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Civic Engagement in India: A Narrative Review of Selected Academic Literature

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ABSTRACT

This study provides a narrative overview of civic engagement in the Indian context through a close reading of the selected academic literature on the topic. Purpose of this paper is to develop an understanding of forms and processes through which civic engagement works in the Indian context. Civic engagement has received little attention in studies on civil society and associational membership in India, despite a large body of work on Indian democracy. Studies on social capital also do not directly address the issue of civic participation. This study seeks to fill this gap. The results of the narrative review are organized around seven major themes: 1) Social Capital 2) Communal Question 3) Voluntary Associational Membership 4) Caste Networks and Associations 5) Youth and Civic Skill Development 6) Individual and Community Health and, 7) Civic Engagement in Immigrant Communities. The narrative review indicates that civic engagement in India is considered a net positive with the potential to improve communal relations between Hindus and Muslims, enhance youth participation in politics and development agenda of the state, support social responsibility through personal and business initiatives. Education is considered a critical variable in civic participation with higher education leading to greater time devoted to civic activities. Civic engagement is also attributed to middle-class formations which seek a socially meaningful life through the

involvement of voluntary associations. There are very few studies that deal with the negative consequences of civic engagement.

Keywords :*Civic Engagement, India, Narrative Review, Democracy, Youth Politics.*

INTRODUCTION

Indian political system has undergone a fundamental transformation during the last several decades. Once seen as ideologically mixed and pursuing a well-defined socialist policy position, India since the 1990s has staked out clearly articulated, neo-liberal ideologically oriented policy positions across a wide range of issues. A critical achievement of India in the post-independence period has been its success as a democratic society, despite severe problems with social exclusions and forms of inequality Despite the scholarly prediction of balkanization in the 60s, Indian survival and its stability have been attributed to its adherence to democratic ethos (Kulkarni, 1999; Guha, 2007).

What is happening to Indian democracy? Scholars, public intellectuals, journalists and concerned citizens caught

between optimist celebrations of Indian democracy with a dire warning about perils facing democratic ethos. Several reasons have been proposed such historical (experience with mass movement during India's independence struggle), Sociological (Caste, social networks) anthropological (ethnic identity, cultural diversity) economic (trade associations, elite pluralism), and political (class, caste struggle, social discrimination). What makes some people take part in civic life actively than others? What can explain the differences in the extent of civic engagement amongst people? What are the consequences of civic engagement regarding its political outcomes? Does it make people more or less political? Why civic engagement has a concern now and what problems are we looking address through making citizens engaged?

The purpose of this paper is to examine the features of civic engagement in the experiences of citizens in India. The study adopts a narrative review approach to provide the state of research and theorizing on civic engagement in Indian context (Byrne, 2016). The study assumes significance in the light evidence of profound alienation from the political system observed in many western democracies and an increasing expectation of youth in political and civic commitments around the world. What is the nature and extent of civic engagement in India? What factors shape young people's political and civic engagement? What are the implications of the nature and extent of activities for the future of democracy in India?

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Scholars define civic engagement to describe a range of activities. Ehrlich (2009) in Civic Responsibility and Higher Education explains that "Civic engagement means working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values, and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes." Civic engagement conventionally refers to activities by ordinary citizens that are intended to influence circumstances in a society that is of relevance to others, outside the own family and circle of close friends (Adler, Goggin, 2005).

The UNDP Human Development Report 1993 describes civic engagement as "a process, not an event, which closely involves people in the economic social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives." However, civic engagement can be distinguished from participation as it is specifically associated with efforts to establish channels of voice, representation, and accountability at the state level." Malik, and Waglé, (2002)" suggest that 'civic engagement contains a strong element of participation where stakeholders are active in decision-making processes.'

Some scholars have argued that civic engagement has declined in India as in western democracies. In a paper titled "Human Development and Civic Community in India Making Democracy Perform," Peter (2005) tries to show that "the central methodology of Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work (Putnam, et. Al., 1994) can be fruitfully applied to the study of the Indian states." Others disagree and see the distinction in form and not in the substance of civic engagement in India. How have scholars approached the concept of civic engagement within the Indian historical, political and social context? What theoretical and issues are associated with civic engagement? What kinds of evidence are presented for outcomes of civic engagement?

What makes some people engage in a civic life or to avoid it? Without a minimal level of people's participation in social developmental problems, a diverse society like India, which also faces severe socio-economic inequality, cannot maintain the level of democratic participation. Hence the question of civic engagement and its contribution to democratic process has achieved a significant scholarly interest. Without civic engagement, democratic society will lose its legitimacy. The narrative review of scholarly literature presented in this paper seeks to assess the various forms and direction of civic engagement in India.

METHOD: NARRATIVE REVIEW

Given the enormous research on the subject of civic engagement since the mid-1990s, there is a felt need to review studies in the Indian context. An unsystematic narrative review of literature is needed to provide the state of the art findings and concerns of scholars working in this area. Therefore, this study departs from the traditional

literature review by instead taking a "grand tour of the conceptual landscape of 'civic engagement' as presented in scholarly publications. The primary objective is to map the fundamental concepts, themes, issues and concerns raised in the literature on civic participation across geographic locations and disciplines in India. The approach adopted here follows the guidelines of unsystematic narrative review (Green, 2006; Greenhalgh, 2011)Narrative reviews of the literature establishes grounds for validating critical assumptions, provides a broad overview of civic engagement and offer insight into the semantic connects in the underlying phenomenon. The findings from the narrative review can offer a firm basis for articulating empirical and theoretical concerns regarding civic engagement, while also enabling the identification of gaps in the literature (Atkins, 2008).

RESULTS OF NARRATIVE REVIEW

A search in Google Scholar using keywords 'civic engagement' (and its variant civic participation, duties, involvement) and India yielded 709 articles in the field of social sciences and sixty-seven articles in humanities published since 1991. Out of thisonly twelve articles and books dealt directly with civic engagement. A significant number of these publications have focused on communal-religions conflict and cooperation and the roles of social capital, especially associational linkages between citizens and communities. Youth engagement has also received considerable attention in the literature in line with international studies on the topic. Most of these articles and books covered multiple themes. The first section of the narrative review provides the historical trajectory of civic engagement. The next section presents the main findings organized around seven major themes: 1) Social Capital 2) Communal Question 3) Voluntary Associational Membership 4) Caste and Social Capital 5) Youth and Civic Skill Development 6) Health and, 7) Civic Engagement in Immigrant Communities.

CONTEXTUALIZING CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN INDIA

Amongst South Asian countries, India has been at the forefront of democratic practices. Accordingly, there has been a conscious attempt to enlist young people in social services and volunteerism. India also has a large number of non-governmental organizations, community-based groups and trade and occupational, religious associations, apart from formal labor unions and business networks. Many observers inside and outside the voluntary sector have long sought citizen's collaboration to increase effectiveness, reduce waste, and provide better social services. There is a concern that people may be unable to take full advantage of the democratic rights if citizen's participation is not representative. Civic engagement was seen as a mechanism for democratic participation.

The idea of civic engagement has a longer history than typically attributed to Robert Putnam (Norris, 2002; Putnam, 2000) which popularized the term. Historically India emerged out a political movement against the British Raj, which instilled in people a sense of active participation in public affairs. These expectations were transferred to the independent state of India. By adopting democracy as a political framework, the Indian state was also, in principle expected popular participation from diverse communities and formally shunned discriminatory practices. Thus, the idea of 'civic' in India is rooted in colonial experience with the state and its people.

The independence movement was also rooted in reform initiatives that simultaneously sought social and political transformations and involved bargaining, negotiating, dialogue and cooperation and strategic non-cooperation with the colonial institutions. With Mahatma Gandhi adopting nonviolence as a principle strategy of opposition to British rule, ordinary people's involvement mattered as much as the participation of elites and those highly motivated.

It is in this context that Indians were increasingly enlisted in the freedom movement and as such civic and political participation came to be set as a normative ideal for public behaviour Civic engagement in India thus came to represent various forms of collective action-for social reform and social work and, for political engagement. Unlike in the West where civic engagement evolved out to the democratic significance of community, in India this experience was shaped by the colonial experience of confronting the state for social justice, incremental reform, and policy changes. Despite this deep connection with social movements, civic engagement has remained understudied in Indian.

Civic engagement has received significant public policy support in contemporary

India. It has been conceived within the national youth policy, which sets forth guidelines for youth development, social consciousness, and civic participation. Civic engagement also overlaps with service learning which was institutionalized in the form of National Service Schemes (NSS). National Youth Policy further underscored the importance of civil and social responsibilities as a necessary component of youth development. Apart from dedicated ministries, India has introduced major youth-oriented programs such as Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan (NYKS). The Red Ribbon club initiated in colleges to raise awareness about HIV-AIDs is another instance of policy informed civic engagement.

Most of these schemes emphasize volunteerism and operate within the educational institutional. There is minimal effort to enlist youth outside the formal education systems into civic participation. Typically, these programs emphasis activities such as health, blood, medical camps, environmental issues sanitation and awareness creation for various social issues. However, the government initiated programs poses a question over the degree of volunteerism that can be practically achieved. Also, government support inevitably involves trade-offs in term so of the kind of issues that can be brought into civic agenda. Despite these inherent limits, a public involvement that promotes a more confrontational form of participation can be found. For example, most municipal corporations had to contend with local pressure groups and civically motivated associations and individuals. This recognition has led to the emergence of partnerships with civic groups are recognized as a stakeholder.

This leads us to consider a significant category of local associations that are at the forefront of civic participation. For example, Residential Welfare Associations, Apartment Associations-especial the in the urban regions-exercise considerable influence on local governance (Harriss, 2005). They are associated explicitly with middle-class localities, especially multi-storied apartments housing. These associations are active in various civic engagement works, even when they are restricted to their apartment complex. Thus, we find that civic engagement is practiced in India at several levels—from national public policies to local and residential neighbourhood specific activities. However, we know very little about how individuals relate to civic engagement and what distinguishes those who are more or less civically active. The need to understand the individual as the unit of analysis is strongly felt.

Studies on civic engagement have fallen into the following themes communal-ethnic violence, youth, civil society and associational politics, video-games environment for the promotion of Civic Engagement, health, and community context. There is a growing body of literature on history and trajectories of civil society in India. Many studies have examined social capital in India context. In addition to these few studies are dealing in Indian philanthropy and its relation to Civic Engagement.

Others studies have focused on political participation-especially partisan political membership. The third set of studies has focused on associational politics. The fourth set of studies has examined social capital and its relations to media. Few studies have dealt with conflict and cooperation in the marketplace. Most scholars' emphasis on local networks of civil society - the idea of civic engagement has not received much attention. Peter (2005) reports some of the results of the replication of Putnam's Italian study for the states and concludes that "While a clear relationship can be demonstrated between state government performance in development and levels of civic engagement, it is harder to replicate Putnam's findings concerning the crucial role of social capital. In the Indian context, levels of education are more important."

Theme - 1: Social Capital and Civic Engagement

Social Capital Interpersonal Trust and civic engagement- The availability, mobilization, and use of social capital have been cited as a critical factor in determining civic engagement and participation in community works. Social capital includes trust in interpersonal relations as well as trust in public institutions. (Dekker, 2003) provides arguments for how social capital influences a civic and political involvement in their daily life. Krishna (2002) also explores the role of social capital in democracy arguing that social capital is a crucial driver of political participation.

The role of social capital in addressing socioeconomic development and local governance gets emphasis in the literature. In their research on social capital in public policy implementation, Beall, J. (1997) suggests that "Both decentralization and 'civic engagement' are critical concerns in current debates on solid waste management (SWM).

Their paper examines two different examples of community involvement in solid waste management, in Bangalore, India, and in Faisalabad, Pakistan and they show that expectations based in the concept of social capital are wanting because of the way in which it obscures problems having to do with local power structures. "

Uslaner & Brown, (2005) using community-level analysis secondary data summarise significant literature on the economic perspective of civic engagement. They provide to support the claim that 'community structure-the degree of heterogeneity or homogeneity- contributes to social capital which in turn affects civic engagement.' According to these authors "in a more involved community, there is less trust in others leading to lesser social capital which thwarts civic engagement amongst its citizens. In a more homogeneous community, people are more willing to trust others and hence engage in economic activities that are beneficial to most others "like them". Since heterogeneity marks Indian society, these authors point to the constraints on social capital and civic engagement.

The implications of this study are profound. Homogeneous communities develop rules of inclusion and exclusion leading to in-group coherence. This often entails preferential treatment of members. People tend to be civically involved when they are helping members of their own community as opposed to outsiders. If a society is fragmented (such as caste, region, language), the possibility of social benefits spilling beyond one's community is restricted. Hence members of a group are less inclined to help people outside their community. The studies Dekker (2003), Krishna,(2002) and Uslaner& Brown, (2005) lend support to the argument. The role of social capital in fostering civic engagement has both positive developmental outcomes as well as detrimental effects on community cohesion.

Theme - 2: Civic Engagement and Communal Question

A notable contribution to the debate on civic life comes from Varshney (2003) Varshney examines the conditions under which communal conflict between Hindus and Muslim communities lead to communal violence. Making a distinction between ethnic conflict/violence Varshney argues that associational linkages and competitive politics predict communal-harmony-conflict. Varshney (2003), using data on events and incidences of communal violence, finds that in communities that have strong associations-trade ties between Hindus and Muslims are least likely to face communal tensions. Ulrike (2011) also argues that the cross-communal alliance of Hindus and Muslims, representing the traditional service elites and new professional classes, supported by membership in voluntary associations afforded space for cultural self-assertion and critical participation. A study undertaken in the context of Indonesia (Tadjoeddin, 2005), which makes references to Indian situations, draws similar conclusions about the relationship between civic engagement and communal violence. This study provides cross-cultural evidence for the thesis that associational membership and other forms of civic engagement have the potential to reduce escalating conflict into a violent crisis.

Studies dealing with civic engagement in the context of communal conflict and violence (Nooruddin, 2004; Stark, 2011; Tadjoeddin, 2005; Varshney, 2003) are paralleled by studies on the decisive role of religion in promoting and sustaining civic engagement in India Here the main contention is that religion has played a critical role in fostering civil society culture, through its emphasis on voluntary service and charity. Religion has played a critical role in encouraging specific forms of social responsibility, exercised voluntary services. However, the religiously inspired form of engagement might be limited to membership in a religious community (Nooruddin, 2004;Chhibber, 2014; Levitt, 2008).

Theme - 3: Civic Engagement and Voluntary Associational Membership

One of the critical indicators of civic engagement is the extent of associational membership. Bhangaokar (2012) argues that "civic engagement and volunteering experiences are potent avenues for propelling positive youth development. The author highlights the under-utilized potentials of Indian youth in civic participation and volunteering activities." By analyzing the experiences of Aakash, a volunteer with an animal rescue and protection organization in Vadodara, Bhangaokar(2012) emphasizes "enhanced competencies and shifts in self-perception, accompanied by changes in social–moral thinking that came about due to his civic engagement (animal protection and rescue) activities." Ulrike (2011) using the case of Jalsah-e Tahzib, the first voluntary

society established in 1888 in colonial Lucknow, comes to the same conclusion.

The role of civil society organizations has received considerable attention in the literature on civic engagement (Deo&McDuie-Ra, 2011; Eberly, 2013; Sahoo, 2013; Tadjoeddin, 2005). Individual's involvement in non-governmental organizations, community-based organizations, and grassroots networks is a significant dimension of civic engagement. While this involvement might not necessarily be representative of the community as pointed out by (Fiorina, 1999), they indicate an individual's commitment to social change.

Extensive studies on social movements in India have generated a significant body of case studies and theoretical reflections on social reform movements (Deo&McDuie-Ra, 2011; Ray &Katzenstein, 2005). Both old and new social movements such as women rights, environmental movements have provided a rich body of qualitative narrative analysis of social movement discourse in India (Shah, 2004). Studies on Indian democracy has also underscored the significance of social mobilization as a political strategy (Denyer, 2014; Stepan, Linz, & Yadav, 2011; Varshney, 2014). These studies share a shared commitment to social change and justice through collective action. They also make a causal assumption that an individual's civic and social engagement as a driver of political participation (Chhibber, 1999).

Theme - 4: Caste, Social Capital and Civic Engagement

The idea of caste as a social capital assumes specific relevance in the context of regional politics in India politics (Vijayabaskar and Kalaiyarasan, 2014). The regional political parties were able to forge a robust electoral alliance through its social networks based on social reforms (Murali, 2007). Scholars have argued that social capital is a means for establishing caste identity and were able t crystallized affirmative action's and positive discriminations to balance historical injustices Rajagopal (1984). They see the involvement of marginalized communities in associational politics and social networks as a means of empowerment whose the value that goes beyond the material gains from the caste-based social capital (Gorringe, 2011; Palanithurai, 1993; Pandian, 2013a, 2013b,2013c).

Some studies have delved into the role of caste associations in Indian politics and the rise of caste-based political parties (Deo&McDuie, 2011; Gorringe, 2005).While caste associations are considered as dysfunctional features of Indian democracy, many scholars have also argued that caste association has made a positive contribution to the deepening of democracy in India (Gorringe, 2005).Gorringe (2011. 2012 and 2013) argues that the lack of associational membership and networks has made empowerment difficult for socially marginalized caste communities

Is caste-oriented civic engagement good for Indian democracy? The answer turns out to be far more complicated than appears at first glance. One of the core aspects of civic engagement is the nature and extent of associational membership. Those with strong associational ties are expected to demonstrate a more significant commitment to civic engagement. However, if the community ties extend only to caste groups, would it strengthen democracy? Vijayabaskar and Kalaiyarasan (2014) argue that "caste-based economic networks reinforce socio-economic hierarchies and generate new forms of exclusion." Because of its strong connection forged between political and h social reform, one could also expect a closer association between civic and political engagement in India.

Theme - 5: Youth and Civic Engagement

Studies on Indian youth have conceptualized youth as an independent political actor (Bansal, 2012; Gooptu, 2013; Ilavarasan, 2013; Jeffrey, 2010; Kumar, 2013). Here often youth culture is seen as apolitical, disengaged, but also are essential to democratic participation. Scholars have also pointed out to newer forms of political and civic engagement amongst youth that goes beyond and beneath conventional forms of political participation (Lukose, 2009; T. Y. Rao, 2011). Conventionally, studies of Indian youth have focused more on political participation than civic activities. Civic engagement features only tangentially in studies dealing with voting behavior in India (Banerjee, 2014; Kumar & Rai, 2013).

Studies connecting youth to civic involvement have treated performance of civic duties as a skill that requires bolstering amongst youth. Many authors base their arguments on the 'demographic dividends' of young Indian population and argue that lack of skill development is making young Indians avoid civic participation Rao (2011).

Emphasising the need for policy support for skill development, Rao (2011) suggests that civic education requires the need to focus on negotiation, conflict resolution, critical thinking, decision making, and communication.

However, few empirical studies are examining the perception of young people towards civic participation. One notable study was done by Thomas (2005) on community-based national service programs such as the National Service Scheme (NSS) in higher educational institutions in Kerala, India. The author shows that national service schemes have contributed significantly to civic engagement and that they have an impact on the levels of political participation amongst youth. Using the approach of "action-based trust' the author identifies five themes relevant to civic engagement: Community Development, Political Awareness, Social/Interpersonal Trust, Collective/Individual Action, and Capacity Building/Empowerment Thomas's (2005)study revealed that "NSS volunteers were able to forge a level of trust and reciprocity" to address social issues that are relevant to the development of the state.

Lukose (2009) explores how youth and gender have become 'a contested cultural-political terrain of globalization' in the post-liberalization India. Her study laments the rise of consumerism and Hindu nationalism, arguing that these forces have undermined civic participation amongst youth. Through an analysis of what she calls "consumer citizenship," Lukose (2009) argues that "the breakdown of the Nehruvian vision connects with ongoing struggles over the meanings of public life and the cultural politics of belonging. Her study on college students highlights one of the fundamental conflicts between civic and political engagement. She found that while college management favors a civic over the political involvement of their students, the students own priority-at least in Kerala-reflects a more political orientation than civic concerns Lukose (2009).

Theme - 6: Civic Engagement Individual and Community Health

Outside the discipline of political science, civic engagement is also receiving considerable attention in the field of public health and policy studies (Gupta &Pushkar, 2014). Here the central empirical question is the role of civic engagement in improving individuals and community health (Howard, Rao, &Desmond, 2010). Civic engagement not only has a positive outcome to individual health but also contributes to improving the health of the community by supporting voluntary services. Wilson and Simson, (2003) study using case studies of classroom-based pedagogy linked with service-learning experiences, highlights how to promote population health by encouraging civic engagement and community-based participatory actions. Their study emphasizes community medicine and health initiatives in which civic engagement activities play a critical role. They emphasize that health education also need to emphasize community health and this is possible by encouraging civic engagement.

Theme - 7: Civic Engagement in Immigrant Communities

Few authors have focused on the role of civic engagement in mainstreaming immigrant communities into the political systems of the host countries. This scholarship suggests the civic engagements enable immigrants to continue their distinct lifestyle and cultural practices while reinforcing a strong sense of their own ethnic identity (Brettell& Reed-Danahay, 2011). In a comparative study of civic engagement in Indian and Vietnamese Immigrant in the United States, the authors observe that the "expressions of citizenship and belonging emerge not only during the naturalization process but also during more informal, everyday activities in the community". They find that religious and ethnic organizations provide arenas in which immigrants develop their ways of being and becoming citizens of the host country."Skills honed at a meeting, festival, or banquets have resounding implications for the future political potential of these immigrant populations, both locally and nationally. "In another comparative study on civic engagement between El Salvador and India, Jensen, (2008) observes that immigrant parents (first generation) and adolescents (second generation) from El Salvador and India "were almost unanimous in regarding civic engagement as important. Immigrants engaged themselves, more at the community than the political level. "For refugees and immigrants, "expressions of citizenship and belonging emerge not only during the naturalization process but also during more informal, everyday activities in the community" (ibid). From these studies, we can infer that civic engagement is a critical factor in diaspora communities and provides space for the continuation of ties between the nation of origin and host country.

Other Studies: Further there is a growing body of research on corporate social responsibility, which has a direct affiliation with civic engagement. However, the role of the business community in fostering civic engagement remains an understudied topic in the literature. The review also did not find any studies relating civic engagement to governance.

DISCUSSION

The studies reviewed above have shown that civic engagements are a critical concept in understanding development as well as its political culture. Civic engagement and volunteering are critical avenues for propelling positive youth development regarding enhanced competencies, moral and social engagement. These studies are consistent with the expectations from Western and international studies (Mitra, 2012). The emerging consensus is positive –civic participation is something desirable that can improve the quality of political and social life. Civic activities are a catalyst for democratic and social development. Civic participation is a means for monitoring the government for standards of accountability, transparency, and responsiveness. In the context of immigrants, the studies show that far from assimilations, civic engagement creates a multiplicity of political spheres supporting linkages between nations.

In India, the democracy is functioning as political systems, successfully conducting free and fair elections and supports various forms of deliberations. However, it is perceived to be failing in delivering socio-economic development. Critiques argue that Indian democracy does not fulfil some of its critical obligations addressing inequalities, discrimination, human rights, voice, and free expression. The need for civically engaged citizens is crucial for the bridging gap between expectations and reality of a democratic society.

CONCLUSION

Rather than seeing "attention deficit" (Beneger, 2011) a political and civic issues problem, we need to recognize the deficit as a feature of a democratic society. The more democracy works for the people; the fewer people will be inclined to dedicate time and effort to work for democracy. This is a paradox of democratic participation. The perception that democratic institutions are failing is more likely to spur strong political participation than the perception that it is functioning along expected lines. So bad news for democracy is good news for political participation. If democracy begins to fulfill its promises, then civic participation drops correspondingly leading to a general apathy observed in much developed liberal democracy.

While the western democracies are expressing attention deficit (Berger, 2011), India, the argument, goes, is suffering from a democratic deficit. While there is some merit to this diagnosis, the democratic deficit thesis fails to take into account the substantial failing about governance. In India, civic engagement of citizens is most visible in public administration and governance. Citizens interface with a state institution, which formally represents their interest. Many, especially the socially vulnerable people find democracy and its institutional structures falling short of expectations. There is a compelling case for a focus on governance deficit. It is here that citizen's participation needed and why civic engagement with the local community makes sense as a practical and long-lasting strategy.

While the electoral politics shapes the political participation, public policy and institutional structures, we do not have an equivalent civic engagement movement to address the governance deficit. The critical conclusion of the paper study is that academic studies on civic engagement need to focus on governance and public participation in decision making. Civic engagement in India needs a greater policy thrust than provided now. There is a need to send a clear call for making civic engagement more attractive to younger as well as older adults, though the strategy and purpose of reaching different groups would differ.

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