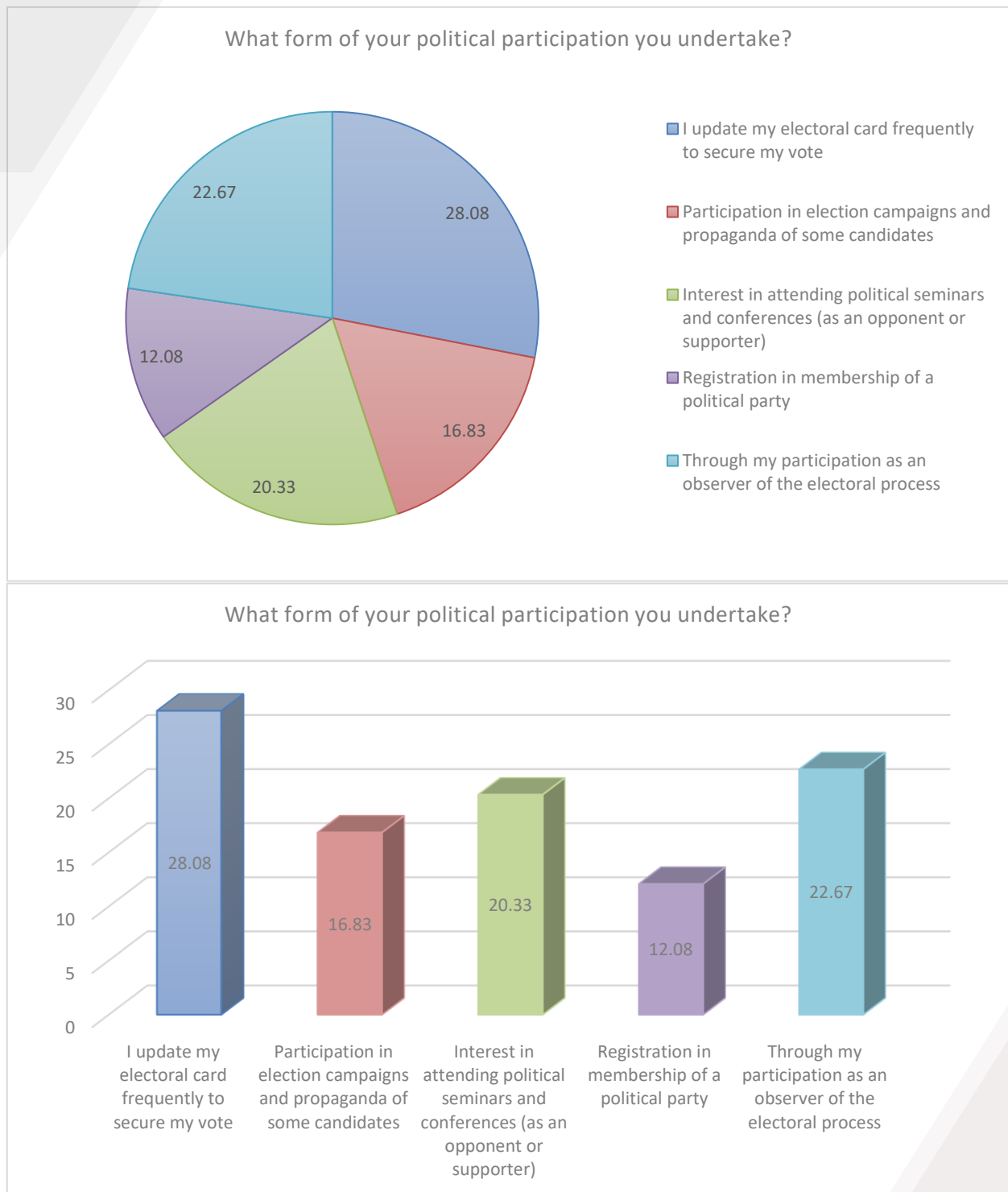


Illustration 16
The number of respondents and the percentages of the third question's results

Table (12) and Illustration (28), dedicated to the third question “What is the form of your political participation”, which provided respondents with 5 possible answers, show that the option “I constantly update my electoral card to secure my vote” scored the highest rating with 28.08%, highlighting the respondent’s awareness of the importance of constantly updating their electoral cards, as they ensure their participation in the elections. They do so with hopes of finding a candidate to represent them, listen to them and try to improve their situation, while staying away from all the lies that some people spread, saying that the elections are unfair and just a useless formality. The option “I participate in the elections as an observer” came in second with 22.67% of the answers. This proves that young people are holding on to the electoral process by monitoring it and getting familiar with the pros and cons that accompany the election day. Some young people think that they have an important role to play by participating in order to serve their society and nation. They also take part in identifying the cons that may arise through some partisan or clan affiliated people in some polling centers. This stresses the significant role they can play in regards to the success of the electoral process. The option “I am interested in attending political forums and conferences (as an opponent or a supporter)” scored the third highest percentage with 20.33%, showing that those respondents are committed to the political life and are aware of the importance of political forums and conferences when it comes to getting familiar with the politicians’ ideas and their parties’ ideologies along with conveying the youth’s ideas and concerns to the attendees of such events. The option “I take part in the election campaigns and propaganda of some candidates” received the fourth highest percentage of answers with 16.83%, indicating that some of the research sample’s young respondents feel that promoting a certain candidate, especially if he was a patriot, or taking part in his campaigns bring a sense of self-satisfaction. This is due to the fact that it makes them feel like they are playing a distinct role in regards to serving their society and working in politics, which boosts their confidence. Lastly, the option “I register to become a member of a political party” scored the lowest rating with 12.09%. This proves that most of the research sample’s respondents have drifted away from registering to be a member of a political party due to their lack of trust in most of the dominating political parties that have only offered young people empty promises and undermined their role in society.

- **Fourth question: “Civil society organizations are an essential pillar of democracy because they:”. Its results are as shown in table (13).**

Table (13): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

Fourth Question	Civil society organizations are an essential pillar of democracy because they:	Frequency	Percentage
1	Are independent non-governmental and non-partisan organizations	310	25.83%
2	Carry out volunteering and collective work	259	21.58%
3	Contribute to determining the society’s objectives	234	19.50%
4	Raise the society’s awareness regarding political participation	212	17.67%
5	Strengthen the sense of belonging, citizenship and initiative among individuals without any routine restrictions	185	15.42%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 17 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the fourth question's results.

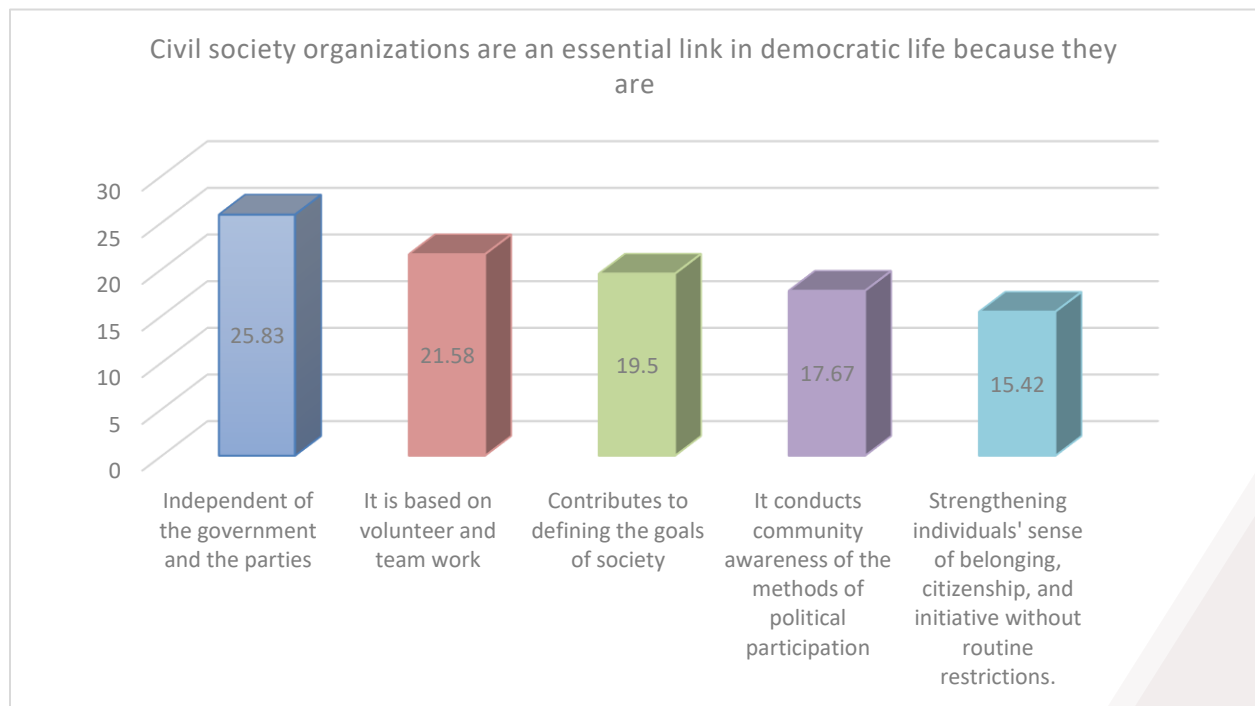
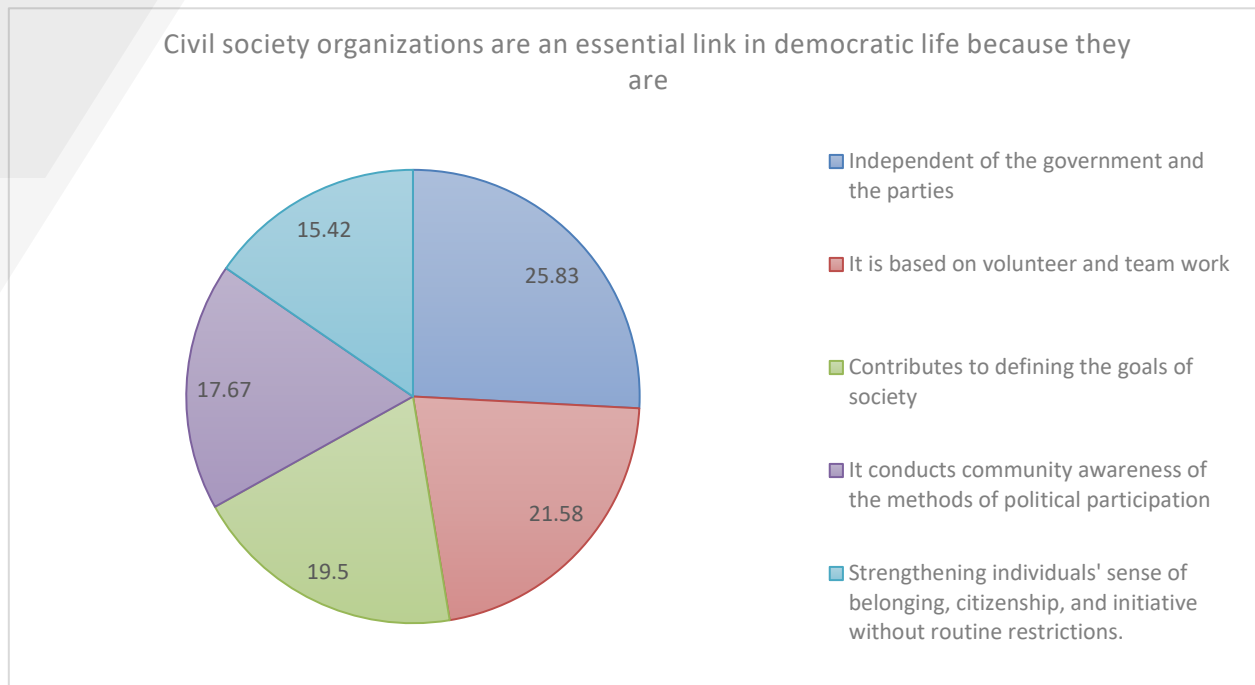


Illustration 17
The number of respondents and the percentages of the fourth question's results

Table (13) and Illustration (30), dedicated to the fourth question “Civil society organizations are an essential pillar of democracy because they”, which provided respondents with 5 possible answers, show that the option “Are independent, non-governmental and non-partisan organizations” scored the highest rating with 25.83%, showing that those young respondents are convinced that independent, non-governmental and non-partisan organizations are the ones suitable to deal with young people, understand their suffering, work to make their ideas acceptable and try to realize their ambitions. This make young people feel that civil society organizations help them live in a democracy, through which they can feel safe and achieve their dreams after losing hope when it comes to the false idea of democracy that was promoted by the political parties and previous governments. The option “Carry out volunteering and collective work” scored the second highest rating with 21.58%, which confirms that young people think civil society organizations encourage volunteering and collective work. These activities constitute one of the principles of true democracy, which tries to bring young people together to get acquainted and share opinions and ideas that will surely benefit society in general and the youth themselves in particular. These organizations also instill the principle of volunteer work into young people, teaching them friendliness, love and a sense of responsibility towards themselves and society. The option “Contribute to determining the society’s objectives” came in third with 19.50% of the answers, affirming that those respondents think that civil society organizations play an important role in determining the objectives of society, which is in need for safety, peace and friendliness between its segments, especially the youth. Therefore, those who chose this answer consider that civil society organizations are closer when it comes to realizing the society’s objectives, as they are non-governmental and non-partisan. So, young people are drawn towards these organizations because they are convinced that they would represent them better than government institutions that do not give youth any importance. The option “Raise the society’s awareness regarding political participation” scored the fourth highest percentage with 17.67% of the answers, confirming that civil society organizations play a significant role in raising the society’s awareness about political participation by organizing relevant courses, seminars and conferences to teach people about true political participation, which serves the individual and his society. This comes in addition to the seminars these organizations hold to educate candidates and instill the good sense of citizenship in them in order to serve the public interest. That is why some young people find that these organizations have an effective role in guiding the members of society onto the political right path. Lastly, the option “Strengthen the sense of belonging, citizenship and initiative among individuals without any routine restrictions” scored the lowest rating with 15.42%, showing that some of the research sample’s respondents have great confidence in the role of civil society organizations in strengthening the individuals’ sense of belonging to their society, their sense of true citizenship and their sense of initiative in regards to taking decisions that benefit society away from the boring routine imposed by government institutions. This is why youth, especially patriots, resort to working with such organizations and taking part in their activities because they find in them what the politicians, particularly those concerned with their issues, deprived them of.

The above analysis and discussion of the results regarding the role of civil society organizations in establishing the principle of democracy among youth showcased positive answers across the board from a scientific perspective. The research sample’s respondents opted for different answers. However, all these answers reflected the important role of civil society organizations in working towards the establishment of a democratic society despite all the negative ideas, such as sectarianism, partisanship and clan affiliation among other ideas that have nothing to do with democracy, weak-minded people are trying to spread in order to fuel strife among the Iraqi people’s different sects and serve their parties along with their personal interests.

- Fifth question: “Youth participation in political work is considered:”. Its are as shown in table (14).

Table (14): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

Fifth Question	Youth participation in political work is considered:	Frequency	Percentage
1	A form of the political system’s renewal	353	29.42%
2	One of the pillars of good governance	204	17%
3	A way to reduce political stagnation (re-electing the same political figures)	297	24.75%
4	A mobilization of the future generations’ capabilities	242	20.16%
5	Other	104	8.67%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 18 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the fifth question’s results.

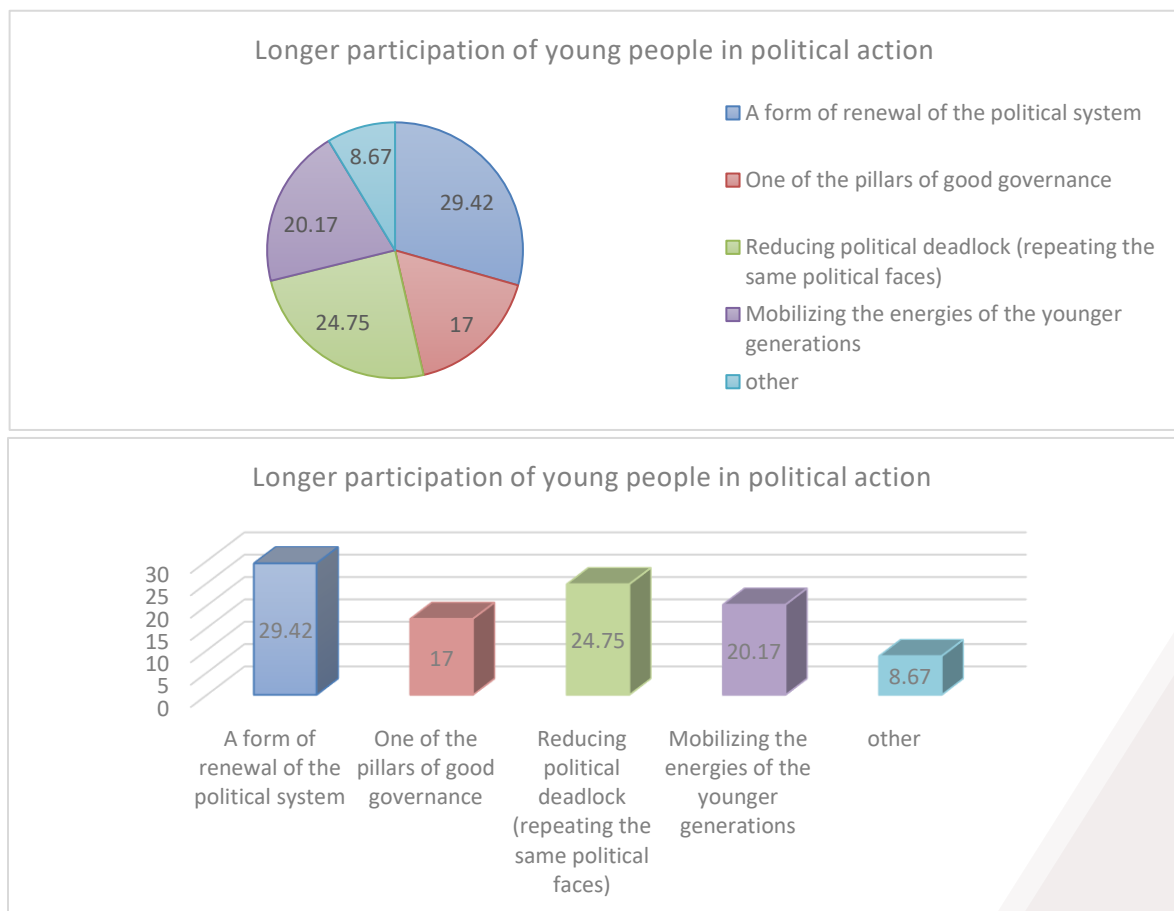


Illustration 18

The number of respondents and the percentages of the fifth question’s results

Table (14) and Illustration (32), dedicated to the fifth question “Youth participation in political work is considered”, which provided respondents with 5 possible answers, show that the option “A form of the political system’s renewal” scored the highest rating with 29.42%, stressing young people’s commitment to the renewal of the political system, just like in the politically developed countries. This comes as a result of the youth suffering under previous political systems that have stripped them of their rights and marginalized them on the political scene, in addition to young people thinking about the future of the country, as they will be its future leaders. This requires their opinions to be taken into consideration today and implemented in accordance with their level of importance. The option “A way to reduce political stagnation and the re-election of the same political figures” came is second with 24.75% of the answers, which reflects that young people are aware and acknowledge the political stagnation Iraq has been witnessing for decades, as most of Iraq’s governments were somewhat similar in terms of their ideology. This resulted in a political deadlock in Iraq, leading young people to consider political work so they can change the approach of these governments in order to care for society and improve it on all levels. The option “A mobilization of the future generations’ capabilities” scored the third highest rating with 20.16%. This highlights the good thinking of those respondents as they showcased selflessness and started thinking about the future of the generations to come so that they do not experience the same suffering they, themselves, are currently experiencing. This proves that those respondents are aware of and acknowledge the importance of thinking about the future of society and working to enter the political arena so they can achieve what their predecessors could not. The option “One of the pillars of good governance” received the fourth highest percentage with 17%, which reflects those respondents’ confidence, as they consider themselves a source of reform and can be a part of a good government. They also feel like they can at least help rehabilitate others in order to form a government that works to meet the people’s demands and improve their conditions in the best way possible. Lastly, the option “other” scored the lowest rating with 8.67%, which reflects the respondents’ inability to choose between the remaining options or the fact that they were not satisfied with any of the options when it comes to answering this question.

- **Sixth question: “The components of an environment conducive to the political participation of youth include:”. Its results are as shown in table (15).**

Table (15): The presentation of the number of respondents and the percentages of their answers

Sixth Question	The components of an environment conducive to the political participation of youth include:	Frequency	Percentage
1	Unifying the age of candidacy	403	33.58%
2	Adopting a specified quota in electoral laws	168	14%
3	Identifying and addressing the obstacles to youth participation	295	24.58%
4	Facilitating the registration of youth-led organizations	241	20.09%
5	Other	93	7.75%
Total		1200	100%

Illustration 19 graphically shows the number of respondents and the percentages of the sixth question’s results.

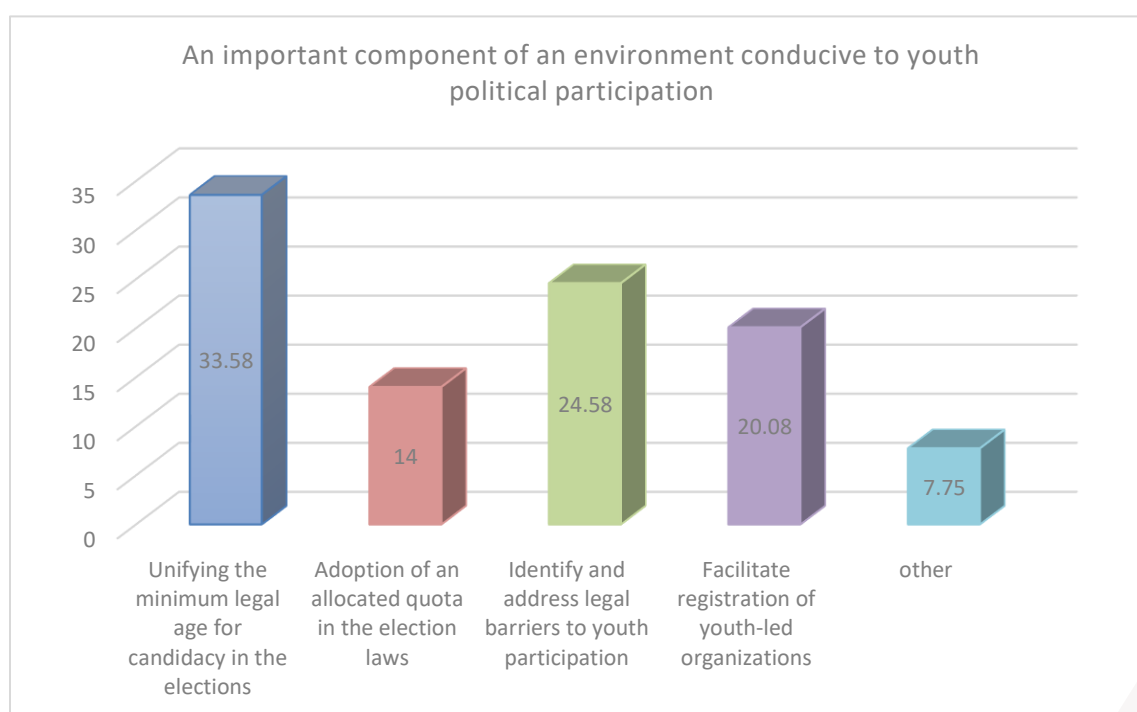
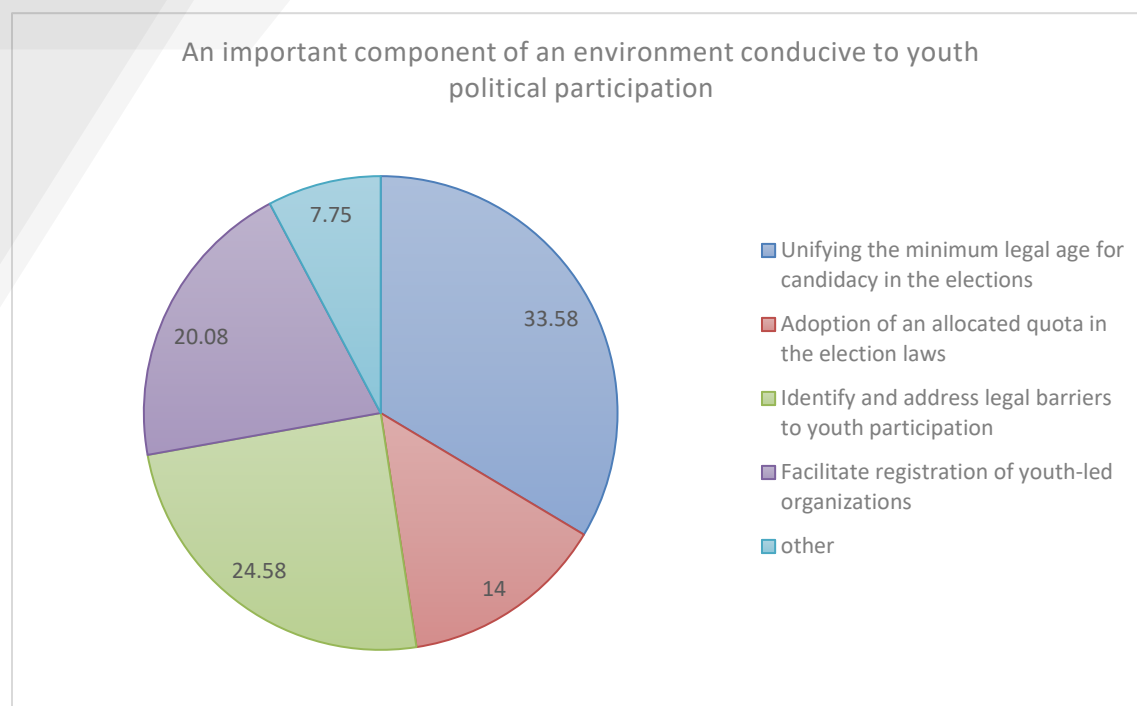


Illustration 19
The number of respondents and the percentages of the sixth question's results

Table (15) and Illustration (34), dedicated to the sixth question “The components of an environment conducive to the political participation of youth include”, which provided

respondents with 5 possible answers, show that the option “Unifying the age of candidacy” scored the highest rating with 33.58%. This shows that youth political participation will force the electoral law to unify the minimum age of candidacy so that young people can participate in the elections and assume their important and necessary role in politics. The option “Identifying and addressing the obstacles to youth participation” came in second with 24.58% of the answers, which stresses the importance of removing all the obstacles to the youth’s participation in the political process and seriously working to find candidates that represent all segments of society, especially the youth, in order to ensure the success of the country’s policies and overcome the stagnation that has accompanied the political process for decades. The option “Facilitating the registration of youth-led organizations” scored the third highest rating with 20.09%, which proves the importance of organizations and their young leaderships, especially as most young people believe that these organizations welcome them, consider their ambitions and meet their desires because they are independent, non-governmental and non-partisan organizations. That is why young people can, through these organization, express their opinions freely and work to achieve their dreams away from the governmental institutions, while also acknowledging their role in changing the mindset of a lot of people and putting the political process back on the right track. The option “Adopting a specified quota in electoral laws” came in fourth with 14%. Through this answer, some of the research sample’s respondents highlight the importance of specifying a percentage for youth by adding a paragraph to the electoral law, just like the one relevant to women. This seeks to find young officials to lead the society, especially their peers that represent a large portion of society, in order to demand their legitimate rights, put an end to the injustice they suffer from and provide them with job opportunities in various fields, allowing them to become good citizens with a strong and true sense of belonging to their country. Lastly, the option “Other” scored the lowest percentage with 7.75% of the answers. This low rating can be the result of the respondents not being convinced by the question’s content or by the remaining options.

Conclusions:

Based on the answers of the research sample to the questionnaire, the following conclusions were reached:

First: Conclusions Related To The Clan Identity Of Youth:

1. Most of the research sample's respondents have a sense of belonging and social responsibility towards their clans.
2. Some of the research sample's respondents prefer their clan identity over their national identity.
3. Clans are one of the main pillars of the political, religious and popular system.
4. Clan-based educational values are essential to maintain the society's cohesion.
5. Clan identity plays a major role in choosing a political candidate.
6. Most of the research sample's respondents desire to participate in politics by supporting the clan's candidate or the candidate chosen by the leaders of the clan.
7. Clan identity affects the political participation of youth.
8. Most of the research sample's respondents support the political candidate that belongs to their clan.
9. There is a gap between the youth and the political parties.
10. Officials and political party leaders do not care about the youth. "This conclusion was reached based on interviews conducted on the targeted sample of youth, which showed that party leaders' interest in youth is only during election times."
11. Young people are excluded from the political arena and their opinions are not taken into consideration when making a decision.
12. Young people tend to be part of civil society organizations and follow up on all of their activities.
13. Most of the research sample's respondents have lost their trust in the programs of the government and the parties.
14. Most of the research sample's respondents have lost their trust in political and party leaders.
15. Young people are not given the chance to express their opinions, which are not taken into consideration when making decisions that serve the society.
16. There is a lack of synergy between the clan identity and the national agenda.
17. Development and openness have negatively affected the clans' authority.
18. The weak authority of the judicial institutions has led to the expansion of the clans' political role.
19. The youth's political role in the clan is limited to the execution without any true contribution to decision-making.
20. Strong clan affiliation has helped counter terrorism and sectarian political projects.

Second: Conclusions Related To The Political Participation Of Youth:

1. The youth's economic conditions affect their level of political participation.
2. A clan-based mindset weakens the youth's political participation.
3. The freedom of the press helps the youth shape their political awareness and acquire ambitious political ideas.
4. Existing political parties do not grant youth and women an effective role in regards to decision-making.
5. A large number of the research sample's respondents make sure to enrich their knowledge regarding Iraq's political developments.

6. A large number of the research sample's respondents follow up on the constitutional texts related to the youth's political participation.
7. Most of the research sample's respondents are keen to participate in the activities organized by youth and civil society organizations.
8. The political system is unable to cope with the youth movements and imposes tutelage upon them.
9. The respondents support a peaceful opposition to address the government's mistakes.
10. The democratic environment and the plurality of parties affect the clarification of the concepts of political participation for the youth.
11. There is a keenness to elect young political candidates.
12. Young people are increasingly confident when it comes to leading the economic and political development in the future.
13. It has become known for young people that political parties only seek to attract them at the time of the elections.
14. Young people are keen to participate in politics out of their sense of citizenship.
15. Young people are increasingly interested and following up on public and political issues.
16. Civil society organizations are a main pillar of democracy for youth.
17. The youth's political participation leads to the renewal of the political system and puts an end to the political stagnation that has accompanied it for decades.

Recommendations:

1. Holding seminars to educated clan-affiliated youth about the disadvantages of clan identity.
2. The necessity for the participation of both young men and women in politics.
3. Enacting laws that give young people a certain percentage of state positions.
4. Promoting youth constitutional and legal rights.
5. Determining the age of candidacy in a way that includes the youth.
6. Entrusting young people with the economic and political aspects of the state due to their great energy and ability to give.
7. Establishing youth-led civil society organizations.
8. Clarifying the role of youth in society, as they are the youth of today and the leaders of the future, through field trips carried out by civil society organizations to secondary and middle schools.
9. Agreeing with the Ministry of Education on instructing educators and teachers to deliver educational courses to their students, through which they focus on the national identity, considering it the foundation upon which a developed society is established.
10. Holding seminars and organizing field visits for clan elders to educate them about the importance of including young people in the decision making of the clan, taking their opinions into consideration and fulfilling their desires that serve the society.
11. The necessity for the participation of all young people in the elections and not be fooled by the malicious propaganda adopted by some for the benefit of their parties or personal interests.
12. Guiding young people towards the adoption of the principle of opposing opinions and teaching them that political rivalries do not cause disputes between the politicians, but rather develop their political vision and that of the society.
13. Directing young people towards attending political events and festivals to become familiar with the ideas of the politicians and their parties along with their vision regarding the country's future.

14. Conveying the struggles of young people to the officials through relevant organizations and improving their economic conditions so that they may play an essential role in leading the society in the future, especially in politics.
15. Increasing the media's interest in young people and considering them a priority in their programs, as they are the most important and essential segment when it comes to following up on their journey and that of all of the government's programs.
16. Considering the establishment of a youth party or bloc by the youth, which will include a group of patriotic and educated young people, to play an effective role in the political process, defend their rights and build a better future for all segments of society, especially the youth.

END

