Political Culture And Electoral Manifesto Commitments Towards The Youth In Recent Times In India

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Abstract: This research paper explores the youth political culture and the promises meant for them in the electoral manifestos of two major parties in India. Political parties' manifestos represent crucial policy requirements for the nation and its population, while political culture shapes subjective elements in a country's politics. Youth involvement plays a vital role in highlighting issues, addressing youth concerns, and improving overall quality of life. With India's youth demography, understanding the influence of political culture and its impact on manifesto formulation is extremely essential. The research is done considering the recent two Lok Sabha elections of 2014 and 2019 which witnessed the highest youth participation in terms of voter turnout. The study follows a descriptive and explorative approach, examining the distribution of political attitudes, values, feelings, knowledge, and abilities among the youth. Through an analysis of manifestos of two major political parties namely Indian National Congress (INC) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) for the 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections, the paper highlights the significance of youth engagement and its impact on democratic representation and policy formulation.

Key Words: Electoral Manifesto, Youth, Political Culture, Election, Democracy.

1. Introduction: Effective involvement, voting rights for all, enlightened understanding, exercising final say over the agenda, and adult inclusion are all possible within a democratic system (Dahl, 2020). Democracy has a wide range of connotations. The endeavour of giving a perfect definition of democracy is challenging. It may be the idea that is currently being discussed, interpreted, and contested the most. There are other viewpoints that define democracy as a way of life. When we talk about democracy, we typically mean it as a type of government. Therefore, it is challenging to describe democracy without comprehending these contentious concepts. However, democracy is frequently praised as the best type of political system to exist today. The current most popular type of government is indirect democracy, which is used all across the world. Indirect democracy is presently the predominant type of government in the majority of the world's nations, with those that previously practised other systems switching to it. This type of democracy sometimes referred to as representative democracy, is one in which citizens elect representatives to act and make decisions on their behalf rather than participating directly in the governance process. Representatives of the people are occasionally elected, and this is how indirect democracy functions (Gauba, 2019). The institutions of government and the voice of the electorate must always be in conflict for democracy to function successfully. The election commission is straddled between the tasks of protecting democracy and being a member of the institutional establishment because it was created to prevent the electoral process from being tainted by interests that aimed to undermine democracy (Gauba, 2019). Elections are...
substantial for the survival of a healthy democracy, and so is the electoral manifesto. Each party assembles a committee of senior officials to draft its manifesto prior to the elections. Large-scale official and informal discussions that are incorporated into the manifesto-writing process are coordinated by these groups. The party's top decision-making body is presented with proposed manifests by the manifesto committees after they have gathered the opinions of party members, supporters, and policy analysts in think tanks through online and in-person consultations. The manifesto is amended and approved by the party president-led highest decision-making body (Adhikari, 2022). Electoral or election manifesto is generally referred to as campaign literature that gives political parties a legitimate party viewpoint (Kanungo, 2020). A political document known as an election manifesto lists the pledges made by the parties running for office. The word "election manifesto" comes from the Latin word "manifestum," which means to be obvious or plain. Election manifestos are, therefore, the document that outlines the party positions and plans for governing the nation after winning an election. One can determine the type of ideology a political party has from electoral manifestos; hence it is important to pay attention to the specific description of a party's goals after winning elections as stated in the manifesto (Eder & Muller, 2017). The elections in India are closely related to the political Culture of the nation. Elections are such events where the citizens perform their political actions. Political actions are determined by different forms of the orientation of people towards political institutions, which is commonly denoted as political culture. Political evaluations of party competitiveness and visions of party democracy heavily rely on electoral manifestos. They provide a compendium of valid party positions, streamline the campaign, and are used as campaign material. Election manifestos are crucial for educating voters about the policies, which promotes more effective and impartial political involvement. People in a society are similar in terms of their emotional tendencies, cognitive abilities, and moral convictions. The common human nature manifests itself in a society's general culture, which consists of particular values, beliefs, and emotional attitudes that are passed down from one generation to the next with varying degrees of variation. The overall distribution of people's orientations to political objects might be thought of as political culture (Baruah & Borah, 2012). The citizens of the country are the said individuals whose attitudes, beliefs, and values towards the political objects form the particular political culture of the country. Political Culture is made up of societal attitudes, convictions, feelings, and values related to the political process and unrelated concerns. It is described as the distribution of personal political attitudes and orientations among the participants in a political system. Just like a person's mindset determines what they will do, a country's political Culture determines how its population and political leaders behave throughout the political system. In India, nearly more than half of the population is young, as the average age of the country is 29 (Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 2023). There are several stages in a person's life: infancy, childhood, youth, adulthood, and old age. Youth is incredibly informative for the person and the society they live in. Therefore, the terms "young" and "youth" are crucial ideas. Depending on the average age and cultural considerations, the definition of "youth" differs from one nation to the next. In addition to varying from civilisation to society, from age to age, class to class, stratum to stratum, and segment to segment, the concept of "youth" also differs. Youth is a time of transition and exploration. Due to the young person's search for his ego, personality, and identity, this time is melancholy. He feels the sorrow of discovering himself and breaking out of his cocoon. He may have contradictory opinions toward his environment and family. Most often, the young person's family and social environment view him as a difficult individual because he enters and exits the house as he pleases, dislikes everything, and reacts angrily to mild warnings. The term "youth" have so far been subject to numerous meanings and proposals. On these terms and concepts, there isn't, however, total agreement. However, some concepts and definitions are crucial. According to UNESCO, youth is the time when a person acquires the abilities and social skills necessary to be prepared for the financial rewards and responsibilities that come with adult status. Therefore, rather than being a time period with set age boundaries, youth can be seen as a specific stage of life with distinct social, economic, psychological, and political aspects. They proposed a few vague ideas while interacting with the social, political, and moral norms of society. Most of them think that previous generations have done away with these impersonal ideas. Negative identity, also known as social alienation, can result from this attitude if it is not properly channelled. The division between "himself" and society's values is the cause of this alienation. A social eruption could happen at any time. This is due to the fact that young, highly educated university students do not agree with established cultural and political ideologies. On the other side, older generations adhere to established norms more steadfastly than younger ones in social control patterns such as family authority and rights, authority, and religion. Education level is also correlated with differences in attitudes. A competent
education system generally does a decent job of guiding young people toward contemporary values (Tekindal, 2017). Hence, the youth of a country have the potential to influence the political culture of the country. The needs and demands of the youth influence political culture, which in turn influences national politics. The goal of this research study is to explore the youth political culture since the pre-independent era till the recent times and promises and policies made by political parties in their election manifests which are meant for the youth of the nation since political culture influences the party competition dynamics (Siddiqui, 2020).

2. **Objective:** This research paper aims to identify and categorize the key themes and issues pertaining to youth concerns featured in the electoral manifestos of two major political parties namely Indian National Congress (INC) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and also to examine the responsiveness of political parties to the evolving aspirations and demands of the youth demographic over the course of the two analysed elections of 2014 and 2019. The paper also seeks to contribute valuable insights to academia and policymakers, providing a nuanced understanding of the intricate relationship between youth political culture, manifesto formulation, and democratic representation.

3. **Methodology:**
3.1 **Research Design:** This research uses a qualitative approach relying on secondary sources to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of youth and political culture in shaping electoral manifestos. For sample selection, the two major political parties that won the elections and the one that became opposition with high margins in terms of seats in the parliament are included. Manifestos from the 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections have been obtained since both the elections captured the increase in young voter turnout which was observed during the elections.

3.2 **Data Collection:** the electoral manifestos of the selected two political parties from the official websites of the political parties have been taken. Content analysis of the manifestos to identify and categorize promises and policies relevant to youth issues has been done to meet the research objective. Thematic/content analysis is applied to understand the underlying themes, narratives, and ideologies related to youth issues in the manifestos.

4. **Youth Political Culture in India Since Pre-Independence Period:** It may appear from studying scientific research on young people's political cultures that democracy has serious issues with its youth. A lack of interest in politics, declining voter turnout, lack of involvement, and violence against the state by excluded and marginalised groups are all reported by academies, researchers, and politicians in almost every western country (Pfaff, 2009). India is the youngest nation in the world if we consider modern India. According to population statistics, individuals under the age of twenty-five make up 50% of India's total population, while those between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five make up 65%. Because of this, it is admired throughout the world and is considered to be the superpower of the twenty-first century. The only group that can propel the nation's development is its young people (Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 2023). Young leaders embody vigour and passion and can be tremendously effective in creating policies for themselves in relation to current challenges and problems. The young generation should be the backbone of our future India; they should develop more ideas and be in charge of determining which cultural values would be beneficial to humanity. The involvement of young people will also provide a greater sense of inclusiveness in the democratic system (Acharya, 2022). Political Culture incorporates political behaviour as an aspect, and one of the ways to detect political behaviour is by tracking the political participation of the citizens. Youth political participation, according to a survey done by CSDS, shows that the majority of the youth from politically and economically sound backgrounds are aware of politics, and hence they participate in politics through the voting process or through protests and demonstrations (Kumar, 2014). Historically, India has been home to multiple student protests, and it is absolutely relevant in the contemporary scenario as well. The Academic Association was established in undivided Bengal's Hindu College in 1828 with the help of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a teacher there and a reformer, marking the beginning of a student movement in India about 200 years ago. His followers, a group of free thinkers known as Young India, were instrumental in the Bengali Renaissance of the 19th century. Following independence, nearly all major political parties had student wings, and a number of independent student organisations that catered to socially and economically disadvantaged groups also emerged. Numerous student movements that took place in India after it gained independence are still fresh in people's minds. Tamil Nadu's anti-Hindi movement began in the 1940s and continued into the 1960s. In 1965, however, a
large number of students across the state started a protest against the Official Languages Act of 1963, which established Hindi and English as official languages. The law was passed despite objections from the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Parliament. But at the time, English remained the official language, according to then-prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Students protested in the streets after the state's Congress government implemented a three-language formula in the state assembly following Nehru's death in 1964. On December 20, 1973, engineering students in Ahmedabad started an uprising against a 20% fee increase for hostel food, which became known as the Nav Nirman Andolan (Reconstruction Movement) in 1974. Police and students fought during a similar walkout at Gujarat University on January 3, 1974. The Jai Prakash Narayan-led Chandra Sangarsh Samiti focused on reducing corruption, nepotism, electoral reforms, food subsidies, and educational reforms. It was a non-violent demonstration that began at Patna University and extended to a number of other academic institutions in the northern Indian states that use the Hindi language. Some of the well-known young leaders that took part in the JP movement that supported socialism included Nitish Kumar, who is currently the chief minister of Bihar; Lalu Prasad, a former chief minister of Bihar; and Mulayam Singh Yadav, a former chief minister of Uttar Pradesh. Students and faculty members organised underground rallies using pamphlets and flyers to denounce the imposition of Emergency in numerous universities and academic institutions across India in 1975. Arun Jaitley, the president of the Delhi University Students Union at the time, and Jai Prakash Narayan, the leader of the Chandra Sangarsh Samiti, were two among the over 300 student union leaders that were imprisoned. The All Assam Students Union, which is currently leading protests against the modified citizenship laws, started the Assam Agitation (1979 to 1985), an uprising in Assam against illegal immigrants. In response to the inflow of Bangladeshis after the War of Liberation in 1971, there was a movement to preserve the Assamese identity. The student protests included participants from all areas of life, and they came to a conclusion in 1985 with the signing of the Assam Accord. In 1985, at the age of 35, student leader Pratibha Mahanta, who was leading the Asom Gana Parishad at the time, was appointed chief minister. Students from all over India began a protest in August 1990 against the imposition of a 27% reservation in government jobs for members of the Other Backward Classes. The Mandal Commission's 1980 recommendations were carried out by the government, which VP Singh headed. Although the demonstration started at Delhi University, it quickly expanded to other colleges and universities throughout the nation, sparking violent demonstrations across the nation. Exams were skipped in numerous locations by students. After the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) withdrew support from Singh's Janata Dal government, the agitation came to a conclusion when Singh announced his resignation on November 7, 1990. 2006 saw the second significant demonstration against the reservation system. Widespread demonstrations against the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government's intention to establish OBC reservations in both central and private higher education institutions occurred at educational institutions in 2006. Upper-caste students and doctors criticised the action as discriminatory. OBC student groups counter-protested in support of the choice. In July 2015, the Pune campus of the Film and Television Institute of India saw the start of a protest by its students against the appointment of actor Gajendra Chauhan as the institute's head. Students refused to attend courses and take exams during the 140-day strike, arguing that Chauhan was not qualified to lead FTII. In support of the FTII students, symbolic demonstrations took place in a number of different locations. At Jadavpur University, a movement called "hok kalorob" (let there be uproar) protested what it claimed was a police assault on unarmed students. A fair investigation into the alleged abuse of a student on campus was what the students demanded. Vice-chancellor Abhijit Chakraborty was fired as a result of the week-long demonstration against him for reportedly allowing police to enter the campus. Rohith Vemula, a Dalit student at Hyderabad University, committed suicide, igniting a national outcry against the university administration for allegedly failing to stop him. Days prior to the suicide, the university's executive council had restricted access to campus and evicted five Dalit students, including Vemula, from the hostel for allegedly attacking an ABVP student leader. At protest gatherings, hundreds of students from institutions all around India took part. On February 9, 2016, riots broke out at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) over the 2013 execution of Kashmiri separatist Afzal Guru, who was found guilty of planning an attack on Parliament 16 years prior. This was criticised by many human rights organisations. There were fights between several student groups at the demonstration. Kanhaiya Kumar, the then-president of the JNU students' union, was detained by Delhi Police and charged with sedition four days after the incident. Umar Khalid and another student were later detained (Hindustan Times, 2019). All of these student-led protests demonstrate how India's youth political culture is defined by the youth's active participation in politics. Political parties recognise the importance of young people as a significant voting bloc; hence it is important to find out how much youth political
5. Party Manifestos Incorporating Promises Meant for the Youth:

5.1 2014 Lok Sabha Election:

In the 2014 Lok Sabha election, BJP got the highest number of vote share and INC was successful in capturing the second position in terms of vote share. The vote share can be understood from the following pie chart (16th Lok Sabha Election Result, 2014) (Election.in, 2014):
leadership, and capacity building. It will continue to be a top priority to open up the political system and give every young Indian a voice. The Indian National Congress considers the youth to be their most valuable resource. In addition to actively promoting young leadership and political opportunities for everyone over the past ten years, they have also remained committed to fostering an environment that is supportive and rewarding so that the youth can develop the skills necessary to play a more active part in the future of the nation. For various youth programmes, INC currently invests more than Rs 90,000 crore, and they will continue to do so. The Indian National Congress is still dedicated to making sure that youth sports options are increased, made more accessible, and available. The Indian National Congress would encourage youth entrepreneurship, employability, and social inclusion. For areas afflicted by left-wing extremism, the Indian National Congress would offer a unique youth development package (entrepreneurship/employment) with a focus on women, Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes. We will launch a particular effort to hire young people from Jammu and Kashmir, the North East, and other Central Government ministries. The Indian National Congress is still dedicated to ending the drug abuse issue. It will be determined how widespread this issue is across the country. The establishment of drug rehabilitation centres in each area will be fully funded. The UPA government, led by Congress, introduced the National Service Scheme for graduates with the goal of improving IT literacy, financial literacy, English communication, and other soft skills to increase youth employability. The Indian National Congress is dedicated to prioritising the implementation of this Scheme while expanding financing and its scope. When it comes to possibilities for school and employment, INC promises to work to give youth with disabilities the first priority. For young people looking for employment prospects abroad, INC will establish government-run employment exchange/facilitation centres. These will aid in reducing intermediaries and dishonest recruiting firms. The nodal organisation for this will be the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (INC Manifesto, 2014). In the 2014 Lok Sabha election manifesto of the BJP, the term "youth" is used 23 times, whereas in the INC's Lok Sabha election manifesto, the term "youth" occurs 30 times.

5.2 2019 Lok Sabha Election:

In the 2019 Lok Sabha election, BJP managed to gain the highest vote share and INC was successful in capturing the second position. A detailed description of vote share of BJP, INC and other parties is shown in the following pie chart (16th Lok Sabha Election, 2014) (Election.in, 2014).

**Lok Sabha Election Result 2019**

![Pie chart showing vote share of BJP, INC, BSP, AITC, and OTH](Elections.in)

In the 2019 Lok Sabha election, the BJP manifesto includes a segment termed "Yuva Bharat: Tomorrow's India", and under this section, the party promises to fulfil several policies, which include introducing a new programme that will offer entrepreneurs collateral-free credit up to Rs. 50 lakhs in an effort to promote the entrepreneurial spirit among young people. For female entrepreneurs, guarantying 50% of the loan amount, and for male entrepreneurs, 25%. Introducing a new programme to offer entrepreneurs collateral-free credit up to 50 lakhs in an effort to foster the entrepreneurial spirit among young people. For female entrepreneurs,
guaranteeing 50% of the loan amount, and for male entrepreneurs, 25%. Establishing a new "Entrepreneurial Northeast" programme to support small, and medium-sized businesses financially and to create jobs in the Northeastern state. The Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana has provided loans to more than 17 crore business owners, and the party plans to increase this program's scope so that 30 crore entrepreneurs would eventually benefit from Mudra loans. Through the establishment of a "Seed Start-up Fund" of 20,000 crores, it would continue to support and encourage start-ups. In the next section, the manifesto reads about engaging youth in governance. To increase youth participation in governance, the party will promote more civic involvement among young people, recognise and incentivise self-organised groups of youngsters that adopt social assets like schools, hospitals, lakes, public gardens, etc. and ensure their upkeep and cleanliness. To safeguard kids from the negative impacts of substance abuse and addiction, it promises to create a specific awareness and treatment programme for de-addiction. BJP will support a broad-based internship programme for young people at local government offices in urban areas that matches the skills those organisations need with the young people's critical need for knowledge of urban challenges. The manifesto stresses on the promotion of sports through different schemes such as "Khelo India", which aims to utilise the talented youth to bring glory to the country and betterment of the lives of millions of youths. The manifesto pledges to provide transgender adolescents with opportunities for self-employment and skill development. At the end of the manifesto, under the section youth and education, multiple promises related to educational improvement are mentioned (BJP Manifesto, 2019). In the 2019 Lok Sabha election, the INC came up with an electoral manifesto which promises to identify new job categories that will appear as a result of the development of new technologies and provide opportunities for young people to develop the skill sets required for these positions. To continue the UPA government's efforts to provide job opportunities and skill training for J&K's youth through programmes like UDAAN, HIMAYAT, and UMMEED. India has the potential to develop into a great sporting nation, according to Congress. Their sports strategy will support sports as a career and work to instil a culture of fitness and sports among our residents, especially students and young people. India has the potential to develop into a great sporting nation, according to Congress (INC Manifesto, 2019). The electoral manifesto for the 2019 Lok Sabha election of BJP mentions the term "youth" 20 times, and INC's manifesto mentions the term only 6 times.

6. Conclusion: Political culture used to be referred to as a set of common views and ideals that were thought to be distinctive of a specific community. Political culture has recently been characterised by academics as a person's personality and attitudes. Political culture is significant because it affects how people view politics, how they vote, and whether or not they will participate in protests. John Gerring carried out the initial investigation into the connection between political culture and young people's voting behaviour. Data from the Australian National Election Study (ANES) was used in the study (Gerring, 2011). One of the world's most populous nations is India. It is the second most populous nation in the world, with a population of more than 1.4 billion (Muneera et.al, 2023). India is a multicultural nation with a wide variety of cultures and religions. Many young people do not identify with any political party or philosophy and instead opt to adhere to a youth culture focused on music, fashion, social media, etc. There are numerous political parties that each have their own ideas and aspirations for India. A survey found that the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) established solid administration and ties to the populace. Young voters who placed a premium on evidence of the party's success benefited from this strategy's development of a comprehensive brand. The BJP and other political parties must create a thorough political branding strategy before or after elections in order to engage people (Jain et.al, 2017). Young men and women are typically politically engaged in universities (where permitted), but they are frequently disenchanted with political institutions and leadership and excluded from the development of policy. As a result, teenage political activism is not structured into official groups. Political participation can be regarded as both formal and informal participation, both of which should be encouraged in order to maintain a strong and vibrant democracy. Strong evidence suggests that young people globally participate in formal, institutional political processes at a considerably lower rate than elder citizens. Young people become disenfranchised as a result, which calls into question the political system's ability to be representative. In official political leadership roles, it is rare to encounter someone under the age of 35. It is customary to refer to politicians as "young" if they are under 35 to 40 years old in the third of the world's countries where eligibility for national parliament begins at 25 or higher. Parliaments, political parties, elections, and public administrations are only a few formal political institutions and processes where youth are not sufficiently represented. The active and meaningful participation of young people in their societies and in democratic practises and processes is essential if we are to meet the needs of young people and ensure that their fundamental human rights are acknowledged and upheld. Youth must have
opportunities, the capacity to lead, and benefit from an enabling environment as well as pertinent evidence-based programmes and policies at all levels if youth engagement and leadership are to be meaningful. To ensure the accomplishment of internationally agreed development goals and to refocus the development agenda, it is also essential to recognise young people's right to participate in and be included in democratic processes and practices (Youth, 2012). It has long been problematic for young people to participate in Indian politics and government. In India, the youngest age group frequently participates in political campaigns and protests to the greatest extent. The first to become politically aware and interested is frequently this age group. As a result, young people who desire to get involved in Indian politics and government face difficulties. The primary obstacle for young people to participate in Indian politics and government is that it can be challenging to do so. Many young individuals experience early exposure to the political system, and they are unsure about how to use their energy. Some young people also have trouble trusting elders because of their past encounters with corruption or unsuccessful government policies. The difficulties of youth participation in Indian politics and governance can be overcome in a number of ways. Governments and organisations can increase youth leader training to help them better represent their communities. Businesses and people investing in social media platforms that give young people access to information about regional politics and governance is another option. The creation of chances for young people who desire to participate in Indian politics and governance should also be increased (Studocu, 2022). Election manifestos are the kind of documents that make party positions and plans for governing the nation after winning an election very obvious. One can determine the type of philosophy a political party holds by their electoral manifestos. The aforementioned goal can be accomplished by educating the young population about the promises and plans included in the election manifestos of the various political parties that are intended for them. Parties are seen as office seekers with incentives to make promises that appeal to a large number of voters in traditional theories of party and voter rationality. Voters, on the other hand, are motivated by expectations regarding policy implementation and select the party that is most likely to carry out their desired policies. Therefore, in order to win the next election, governments must keep their promises. The most frequently utilised model of democratic representation in empirical research is the mandate model of representation, also known as promissory representation (Naurin, 2014). In this regard, a distinct category of Internet tools for political education has emerged recently across Europe. Voting Advice Applications (VAAs) are tools with the explicit purpose of educating voters about the pertinent policy stances of political parties and inspiring them to participate in politics before elections. These programmes share a fundamental feature: VAAs compare voters' policy positions with those of political parties or politicians running for office. Voters mark their positions on a list of policy statements, then VAAs compare the patterns of the parties' or candidates' responses to the patterns of the users' responses to determine which party or candidate is closest to the users' positions (Schultze, 2014). Election manifestos can be useful in strengthening political parties' positions on many national problems and educating the masses, especially the youth regarding the policies of the different political parties. The Voting Advice Application tool can be used in India as well to improve the political climate for young people here; and in turn, a more favourable political climate for young people can have a significant impact on the agendas of the various political parties.

References:


