Engaging Youth in Participatory Budgeting Processes

A GUIDE FOR PROGRAM DESIGN

Based on Interviews, Desk Research and Input from IRI Staff and Young Leaders of the Generation Democracy Network

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Photo credit: Nishchhal Kharal from Nepal







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Photo Credit: Aline Zunzunegui from Mexico

WHAT IS PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING?

Participatory budgeting (PB) is a process in which citizens decide and monitor how real budget funds are spent. The process was formalized in 1989 by the government of Porto Alegre in Brazil, where individuals proposed, campaigned for and voted on projects to fund, and the practice has spread to countries all over the world.

"The participatory budgeting process is true transparency, as it gives freedom to the public to decide exactly what is to be done with the budget."

Generation Democracy member John from South Sudan

Why Engage Youth in Participatory Budgeting?

Youth participation in PB has positive and self-reinforcing effects and can create greater agency to tackle issues impacting communities. For example, according to one study in Latin America, youths who have participated in previous PB programs demonstrated better awareness of the problems facing their communities and learned to address these problems with simple solutions.¹

Additionally, engaging youths in PB processes can:

- **Provide** them with a pathway to participate, express their preferences and opinions, and meaningfully engage in civic and political processes;²
- Help youths feel heard, and increase their actual desire to participate;³
- **Engage** even an older demographic of young people; for example, the largest voting bloc in a PB project implemented by the city of Prague was that of voters aged 31-40;⁴
- **Encourage** even greater participation among young people when municipalities have been able to produce outputs that reflect the decisions made through a PB process; and
- Increase long-term citizen engagement, if youths believe that the reforms they have advocated for are adopted, which leads to positive policy outcomes.⁵

¹ Cabannes, Yves. "Children and Young People Build Participatory Democracy in Latin American Cities." *Environment and Urbanization* 18, 1 (2006), 95-218. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0956247806063973

² He, Baogang. "Civic Engagement Through Participatory Budgeting in China: Three Different Logics at Work." Public Administration and Development 31, 2 (2011), 122-133. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/pad.598

³ Garcia, A. C. B., et al. "Enabling Crowd Participation in Governmental Decision-making." *Journal of Universal Computer Science* 17, 14 (2011), 1931-1950. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/220349004_Enabling_Crowd_Participation_in_Governmental_Decision-making

⁴ Haltofova, Barbora. "Fostering Community Engagement through Crowdsourcing: Case Study on Participatory Budgeting." *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management* 13, 1 (2018), 5–12. https://ideas.repec.org/a/rom/terumm/v13y2018i1p5-12.html

⁵ Moynihan, Donald. Citizen Participation in Budgeting: Prospects for Developing Countries. Ed. Anwar Shah. Washington: World Bank, 2007. https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/635011468330986995/participatorybudgeting

IRI's Past Work in Participatory Budgeting

IRI has worked with civil-society organizations, young leaders and governments to learn about budgeting processes, and how to effectively and inclusively engage citizens to help move an issue from protest to policy through the budget process. For example, in Kenya, IRI has encouraged and supported participatory budgeting as part of the effort to bring about the county's constitutionally mandated devolution, which requires citizen participation in government. IRI used a short-message-service (SMS) platform to survey citizens across six counties about their budget priorities and used the information to develop memorandums for the local governments. As a result, governments were better informed about their citizens' desires, and citizen faith in the government increased when they saw the government taking action based on their recommendations. This project was part of a Consortium for Elections and Political Process Strengthening (CEPPS) grant.

"The YCA is a milestone in my life. I learned about various projects, grants and opportunities to launch initiatives. I developed some important skills — public speaking, teamwork, introduction to political science and many other exciting things. Most importantly, I became more confident because now I know I can change something. That's cool!" YCA participant Maria

Through its Youth Civic Academy (YCA), IRI exposed youths in Ukraine to the basics of participatory budgeting, and pitching projects based on problems they identified facing their communities. IRI has included PB as a topic in the YCA in more than 15 cities, as a way to help youths develop project ideas and learn about the local government requirements for submission. Through this PB exercise, YCA participants also learn about the local political landscape and resources they can leverage to put forward a strong proposal. Through the YCA, IRI is also able to provide youths with exposure to critical soft skills to help strengthen their ability to lead, design, pitch and manage projects.

In Ecuador, IRI helped participants from its Young Leaders Encounter program present project ideas for the chance to win a subaward. The winning team was *Ni Un Centavo Menos* (Not a Penny Less), which aimed to educate citizens on participatory budgeting mechanisms in Ecuador's communities. Working with IRI and civil-society organization (CSO) partner Fundacion para la Integracion y Desarrollo de America Latina (Foundation for the Integration and Development of Latin America – FIDAL), the team researched and created a manual that included the basics of participatory budgeting with colorful graphics and accessible examples. This project was funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

"We suggest continuing using these kinds of activities and strengthening the capacity of youth since it is obviously possible for each of us from our own sector to support our communities to become more democratic." Excerpt from Ni Un Centavo Menos

final report

Starting Participatory Budgeting in Your Community

Participatory budgeting practices vary greatly between countries. Check to see if there is a national mandate for PB in some form, and to what degree it is applied in your locality. PB usually originates at the local level, and yours or a nearby municipality may already have a process in place. Gaining support for a PB process requires careful implementation to sustain support between years. The following steps can serve as a framework, regardless of whether you are approaching PB as a member of government, a civil-society leader or an independent citizen.⁶

- 1. Participate in the development of long-term municipal or regional development and budget plans. Many countries or regions plan budget appropriations years in advance, and it will be much easier to achieve funding for projects if money has already been allocated to PB.
- 2. Work together with the local government to set up a plan for how citizens will participate in the budget process. As much as possible, clearly define the rules for participation and determining which projects will be funded. It is a good idea to obtain guarantees from the officials that they will include the results of the participatory process in the final budget.⁷
- 3. Survey citizens to determine what they see as problems, or what sectors are most important to them. Ask them to provide specific solutions to the problems they view as most important. Generation Democracy member John from South Sudan gathered ideas for a PB process by targeting a specific group and giving them information on the process through phone calls.
- 4. Work with the government to include citizen ideas in formal budget proposals. This can be done by preparing budgets with different weights for different sectors such as health or education, or as several individual proposals competing for a limited pool of funding.
- 5. Inform citizens about the proposed projects through events, SMS messaging, and the local-government website. In some processes, groups refine projects into formal projects on their own and then campaign to convince citizens to vote for their project. While doing this, it is important to educate citizens on the voting process. Generation Democracy member John from South Sudan said that his group uses silent voting by ballot and attracts voters by explicitly inviting them to meetings in one-on-one interactions.
- 6. Hold the voting process, tally the votes, determine the winning projects, assemble the final budget and implement the projects that are included in the budget.
- 7. Watch the implementation of the projects, then report back to citizens on how their feedback was incorporated and how the project is coming along. This is extremely important for the long-term benefits. When citizens see the positive impact of their participation, they will be eager to participate in the future. This also benefits elected officials, because citizens will view them as more representative of citizens' interests and be more likely to re-elect them.

It is imperative to have the support of the branch of government that controls budgets, usually the executive branch. The support of strong CSOs is also important, as they can spread information, provide engaged citizens and assist the monitoring of projects once implementation begins.

⁶ There are many detailed resources available, including a series of scoping toolkits designed by the Participatory Budgeting Practice, at participatorybudgeting.org/launch-pb/.

⁷ Moynihan, Citizen Participation in Budgeting: Prospects for Developing Countries.

An opportunity to engage in PB requires a local source of support that advocates for the inclusion of youths in a PB project. The most likely sources of support are the local executive branch or civil society, as both play key roles when PB is implemented successfully.⁸ The executive member of a local government may support youth PB if youths played a key role in their election, as was the case in Barra Mansa, Brazil, in 1997.⁹ This could potentially be a trend across other countries as PB tends to be favored by parties advocating reform, which would make further inclusion of youths in PB politically advantageous for political parties already implementing PB.

Participation of one or multiple strong youth CSOs is another potential indicator of success, as they would aid implementation once the program begins.¹⁰ An existing PB project would also help, as the majority of PB participants are longtime civic activists who could play the role of mentor for youths interested in engaging in the project.¹¹ In addition, "CSOsparticipate in order to build broader networks of supporters and enhance their ability to influence policies."¹² Established civil society plays a major role in advocating for its concerns during the PB process, so having youth civil-society organizations would result in more advocacy for youth interests during the process.¹³ Examples of youth civil society include the youth and health clubs that participated in PB in Porto Alegre.¹⁴

Strategies for Educating and Engaging Youths in Participatory Budgeting

Citizens around the world participate in PB because it is a chance to have a say in how the money that impacts their lives is spent. In many locations, however, the main participants are the already civically active older adults. For instance, Generation Democracy member Aline Zunzunegui from Mexico said that most participants in her PB process are more than 50 years old, and young people usually do not apply for PB processes.

Evidence from previous PB experiences demonstrates that those who would have originally benefited from the money allocated to PB are highly likely to be "To inform youth on the process, you can use social media to let youth know what is happening, use one-on-one engagements to take them through the documents and teach necessary methods, use radio programs and have people call in to share views on the budget, and offer hard copies of the budget so that people can look through the prioritization documents and come to an agreement." *Generation Democracy member Peter from Kenya*

⁸ Melgar, Teresa R. "A Time of Closure? Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil, after the Workers' Party Era." Journal of Latin American Studies 46, 1 (2014), 121-149. https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-latin-american-studies/article/time-ofclosure-participatory-budgeting-in-porto-alegre-brazil-after-the-workers-party-era/44EC7210668F4E4CC82853961C5133E9

⁹ Cabannes. "Children and Young People Build Participatory Democracy in Latin American Cities." 95-218. https://journals.sagepub.com/ doi/pdf/10.1177/0956247806063973

¹⁰ Ibid., 27-46.

¹¹ Nylen, William. *Participatory Democracy versus Elitist Democracy: Lessons from Brazil*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9781403963062

¹² Wampler. A Guide to Participatory Budgeting

¹³ Abers, Rebecca. Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/231918120_Rebecca_Neaera_Abers_Inventing_Local_Democracy_Grassroots_Politics_in_ Brazil_Boulder_CO_and_London_Lynne_Rienner_Publishers_2000_pp_xii267_4495_hb

¹⁴ Wampler. A Guide to Participatory Budgeting

involved.¹⁵ Youths are most likely to be interested in engaging with PB when the funds allocated are from schools, transportation or public sanitation budgets.¹⁶ This complements the fact that youths excel at generating ideas that impact themselves and their peers.¹⁷ Generation Democracy member Nishchhal Kharal from Nepal described the necessity of convincing people that it is a good idea to be able to decide what to do with their money themselves, as many may initially feel this is the purview of elected officials.

People Powered, an organization designed to serve as a global hub for participatory democracy suggests using an inclusive design and targeting outreach toward youths to make it as convenient as possible for them to participate.¹⁸ If it is not possible to ensure voting takes place at a school, then ensure voting takes place after school, preferably in a location where youths frequently congregate. Online engagement can use targeted adds for areas where the target population lives, or pop-up stations can be organized around the city in areas popular among youths.

Identifying and Solving Challenges that Impact a Participatory Process

Youth programs are particularly susceptible to the goodwill of the municipal administration, and youths generally lack the political representation to resist decisions to cut funding.¹⁹ In the case of youth-led PB efforts, a reduction of resources can negatively impacts future exercises, as PB has the most positive effects on citizen participation when the successful projects are implemented fully and immediately.²⁰ Other challenges include finding the physical space for events, holding youth attention and interest throughout the program, and keeping all participants informed.²¹



Additional potential problems include "the time and financial cost of attending meetings, general apathy, the lack of awareness of PB, and the perception of partisanship within the PB process."²² In interviews with IRI, Generation Democracy members conveyed additional challenges, as well as potential solutions.

¹⁵ Moynihan. Citizen Participation in Budgeting: Prospects for Developing Countries

¹⁶ Augsberger, Astraea, et al. "Youth Lead the Change: Participatory Budgeting Boston 2016." Boston University Initiative on Cities, 2016. http://www.bu.edu/ioc/files/2017/01/Youth-Lead-the-Change_Report.pdf; Cabannes, Yves. "Children and Young People Build Participatory Democracy in Latin American Cities." 95-218. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0956247806063973

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Visit People Powered's website here: peoplepoweredhub.org; Lerner, Josh. "Global Participatory Budgeting Hub Training for Generation Democracy." People Powered, 20 July, 2020, online Zoom training.

¹⁹ Cabannes, Yves. "Children and Young People Build Participatory Democracy in Latin American Cities." 95-21. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0956247806063973

²⁰ Moynihan. Citizen Participation in Budgeting: Prospects for Developing Countries

²¹ Augsberger, et al. "Youth Lead the Change: Participatory Budgeting Boston 2016." http://www.bu.edu/ioc/files/2017/01/Youth-Lead-the-Change_Report.pdf

²² Moynihan. Citizen Participation in Budgeting: Prospects for Developing Countries

CHALLENGE	SOLUTION
Lack of clarity in how proposals are accepted or refined	Establish clear rules for which proposals will be accepted.
Abuse of the process by existing organizations to further their own aims instead of those of citizens	Convince elected officials it is in their own best interest to support a fair process.
Accusations that youths are not sufficiently experienced or credible to participate in the process	Encourage civil society to work alongside youth leaders and organizations, and identify intergenerational mentorship opportunities ahead of a PB process. Identify opportunities to engage adults, to shift perceptions, by highlighting examples of young accomplished leaders who have made decisions in their sectors/industries.
Failure of citizens to engage throughout the entire process	Make it easy for citizens to engage, and push them to ensure governments follow up on their promises.
Difficulty understanding budget terminology	Provide information in a digestible format utilizing, for example, pictures and visually compelling content in graphical format. Ensure participants have sufficient time to review information.
Lack of sufficient funds to allocate	Utilize non-monetary resources and plan for the long term.
Failing to understand citizen priorities when creating proposals	Utilize civil-society and community members who know the community well. Identify platforms and opportunities to crowdsource ideas.
Lack of coordination among civil society	Work as part of a coalition or alliance of civil-society organizations to help amplify issues.

IRI's Kenya team successfully facilitated participatory budgeting through an SMS system. They first developed an educational tool to inform Kenyans about their constitution and the mandate that local governments encourage citizen participation in all processes. Using the experience from this platform, IRI Kenya developed the ToaMaoni citizen-engagement platform. The platform enabled IRI to reach more than 38,000 people in six counties, and complemented citizen engagement in the budget process. The system used a mix of closed and open-ended questions, and structured questions based on participant responses. IRI used the platform by using survey responses to develop memorandums for county-level governments to review and use to establish budget priorities. This platform allowed them to reach more people, particularly those in remote areas, than other methods as nearly everyone in Kenya has a phone, and they are more likely to respond to an SMS than a call or in-person survey.

To learn more about the challenges and solutions offered by both Generation Democracy members and IRI country teams, see Annex 1.1.

Challenges and Opportunities for Participatory Budgeting Under COVID-19

COVID-19 has exposed gaps in governance and impacted the ability of citizens to participate in the decisionmaking process at in-person events. Many cities have canceled or delayed their participatory budgeting processes due to an expected lack of funds or an absence of the necessary infrastructure to move forward with the process virtually.²³ Securing the goodwill of local governments for PB is essential to the success of the project.

Active citizen participation in how funds are allocated to deliver public services is even more important when those funds are limited, and allowing funds to be allocated from participatory budgeting does not remove them from the budget — it means they are allocated where citizens most need them. Communities and young people should continue to identify ways to engage their local and national governments to help shape the allocation and delivery of services. It is therefore important to explore the possibilities of virtual participatory budgeting.

Digital governance provides an opportunity to do so, and the following recommendations stem from IRI's experience using SMS to support participatory budgeting in Kenya, guidance from the Global PB Hub, and the Citizen's Lab's "*Beginner's Guide to Digital Governance*."²⁴

- Make sure that there is a way the citizen input you gather will be able to effectively impact local policy. Digital participation can only be successful when there is an opening for the gathered opinions to impact local policy.
- Find a source of names and phone numbers, preferably containing participants who are most likely to be interested in civic participation, either from a previous event or related civil-society organization. Because of the limitations of conducting a primarily digital program, it may be a good idea to target a very specific group of participants.
- 3. Set up a timetable for the process.
- 4. Develop or find a platform, and create a survey.
- 5. Survey citizens, and be clear about how responses and feedback will be used.
- 6. Sort responses and analyze the data received.
- 7. Take the responses and use them to either develop projects for the government to consider including in the budget, or write a memorandum for the government to consider as part of the budget process.
- 8. Follow up with citizens to inform them about how the information they provided has been used, and what the results of the interaction with the government have been.

 $^{^{\}rm 23}$ New York City and Portland, Oregon have both canceled their PB processes for 2020.

²⁴ IRI recommends engaging with these other sources before initiating a PB process in your community.

ANNEX

1.1 Feedback from Generation Democracy Members

CHALLENGE	SOLUTION
Lack of clarity in how proposals are accepted or refined	Establish clear rules for which proposals will be accepted.
Generation Democracy member Aline from Mexico noted that a major challenge in Mexico City is that local authorities do not use rubrics to judge projects, meaning the personal preferences and connections of local authorities play a major role in which projects even make it to the ballot.	This demonstrates the importance of clearly established rules on how proposals are selected. IRI's Kenya team says this benefits local officials as well as citizens, because the benefits of hosting a truly participatory process increase the popularity of the officials among all citizens who participate, not just those with the winning projects.
Abuse of the process by existing organizations to further their own aims instead of citizens'	Convince elected officials it is in their own best interest to support a fair process.
Generation Democracy member Nishchhal from Nepal noted that political parties and bureaucracies tend to resist the PB process, particularly because political cadres use this process to distribute and receive money. An additional barrier is the private sector, which is closely tied to the government and bureaucracy. For instance, money budgeted for the construction of schools is often tendered to the private sector, but corruption results in money not being used for the appropriated purpose. Nishchhal also noted that when local government officials hold budget meetings, they merely post a notice outside of the meeting location and make no effort to reach out to their communities, as a large group of attendees would dilute their control over the process. Generation Democracy member John from South Sudan noted that bias and personal interests in government officials can hinder the process, as there is often a lack of transparency in how local officials assign funds to projects.	When the individuals or legislative bodies are elected in free and fair elections, abusive actions are detrimental to themselves. IRI's Kenya team noted the high turnover ratio in elections in the country, and that officials who cooperated with the PB process saw a marked increase in support after citizens witnessed incumbents taking actions that were a clear result of citizen participation in the budget process. Raising awareness about the process is also critically important. As above, it is also important to demonstrate to officials that actively engaging with citizens is in their own best interest. A more drastic solution is to constitutionally mandate participatory governance, as is the case in Kenya, which would reduce resistance and increase awareness, but this is also difficult to achieve. This is particularly true for candidates in regions with large numbers of youths. Evidence from Taiwan's 2014 elections shows that youths were particularly supportive of PB. ²⁵

²⁵ Ed. Podger, Andrew, et al. Value for Money: Budget and Financial Management Reform in the People's Republic of China, Taiwan and Australia. Acton, Australia: ANU Press, 2018. jstor.org/stable/j.ctt20krz22.

CHALLENGE	SOLUTION
Generation Democracy member Aline from Mexico said that it is sometimes difficult to convince people to vote for a project, because political parties control how people vote. Municipalities use the PB process to buy votes, offering, for instance, to build a cultural center in a neighborhood if they support that politician for re- election. IRI's Ukraine team noted that schools often subvert the participatory budgeting process in order to secure funding beyond what the government allocates, and then campaign using students to reach parents, which makes it very difficult for projects not initiated by the school to win. This hinders the development of youths' ability to campaign and develop proposals on their own.	
Accusations that youths are not sufficiently experienced or credible to participate in the process	Time will demonstrate that youths are acute observers of problems in their communities.
Aline from Mexico faced discrimination for being a young woman. Political parties accused young women of "stealing" money the political parties preferred to use on projects that could buy votes.	Increased youth engagement and participation in decision-making processes is the best way to increase community trust of youths and recognition of their ability to be a part of positive change in their communities. For example, IRI's Ukraine team noted that while the specific age of participation varies, students as young as 13 are able to lead and participate in PB processes in Ukraine. IRI's experience working with youths such as 16-year-old Maria and 18-year-old Danylo demonstrates the ability of youths to successfully lead PB projects, which reinforces the community's faith in their ability.
Failure of citizens to engage throughout the entire process	Make it easy for citizens to engage, and push them to ensure governments follow up on their promises.
Generation Democracy member Peter from Kenya said that participants would often take part in selecting priorities for budgeting projects, but did not return to help verify that projects were being implemented. He also said that many citizens have a hard time making it to meetings.	In response, Peter and his organization are pushing for funding and facilities for citizens to produce and examine ideas and budgets at the local level, with a few that go all the way to the national assembly. He has also been trying to get young people to the national assembly hearings to ensure that what they initially wanted is actually included in the budget.

CHALLENGE	SOLUTION
Difficulty understanding budget terminology	Provide information in a graphical format and ensure participants have sufficient time to review information.
Generation Democracy member Peter from Kenya noted that many citizens have difficulty understanding budgeting terms, so it is important to ensure that information is available when it is time for citizens to examine government documents. People have limited knowledge of and capacity to understand PB, as the previous process was top down. Lots of citizens have had a hard time adjusting away from being told what to do. In addition, when they have a free hand they have difficulty agreeing on a project, so Peter has instead adopted the strategy of bringing citizens together on five projects that will be prioritized. Nishchhal from Nepal said that while it is very easy to get information to young educated people, it is much harder to share information with the broader population that is not as educated and is less likely to be involved in politics.	Willice with The Youth Café in Kenya uses a system that allows participants to review budget data, visualize previous budget allocations to give historical context, and present data, views, opinions and rankings of other participants in a visually appealing format. ²⁶ In Ecuador, IRI funded a project called <i>Ne Un Centavo</i> <i>Menos</i> (NUCM). Working with IRI and CSO partner FIDAL, the team researched and created a manual that included the basics of participatory budgeting with colorful graphics and accessible examples.
Lack of sufficient funds	Utilize non-monetary resources and plan for the long term.
Local government funds are always limited, and this is especially true for areas where tax revenue has decreased due to the economic impacts of the COVID-19 crisis.	Nishchhal from Nepal recommends garnering support from different sources, and emphasized the importance of non-monetary support and existing government resources. In the aftermath of the 2015 earthquake, his organization used a truck owned by the government, as well as brick and wood from the nearby forest reserves. In addition to foreign funding, it also used fund matching in which the citizens contributed as much as they could when receiving materials, which extended the project and enabled it to help more people. IRI's team in Kenya notes that in order to secure government funds, it is often necessary to plan ahead and lobby or participate in a multi-year budget plan, which often sets guidelines for year-to-year government spending.

²⁶ Willace with The Youth Café in Kenya. "Global Participatory Budgeting Hub Training for Generation Democracy." People Powered, 20 July, 2020, online Zoom training.

CHALLENGE	SOLUTION
Failing to understand citizen priorities when creating proposals	Utilize contacts and community members who know the community well.
Generation Democracy member Aline from Mexico applied to her municipality with a project on youth and cultural expression, but recognized that part of the reason her project failed to gather support in some regions was because residents were more concerned with traffic. This demonstrates that it is important to have a good understanding of what citizens consider key problems. She noted that the lesson she learned was that it is necessary to engage with the community and find out what its problems and preferred solutions are before designing a project.	Youths can engage their families to help influence communities to identify problems and priorities. Generation Democracy member Aline from Mexico noticed that her grandmother knows everyone in her neighborhood and could be a strong influence on her neighbors, so she plans to work with her next year to find out what people consider problems they want solved.
Lack of coordination among civil society	Work as part of a coalition or alliance of civil-society organizations to help amplify issues.
Generation Democracy member Peter from Kenya noted problems with multiple civil-society organizations submitting memos or calling separate meetings on the same issue.	Generation Democracy member Peter from Kenya and his civil-society forum develop a memo with 10 other CSOs. This makes it more likely that local government members will take the memo under consideration, as it will represent the interests of a broader swath of society.

