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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND BEHAVIORAL STUDIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF CIVICS AND ETHICAL EDUCATION**

**PRACTICES AND CHALLENGES OF URBAN YOUTH POLITICAL  
PARTICIPATION SINCE 1991: THE CASE OF YOUTH ASSOCIATION  
IN *INJIBARA* TOWN, AWI ADMINISTRATIVE ZONE, *AMHARA*  
NATIONAL REGIONAL STATE**

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**A Thesis Submitted to Department of Civics and Ethical Education in partial  
fulfillment of the Requirements the Degree Master of Education in Civics and  
Ethical Education Department**

**AUGUST, 2020**  
**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

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**COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND BEHAVIORAL STUDIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF CIVICS AND ETHICAL EDUCATION**

**Thesis Approval**

The thesis entitled “Assessing the practices and challenges of urban youth political participation since 1991: The case of youth association in *Injibara* town, Awi administrative zone, *Amhara* National Regional State” by Mr. Tadele Tegegne is approved for the Degree in Master of Arts in civics and Ethical education.

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## DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled “Practice and challenges of urban youth political participation since 1991: The case of youth association in *Injibara* Town Awi Administrative zone, *Amhara* National Regional state” is my own work and that all the sources taken from published and unpublished work of others that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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August, 2020

The thesis entitled “practices and challenges of urban youth political participation since 1991: The case of youth association in *Injibara* town, Awi administrative zone, *Amhara* National Regional State” by Mr. Tadele Tegegne submitted for defense with my approval as his research advisor.

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## ABSTRACT

*The purpose of this study is to assess the practices, challenges and opportunities of urban youth political participation in Injibara town, Awi Administrative zone, Amhara National regional state. To analyze these state of affairs, the researcher used mixed quantitative and qualitative research approach. Both primary and secondary data sources were consulted. To attain the necessary data, the study had employed the questionnaire survey and interview (semi-structured in-depth) techniques. About 133 respondents participated through questionnaire in the study. Of them 120 respondents filled the questionnaire completely. The respondents selected through simple random sampling technique. 15 participants were interviewed and selected by using purposive sampling method to get individuals who have official responsibility and special knowledge about the concerned issue.*

*The collected data were analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods. While the quantitative data were analyzed using simple descriptive data analysis methods by using table, frequency and percentage and qualitative data were analyzed thematically.*

*The study had found that the interest as well as the participation of youth in formal political activities is minimal as compared with those informal (protest) political activities. The study revealed that the youths have various challenges that hinder in their political participation such as, institutional and structural challenges, attitudinal challenges, and socio-economic challenges, lack of political knowledge, fear of politics and political repression of the incumbent government. Also, the findings showed that there were different opportunities created for the youth to be engaged in political participation including the existence of social media and the presence of multi-party system.*

*Further, the researcher recommends the government, political parties, pressure groups ,public media, youths themselves and civic society organizations to entertain the issues of youth and work with them to create conducive political environment to the youth as part of the decision making process to build sustainable peace, security, development and democratic political culture in a country.*

**Key Terms:** *Youth, political participation, Challenges and opportunities*

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## ACRONYMS

APP-	<i>Amhara Prosperity Party</i>
AU-	African Union
AYR-	African Youth Report
CSAE-	Central Stastical Authority of Ethiopia
ENYP-	Ethiopian National Youth Policy
EPRDF-	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE-	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
ILO-	International Labor Organization
IYF-	International Youth Federation
MYSC-	Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture
NEB-	National Electoral Board
NEBE-	National Electoral Board of Ethiopia
NEPAD –	New Partnership for Africa’s Development
NGO-	Non Governmental Organization
SES-	Socio-Economic Status
UN-	United Nations
UNDP-	United Nations Development Program
UNECA-	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNICEF-	United Nation International Children’s Fund
WB-	World Bank
WFDY-	World Federation of Democratic Youth
WPAY-	World Program of Action for Youth
YCAO-	Youth and Children Administration Office

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

The people's participation in politics is a cornerstone of a democratic system. However, the definition of political participation is a contested definition within political science (Potgieter 2013). Huntington and Nelson (1976) defined political participation as an "activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making" whereas Verbal et al. (1995) characterized it as an "activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies."

There is no similar definition on the term youth across countries of the world. The definition of the term youth is different from country to country, depending on specific socio cultural, institutional, economic and political factors (UBI.N, 2007).

The United Nations (UN) and the World Bank (WB) use the age of youth between 15 and 24, while African Union (AU) defines youth as a person aged between 15 to 35 years old. UNICEF and the ILO define youth as those aged 10-24 years. Countries such as South Africa, Uganda and India refer individuals who are between 14 to 28, 12 to 30 and 15 to 35 respectively as youth (Ethiopian National Youth policy, 2004).

Taking in to consideration the age ranges given from different countries, organizations and the objective conditions prevailing in our country, and in order to mobilize and utilize the potential capacities and competence of youth for building of a democratic system and development purpose, the Ethiopian youth policy define youth as who are between 15-29 years (Ministry of Youth, Sports & Culture of Ethiopia, 2005). Yet for the purpose of this study I take the age range from 18 to 29 years old, based on the fact that the most political participations in Ethiopia such as voting in elections require individuals to attain the age of eighteen (FDRE Constitution, Art. 38).

Since African young people are the same as young people everywhere in the world, they should be entitled to all rights, such as equal treatment and to express their needs. However, they massively face difficulties to meet these basic rights. In addition to the economic problems of the continent, the cultural background and political structures could be the main causes for unequal treatment of young people. African youth has a potential to change its continent but they do not have a chance to get self-reflection and awareness of inner state of being (NEPAD, 2004). As proper attention has not been given to address youth issues and their organization, the youth of Africa has not played significant roles among the genesis and journeys of the continent's political, social, economic and cultural development efforts. In Ethiopia, the situation of the youth is similar to other young African brothers and sisters (Alemayehu Ayalew, 2011).

According to Ethiopian demographic survey about 33% of the total population is between the age group of 10-24 years (CSA 2012). Although, the participation of youth in the political participation is very limited. So as to realize their socioeconomic and political objectives, the youth have been organized and formed associations. Association is defined as an organization of certain categories of people that binds them by certain purposes (Windholz and Lamal, 1986). 'Youth Associations' are organizations that consist of age limited individuals together as one legal entity. Young people organize themselves for different purposes in different context. There are many conditions that encourage youth to organize groups based on their locality and shared interests. "Young people are actively participating in organizations and in activities intended to improve their lives and others" (Ansell, 2005:239).

Although, in Ethiopia youth associations have a significant role in shaping socioeconomic and political nature of the state, they have faced many problems and further discouraged by the community and authority. Youth are not treated equally as other categories of the community in participating within different types of events. There are many challenges that affect youth to actively participate in the political activities and ongoing country's development process. They do not have freedom to involve in the socioeconomic and political affairs of their country (Alemayehu, 2011). This study therefore, was basically assess the practices, challenges and opportunities of youth association in political participation by taking a particular case study at *Injibara Town* , *Awi Administrative Zone*, *Amhara National Regional Sate*, Ethiopia.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

A democratic system is in many aspects unthinkable without allowing the citizens to participate in the governance process of society Robertson (2009). A healthy level of youth political participation does not just require a high level of voter turnout among youths but furthermore requires that youths get involved in various political activities Utter (2011).

As has been increasingly recognized by development agencies the active participation of all segments of the society is an important element to bring about accelerated political, economic, social and cultural development in any country. Since the youth are not only receptive to new ideas but also have the potential for creativity and productivity, they can play a major role in all sectors of development. In order to translate their potential energies and capabilities into fruitful action, however, they need favorable environment (Sintayehu Shibru, 2017).

In most countries in ordinary times youth are not a powerful political constituency and few governments have implemented long-term coherent youth policies. In particular in many low and middle income countries there has been little evidence of any social compact between governments and youth. However, recent events in the Arab world are evidence of the political problems which accumulate when the aspirations of young people are frustrated over a long period of time (Philippa Bevan, 2011)

The practical experience of democracy in Africa has increased chances for young people to participate in political life and civil society. Because of these most African countries have government ministries with the obligation of addressing youth issues, and many have national youth policies and councils pursuant to their obligation under the African Youth Charter, (GPAD-UNECA and International IDEA, 2012). But, their efforts remain largely invisible, unrecognized, and even undermined because of lack of adequate participatory, inclusive and opportunities to partner with decision-making bodies (Global Forum on Youth, 2015). The major obstacle of youth participation in African countries are the lack of opportunities for young people to gain an entry point in political and decision-making processes, and the lack of capacity on the side of both young people and governments to develop such a participatory approach (African Youth Report, 2009).

Young Lives, cited by Sintayehu Shibru, 2017 stated that the Government of Ethiopia has shown considerable commitment for improving opportunities for young people. So, a National Youth Policy was established in 2005 to promote young people's participation in governance and economic, social and cultural activities (Young Lives, 2014). But, the participation of youth in the political related activities is very low.

And therefore, the issue of youth political participation is a necessary issue to be studied since youths are the most responsible citizens who can bring sustainable peace, development and democratization within the state. Studies have indicated that youth are not interested in participating in political affairs and thus; do not engage in democratic process (Dahlgren, 2009). Due to this background, youth retarded from political participation is now a serious concern to many democracies in both developed and developing countries (Skoric & Poor, 2013).

Regarding youth political participation in Ethiopia several researches have been studied by many scholars at different times. For instance; Eyob (2009) had conducted on "*youth and politics in post 1974 Ethiopia: An intergenerational Analysis*," Eyob in his work argued that the political process of the country has been strongly dominated by the older generations and the young generation is marginalized from the political system of the state and become the mere observers of their policies and strategies, the youth are not encouraged to become an active participants in public matters. Rather than describing the current political system as being dominated by the old generations, Eyob in his work was not in a position to investigate the practices, challenges and opportunities of youth associations in political participation.

Solomon (2016) studied the state of political culture of the youth in post 1991 Ethiopia taking the capital city Addis Ababa as a case study. In this study the researcher tried to assess the political culture of the youth within the existing regime. However the researcher has failed to investigate the existing challenges of youth political participation in youth associations and their practices. Alemayehu (2011) had studied "Understanding and reflecting on the role of Youth Associations: The case of Dessie Town. However, his study is too vague to achieve its objective since the role of youth association is not clearly described in terms of socio-economic and political aspect, and for whom the youth association has role, either for the members of the association or for the society at large or for the incumbent regime.

Here the researcher has reviewed the above studies focused on political participation and their center of study was emphasized on the influence of the incumbent government on the youth, the dominance of the current political system by the old generation and lack of youth's interest in the political participation as a challenge regardless of other determinant challenges like, institutional and structural challenges, socio-economic challenges, attitudinal challenges and opportunities of youth associations to engage in political activities were not investigated and discussed by the former studies.

Moreover, recently, there is a tendency that the youth are involving in informal political activities such as in protests, strikes, killing and property destruction attempts to voice their interests in many parts of Ethiopia, including the study area; make the issue of youth political participation necessary to be studied since the main participants are youths as observed in many media reports.

Hence, to the knowledge of the researcher there is no much study which is particularly conducted on the practices, challenges and opportunities of youth associations in political participation. Even though, the active participation of youth associations in political participation is critical for the development and democratization of the state, their practical engagement in politics is very limited, and their practices, challenges and opportunities were not investigated and discussed in detail by the former studies. Therefore, to fill the aforementioned studies gap, the researcher initiated to conduct a study on the title called Practices, Challenges and opportunities of Youth associations in Political participation: The case of *Injibara* Town Administration.

Based on the above problem the study raised the following research questions that related with the research specific objectives:

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- How the youth within the association practices political participation and decision making at *Injibara* Town administration?
- What are the challenges of the youth association at *Injibara* Town Administration to involve in political participation?

- What are the opportunities of the youth associations to engage in political participation in *Injibara* Town administration?

## **1.4 Objective of the Study**

### **1.4.1 General Objective of the Study**

To assess the practices, challenges and opportunities of youth political participation: In the case of youth association in *Injibara* town administration.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

1. To investigate the practices of youth political participation in youth association at *Injibara* Town Administration.
2. To identify the challenges of youth political participation in youth association at *Injibara* Town Administration.
3. To identify the opportunities of youth associations in political participation in *Injibara* Town Administration.

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This study would give some contributions to identify the constraints that negatively influence the political participation of the youth at *Injibara* Town Administration. This study would serve as advantage point for government officials to consider the finding of the study in policy formulation to take corrective action so as to enhance urban youth political participation and to curve the problem as quickly as possible. The study would also serve as a reference for other interested scholars who need to study the issue for further investigation.

## **1.6. Scope of the Study**

The study is delimited geographically and thematically.

The scope of this paper is focused to assess the practices, challenges and opportunities of urban youth political participation post 1991 by taking the case of *Injibara* town administration in Awl

zone. The choice of the case study, *Injibara* town administration, is due to reasons of the town is the center of Awi-zone, where many youth from all corners of the zone resides in, and familiarity of the researcher to area, unavailability of studies on the issue raised in spite of recent political movement upheavals in the major towns of the zone including the study area. Moreover, the researcher's choice of urban youth participation is on the assumption that urban youth are relatively more conscious of political participations than rural youth due to the reasons of more literacy rate and media exposures.

The focus of the study is restricted to assess the practice of youth political participation, the challenges determining the participation of youth in politics and the existing opportunities of youth political participation. The researcher's choice of youth political participation from the whole is due to the very reason that democratization process could not materialize without the active involvement of youth. Also, it is based on the assumption that the practice and challenges of youth political participation has to be seen distinctively from their older counterparts since this age group encounters and exposed to unique challenges out of the whole population as empirical studies abroad witnesses (Verba et al., 1995; Resnick and Kasale, 2011; Isaksson, 2010; Ntsabane and Ntau, 2000).

The temporal focus of the study is basically on the existing political participation of the town's youth with a particular emphasis on the selected political activities of voting in elections, party membership and activism, attending public meeting, and youth participation in protest political activities. This is due to the difficulty (data, financial and time) of assessing the practice and challenges of participation in all types of political activities comprehensively. Also, it is based on the assumption that these sorts of political acts are familiar to many people including the youth.

### **1.7. Limitation of the Study**

This study had encountered several limitations. Firstly, considering the current corona virus epidemics and government's declaration of state of emergency (command post) some informants hesitated to provide information suspecting the researcher as the victim of the virus and an agent of either the government or opposition parties, until they proved his neutrality.

Secondly, the researcher's trial to undertake focus group discussion with the town's youth was unsuccessful due to the respondents' unwillingness, because of corona virus (covid-19) epidemics.

Finally, lack of experience, financial constraint, shortage of time and targeted individuals were not voluntary to give necessary and accurate information. However, the researcher has made an effort to overcome the above limitation as much as possible by creating a greater convenience and interaction with targeted individuals and selected government officials to use the available time and resources economically and effectively.

## **1.8 Operational Definition of Terms**

**Politics:** politics is the practice and theory of influencing other people on a global, civic, or individual level. More narrowly, it refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance – organized control over a human community, particularly a state (Nelson, 1976)

**Formal political participations:** refers to citizens using their legitimate right to participate in politics to influence political issues through existing channels (Maki, 2006).

**Informal political participations:** are those activities which are considered out-siding of the usual methods of participation.

**Youth:** Considering the different age ranges that countries and organizations use to classify youth and the prevailing practical conditions in Ethiopia, the FDRE government defined youth as those who are falling in the age range of 15 to 29 years (Ethiopian National Youth policy, 2004).

**Youth association:** 'Youth Associations' are organizations that consist of age limited individuals together as one legal entity (Ansell, 2005).

**Practices of political participation:** is all about the involvement of citizens in all aspects of conventional or unconventional/formal or informal kinds of political activities (Verba et al. 1978).

## **1.9. Organization of the Study**

This study was organized in to five chapters. The first chapter contains background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitation of the study and operational definition of terms.

The second chapter contains related review literatures, it includes, the concept of youth and youth association, concepts of political participation, theories (approaches) of political participation, practices of youth association in political participation, challenges of youth associations in political participation and opportunities of youth political participation.

Chapter three includes; description of the study area, Research design and methodology, source and type of data, data collection instruments, sampling techniques and procedures, target population, methods of data analysis, and ethical considerations.

Chapter four was including data presentation, analysis and interpretation. Chapter five was included summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews and presents relevant related literature elsewhere in the world. I have discussed the conceptual, theoretical and historical background of the study so as to examine the practical realities of youth engagements in various political activities. As this study is meant to analyze certain types of youth involvement and draw the implications for the future improvements and pinpoint the challenges thereof, the chapter was form the backbone of the whole analytical discussions.

Basically this chapter includes, the concepts of youth and political participation are discussed relying on different scholars conceptual and empirical investigations in different political systems and structural settings, the practices of youth associations in political participation, theories /models/ of political participation that was guide and be utilized in the further analysis of the problem stated, major challenges that could influence youth's decision to participate in politics and how much they could take part in different political activities. As well as opportunities that encourages youth political participation.

#### **2.2 The Concept of Youth, Youth Association and Political Participation**

##### **2.2.1 The Concept of Youth**

Different societies and cultures maintain different views and understandings about youth depending on their social values and norms. Such differences resulted in a diverse conception of youth. Sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists have all set various characteristics to distinguish the youth community. Among those features age range, psychological attributes and physical changes have been commonly mentioned characteristics used to distinguish youth from other people in societies. Most important of all, the use of age range is commonly employed by many countries policies and organizations to define youth (ENYP, 2004)

However, experiences of countries and organizations demonstrate the existence of different age brackets to define who youth are. For instance, organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) notify youth as those between the age ranges of 15 to 25 and 15 to 35 years respectively (source). Likewise, countries such as South Africa, Uganda and India refer individuals who are between 14 to 28, 12 to 30 and 15 to 35 respectively as youth (Ethiopian National Youth policy, 2004).

Considering the different age ranges that countries and organizations use to classify youth and the prevailing practical conditions in Ethiopia, the FDRE government defined youth as those who are falling in the age range of 15 to 29 years (Ethiopian National Youth policy, 2004). Yet, for the purpose of this study the minimum age is set to be 18 based on the fact that the traditional forms of political participations such as voting in elections require individuals to attain the age of eighteen ( FDRE Constitution, Art. 38).

### **2.2.2 The Concept of Youth Association**

According to Windholz and Lamal (1986), associations can be defined as an organization of certain categories of people that binds them by certain purposes. The concept of association is ancient, but the experimental evidence as to the formation of associations dates only from the last decades of the nineteenth century. As Alemayehu (2011), ‘Youth Association’ is viewed as an organization that consists of age limited individuals together as one legal entity and resemble collective voice of young people.

Participation in an informal social networks and associations correlates with political mobilization and participation. Consequently associations foster civic skills and encourage a civic spirit of voluntarism, sense of political efficacy, as well as generalized trust and other civic attitudes (Putnam, 2000; Teorell 2003).

Politically salient youth organizations entail a variety of activities that develop civic and political skills (political habitus), which in turn heighten the individual’s sense of interpersonal competence and self-esteem upon entering new fields of activity. For instance, members of these youth organizations are asked to work together, run meetings, marshal resources, mobilize participants through tasks, listen to others’ concerns, find common ground across different

viewpoints, publicly speak and argue view-points, engage an audience (perform), and manage collaborative “drives” or larger efforts at community service (Verba et al. 1995; Burns et al. 2001).

The FDRE constitution Article 38 (2) guarantees everyone a right to join in any association, including in political parties, as long as he or she meets the membership requirements of the respective associations or a political party. Even here, the constitution has left the membership requirement to be determined by the respective associations. Article 38 (3) put in place a general requirement that election to the position of responsibility in any association, including political parties, shall be made in a free and democratic manner.

### **2.2.3 The Concept of Political Participation**

Although the study of political participation forms the core of many political science studies, the meaning of the concept itself is disputed. The concept of political participation has been defined in varied ways by different scholars, making it difficult to arrive at a common agreed definition (Conway, 1991). In the words of Conway (1991) political participation is about those activities of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government authorities or the politics of government; these activities may be supportive of the existing policies, authorities, structure, or they may seek to bring about a change in any or all of these. However, this definition of political participation has stressed on citizens participations in influencing the distribution of government’s political power disregarding participation with others in order to promote public or common good (Scaff, 1975). This notion of political participation appears to stress on the idea of protecting one’s rights and advancing such interests within a competitive context. This means that the political action of individuals is to influence power or seek power than to maintain community goods, fostering cooperation and settling disputes through public communication.

Marsh and Kaase in Branes *et. al.*, (1979) defined political participation as ‘all voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system’.

Verba *et al.* (1995) also defined political participation as ‘activities that have the intent or effect of influencing government action - either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make these policies’. It is all about the activities by citizens that are aimed at influencing the selection and decisions of government personnel (Verba *et al.*, 1978). Booth and Seligson (1978) provide an even broader notion of political participation, defining it as ‘any behavior influencing or attempting to influence the distribution of public goods’ (services offered by government which are more or less open to all members of society like roads, health centers, schools, electricity supplies...etc.). Their definition includes ‘nonconventional’ sorts of participation such as strikes, and cooperative actions among neighbors to create or distribute public goods (Booth and Seligson, 1978).

In the words of Norris (2001) political participation involves any dimensions of activity that are either designed directly to influence government agencies and the policy process or indirectly to impact civil society, or which try to change systematic patterns of social behavior”. Conge (1988) also conceptualize it as individual or collective action at the national or local level that supports or opposes government structures, or decisions regarding distribution of social services.

According to the definition of (Verba & Nie, 1972), from the above discussions on the meaning of political participation we can understand that, many political science scholars are unable to reach consensus on the notion, nature as well as the scope of political participations. Some limited the nature and scope of political participation only to legal activities offered by government bodies for its people so as to influence their policies and day to day functioning (Verba & Nie, 1972), whereas others extend the scope to include illegal political activities (violent and/or not) and political actions manipulated by bodies other than government structures (Nelson, 1979; Booth and Seligson, 1978).

## **2.3 Forms of Political Participation**

### **2.3.1 Formal Political Participation**

Formal participation refers to citizens using their legitimate right to participate in politics to influence political issues through existing channels (Maki, 2006). According to Henn and Foard (2012), Conventional forms of participation are more structured and normally lawful.

Accordingly, formal activities are not against the legitimacy of a structural government and tend not to be anti-systemic. Conventional forms of participation are those democratic methods of participation that allow people to influence the government, i.e. they are state-initiated mechanisms through which the people participate to influence the selection of government officials and decisions. Based on this definition, the following activities has been regarded as formal means of political participation: these are running for any official political position, voting in elections or referendums, joining a political party and activism, campaigning for a certain candidate or political party in the elections, participating through civil society organizations, attending public meetings, peaceful demonstration, lobbying, attending political meetings, contacting officials (Maki, 2006).

### **2.3.2 Informal Political Participation**

During the past two decades, youth have expressed their positions and views by occupying new spaces outside the formal sphere. Citizens with low legitimacy values would more likely engage in unconventional or protest participation. “It is widely believed that political cynicism fuels protest activity” (Norris 1999). Those people who have no trust on the government and its institutions are more likely engage in unconventional kind of political activities. Thus, citizens disaffected from democratic principles or institutions may protest or rebel.

As Maki, (2006), informal participation in politics usually refers to participation through informal spaces and channels not directly established or controlled by the government. Unconventional participations are those activities which are considered out-side of the usual methods of participation. Informal acts of political participation usually challenge decision makers and can act as channels for voices of opposition. Accordingly, protest activities includes, boycotting government properties and services, participating in demonstrations, road blocking, set on fire the houses and business centers of political leaders, sit-ins, assassination attempts, signing petitions, civil disobedience, online face book activities and other violent activities against state institutions and symbols etc.

Contemporary political participation reveals concerns about the decline of youth political participation in more formal kinds of political participations like in voting, party membership, attending public meetings and other mainstream political activities (Marsh. D & Li. Y

2008). Therefore, studying the issue of political participation has received a great deal of attention in recent years from academics, journalists and politicians across most liberal democracies.

## **2.4 Practices of Youth Associations in Political Participation**

Scholars like Seligson and Booth (1984) and Barnes and Kaase (1979), categorized political activities as “conventional” and “unconventional” forms of participation. However, there is a debate on what political activities are considered as conventional or formal and unconventional or informal. Citizens with low legitimacy values would more likely engage in unconventional or protest participation. “It is widely believed that political cynicism fuels protest activity” (Norris 1999). Those people who have no trust on the government and its institutions are more likely engage in unconventional kind of political activities. Thus, citizens disaffected from democratic principles or institutions may protest or rebel.

According to Henn and Foard (2012), Conventional forms of participation are more structured and normally lawful, e.g. being a member of political party, voting, lobbying, campaigning, attending political meetings, contacting officials, etc. Bourne (2010) listed participation activities such as: protests, demonstrations, barricading a community, firing at the security forces, blogging and using the social commentaries on talk radio as being unconventional kind of political participation.

Opp et al. (1981), and Muller (1982), defined some of those activities as “aggressive”, whereas other scholars simply called activities such as “writing pictures” and “damaging property at political gatherings” as illegal (Lavric et al. 2010). It would most likely be characterized as an “illegal” activity. Understandably, such extreme actions as slaughter have not found their way into institutional (or conventional) politics in the modern world. Political scientists put the scope and varieties of peoples’ engagement in politics in varied ways. For instance, Verba, et al. (1978) distinguished between the four modes of political participation: voting, campaigning activity (persuasion on behalf of a political party, membership in a political party, attendance at election meetings, displaying campaign propaganda, and contributions to a political party, attending meetings), cooperative or communal activity (contacting local and national public officials with a social goal, cooperation with others to deal with social and political problems, group

membership, etc.), and particularized contacting with public officials (comprising all individual-initiated contacts with local or national officials for personal reasons) .

Generally speaking, Practices of political participation is all about the involvement of citizens in all aspects of conventional or unconventional kinds of political activities. Therefore, practices of political participation typically refers to activities by citizens that are aimed at influencing the selection and decisions of government personnel (Verba et al. 1978), such as voting in elections, meeting with community members, contacting political representatives, or involvement in collective action.

In this study for the purpose simplicity and manageability of the youth participations in political activities, I have focused on four key elements of political participation in order to assess the political practice of youth associations in *Injibara* town Administration: voting in Election, Party membership and activism, attending public meetings and protest political activities. This is because it is difficult to examine all sorts of activities aim at influencing politics in holistic manner in this mini study and by one beginner researcher.

#### **2.4.1 Youth Participation in Voting in Election**

Election is a formal decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. Election is a process through which citizens choose who will represent them in government Kenneth (1963). Through elections electorates exercise their popular sovereignty to give their consent to a particular political office holder to rule, and hold government accountable. In order for suffrage to really be practiced, the voter must be allowed to choose between different candidates or political parties, between different ideologies and policy programs.

As Smith .L (2007) Ethiopia's political transition began in the early 1990s with the fall of the socialist military dictatorship of the Derg. Under both the imperial government of Haile Selassie and the Derg, the ruling elite closely managed electoral politics despite efforts by students and grass root movements to bring about meaningful social and economic reforms.

After 1991 the EPRDF leadership made radical changes to the institutional structures of the Ethiopian state, primarily through the writing of a new constitution.

Ever since Ethiopia had its first multiparty elections in 1995 and the general elections that followed after that in 2000, 2005 and 2010 has been closely studied by scholars and international observers in order to monitor whether steps towards democratic consolidation has been taken, as the dominating party the EPRDF promised. Thus, the attempt to democratize Ethiopia has been studied by academics. The Norwegian political scientist Louise Aalen (2002) has focused her academic work on democratization in the Horn of Africa, with Ethiopia being a big part of this academic work. Aalen acknowledges serious problems that Ethiopia is facing and that is decreasing their chances of democratic development and consolidation, namely concerning the elections. The first multi-party elections that were held in Ethiopia in 1995 did not show signs of democratic development in the country due to a strong grip of power that the dominating party, EPRDF held. Aalen states, that EPRDF has misused their powerful position and turned it into authoritarianism. She finds the promise of democracy made by the EPRDF highly questionable and unlikely to become political reality as long as the party is in power (Aalen, 2002a). Even though the EPRDF constitution is one of the most democratic documents which recognizes both democratic and human rights of the people and multi-party system it is only paper value which couldn't practice and realized on the ground.

#### **2.4.2 Youth Participation in Party Membership and Activism**

Party membership refers to the formal and informal membership of individuals in political parties. The formal members identified are those registered who may pay membership dues periodically to the political party in accordance with the by-laws of the political party or they make contributions and donations to upkeep of their parties. They are obliged to have membership registration cards and in some constituencies are expected to participate in the meetings of the party, to express freely their view and comments, to vote and to elect or to be elected. Whereas, according to Ninsin (2006), for a large percentage of the population membership of a political party is informal and at best hidden; it springs to life only during general elections.

According to Bosire R.M et al (2015), one of the key functions of political parties is recruitment of members into party ranks and Country and national leadership. Fisher and Denver 2008, on the other hand argued that members of the party has financial and campaigning support.

### **2.4.3 Youth Participation in Attendance at Public Meetings**

According to McAllister (1999), Participation in public meetings and discussions is one way in which the people discuss their issues and problems. It is a mechanism through which the interests and preferences of the public heard and shared regarding varied issues, policies, strategies, projects and so on. Also, governments may use this sort of participation to understand and respond to the questions, problems, issues of concern or else of different groups of people within the state. Additionally, awareness creation about a new policy/strategy, project, and proclamation could also made easily by such political activity.

### **2.4.4 Youth Participation in Protest Political Activities**

The other area of focus in this study is about protest. Different scholars have argued that lower levels of trust in the government and political institutions are led in to higher levels of protest behavior (Muller, 1972;; Muller and Opp, 1986;; Herring, 1989; Finkel and Muller, 1998).

Along the same line Sloam (2013), argued that those people who are frustrated by their social and political marginalization that has been exacerbated by the public policy responses to the financial crises, young people increasingly choice to protest politics (like demonstrations) but also to political extremism or violence. As such, early research on protest participation viewed those who took part in such actions as being socially marginalized, harboring high levels of anti-state sentiment, and as being alienated from the political system. However, beginning in the latter half of the 20th century, protest became a more common form of political action, many scholars and citizens began to view protest, not as an act against the system, committed by alienated outsiders, but rather as part of a repertoire of legitimate political actions (Tarrow, 1994; Inglehart, 1997; Meyer and Tarrow, 1998). Bourne (2010) listed participation activities such as: protests, demonstrations, barricading a community, firing at the security forces, blogging and using the social commentaries on talk radio as being unconventional kind of political participation.

## **2.5 Theories (Approaches) to Political Participation**

For political science scholars and researchers analyzing and explaining political participation has been a challenging task. Scholars and writers have been used various theories and models to understand political participation of people on the ground. The inquiries on why and how citizens get involved into politics as well as the challenges promoting or impeding participation have been investigated by different theories and models. Nonetheless, there is no comprehensive theory or approach to study political participation explicating why, how, to what extent and when to involve in politics (Dalton and Klingemann, 2007).

Among the various theories and models of political participation, this study has been shaped and framed by the following theories and models; these are: political efficacy theory, Institutional theory, Incentive Exchange theory, mobilization model and political participation so as to assess the practices, challenges and opportunities of youth associations in political participation in *Injibara* Town Administration. Therefore, the integrated use of these theories could be helpful for complementary understandings into the issue studied.

### **2.5.1 Political Efficacy and Political Participation**

Political efficacy can be defined as a person's feelings about how much they understand politics and the extent to which they can influence politics (Catt, 2005). Political efficacy among citizens usually viewed as desirable for the stability of democracy, because citizens participate in the process of governance for they feel that they have some power to influence the actions of their government and the changes to come. Families, schools, peers, media and political parties are the basic units in the development of political socialization and efficacy. Political interest and discussion has also an influence on efficacy (Schulz, 2005).

Political efficacy is seen to have two components, internal and external efficacy. Internal efficacy is one's own feelings of comprehension and influence in the political realm; that is 'beliefs about one's own competence to understand, and to participate effectively in, politics' (Niemi, Craig and Mattei, 1991). External efficacy relates to political trust, or more specifically 'beliefs about the responsiveness of governmental authorities and institutions to citizen demands' (Niemi et al, 1991). For instance, citizens need to believe a "sense of the system's

responsiveness” (Norris 2007) that electoral institutions function properly and that political parties represent genuine competitors in order for them to turn out to vote.

The empirical studies show that those people who have high levels of political efficacy are more likely to participate in politics and vice versa (Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954; Catt, 2005). Therefore the researcher has used this theory to assess the practices of youth associations indifferent political activities like the practice of voting in election, party membership, attending public meetings and protest activities in the study area.

### **2.5.2 Institutional Approach and Political Participation**

An institution can be defined as an established or organized society, an organization, corporation or an establishment especially of a public nature or whose working affects a community (Jepperson 1991). If we particularly look for the definition of a political institution then we get to know that a political institution is organizations that creates, enforces and makes governmental policies belong to socio economic and political system (Freedman, 200).

According to Piven and Cloward (2000), this approach looks for answers in the political structures that moderate political participation. It does not rely on aggregations of individual action, or on patterned interaction games between individuals, but on "institutions that structure action" (Clemens and Cook 1999). Institutions have the power to effectively set the rules of the game and as such play a key role in making political participation accessible. Studies reveal that the influence of institutions examine the way in which factors, such as the political structure, electoral system, access to the franchise, and the closeness of elections affect political participation (Freedman, 2000; Park, 2006; Piven and Cloward, 2000). Similarly, Political organizations like effective and genuine electoral system, legal and human rights institutions, associations and organizations, could create a set of political opportunity structures for the people living within a country, to actively engage in political related activities (Verba and Nie, 1972).

Institutions or organizations are emergent, "higher-order" factors above the individual level, constituting the interests and political activities of actors "without requiring repeated collective mobilization or authoritative intervention to achieve these regularities" (Jepperson 1991).

Institutional approach allocates the fundamental status to the institution of state in the study of politics and its agency, the government along with its different organs such as legislature, executive, judiciary, political parties, and bureaucracy are also identified for close inspection as important political institutions which enable to deal about the political participation of the people (Jepperson 1991).

Therefore, this approach is appropriate to assess the practices, challenges and opportunities of youth associations in political participation in the study area.

### **2.5.3 Incentive Exchange Theory**

Whether it is Social, economic, or political, organization, need to attract and retain a core of activists who will engage in the activities necessary for achieving the organization's collective goal. Likewise, the way party leaders go about attracting and retaining organizational activists will be similar to the way they go about appealing for electoral support (Sorauf, 1964 and 1966; Eldersveld 1964). Any organization must offer a continuous stream of incentives to provoke the activities that it requires from its members or other 'contributors' 'If it is to grow, or even to survive, every organization must offer a suitable mixture of such incentives material, non-material, or both and it must offer them insufficient quantity and without interruption.

According to Blau, (1964); Curry and Wade, (1968); Olson, (1965); Salisbury,(1969), this theory is based upon the following basic assumptions: (1) individuals have a variety of needs, drives, and goals which they seek to attain; (2) some of these can best be achieved within the context of organizational participation; (3) organizations need some mechanism to influence the behavior of its activists (i.e., to insure adherence to the collective goal and encourage sustained participation). The purpose of conceptualizing the organization as a network of exchanges is to identify and emphasize the kinds of transactions (or exchanges) which take place between the party organization (or its leadership) and its grass-roots activists (and voters).

As Sorauf, (1964), there are three sets of exchanges which are involved in the process of organizational survival: recruitment exchanges, contribution exchanges, and retention exchanges. Recruitment exchange focuses upon the organization's need to attract members who will participate in it. To accomplish this organization offers a variety of inducements to potential

members. These inducements must be sufficiently valuable or desirable to the potential activist to motivate his/her participation. In most instances they must offer something that cannot be attained through other organizations. Likewise, (IYF, 2014), stated that many times youth join political parties in exchange for employment or something. They join when they perceive that there is some gain that they can obtain, not because of a consciousness of civic and political participation; youth join a given political party to protect their own interests. Contribution exchanges focus on the activities of individuals to perform on the behalf of the organization. They constitute the contributions that one makes to the organization. At the same time, contributions represent the way in which the individual strives to realize the inducements which initially motivated organizational participation. Retention exchanges focus upon the rewards which activists receive from the organization.

This theory is also appropriate to deal about the practices, challenges and opportunities of youth association's political participation in the study area.

#### **2.5.4 Mobilization Model and Political Participation**

According to this model, some people participate because the opportunities to participate are greater than others and because they are persuaded to participate in politics by other people. It asserts that political participation is a response to contextual cues and political opportunities structured by the individual's environment (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). Mobilization is understood here in a wide sense as "the process by which candidates, parties, activists, and groups induce other people to participate" (Rosen stone and Hansen 2003). They examined both electoral and non-electoral forms of participation through mobilization model. According to Hansen and Rosen stone political leaders mobilize participation in non-electoral activities around issues; at the national level, mobilization results from the direct efforts of voluntary associations or indirectly.

Verba and Nie (1972) find that active memberships in voluntary organizations increase individuals' overall participation level; that explicitly political organizations (i.e., organizations that have political goals or in which political discussions take place) have stronger effects on /individuals; and that this impact is greatest for communal activity, campaign activity and voting.

According to this model the more the people are politically mobilized, the more they are inspired to participate in the different political activities. Political mobilizations through different mechanisms like awareness creations, disseminating and sharing of information to the youth would inspire them to participate in the different political activities within the country. Therefore via this model, the researcher would assess the different kinds of political mobilizations which have been used by political parties, government officials and even by individuals who motivated the youth associations to actively involved political participation in the study area.

## **2.6 Challenges of Youth Political Participation**

The nature as well as the extent to which people participate in politics is influenced by multifarious interrelated challenges (Conway, 1991; Kittilson and Anderson, 2011; Norris, 2004; Resnick and Casale, 2011). Scholars have mentioned varied intriguing challenges that may influence who engages in political activities and who does not, how they engage in certain political activity and why. However, there is no single project which could discuss all these issues comprehensively. In this section I briefly discussed the challenges that were potentially influence the mode and extent of youth's engagement in various political activities.

### **2.6.1 The Institutional and Structural Challenges**

Political participation natures as well as levels are influenced by macro level contextual and institutional factors. These factors include the characteristics of a country's demographic structure, electoral system, political institutions and processes, legal and human rights, associations and organizations, cultural practices, economy and recent history. These various factors could create a set of political opportunity structures for the people living within a country and these structures have a demonstrable impact on political participations (Verba and Nie, 1972; Zani and Barrett, 2012); Barber, 1972). As Barber (1972; 12) put it, "any political action is a combination of opportunities and resources and motives".

How existing political institutions function and the structure of the political system impact people's decisions regarding participation in myriad ways. Citizens need to have a knowhow as well as trust on existing political institutions performance of their duties and responsibilities. As Norris (2007) vividly puts 'external efficacy' or a sense of the system's responsiveness is vital

for people to have trust and desire to involve in political participations. For instance, citizens need to believe that electoral institutions, for example, function properly and that political parties represent genuine competitors in order for them to turn out to vote; otherwise (Bathelt, 2016) citizens tend to prefer illegal demonstrations, protest votes or refusal to active at all lessens. In line with this, the nature of political institutions and their working principles need to be framed in a manner to involve the wider public in the political realm. For example, with regard to the type of electoral system a country following, Norris (2002), and Brockington (2009) argued that unlike majoritarian electoral system proportional representation systems are believed to increase voter turnout since they encourage many parties to compete and offer people to have more choices that meets their preferences.

Not only the nature and functioning of political institutions but also the actions of political elites fundamentally shape who, how, and when of citizen involvement (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993; Verba et al., 1995). Brady et al. (1999) found that being asked to participate and being recruited is a major factor affecting mass political participation. Cited in Zani and Barrett (2012), Boffi (2006) mentioned the role of politicians in shaping young people's access to political institutions such as political parties and observed that politicians work and hypocritical nature to maintain their own positions of power via declaring promises which lacks implementation and behaviors of politicians which conflict with their declared principles and citizens' expectations would discourage and propel people towards un conventional forms political participation.

In the same talk, in their time series of surveys, Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) try to demonstrate empirically how the changing political environment encourages or discourages citizens engagements in political participation emphasizing on the importance of mobilization by political leaders, the nature and type of party system, mobilization around issues, and mobilization by political opportunities.

### **2.6.2 The Psychological Challenges**

The attitudes, beliefs, values and perceptions of individuals towards politics have been widely cited as one determinant which influences the nature and scope of their participation. It is all about the psychological factors that could potentially influence the political participation of people. They could be correlated and perhaps even be causes of participation as to studies in

political participation noticed. For instance, Verba and Nie (1972) attempted to explain psychological factors influencing one's decision to participate and linked them to the socio-economic status of individuals. They examined four psychological variables that they argue mediate between socio-economic status (SES) and participation. These are the psychological involvement in politics (a measure of interest in and attention paid to politics), sense of political efficacy, the level of political information and sense of one's contribution to one's own community (civic mindedness) (source). As to them, these variables have great influence on the nature extent of people's participation in politics along with socio- economic status (SES) variables.

Criticizing Verba and Nie's Standard Model of participation, Lawrence (1981) introduced an Attitudinal Theory of participation. This theory tries to investigate the psychological factors that might motivate or discourage individual decision to participate in political activities. It characterizes the psychological states of people's participation as instrumental and expressive. Instrumental participation is a 'goal oriented participation of people based on subjectively meaningful attitudes what government should or should not do, intended by themselves to get government to implement public politics or solve political problems that concern them'(p, 334). Expressive participation, on the other hand, is 'participation for its own sake \_ participation of people due to the reason that participation in itself is inherently rewarding or pleasant (p, 33). Lawrence finds that attitudinal factors are equally important and compelling as the socio-economic factors investigated by Verba and Nie. Even, those attitudinal variables are more important motivational factors for people participation than the socio-economic status factors like education. Scholars such as Almond and Verba (1965) and Nie, Powell and Prewitt (1969) found that individuals with strong sense of personal efficacy and high trust in government are likely more active in conventional types of political activities than people who have not.

On the contrary, however, Winkler, Judd and Kelman (1982) found a weak association between attitudinal variables and varied modes of political participation and concluded that demographic characters are the best predictors of people's decision to involve in politics than the attitudinal variables. Gamson (1968) found that individuals with strong feelings of efficacy coupled with political alienation (cynicism) such as feelings of powerlessness to contribute to public affairs are tend to favor participation in unconventional activities.

Notwithstanding the above debate, one can argue that psychological factors like political interest, political awareness and efficacy, sense of civic duty, system trust and the like have an impact and could be causes of people's engagement in politics.

### **2.6.3 Socio-economic Stratifications**

The existence of major socio-economic differences among individuals can account for their decision to participate in political activities like in elections, the parties that they choose to support, participating in community meetings, contact with officials, their decision to engage in protests etc. To be able to participate in politics, citizens must have the resources of time, money and civic skills (Verba *et. al.*, 1995). According to Verba *et. al.*, (1978), those who are socially and economically better off can usually dominate or influence politics. More specifically, 'those citizens who are wealthier, better educated, or who come from more prestigious ethnic or racial or linguistic groups will hold a disproportionate share of political influence' (p, 2). The well-known socioeconomic status (SES) model of political participation emphasizes the role of education, occupation and income as important predictors of voter participation (Verba and Nie 1972). Studies of various forms of political participation have often shown a correlation between socioeconomic level and political participation where, people with higher levels of income and education will be more likely to participate than people with lower levels (Verba and Nie, 1972; Barnes and Kaase, 1979). Education levels have been found to correlate with levels of political information and involvement. Howe (2006), Miller and Shanks (1996), Milbrath and Goel (1977) and Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) observed that education has been shown to demonstrate an important and positive influence on citizens participation in politics. More educated people may be better able to process complex political information (Dalton, 2008), and possess a greater sense of citizen responsibility (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Milbrath and Goel, 1977) which could in part enhances political engagements. Winkler, Judd and Kelman (1982) and Leightly (1995) examined that individuals who have higher levels of education not only vote more often but also they participate more by working in campaigns, public discussions and taking part in organizational and other activities. Even among individuals within the same income level, those who have more education status participate more. The more highly educated individuals are more likely to participate in political activities (Leightly, 1995) because education is related to levels of civic skill.

Several arguments have been offered for the effects of the level of personal income on the participations of citizens in political activities. Many works associate the higher income level people have the more they participate in politics (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980; Frey, 1971 & 1972; Leightly, 1995). The rich appear to be more efficient at political participation (Frey, 1971 & 1972) since they are likely to live and work in environments that motivate interest in politics, create social pressures for political participation, and provide opportunities for political participation. On the other hand, lower income individuals are less likely to have access to the skills and resources that facilitate political participation (Verba *et. al.*, 1995). They consume their disproportionate amount of time and attention on attaining the necessities of life limiting their time and resource to engage in politics. In the same vein, income inequalities will have an impact on the level of people's engagement in politics. For instance, campaign contributions cost money, and it seems very likely that a change in income will directly affect the level of campaign contributions (Brady *et. al.*, 1995).

#### **2.6.4 Political Knowledge and Civic Engagements**

Political knowledge is all about individuals' know how about the political realities and public affair conditions of their nation. As Edward Muller (1970) interestingly noted, political knowledge (he prefers to call political efficacy) includes citizens general belief that government is responsive to their influence, the skills necessary for effective political behavior, and a psychological disposition or feeling of confidence in one's personal ability to influence salient government decisions. "It is a central premise of democratic practice that the citizenry must be both vigilant and vocal about issues which affect them if the system is to work as intended" (Neuman, 1986; 1). Citizens' awareness of social, economic, and political issues pertinent to his/her country should ideally stimulate a greater involvement in various modes of political participation (Resnick and Casale, 2011). Carpini and Keeter (1996) highlighted that, for democratic systems to function, an informed public is needed. Politically informed citizens are able to evaluate their own interests and act accordingly for further improvements.

The level of citizens' political awareness as well as the measure of confidence in the political process determines the extent to which they participate in the political system. Citizens could get access to information on the political realities of their society through various channels like

observing media, engaging in civic associations and communications at work places. As to Besley and Burgess (2002), access to information through the media can be a powerful weapon for combating corruption and keeping governments' accountable. Though African people exposure to medias has been low and the possibility of getting unbiased information is too little due to factors such as low literacy rates, expense to attaining of medias and government ownership of many of the medias (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997), having access to different media channels offer people to have information regarding how the government is undertaking its activities, the possible ways of engaging in their own affairs, their government's policies and strategies and so on which further prompted their participation in political activities. Creating political consciousness on the people through various communication channels is reported as the stepping stone for practical engagements in political activities as contemporary empirical studies reveal.

Politically efficacious citizens, though difficult to measure, are much more likely to become actively involved in politics i.e. to follow politics, to discuss politics, to be more active partisans and to be more engaged in political activities (Almond & Verba, 1989; Verba *et. al.*, 1995). In general, research on political knowledge and participation has stated that factual knowledge is indeed an important challenge influencing political participation (Barber, 1972; Gabriel, 2004) as it creates psychological foundation to address political problems and act accordingly.

People's engagements in various societal and moral associations enable citizens to communicate information and discuss public issues (Berger, 2009). Such engagements in civil life, though unpolitical / have no political object, repeated social engagement may produce what Putnam and others call "social capital", or relationships of trust and reciprocity, and social capital tends to correlate with political engagements. Thus, citizens participation in civic associations, such as religious and community groups, can generate information sharing as they may foster trust and cooperation and thereby encourage citizens to become more engaged in public issues affecting them (Putnam, 1993).

### **2.6.5 Fear of Politics**

According to Eyob (2009), Politics was taken as a process where people lost their lives, killed each other, get imprisoned or run away from their country. The legacy of political terror of the

past as well as the continued political repression of the incumbent regime is very challenging for the people to participate in politics. This means that the fear and the negative repercussion of threat, intimidation, imprisonment, harassments, forced disappearance, and extra-judicial killing inflicted by the past and the current regime has shaped the extent of citizens' participation within opposition camp as well as bestowing their support externally. Particularly, stories from the 'Red Terror' period were persuasive enough to prevent young people from getting involved in politics. And therefore, Politics was perceived as something that needs to be avoided by the majority and this perception remains still valid among many.

In Africa, 'fear' is an important instrument in achieving political victories and sustaining political power' (Tronvoll, 2002). Likewise According to the International Youth Foundation (IYF) report, (2014) of voices of the next generation: An Assessment of Youth in Mozambique, most youth do not like to speak about politics for fear of repercussions; politics is confusion. And therefore, entering politics in a party other than the party in power is risky; the consequences may affect the individual or the individual's family." According to the IYF report in Mozambique the youth chooses not to be involved in political participation because they do not like politics, fear of politics, do not trust politics, or do not believe that their vote will make a difference or change anything.

In the past and current Ethiopia, according to Pausewang (2002), the incumbent has also used 'fear' as a safeguard to maintain its political dominance. It is widely spoken and expressed in Amharic '*poletikana korentin beruku*', in the English version keep far away from politics and electricity, don't go too close to politics, it will only shock and hurt you' (Tronvoll, 2002).

### **2.6.6 Political Repression of the Incumbent Government**

Although virtually all agree that political repression refers to repressive actions directed at individuals and groups based on their current or potential participation in non-institutional efforts for social, cultural, or political change, scholars have disagreed about finer aspects of the definition. Some have defined repression relatively broadly as actions that increase the costs of protest (Tilly 1978), whereas others have defined it more narrowly as "harassment, surveillance/spying, bans, arrests, torture, . . . [that] violate First Amendment– type rights, due process in the enforcement and adjudication of law, and personal integrity or security" (Davenport 2007).

Political repression by government refers to the arbitrarily arrest and detention, harassment and torture and other ill-treatment of police, military, and other members of the security forces to punish those who are active members of youth associations and members of the political opposition. It also includes systematically repression of failing to provide police and security protection when citizens requested, not allowing them to exercise their right of peaceful demonstration as well as non-inclusion of opposition parties in representative institutions of the country (Earl, 2011; Davenport, 2007).

## **2.7 Opportunities of Youth Associations in Political Participation**

### **2.7.1 The Existence of Social Media**

According to Ellin (2003), the Internet provides people with access to political information, which increases the likelihood of further political activities and further political participation. Political participation has taken new online forms with the rise of the Internet, particularly with the advent of social media (Gil de Zúñiga, Copeland, and Bimber, 2014). As Hague and Harrog (2004), society and politics are created, sustained and modified through communication. In line with this Putnam (2000), said that social media is seen as a main factor of political information exchange and political mobilization.

The production cycle for newspapers and television involves delays and is comparatively cost, but, social media are constantly updated and require significantly less time, money, and physical effort (Best & Krueger, 2005). People can pursue their political goals online by forwarding e-mails, telegram, face book, sharing opinions about politics and current events, expressing dissatisfaction with governments by commenting on government officials' social media pages, and participating in online collective actions against certain policies (Di Gennaro & Dutton, 2006). Using the Internet as a source for political news has dramatically increased the diversity and openness of information (Gimmler, 2001). Especially with social media platforms' flood of up-to-the-minute information, citizens are more likely to be exposed to political news and therefore given more opportunities for political expression (Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010). The comfort of using and creating social media have produced an eruption of grassroots participation, allowing individuals to express their opinions more openly and freely as well as to build a more active and significant relationship with official institutions (Rojas H & Gil de Zúñiga H, 2010, Gil de Zúñiga H. 2012). Most empirical studies reveals that social media creates an opportunity

for the people to express their opinions, discuss and share different socio-economic and political issues with their different groups, institutions and political parties.

### **2.7.2 The Presence of Multi -Party System**

Given enormous varieties in terms of their historical evolution, organization, ideology, social base, and so on, defining political parties is a difficult task (Smith, 1996). However, there is a fair amount of consensus in respect of what political parties are and of their role in a democratic system (Matlosa, 2007). A political party is often defined as a group of people organized for the purpose of winning government power (Thakur, 1995; Heywood, 2006; Mohammed Salih and Nordlund, 2007). Political parties are crucial actors in aggregating interests and developing competing policy proposals that provide people with a choice (Paye, 2007; Matlosa, 2007; Mohamed Salih, and Nordlund, 2007). Huntington notes that “the principal institutional means for organizing the expansion of political participation are political parties and the party system” (Huntington, 1968). The major functions of political parties can be summarized as: nominating, electioneering, shaping opinion, mediating among groups (brokerage), managing government, and providing link between government and citizens (Mohammed Salih, 2003; Smith, 1996). Citing Randall (1988), Mohamed Salih pointed out four major functions of political parties: they endow regimes with legitimacy by providing ideologies, leadership or opportunities for political participation; they act as a medium for political recruitment, thus creating opportunities for upward social mobility; they provide opportunities for the formation of coalitions of powerful political interests to sustain government, have major influence on policies as a result of devising programs, supervise policy implementation, and promote the political socialization or mobilization of people to undertake self-help activities; they provide political stability in societies that are able to absorb increasing levels of political participation by the new social forces generated by modernization (Mohamed Salih 2001; 2003; Smith, 1996).

However, party politics was unknown for most of Ethiopia’s history since it was an absolute monarchy until the 1974 revolution, when the Dergue overthrew the government of Emperor Haille Selassie I. The Dergue instituted single-party rule in 1984 after its first decade in power when it pursued a revolutionary socialist policy. Thus the Ethiopian Workers’ Party came into being after a decade when there were effectively no political parties of any description (Chege. M, 2007).

As Merara (2003), the year 1991 was the turning point in multi-party politics of Ethiopia. After many years of centralized and one party rule, the country has started to follow multi-party system by attempting to modernize Ethiopian multi-ethnic society within the ethnic based government system and multiparty democracy. The 1991 transitional charter has assumed multiparty politics in Ethiopia by declaring every Ethiopian has the right to engage in unrestricted political activities and to organize political party for the purpose of achieving political power through peaceful means.

The existence of competent political parties with in a particular state provides an opportunity for the people to participate in politics due to the fact that political parties brings people the opportunity to have a party that uphold their interests and desires ,which in turn increases voter turnout (Resnick and Casale, 2011).As Chege. M, 2007 to strengthen competitive party system in Ethiopia, the state has to commit itself to level the playing field and respect freedom of speech, the freedom of the press and the freedom of assembly of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (a persistent complaint) and political parties. Most important of all, if a leveling of the playing field is to mean anything, the National Electoral Board (NEB) needs to be reconstituted on the basis of an inter-party agreement.

Generally speaking, political parties have the following major functions: representation; elite formation and recruitment; goal formation; interest articulation and aggregation; channeling of public opinion from citizens to government; socialization and mobilization of citizens; legitimization of political system and formation of government (Heywood, 2002; Hofmeister and Grabow, 2011 and Huntington, 1968). Political parties are vital political institutions for the functioning of a modern democracy or organization of the modern democratic polity as well as political pluralism. It provides alternative policy platforms, ideological directions and re-defining government agendas. Political parties serve as a “vital link between the state and the civil society, between the institution of government and the groups and interests that operate within the society” (Heywood, 2002).

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

#### 3.1 Description of the Study Area

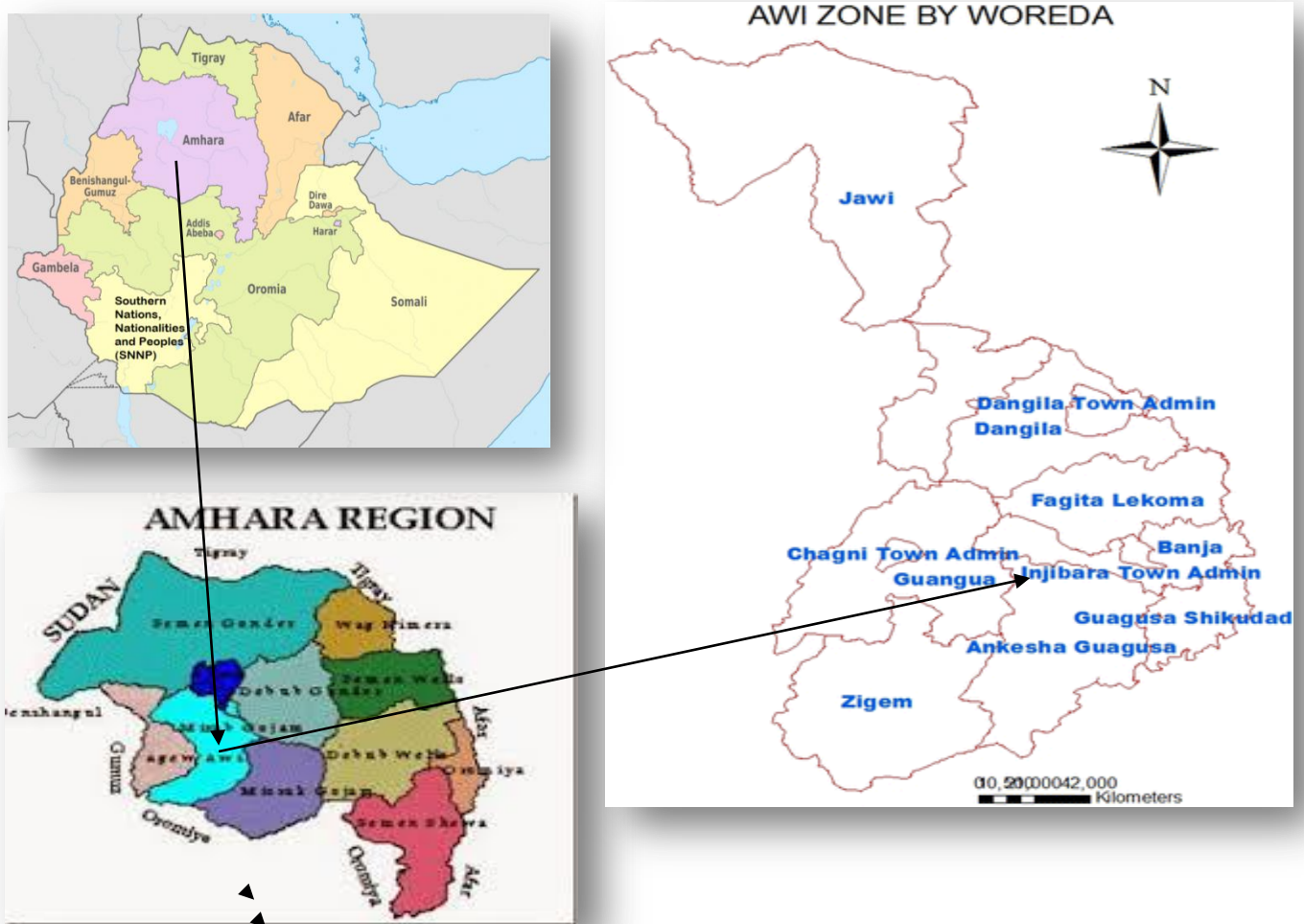
*Injibara* is a town found in the *Amhara* National regional state. *Amhara* region have got 12 zones and every zone have its own seat. Among those *Injibara* town is one of the main town of *Awraja* zone with autonomous town administration. It is one of those very recently founded or reestablished with the coming to power of *EPRDF* in 1991. It is located  $10^{\circ} 57'N$ ,  $36^{\circ} 56'E$  and  $10^{\circ} 95'N$ ,  $36^{\circ} 93'E$  at an altitude of 2560 meters above sea level. It is located North West of *Addis Ababa* distance of 452km and South West of *Bahir Dar* city a distance of 118km. A town serves as the seat of *Awraja* –Zone Nationality Administrative, which divided into five *kebeles*.

Based on the 2007 National census conducted by the central Statistical Authority of Ethiopia (*CSA*), this town had a total population of 43023, of this 22,385 are males and 20638 are females. Based on the figures on 2018s' local census the town has an estimated a total population of 84986 of whom 47290 is males and 37696 are females. From this 7465 are youths, of this 4263 are males and 3202 are females, who are the target population of the research from the political participation of the youth.

The majority of the inhabitants practice Ethiopian orthodox *Tewahido* Christianity as their religion. There are also Muslims and Protestants (*Ibid*). The administrative town includes; *Agaw*, *Amhara*, *oromo*, and *Tigrays*, are living together in the town. The largest ethnic group was the *Agaw* people.

Economically, the communities live with trade, agriculture, civil servant, production of trees and livestock production. As the data obtained from *Injibara* administrative town of information communication office indicates that the town has; one government university, one government teachers training college, seven private colleges, three higher preparatory schools, nine elementary schools, one government hospital, one government clinic, five private clinics, four branches of commercial banks of Ethiopia, seven private banks are serving the people of the town.

Its topography is mountainous and the town's highest peak is 2750m above sea level, the climate of the town is *Dega*.



Source: *Injibara* Town Administration Communication Office

Fig 3.1 Map of the study area

### 3.2 Research Methods and Design

This study was utilized a mixed approach which comprises both quantitative and qualitative methodology because employing both methods in a single study enables the researcher to see the research issues in multidimensional directions. According to Morse (2003) a mixed approach is

the incorporation of various quantitative and qualitative strategies within a single study. In this regard Creswell (2014), it is best for mixed research methodology because the investigation can be divided in to two manageable tasks in the process of a given data analysis. Taking into account this rationale, the study was applied a mixed research method. Therefore, to examine different issues related to practice, challenges and opportunities of youth association in political participation in the study area, mixed research method was relevant to produce both statistical and verbal results and to minimize some of the limitations of using single method.

As Kothari (2004), suggested research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose. He also describes research design as a blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. However, the choice of the most appropriate research design depends largely on the objective of the research and how much is known about the problem and those objectives. With related to this Brown and Dowling (1998), suggested that the nature and objectives of the problem to be studied and the means of obtaining information are the most important factor to be considered in order to select appropriate research design.

Based on this information explanatory sequential research design was appropriate for this study. Because explanatory design enables the researcher to analyzes first quantitative data and then builds on the results to explain them in a more detail with qualitative data. sIt is also considered sequential because the initial quantitative phase is followed by qualitative phase. Therefore, for this study explanatory sequential research design was employed.

### **3.3 Source and Type of Data**

To achieve the objectives of this research, both primary and secondary data sources were applied. Hence primary sources of data were included personal observation, questionnaire and interview. Whereas secondary source of data would take from different documents and annual reports of *Injibara* town administration youth and sport Office and various publication of the CSA such as the 2007 population and housing census statistical report of *Amhara* Region.

### **3.4 Data Collection Instruments**

Multiple data collection instrument is more important than single data collection instrument in a given research. In this regard, Teshome (1998) stated there are strength and weakness to any single data collection method. Based on this it is advisable using more than one data collection instruments because it gives an opportunity to the researcher in correcting some of the drawback of any one source of data collection instrument. Therefore, for this research, various data collection instruments like personal observation, questionnaire, interview and secondary data sources were applied.

#### **A. Observation**

The observation method is the most commonly used technique in collecting primary data since subjective bias is eliminated and the information obtained relates to what is currently happening; it is not complicated by either the past behavior or future intentions (Kothari, 2004). In addition it provides an opportunity for the researcher to get data beyond people's opinion and self-interpretation of participants' attitude and behaviors towards an evaluation of participants' action in practice (Gray, 2004). Furthermore, direct observation helps to have a better understanding of the various phenomena under investigation.

#### **B. Questionnaire**

The questionnaires would composed of both close-ended and open-ended types of questions which are prepared in order to look the practice, challenges and opportunities of youth political participation. The close-ended items are a five point Likert type questions ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The open-ended items were used to gather qualitative data on the practices, challenges and opportunities of youth associations in the political participation. During the data collection process, continuous supervisions would be undertaken by the researcher in order to maintain the quality of data.

Questionnaires are instruments through which people are asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order. Respondents can complete the questionnaires at a time and place that suits them. It is also advantageous for researcher because they are low cost in terms of

both time and money to inflow of data quickly from many people (Gillham, 2000). In order to achieve the stated objective, the items of the questionnaire are developed using simple and clear words that was appropriate and help the concerned body to respond the questions with understanding. From here the researcher was recruiting and training research assistance in the completion process of questionnaire especially to help those respondents, who cannot read and write. In the same way the construction of this questionnaire items is more strengthened using the professional comments given by my advisor. The questionnaires were distributed to 133 participants of the study. Among these participants, while 52 of them were from 02 Kebele, 45 of them were from 03 *Kebele* and 36 participants were selected from 05 *Kebele* according to the given formula. But to get the above participants in each *kebele* the researcher used to probability sampling that is lottery method employed. The questionnaire was prepared in English and translated in to Amharic which is the language of the local people.

### **C. Interview**

An interview is useful to reflect without having to commit respondents ill writing, often because respondents feel the information in which they give for the researcher may be confidential (Gray, 2004).

Key informants were selected for the reason that these individuals have special knowledge which others do not possess and represent specific group of population and areas or they may have administrative responsibility in the area (Laforest, 2009).

The interview was basically conducted with purposely selected higher administrative officials and youth association representatives to attain data on the practices, challenges and opportunities of urban youth political participation. This is due to reason that these informants supposed to have deep understanding about the issue and the duty to coordinate and enhance the town's youth to actively engage in the affairs of the town. Also, some youths were interviewed with a view to get facts about existing condition of youth political participation in the study area mentioned.

The nature of the interview was semi-structured interview as long as it gives more chance to the interviewee to provide detailed information. The interviewees were selected using purposive

sampling method as long as the participants were in three different *kebeles*. In the interview, 9 youths, that is 3 youths from each selected kebele, were involved in case of happened data saturation from three *kebeles*. In addition to the youth, the youth association leaders of each three kebele, 3 youth affairs officials from *Injibara* Town Administration were interviewed.

To put it in other terms, a total of 15 participants were interviewed for the purpose of this study.

### **Secondary sources of data**

As Kothari (2014) stated, secondary sources of data refers to the data which have already been collected and analyzed by someone else. Based on this information in order to achieve the objective of this study, in addition to primary data source, secondary data sources was collected from different published and unpublished sources such as books, research reports, magazines, annual reports, newspapers, letters, mass media outputs, academic out puts, journal articles, conference papers, web pages, official published documents, as well as official statistics and other electronic sources such as internet.

### **3.5 Target Population and Sampling Procedure**

Sampling is important because in almost all cases it is not practical to study all the members of the population. Therefore, we cannot sample the whole population (vander 2009). The samples of this study that practiced in quantitative and qualitative data gathering instruments were selected using lottery method for quantitative research and purposive sampling for qualitative research. The reason behind the selection of purposive sampling procedure for this study was due to it is the most common sampling strategy in which based on preselected criteria relevant to a particular research questions (Mack,2005). In the same way as Lisa (2008), stated that purposive sampling signifies that one sees sampling as a series of strategic choices about with whom, where, and how one does ones research. Purposive sampling is widely used to identify and select information rich individuals who are more informed and experienced with a certain phenomenon (Latham, 2007).

The geographical delimitation of the study is Awi zone *Injibara* Town Administration; the samples were selected from this area. According to the information gained from *Injibara* Town

Administration youth affairs office there are five *kebeles*. Among five *kebeles* three *kebeles* were selected by using lottery method. These are 02 kebele, 03 kebele and 05 kebele. In order to appropriately select the participants from these three *kebeles*, lottery method was used. This is because assigning lottery method to each *kebele* is important to fairly select participants or questionnaire respondents from the above mentioned *kebeles*.

According to the data obtained from the *Injibara* town administration youth and children office, there are 7465 members of youth association of which 4263 are male and 3202 female. Regarding to this information there are about 1386 youth in 02 kebele, 1225 youth in 03 kebele and 975 youth in 05 kebele. The total numbers of target youth in three *kebeles* were 3586. Using this information, the sample size is determined using Kerejcie and Morgan (1970) sampling formula as follows:

$$S = \frac{X^2 NP (1 - P)}{d^2 (N - 1) + X^2 P (1 - P)}$$

$$S = \frac{(1.96)^2 \times 3586 \times 0.1 (1 - 0.1)}{(0.05)^2 (3586 - 1) + (1.96)^2 \times 0.1 (1 - 0.1)} = 133$$

Where

S = required sample size

N = the given population size (3586)

P = population proportion (10% or 0.1)

d = The degree of accuracy as reflected by the amount of error that can be tolerated in the fluctuation of a sample proportion p about the population proportion P - the value for d being **0.05** in the calculations for entries in the table and

X<sup>2</sup> = Table value of chi square for one degree of freedom relative to the desired level of confidence, which is 1.96<sup>2</sup> = 3.8416 for the 95% confidence interval.

Based on the Kerejcie and Morgan (1970) sampling formula, a total number of 133 youths were sampled for the questionnaire survey from the three selected *kebeles*; by using lottery method based on the sampling frame obtained from the Youth and Children Administration Office

(YCAO). In this study, to determine sample size different factors such as cost, time, accessibility and availability of transport facilities were taken into consideration. Therefore, the lottery method was employed by the following formula. In such lottery method the size of the sample selected from each sub group in the entire youth.

Target of Kebele’s Youth X Sample Size of Youth

Total Target of the 3 Kebele’s Youth

Therefore, using the above formula, the following table is constructed.

<b>Kebels</b>	<b>Number of youth</b>	<b>Sample youth</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
<i>Injibara 02</i>	1386	52	39
<i>Injibara 03</i>	1225	45	34
<i>Injibara 05</i>	975	36	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>3586</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 3.1: The sample size of youths in each kebele**

**3.6 Methods of Data Analysis**

The data collected from questionnaires, key informant interviewees and personal observations were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Data analysis means establishing what the findings are and how they answer the research question (Barker, et al 2002). In the same way as Kothari (2004) outlines the procedure or process of data analysis consists of editing, coding, classification and tabulation of gathered data and each of the process or procedure in data analysis has its own purpose. For this reason the researcher was summarize raw data for further analysis by arrangement of data in a column and row. In addition as Creswell (2014) stated it is necessary to analyze quantitative and qualitative data separately at two phases under mixed research methodology and sequential explanatory research design. Based on this information the researcher was analyze first quantitative and then followed by qualitative data.

In order to attain the best research objectives and answer the research questions, the collected data was systematically organized and interpreted. The questionnaire was initially developed in English Language, and then translated to Amharic to be distributed for informants selected from target population. The interview replies were translated into English and an attempt was made to keep the original version.

As stated by Tilde and Tashakkori (2009), it is necessary to combine statistical and thematic data analysis technique under mixed research method. Since this study embrace mixed research method, the researcher was employed descriptive statics for quantitative data because it enables the researcher to analyze quantitative data by organizing, summarizing and presenting numerical data through percentage, frequency and table. In this context, Young (2011) stated that descriptive statistics is a tool in any research to describe a setting or events in numerical terms for the sake of quantifying data. In the same way for qualitative data thematic data analysis was applied because it provides a more coherent & substantial understanding of the subject under study. With regard to this Bradley, et al (2007), suggested that thematic data analysis are general proportions that emerge from diverse and detail-rich experiences of participants and provide recurrent and unifying ideas in the process of qualitative data analysis. Therefore, descriptive statics and thematic data analysis were employed for this study.

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

As Creswell (2003) stated, a researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of participants. Therefore, in this study the researcher was give emphasis on ethics starting from stating the problem to data analysis. The researcher was clearly identified a significant problem and presented a rationale for importance. The purpose of the study would be clearly expressed to the participants. Before collecting the data, the researcher informed participants in clear and local language that can be clearly understood. Participants were being informed about the right to participate voluntarily and the right to withdraw at any time; the purpose and the procedure of the study. Finally, the researcher was started to collect the data after he has got full consent of participant.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

#### 4.1 Introduction

Data analyzed and interpretation was summarized in line with the research objectives and appropriate frequency tables inserted for presentation. Questionnaire, observation and an in-depth interview with the member of youth associations and the youth association officials (key informants) had been taken in order to obtain a full understanding about the situation on the ground. The analysis was conducted in order to assess the actual practice of youths' political participation, challenges that hindered youths' participation in the political activities and opportunities of their participations in *Injibara* town administration. The analysis begins with a description of the demographic profile of the respondents, which gives the reader an insight into demographic trends typical of any representative sampling of youth members and presented in form of percentages and frequency tables.

#### 4.2 Questionnaire Return Rate

In this study the questionnaire return rate was 90% as all the questionnaires issued to the respondents in all the three study areas of 02 kebele, 03 *kebele* and 05 *kebele* in *Injibara* Town Administration. From the sample of 133 respondents the 13 sampled respondents did not finished their questionnaire due that, it found to be irrelevant during data cleaning. Among these 6 respondents from 02 kebele, 4 respondents from 03 *kebele* and 3 respondents from 05 kebele. Because of this the researcher used 120 sample respondents'. According to the description of Bobbie, (2002) a questionnaire return rate as the proportion of the questionnaires returned after they are issued and filled by the respondents. He further states that a questionnaire return rate of 50% and above is sufficient for analysis.

#### 4.3 Socio-Demographic Information of Respondents

This part mainly focuses to discuss the research participants' background information including their gender, age, level of education, and their respective *kebele* in *Injibara* Town administration.

The completed participants of the study were 120 individuals who were selected from three different *kebeles*. Among the total number of the participants while 83 were males the remaining 37 were females. It shows that both male and female respondents included in the study areas nearly proportionally. This indicated that the expected relevant data were collected from both sex groups.

With regard to the participants' age, 36 (30%) participants were aged from 18-20 years old, 23(19.1%) participants were aged from 21- 25 years old. Finally, there were 61 participants (50.8%) who were aged from 26-29 years old. It indicated that most of the participants of the youth groups were nearly the last stage of youth age level. This also showed that most of the youth groups are informed about the post 1991 Ethiopian election and expected to give the real evidence to the study.

The participants have different level of educations. Among the total number of the participants, 3 of them were followed adult education. Similarly, while 13 of the participants attended their primary education, other 34 participants were completed secondary school. 17 of the participants were certificate holders. 35 of the other participants were diploma holders. Finally, 18 participants were degree holders. However, there were not uneducated participants in the sample respondents. It shows that all respondents can read and write and it helps to collect relevant data to the study.

The participants were selected from three different *kebeles*, namely *kebele 02*, *kebele 03* and *kebele 05*. From the whole research participants that completely finished the questionnaire were, 46 individuals were from *kebele 02*, 41 individuals were from *kebele 03* and 33 individuals were from *kebele 05* in *Injibara* town administrations.

#### **4.4 Actual Practice of Youths' Participation in Political Activities**

In this section, the youths' actual practices in political activities were discussed. Accordingly, the following table presents these facts gained from the participants' questionnaire.

**Table 4.1: Actual practice of youths’ participation in political activities**

No	Youths’ actual practice of political participations	Agreed		Undecided		Disagree	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
1	You have participated during Ethiopian voting elections and have motives to the future	8	7	2	1	110	92
2	You are participating as a party membership and a rational activism	13	11	5	4	102	85
3	You are participating in attending at public meetings	9	7	6	5	105	88
4	You are participating in unconventional political activities	113	94	0	0	7	6

#### **4.4.1 Youths’ Political Participation Voting In Elections**

Based on the above table 4.1: most of the respondents 110 (92%) participants did not participate during their own national and regional elections and have not motives to actively participate to the future. 8 respondents (7%) of them did participate in such a way. However, 2 participants (1%) were undecided whether they can come up with participate in elections or not. Here, one can observe that, the percentage of youth of who did not give their voices in the previous election is greater than those who did vote.

The responses of the open-ended questionnaire and interviewee confirm this fact. Most of the respondents had stated their lack of interest to take part in voting, be it in the general or local elections. The reason they had stated were multifaceted. Many of them have described their lack of trust on electoral procedures, counting at polls, impartiality of election administrators and observers and the incumbent government willingness to be abided by voting results. Regarding lack of interest to involve in voting, Interviewee 04 has said the following challenges:

*I don't think that by election we will get our real political representatives and choose policy priorities. Because, we are seen the FDRE currently has known as prosperity party consecutive claims of attaining absolute majority in the last two general parliamentary elections. No one can*

*believe that the government attains 100 % support to stay in power, but they tell us so shamelessly. If they are selected so, why post-election violence erupt in the major cities of Ethiopia? Why protest activities are becoming common in different regions of Ethiopia in the aftermath of 2015 Ethiopian general parliamentary election? Why the government chooses military measures in response to such protests? (April 17, 2020).*

Many had suspicion on the neutrality of those officials of the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) and those selected to coordinate and run local electoral issues. An interesting expression by Interviewee 11 is worth mentioning here;

*Even though voting is an important tool to express one's political interest, I think the practice of voting in Ethiopia is losing its very essence or importance. Because, of the past experience of not transferring government authority to the winner party in election (particularly, in 2005) Ethiopian election shows, that lack of governments interest in power transfer by voting results. Also, I have no trust on the neutrality of election administrators because many of them are supporters to the system, and I don't believe the vote counting could be correct. (May 04, 2020).*

Some other interviewees had criticized the nature of party program propagation limitations. In line with this, interviewee 09 (*Injibara town administration Election Board Manager*) had stated that:

*"Our office had investigated that the role of youth participation in voting is low as compared with the older ones. The main challenge to the lack of political interest and decline of youth participation in voting is basically due to political awareness creation problems, lack of knowledge of election administrators and observers has its part in lessening youth participation in voting" (May 11, 2020).*

According to Mackerrasa and McAllister (1999; 2), 'the level of popular participation in national elections are usually regarded as a sensitive barometer of the health of democratic institutions. However, the participation of the town's youth in voter turnout was found minimal both in national and local elections. This is witnessed from the above responses in that their participation as well as interest in voting is lesser. This is mainly due to lack of trust on the election administration officers impartiality in observing electoral processes, fairness in counting

people's voice and the willingness of the existing government to believe on and accept democratic election results.

#### **4.4.2 Youth Participation in Party Membership and Activism**

As table 4.1 indicated that, high number of the respondents or 102 participants (85%) did not participate as a party membership and activism. The small number of the participants (11%) or 13 respondents were participate as political membership and activism to enhance political culture. Nevertheless, the remaining 5 participants (4%) were undecided on the issue. Therefore, we can understand that most youths in *Injibara* town administration ignore political participations through membership and rational activism.

As the open-ended questionnaire respondents stated that, fear of punishment and arbitrary detentions by the existing government agents' deterred them to be members and participants in party politics. As to them, their freedom to become members, actively participate and support opposition party politics is restricted on ground.

Interviewee 03 had described his decision of restrictions to participate in party activities as follows;

*I have been a member and active participant in one of the government's major party, the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDEM) currently known as Amhara Prosperity Party (APP). But now I withdrew from membership and refrain from supporting any one of the existing legally registered political parties, because, I had faced many problems on my life. One is from my locality residents suspecting me as a spy for the government who is disposing the addresses of people who has organized and were participants in the then protest activities. I had faced insults, intimidations, biting attempts and societal segregations. The other is from my bosses within the party. They decided to nominate me to the position of "town administration Youth League Chief" but I refused to accept the nomination. Because I know that the former chief nominee ceased the position due to the intimidations and killing attempts made on him by the angered youth kebele dwellers at the time of protest, meanwhile the government refrain from giving any guarantees. So, I don't want to encounter such similar unnecessary sacrifices by*

*accepting the nomination, and then I decided to refuse the nomination and distant myself from supporting the party (April 16, 2020).*

Therefore, based on the data stated above, one can conclude that the participation of the town's youth political activism is low due to different challenges faced against the youth.

#### **4.4.3 Youth Participation in Attendance at Public Meetings**

As it is shown in the above table 4.1: 105 participants (88%) limited to participate in attending public meetings. On the other way, 9 participants (7%) participate at public meetings. A small number of participants 6 individuals (5%) were undecided whether participate in attending public meetings or not. Based on the above evidence, most of the youth groups did not involve in attending political meetings.

The study had also investigated the reasons for not participation in public meeting activities from the open ended questionnaire indicated that, many of the public meetings are not problem solving. They are just simply organized and called by government agents so as to get the assurance of the decisions they had passed in their offices. Put in other words, the conduct of such meetings is to persuade and enforce what the government or its agents need to see regardless of what the public feels about.

Interviewee 13 had said the following on this regard;

*We have been attending many local public meetings, but many of the issues raised in such meetings remain unanswered. They call many meetings and invite us to speak out our problems, interests and choices regarding different issues. We speak and they write on their note books, and lastly give promises and hopes to address the issues or problems raised. Or sometimes, they come up with certain issue/decision, raised for us for discussion and finally impose their judgments irrespective of what the participants' interest and choice; they merely use the voices of participants' for the purpose of confirming their decisions (April 18, 2020).*

Some had also complained on the issues raised, validity and timing of the conduct of public meetings or discussions. They said that similar issues or problems raised many times in many

local meetings, major issues and problems the public need to raise remain enclosed and some are not raised at the time when the people needs to be addressed.

In line with this, Interviewee 12 has said the following;

*Many of issues raised in mass meetings in our locality. But, as I observed, in many of the meetings the issues of discussion have been merely prepared and given for mass discussion. Many are routine, and redundantly raised and promised by them to be addressed in previous times but come again with these similar issues/problems many times. However, issues or problems that the mass needs to be raised have been deliberately concealed by or else are not bring to discussion on time. Even in some meetings the people participate merely because they have told that absenteeism results in prohibition of public service delivery or financial punishments (April 21, 2020).*

Therefore, based on the data presented above, some of the respondents are participating in public meetings conducted at different times. However, their participation is partly not because of their belief on the problem solving nature of such meetings since some are participating to get incentives or not to lose some public commodities or services. Also, many have developed pessimistic attitudes towards the importance and roles of participating in public meetings due their lack of trust on the practicability of decisions made. Many have mentioned most of the issues or problems have been raised redundantly but remain unsolved while some basic contemporary societal problems neglected to be talked such as the glaring youth unemployment and mal-administration or economic problems.

#### **4.4.4 Youth Participation in Unconventional Political Activities**

As table 4.1 indicated that, most of the participants 113 or 94% of the questionnaire respondents agree on the participation of the unconventional activities, the remaining 7(6%) of the respondents disagree participation in the unconventional activities. Based on this we can conclude that, most of the youths participate in the informal or illegal ways of political activities.

Sloam (2013), argued that those people who are frustrated by their social and political marginalization that has been exacerbated by the public policy responses to the financial crises, young people increasingly choice to protest politics.

Likewise, in the past four years in many parts of Ethiopia, especially in the Oromo, southern Ethiopia and *Amhara* region including the study area have been the protest's vanguard. Some respondents had stated their tendency to engage in protest activities is due to their belief that the existing political systems systematic and implicit oppression of the region, killings of *Amhara* people in different parts of Ethiopia, the question of border demarcation of *Amhara* region like, *Wolkayit* , *Tsegede* , *Humera* , *Metekel* , mass unemployment, unfair distribution of wealth and social service, corruption and maladministration, the question of female students from Dembi Dello University, violation of human and democratic rights, ethnic based conflicts in different Ethiopian Universities are some of the reasons behind their choice of engaging in varied protest activities.

The *Injibara* town administration youth protesters displayed an unprecedented level of solidarity and, organized joint marches, sit-ins, boycotts, and stay-at-home protests, as well as using other non-violent tactics, such as head shaving and crossing arms above the head.

In line with this the interviewee 01 had stated that:

*Among the different conventional and unconventional political activities I have best interested and like to practice in protest with the mass for expressing my feelings against the regime because it is one of the best mechanisms which creates political tension between and among the ruling parties (May,04, 2020).*

Supporting with this idea the interviewee 05 had stated that:

*The youth associations in Injibara town Administration just like their brothers and sisters had engaged in protest activities due to express discontent over the ruling party's dominance in government affairs of the country, the reaction to return some territories from Tigray to Amhara, and these multifaceted problems later resulted for well-organized boycotts, and stay-at-home protests, as well as destroyed party linked products, fired the houses and buildings of cadres and those individuals who have close contact with the incumbent regime (May, 12, 2020)*

Likewise, many of *Injibara* town youth are using Face book and other internet services to share and discuss their local as well as national public affairs. As some interviewees demonstrated, currently the youth are using Face book to visit the Face book pages of politicians, activists,

political organizations, government offices, and famous academic professionals and bloggers and share ideas posted in timelines. They are also discussing political as well as administrative issues and problems via different political groupings and individual activisms. In line with this, Interviewee 07 has stated that;

*I use Face book for different purposes; for entertainment, visiting different pages, chatting with friends, posting poems, academic consumptions and political activism. I have three Face book pages from which I am using the one to post, discuss and share political issues. Besides, the usual sorts of political participation I preferred to use Face book to explain my understanding of different political issues and share ideas with my Face book friends. Face book is becoming an important tool of mobilizing the public, building, public awareness about politics and influencing the government's decision making process as well (May 14, 2020).*

Based on the data collected from the questionnaire and interview, it is possible to conclude that the members of the youth associations in *Injibara* town administration have been best practiced unconventional type of political activities to express their feelings against the government and to bring structural and political change in their country in different times.

#### **4.5 Challenges that hinders Youths' Political Participation in *Injibara* Town Administration**

In this part of discussion, the challenges of youths' participation in political activities are presented. It thematically discussed the data gained through questionnaire and interview as follows.

**Table 4.2: Challenges of youths’ participation in political activities**

The following table presents the data on the challenges of youth political participations gathered through the participants’ questionnaire.

No	Challenges of youths’ participation in political participations	Agree		Undecided		Disagree	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
	<b>Institutional and structural challenges</b>						
1	You have trust on government institution activities and leadership qualities of political leaders	8	7	6	5	106	88
	<b>Attitudinal challenges</b>						
2	You have good attitude, interest and commitment to participate in political activities of your locality	21	17.5	4	3.5	95	79
	<b>Socio-economic challenges</b>						
3	You have enough time, resource and motivations to participate in political activities	17	14	11	9	92	77
	<b>Lack of political knowledge</b>						
4	The appointment of your locality political leaders are based on the political knowledge of individuals	19	16	2	2	99	82
	<b>Fear of politics</b>						
5	You are free from Fear of politics to participate in political activities.	16	13.5	3	2.5	101	84
	<b>Political repression of the incumbent government</b>						
6	There is free political environment which encourages the youth association to be active participant in the political activities	15	12.5	0	0	105	87.5

#### **4.5.1 Institutional and Structural Challenges**

As the above table 4.2: shows that, most of the questionnaire respondents (88%) or 106 participants did not have trust on government institution activities and leadership qualities of political leaders. 8 respondents (7%) of them have trust on the government institution activities

and leadership qualities of political leaders. However, 6 participants (5%) were undecided whether they have or have not trust on the government institutions activity and leadership qualities of political leaders. Therefore, based on the above evidence, we can understand that most youths in *Injibara* town administration did not have trust on government institutions activity and leadership qualities of political leaders.

As the response of the open-ended questionnaire and interview indicated that, lack of responsiveness of political leaders and institutions to the interests and demands of their respective *kebele* dwellers is highly manifested. Some has also described the problems of *kebele* political representatives lack of political benevolence, inability to respond to the needs and interests of the youth, consideration of the youth as cause of problems not of as part of solutions to problems as the challenges which erode their morale of participation in the political process. Interestingly, Interviewee 14 had said the following;

*Government institutions and politicians lack of trustworthiness and leaders suspicious deeds enforces me to develop cynic political behavior in formal ways of political participation, most importantly, Kebele political officials limited political efficacy and leadership, absence of political benevolence, inability to hear and respond to critical issues of youth (e.g. glaring unemployment), considering youth as blot forces and disrespect to the voices of youth, and lack of political freedom enforces me to have such attitude. In addition, the inability of the system to punish its corrupt administrative officials and the trend of making public meetings and participations as a mechanism of prosecution and spying fields to engulf their political contenders and the like make me not to have trust in participating in commonly practiced conventional forms of political activities (May 15, 2020).*

Based on the data presented above, it appears that the practical deeds of the existing political institutions and administrative bureaus, officials and political leaders are significantly influencing and determining the nature and extent of youth political participation. This is clearly seen from their political interests, attitudes and motivations towards participating in political activities. It is to mean that, the town's youth attributions and expressions for their active, passive or non-participation in politics is basically related with what they perceive or practical experiences they have been encountering under the existing political system. Many had stated

their pessimistic attitudes to make political changes and perceive their voices could not be heard under the current system via democratic means. Many described their lack of trust on government institution activities, poor leadership qualities of administrative political leaders, lack of freedom to express one's political interests and demands, un-enabling political environment, deceptive and force-based measurements of the government, and lack of strong political parties and civil society organizations as the main institutional and structural challenges determining their political engagement or alienation.

#### **4.5.2. Attitudinal Challenges**

As table 4.2 indicted that, 95 questionnaire respondents (79%) disagreed about their positive attitude and interest to participate in political activities in their locality and the remaining 21 questionnaire respondents (17.5%) agreed and have positive attitude and interest towards their local political participations. Nevertheless, the remaining 4 participants (3.5%) were undecided on the issue. From this we can understand that most of the *kebele* youths have negative attitude, interest and commitment towards political participations.

As the open-ended questionnaire respondents stated that, their participation does nothing; both participation and apathy are the same because everything is just damped. Some also stated that they prefer not to participate because participation in the existing political system brings nothing except losing one's freedom due to the improper and in human treatments the agents of incumbent undertake.

As the interviewee 15 has said the following idea:

*I have developed the attitude of fear of politics and loss of hope in the further transformation of politics to the best which in turn discourages me to involve political activities. Owing to that, I accept the societal saying which strictly advices "avoiding politics the same way as direct contacts to electricity". This is what happened practical lessons that the killing of Amhara higher officials and the federal military higher officials, the killing attempt of prime minister and the government measurements to street demonstrations and petitions, arbitrary detentions of opposition party members and activists(April 18, 2020).*

Therefore, based on the data presented above, the perceptions of youth towards the government, political institutions and politicians as well as the attitude they develop to the consequences of active participation in politics are greatly influencing the level and nature of their political participation, which is somehow congruent with Verba and Nie findings, i.e. the psychological factors like political interest, political awareness and efficacy, sense of civic duty, system trust and the like have an impact and could be determinants of people's engagement in the political process.

Based on the data given, it can be concluded that the youth's feelings of powerlessness to contribute their quotas in the politics of their town, hopelessness to see political changes or improvements and distrust towards the existing political system responsiveness to their voices in the decision-making process adversely impacted their cognition of the relevance of their participation in the political development of their locality and country at large.

#### **4.5.3 Socio-Economic Challenges**

Based on the above table 4.2: most of the respondents of 92(77%) disagreed on the issue of enough time, resources and motivations to participate in political activities. on the other hand 17(14%) of the respondents have enough time, resources and motivations to participate in political issues. The remaining 11(9%) of the respondents did not decide on the issue of time, resources and motivations. Therefore, we can deduced that most of the respondents hindered by time, resources and sense of motivations to participate in political activities.

As the close-ended respondents stated that, the rise of unemployment could be mentioned as one factor which could negatively influence youth active involvement in political participations of the study area. As many interviewees and questionnaire responses reveals, the lack of resources such as the time to take part in politics and the money to support political parties/organizations that the youth prefer is partly influenced their active political involvements. Many of the questionnaire respondents are students and unemployed. Therefore, the amount of time they could spend on political participation could be minimal. This is because they spend their substantial amount of time on their education and searching for a job. Also, they may lack the money to support political parties activities since most of them could be dependents on their parents/guardians.

In support of this argument, Interviewee 02 has said the following;

*I have no time and motivation to engage in different political activities. I was graduated last year and I have degree in management but still I am unemployed. There are many who have completed their university studies like me but many of us are unemployed. Now what I worried about is getting a good job in my profession and helping me and my mother who has educated me lonely. I have interest in politics but it is not the right time for me to participate and make influence in the politics of my country (May 23, 2020).*

Based on the above data interpretation, lack of enough time, resource and unemployment negatively affected youth's political participation in *Injibara* town administration.

#### **4.5.4. Lack of Political Knowledge/Efficacy**

As it is shown in the above table 4.2: 99 participants (82%) did not agree on the *kebele* leaders' appointment based on the political knowledge of individuals. On the other way, 19 participants (16%) agreed on the *kebele* leaders' appointment based on the political knowledge of individuals. A small number of participants 2 individuals (2%) were not decide on the issue.

As to most of the close-ended questionnaire and interview respondents, since *kebele* political leaders or representatives are appointees from the above (the ruling party) based on their political loyalty, they are simply considered as one dimensional information pipes merely serving the interests of those in power (the center).

Related with this, Interviewee 06 purports that;

*Even though the appointment of town political leaders based on their political loyalty to the incumbent system is proper (procedural), there is a problem of leaders' political efficacy. Along with this cumbersome bureaucracy, inability to give speedy answer for immediate critical questions, networked rent seeking activities of some of the town administrative locality political leaders could be mentioned as a great threat to the systems trust in the eye of the governed, not neglecting the improved and empathetic proceedings given to the questions of the towns youth (May 16, 2020).*

Political efficacy among citizens usually viewed as desirable for the stability of democracy, because citizens participate in the process of governance for they feel that they have some power to influence the actions of their government and the changes to come. Schools, families, peers, media, political parties are the basic units in the development of political socialization and efficacy. Political interest and discussion has also an influence on efficacy (Schulz, 2005).

#### **4.5.5 Fear of Politics**

As the above table 4.2: indicated that, a great number of the respondents (84%) or 101 youths are under the fear of politics to participate in political activities. Nonetheless, a small number of the respondents (13.5%) or 16 youths are free from fear of politics. (2.5%) or 3 respondents were undecided on the issues. As a result, it shows that most of the youths are not free from fear of politics and political intimidation to participate in political activities.

As the respondents described in the close-ended and open-ended questionnaire, the basic reason for them to develop the feeling of fear towards participating in political activities and public affairs is the government agents and security forces undemocratic move and treatments against those who are active participants, particularly of those who are engaging in opposition party politics as well as intimidations on the social life of these individuals so as to distant them from actively engaging in politics as well as degrade and lost their social values in their communities. Most of them expressed the arbitrary detentions and other inhuman treatments political activists are facing, whether they are engaging in a democratic manners or not, via posing ordinary pretexts as a reason for their fear of participating in political activities.

Interviewee 08 had said the following on this regard;

*I don't feel freedom to participate in varied political activities. Because, it becomes a norm that participation does bring no difference/change or else yield unnecessary sacrifices such as tortures, intimidations, arbitrary detentions and the like. Besides, we are seeing that what the government's irresponsible measurements in response to the unarmed peaceful demonstrators. (April 29, 2020).*

On its part, *Injibara* town administration youth and sport bureau officer (Interviewee 10) has said that:

*The fear of the town's youth to clearly and confidently express their interests, preferences and problems is one of the challenges for the incumbent government to understand and respond to youth interests and problems in their deeds (April 21, 2020).*

Although with the coming of prosperity party in Ethiopia there is some improvements of political freedoms, but in my personal observation too, what I have observed is that discussions about political issues or problems are something unusual and fearful. Many lack the freedom to communicate and debate on public policies and strategies, issues of the day to day government administration and activities of politicians. Therefore, it appears that the politics of fear is one of the main challenges halting the town's youth political participation. The fundamental political socialization problems experienced and the practical lessons that continued to present in today's Ethiopia by the agents of the incumbent and other political institutions are driving the youth to distant and away youth from politics and political participation.

#### **4.5.6 Political Repression of the Incumbent Government**

As it can be seen in the above table 4.2: Most of the questionnaire respondents 105 or (87.5%) participants reported that they have no free political environment which encourages the youth association to be active participant in the political activities in *Injibara* town administration. Some of the participants 15 or (12.5%) agreed that there is free political environment which encourages the youth association to be active participant in the political activities in *Injibara* town administration.

Based on the respondents idea that described in the open-ended questionnaire, Political repression by government refers to the arbitrarily arrest and detention, harassment and torture and other ill-treatment by the police, military, and other members of the security forces to punish those who are politically active group of individuals and opposition leaders. It also includes systematically repression of failing to provide police and security protection when citizens requested, not allowing them to exercise their right of peaceful demonstration as well as non-inclusion of opposition parties in representative institutions of the country (Earl, 2011; Davenport, 2007).

In line with this interviewee 05 had said the following;

*As for me political repression of the incumbent government include direct and indirect physical sanctions against the youth associations such as torture and harassments on the members and supporters of contending forces is some of the challenging behaviors which limit the involvement of youth associations in the sphere of politics (May,12, 2020).*

Supporting the above respondent the interviewee 07 stated the following;

*Members of the youth association who are found supporting the opposition party will be faced violent attacks and arbitrary detention by the police and armed forces and this has been become the culture of Ethiopian politics. Local officials and EPRDF currently known as prosperity party members regularly target on the leaders of opposition parties, party offices and on the members of the opposition party through a variety of tactics: threats and harassment, closing party offices, breaking up meetings, denying them access to state resources and the like are among few of the government repression mechanisms of the members of youth associations so as to restrict us not to participate in politics through closing the playing field(May, 14, 2020)*

Generally speaking, as the data clearly shows above there is no free political environment which encourages the youth associations to be active participant in the socioeconomic and political affairs of the country. They need to be the mere followers of the ruling party, they are not free to support and make a political campaign for opposition parties. Therefore because of these many of challenges youth associations couldn't involve in the political sphere of their locality in particular and at country level in general.

#### **4.6 Opportunities of Youth Associations in Political Participations**

This section discovered the major fertile conditions for youth associations to participate in different political activities. Political Participation in the democratic life of any community is not only voting or standing for election, but also having the right, the means, the space and the opportunity to participate.

**Table 4.3: Opportunities of youth associations in political participations**

N o	Opportunities of youth associations in political participations	Agreed		Undecided		Disagree	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
1	There is availability of media accesses to express political feelings	96	80	4	3	20	17
2	There is a multi-party system or different political parties are competing in the study area	112	93	0	0	8	7

#### **4.6.1 The Existence of Social Media**

Based on table 4.3 most of the respondents 96(80%) agreed on the availability of alternative medias that can create awareness about political participations to the youths. Whereas 20(17%) of the respondents disagree on the existence of alternative medias to create awareness about political participations to youths. The remaining 4(3%) of the respondents did not decided about alternative Medias.

As the open ended respondents stated that, now a day's Face book is becoming an important tool to mobilize, to create political awareness and political efficacy within the mind of the public and to bring socioeconomic and political reform in many countries in the world in general and in our country in particular. Therefore, social media plays a significant opportunity for the youth associations to actively play, deal and discuss in the political system of the country.

In line with this interviewee 08 had said the following;

*I have basically used Face book for political purpose. Through Face book I have tried to express my political views and ideas to my Face book friends and discuss and share political issues. Face book provides a great opportunity for me to express my views on different political issues and share political ideas with my friends freely. However, the importance of social media in a country should not be dependent on the number of news disseminated to the public but on the quality of the information (April, 29, 2020).*

As the data given by the key informants above social media like email, telegram and Face book, plays a significant role in the political training of the youth associations and fostering a sense of political efficacy and political participation by informing them about policies and strategies of the government and its weak and good lessons as well as the day today activities of government officials to the public and this will facilitate them to make a sound discourse, to battle with different ideas and to express ones views with regard to the socio economic and political affair of the state and to show anti-systemic sentiments.

However, with regard to the importance of social media for political participation, the key informant noted that while using social media and the information which is released through social media one has to care of the reality of the information. Unless or otherwise it misleads individuals to do something wrong, to perceive and understand something wrongly and risky.

Interviewee 04 had said the following for social media and its opportunities for political protest;

*In our country in general and in our locality in particular different protest activities such as boycotting government commodities and services, road blocking, set on fire the houses of political leaders, sit-ins, street demonstrations, revealing the secrets and mal-practices of the incumbent government institutions have been facilitated through the use of social media. However, recognizing the influence of the social media, the government had made enormous efforts to block the social media in our country in different times (April, 17, 2020).*

Based on the data above the ever-growing numbers of social media outlets and other web-based tools has played a huge role in reinforcing young people's activism and political participation, providing a vehicle for young people to learn about, participate in, and mobilize around political and social issues. Therefore, social media enables the youth associations to participate in different political activities, in *Injibara* town Administration.

#### **4.6.2 The Presence of Multi-party System**

As it is shown in the above table 4.3: 112 participants (93%) agreed on the existence of different political parties in the *Injibara* town administration. On the other way, 8 participants (7%) were not agreed on the existence of multi-party system on the study area. Based on the above data we understand that there are different political parties in *Injibara* town administration.

Based on the respondents' idea, Political parties play a key role for facilitating the youth associations to participate in the political system of the state. For instance the availability of multi-party system within a country provides an opportunity for the youth associations to debate and argue on the different socio- economic and political conditions of the country in line with the policies and strategies of the existing parties, which could address and benefit the interests of the youth and as well the nation.

Political parties with their policies and strategies are therefore the means and channels for the youth associations for mobilizing them to participate in any political activity within the state. As Heywood, (2002), political parties are vital political institutions for the functioning of a modern democracy or organization of the modern democratic polity as well as political pluralism. They are crucial actors in aggregating interests and developing competing policy proposals that provide people with a choice (Paye, 2007, Matlosa, 2007, Mohamed Salih, and Nordlund, 2007).

In line with this interviewee 06 has said the following;

*The existence of multi-party system in a particular country will provide a significant opportunity for the youth associations in particular and for the people in general by creating several policy options, preferences and political ideologies and so that they will be mobilized and interested to actively involved in political activities (May, 16, 2020).*

As Merara (2003), the year 1991 was the turning point in multi-party politics of Ethiopia. After many years of centralized and one party rule, the country has started to follow multi-party system by attempting to modernize Ethiopian multi-ethnic society within the ethnic based government system and multiparty democracy. The 1991 transitional charter has assumed multiparty politics in Ethiopia by declaring every Ethiopian has the right to engage in unrestricted political activities and to organize political party for the purpose of achieving political power through peaceful means.

To conclude, based on the data provided above the social media and the existence of multi -party system are basically the most fertile conditions which provides for the youth associations an opportunity to actively involved in different political activities in *Injibara* town Administration.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

This study assessed practices, challenges and opportunities of youth political participation in *Amhara* regional State in the case of Awi zone, *Injibara* town administration. The study attempted to address the three basic objectives: assessing the practices of youth associations in political participation, identifying the challenges of youth associations in political participation and examining the opportunities of youth associations in political participation.

Concerning the practices of youth associations in political participation, the study is meant to look at both the conventional and unconventional kind of political practices. So that the practice of the youth associations is examined on voting in election, party membership and activism, attending public meetings and participation in protest (unconventional) political activities.

When the study assessed the practice of youth associations voting in election; the finding reveals that the participation of youth in both general and local elections is very low. By rationalizing that even though different national and local elections had been conducted by this very regime so as to show the ruling party as a democratic party in the eyes of the Ethiopian people and the international community, none of the elections are free, fair and democratic, intimidation, lack of impartiality of election administrators and lack of governments interest in power transfer by voting results are the reasons for low participation of youths in voting in election.

The study had also tried to examine the participation of youth associations in party membership and activism; the finding reveals that they need to restrain themselves from being the member of either the ruling party or any of the opposition parties in the study area and in our country. It is because of their perception that there is no any difference or change that they could bring by involving in party membership rather than exposing themselves for arbitrary detention and torture by the ruling party.

The study had also investigated the practice of youth associations in attending public meetings and the finding shows that the youths have no interest to participate in public meetings. The reasons for not participate in public meeting indicated that, many of the public meetings are not

problem solving; They are just simply organized and called by government agents so as to get the assurance of the decisions they had passed in their offices regardless of what the public feels about; Lack of trust on the practicability of decisions made; Many issues have been raised redundantly but remain unsolved and some basic community problems are neglected to be talked.

The other focusing areas of the study is assessing the practice of youth associations in political protest activities and so that the finding showed that majority of the members of the youth associations are much interested in political protest which is unconventional kind of political activities. Their rationality for preferring such kind of political activity is that in Ethiopia there is no conducive political environment which inspires them to involve in conventional kind of political activity, due to the problem of mass unemployment, unfair distribution of wealth and social service, repressive measurements of the government, glaring corruption and mal-administration, ethnic based conflict in different Ethiopian universities, the question of border demarcation of *Amhara* region, the question of female students at Dembi Dello University and hopelessness to bringing changes via democratic methods like voting, party activism and public discussions.

The study revealed that the youths have various challenges that hinder in their political participation, such as institutional and structural challenges, attitudinal challenges, socio-economic challenges, lack of political knowledge, fear of politics and political repression of the incumbent government.

The finding revealed that youth associations did not have trust on government institutions and its structure in *Injibara* town administration, because of the problem of government and its structure. Such as, lack of responsiveness of political leaders and institutions to the interest of youths; inability to hear and respond to critical issues of the youth; inability of the system to punish its corrupt administrative officials; consideration of the youth as cause of problems not as part of solutions; lack of leadership qualities of political leaders and so on.

The finding also showed that, youths have negative attitude and interest to participate in political activities, because of youths distrust towards the existing political system; youths feeling of powerlessness to contribute their quotas in the politics of their country; hopelessness to see

political changes and they believe of youths participation in the existing political system bring nothing except losing one's freedom.

Also the study revealed that, the nature and level of socio-economic challenges, such as, unemployment, lack of enough time, unfair wealth and social service distribution issues negatively affected youth's political participation in *Injibara* town administration.

The study finding had also revealed that, lack of political knowledge of government officials negatively influence youth's political participation. Such as, the appointment of *kebele* political leaders from the above (center) based on their political loyalty and merely serving the interests of those in power; limited political knowledge of government officials; inability to give speedy answer for immediate critical question and networked rent seeking activities of leaders.

The study showed that government agents and security forces undemocratic treatments against those who are active participants, arbitrary detentions, intimidation and the like are the basic reason for the youth to develop the feeling of fear towards participating in political activities. Arbitrary detention of members of the opposing parties, closing of the opposing party offices, breaking up meetings, denying them access to state resources, non-inclusion of opposition parties in representative institutions, failing to provide security protection and ill treatment by the security members are few of the government repression mechanisms of the government so, restrict youths to participate in politics.

Lastly, the study had also tried to identify the opportunities of youth to engage in political participation. With regard to opportunities of youth associations in political participation the finding revealed that; even though there is no conducive political environment which encourages the youth association for political participation; the existence of social media and the presence of political parties (multi-party system) provides some kind of political opportunity for them to take part and express their political views and understandings in the political process of their country. Here, the study indicated that the existence of social media like, face book, telegram and email plays a significant opportunity for the youth to create awareness to deal and discuss in the political system of the country. Using information which is released through social media, one has to care of the reality of the information, unless it leads in to conflict. The presence of multi-party system with in a country provides an opportunity for the youth to debate and discuss on the different socio-economic and political conditions of the country, they mobilize the youth to

participate in any political activity within the state, and they develop competing policy proposals that provide people with a choice and they lobby and influence the ruling government.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The researcher's examination on the youth political participation in *Injibara* town administration yield the overall status of their participation in formal political activities (particularly voting in elections, party membership and attending public meetings) is low. The interest and engagement in the informal and illegal sorts of political activities is high. This is due to lack of suitable political environment which inspires them to involve in conventional kind of political activity.

An investigation on the challenges of youth political participation observed the institutional and structural challenges, attitudinal challenges, socio-economic challenges, lack of political knowledge, fear of politics and political repression of the incumbent government.

Democratic system is a result of popular participation. The people are the ultimate holders of political power and decision makers, directly or via their representatives. In order for the establishment of a democratic political culture where every citizen are part of the decision making process, the existence of conducive political environment which could equip the citizenry the necessary political knowledge and skills of participation to influence the overall political process is vital per se. To this effect, citizens have to possess opportunities to influence politics. They need to possess the full political rights that are needed for political influence such as the right to vote, to form and work for political parties and organizations, to petition the government, rights of free speech, press, assembly and so forth. Nonetheless, the mere recognition of such privileges is none sense if not backed in practice.

The existence of fear of punishment and mutual suspicion, system distrust, lack of the culture of political discussion, political inefficacy and economic inefficiency suffer youth political activism. This condition could sway the youth to develop the attitude of political pessimism which could result in political apathy at all or lead the youth choose and follow force-laden violent activities detrimental to the country's sustainable peace and consolidation of a democratic political order. Therefore, the issues and problems of the youth should not be denied and has to get timid solution. Moreover, they need to take part in the overall political process of the country including participants in the policy makings of the government executives. Needless to mention,

the existing negative political experiences in political habits and beliefs has to be reduced for which the government has to take the spearhead responsibility.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Now a day, the government gave emphasis for the issues and problems of the youth. It includes in the policy frameworks and establishes an independent bureau at different levels of government. Nevertheless, much work and emphasis has to be given for the practical implementation of those policies and strategies so as to make the youth part of the engines of change in all aspects of development including the political ones.

- The government has to create a conducive and participatory political environment which could promote the active engagement of youth in the political process of the country. It has to include the voices of youth in the decision making process.
- political institutions (such as political parties), public media, civil-society organizations, pressure groups and agents of the ruling government has to provide transparent information, create awareness and mobilize the mass to actively engage in the overall political process.
- The youths should participate actively in the political activities to curve the challenges which are negatively influence their participation in politics and take responsibilities of not participate in protest activities. Youths should develop the habit of sharing experience like peace building process, helping the community, how to take responsibilities, how to live with another and how the youth help each other.
- The researcher also recommends interested researchers to work on the mechanisms of enhancing youth activism in the political process of the country. It is better for researchers to focus on the issues of socialization of democratic principles and values with a view to build participatory democratic political system which can entertain the interests of all sections of the society including invulnerable voices of the youth community. Because, the researcher believes that without building democratic political culture it is insignificant to talk about the substantive assessment of people political participation and the challenges.

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## **Appendices-A**

### **ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**College of Education and Behavioral Studies**

**Department of Civics and Ethical Studies**

**Post Graduate Program**

#### **Youth questionnaire:**

Dear respondents,

I am a post graduate student at Addis Ababa University, department of civics and ethical studies. Currently, I am conducting a study on the assessment of practices, challenges and opportunities of youth political participation in Awi zone, *Injibara* town administration. Accordingly, this questionnaire is prepared to gather data on the assessment of practices and challenges of youth political participation: the case of Awi zone, *Injibara* town administration. Thus you are kindly requested to respond the questions sincerely and thoughtfully. All information provided shall be treated as confidential and used strictly for this research purpose only.

Please, put a thick mark (✓) on the given spaces.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation!

#### **Respondents back ground information**

1. Gender: male \_\_\_ Female \_\_\_

2. Age: 18-20 years \_\_\_ 21-25 years \_\_\_ 26-29 years \_\_\_

3. Level of education: Illiterate \_\_\_ Adult Education \_\_\_ Primary Education \_\_\_  
Secondary Education \_\_\_ Certificate \_\_\_ First Degree \_\_\_ Master's Degree \_\_\_

4. Kebele: 02 \_\_\_ 03 \_\_\_ 05 \_\_\_

5. Use scale where: 1- strongly agree, 2 –Agree, 3 –Undecided, 4- Disagree and 5- Strongly disagree.

The following statements relate to how Youths participate in political participations, challenges that hindered their participations and what are opportunities to participate in political participations. How those issues reflected in your kebele?

**Please tick what you agree for the following questions**

<b>No</b>	<b>Part one: Actual practice of Youths' participation in political activities</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	You have participated during Ethiopian voting elections and have motives to the future					
2	You are participating as a party membership and a rational activism					
3	You are participating in attending at public meetings					
4	You are participating in unconventional political activities					
	<b>Part two: Challenges of youths' participation in political activities</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	You have trust on government institution activities and leadership qualities of political leaders					
2	You have good attitude, interest and commitment to participate in political activities of your locality and the country at large					
3	You have enough time, resource and motivations to participate in political activities					
4	The appointment of your locality political leaders are based on the political knowledge of individuals					
5	You are free from fear of politics to participate in political activities					
6	There is free political environment which encourages the youth association to be active participant in the political activities					
	<b>Part three: Opportunities of youths to participate in political activities</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	There is availability of media access to express political feelings					
2	There is a multi-party system or different political parties are competing in the study area					

## Open-Ended Questionnaires

1. How can you express the practical application of your own in the political participation?

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2. How can you explain personal interest and motivation towards participating in different political activities?

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3. In what political activities you participate more? Why?

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4. What are challenges that affect as a youth in the political participation?

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5. What opportunities do you have encourage your political participation?

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Thank you for cooperation

Addis Ababa University

April, 2020

**የአማርኛ ትርጉም**  
**አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ**

**የማህበራዊ ሳይንስና ስነ ባህሪ ኮሌጅ**

የሥነ ዜጋና ሥነ ምግባር ትምህርት ክፍል የማስተርስ መርሀ ግብር ማሟያ ለወጣቶች የጽሁፍ መጠይቅ።

**ውድ ወጣቶች፡-**

እኔ በአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የሥነ ዜጋና ሥነ ምግባር ትምህርት ክፍል የሁለተኛ ዲግሪ ተማሪ ነኝ። በአሁኑ ሰዓት በአዊ ዞን እንጅባራ ከተማ አስተዳደር የወጣቶች የፓለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ አተገባበርና የአጋጠሙ እንቅፋቶችን መዳሰስ በሚል ርዕስ ጥናት እያካሄድኩ እገኛለሁ። በመሆኑም ይህ የጽሁፍ መጠይቅ የተዘጋጀው ለዚህ ጥናት ግብዓት የሚሆን መረጃ ከእናንተ ከወጣቶች ለመሰብሰብ ነው። በጽሁፍ መጠይቁ የምትሰጡት ማንኛውም መረጃ በጥንቃቄ የሚያዝ ሲሆን መረጃውም ለዚህ ጥናት ዓላማ ብቻ የሚወልድ ይሆናል። ስለዚህ ጥያቄዎችን በማንበብ ጥንቃቄ ትመልሱ ዘንድ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ።

እባክዎ እርስዎን የሚገልፀው ባዶ ሳጥን ዉስጥ የራይጥ (✓) ምልክት ያድርጉ።

ስለትብብር በቅድሚያ አመሰግናለሁ።

**የተሳታፊዎች አጠቃላይ መረጃ**

1. ያታ፡- ወንድ-----ሴት-----
2. ዕድሜ፡- ከ18 - 20 ዓመታት \_\_\_\_\_ ከ21 - 25 ዓመታት-----ከ26- 29 ዓመታት-----
3. የትምህርት ደረጃ፡- ያልተማረ-----የጎልማሳ ት/ት-----የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ት/ት-----  
ሁለተኛ ደረጃ ት/ት-----ስርተፊኬት-----ዲፕሎማ-----ዲግሪ-----ማስተርስ-----
4. ቀበሌ፡- 02-----03-----05-----
5. 1=በጣም እስማማለሁ፤ 2=እስማማለሁ፤ 3=እርግጠኛ አይደለሁም፤ 4=አልስማማም፤  
5=በጣም አልስማማም

ተ. ቁ	ክፍል አንድ: የወጣቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ	1	2	3	4	5
1	እርስዎ ከዚህ በፊት በሃገራዊና በአካባቢያዊ ምርጫ ላይ ተሳትፈዋል፡ ለወደፊትም የመሳተፍ ፍላጎት አለዎት።					
2	እርስዎ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ አባልና ተሳታፊ ሆነው ያውቃሉ					
3	በህዝባዊ ስብሰባዎች /ውይይቶች/ ላይ ተሳትፈው ያውቃሉ					
4	የሀገሪቱን ፖለቲካዊ ሁኔታ ተቃውመው ህጋዊ ባልሆነ መንገድ ፖለቲካዊ እንቅስቃሴ አድርገዋል					
	<b>ክፍል ሁለት: ወጣቶች በፖለቲካ ጉዳዮች ላይ እንዲሳተፉ የሚያደርጉ እንቅፋቶች</b>	1	2	3	4	5
1	እርስዎ በመንግስት ተቆማት አሠራርና በፖለቲካ አመራሮች ብቃት እምነትና እርካታ አላቸው					
2	እርስዎ በአካባቢያዊ ፖለቲካዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ለመሳተፍ ፍላጎት፤ ተነሳሽነትና ቁርባኝነት አላቸው					
3	በፖለቲካዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ለመሳተፍ በቂ የሆነ ጊዜ፤ ሀብት፤ ዕውቀትና ማህበራዊ ክህሎት አላቸው					
4	የእርስዎ ቀበሌ አመራሮች ሹመት በግለሰቦች ፖለቲካዊ ዕውቀት ላይ የተመሠረተ ነው					
5	በፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ላይ ሲሳተፉ ነጻነት ይሰማዎታል					
6	ወጣቶች በፖለቲካ ጉዳዮች ላይ እንዲሳተፉ የሚያደርጉ ነፃና ምቹ ሁኔታዎች አሉ					
	<b>ክፍል ሦስት: ወጣቶች በፖለቲካ ጉዳዮች ላይ እንዲሳተፉ የሚያደርጉ መልካም አጋጣሚዎች</b>	1	2	3	4	5
1	ወጣቶች የፖለቲካ ስሜታቸውን ለመግለፅ የሚረዱ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያዎች አሉ					
2	በእርዎ አካባቢ መድበለ ፓርቲ ወይም የተለያዩ ተፎካካሪ ፓርቲዎች አሉ					

**ማብራሪያ የሚሹ ጥያቄዎች**

**መመሪያ:** የሚከተሉትን ጥያቄዎች ያንብቡና መልስዎን በተሰጡት ባዶ ቦታዎች ላይ ይፃፉ።

1. የእርስዎን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ እንዴት ይገልጹታል?

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2. እርስዎ በተለያዩ ፖለቲካዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ለመሳተፍ ያለዎትን ፍላጎትና ተነሳሽነት እንዴት ይገልጹታል?

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3. በምን በምን የፖለቲካ እንቅስቃሴዎች ላይ የበለጠ ተሳትፏዎል? ለምን?

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4. የወጣቶችን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ የሚገድቡ እንቅፋቶች ምን ምን ናቸው?

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5. ወጣቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ እንዲያደርጉ የሚያበረታቱ ምቹ ሁኔታዎች ምን ምን ናቸው?

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**ስለትብብርዎ አመሰግናለሁ!**

**አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ**

**ሚያዝያ፣ 2012**

## **APPENDICES-B**

### **ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

#### **College of Education and Behavioral Studies**

#### **Department of Civics and Ethical Studies**

#### **Post Graduate Program**

#### **Interview Guide Line Questions for the Youth**

The questions bellow are basic questions the researcher used while interview along with other probing questions.

1. In which political activities you participate more? How far your participation brings change in the national politics?
2. Which types of political activities you feel the youth has to prefer in order for their issues and problems to be heard?
3. How can you explain the activities of your locality political leaders in relation to encouraging your political participation?
4. Which challenges constrain your participation in politics?
5. In what ways could the youth get their issues and problems in the eyes of concerned bodies?
6. Do you have opportunities that encourage you to participate in political activities?

### የወጣቶች የቃለ መጠይቅ ጥያቄዎች

1. በምን በምን የፖለቲካ እንቅስቃሴዎች ላይ የበለጠ ተሳትፈዋል፤ የእርስዎ ተሳትፎ በአከባቢዎና በሃገር ላይ ምን ምን ለውጥ አምጥቶል?
2. ወጣቶች በየትኛው የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ ላይ ቢሳተፉ ችግራችን ይፈታል ብለው ያስባሉ?
3. የአከባቢዎትን የፖለቲካ መሪዎችን እንቅስቃሴ ከወጣቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ ጋር እንዴት ያዩታል?
4. የወጣቶችን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ የሚገድቡ እንቅፋቶችን ይግለጹ?
5. የወጣቶችን አንገብጋቢ ጉዳዮችንና ችግሮችን የሚመለከተው አካል እንዲያዳምጥ ምንምን መንገዶችን ይከተላሉ?
6. ወጣቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ እንዲያደርጉ የሚያበረታቱ ምቹ ሁኔታዎች ምን ምን ናቸው?

## APPENDICES- C

### ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

#### College of Education and Behavioral Studies

#### Department of Civics and Ethical Studies

#### Post Graduate Program

#### Interview Questions to *Injibara* town administration youth affairs office and other related institutions.

**Introduction:** Good morning/afternoon, “My name is Tadele Tegegne, I am a post graduate student of civics & ethics at Addis Ababa University” The objective of this research is to assess the practices, challenges and opportunities of urban youth political participation in *Injibara* Town Administration. Your answer kept confidential & your name is not written on this form and the outcome of this study will only use for academic purpose.

Thank you for your collaboration!!

1. How can you describe the participation of *Injibara* town administration youth political participation.
2. In which political activities the town’s youth are participating?
3. In What political activities the town’s youth are engaging which are considered as illegal and inappropriate ways of influencing the political process by existing government?
4. How can you describe the town’s youth political knowledge, motivation and willingness to participate in politics?
5. What challenges could limit the youth political activism in the town? How?
6. What your office is doing to address the aforementioned challenges?
7. What will you add about the current nature, the level, and challenges of Youth political Participation in *Injibara* town administration?

Yours sincerely

Addis Ababa, University

Aprils, 2020

# አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ

## የማህበራዊ ሳይንስና ስነ ባህሪ ኮሌጅ

### የሥነ ዜጋና ሥነ ምግባር ትምህርት ክፍል

ለእንጅባራ ከተማ አስተዳደር ለወጣቶች ጉዳይ ቢሮ እና ለሌሎች ለሚመለከታቸው የመንግስት አካላት የተዘጋጀ የቃለ መጠይቅ ጥያቄዎች።

እኔ በአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የሥነ ዜጋና ሥነ ምግባር ትምህርት ክፍል የሁለተኛ ዲግሪ ተማሪ ነኝ። በአሁኑ ሰዓት በአዊ ዞን እንጅባራ ከተማ አስተዳደር የወጣቶች የፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ አተገባበርና የአጋጠሙ እንቅፋቶችን መዳሰስ በሚል ርዕስ ጥናት እያካሄድኩ እገኛለሁ። በመሆኑም ይህ የጽሑፍ መጠይቅ የተዘጋጀው ለዚህ ጥናት ግብዓት የሚሆን መረጃ ከእናንተ ለመሰብሰብ ነው። በጽሑፍ መጠይቁ የምትሰጡት ማንኛውም መረጃ በጥንቃቄ የሚያዝ ሲሆን መረጃውም ለዚህ ጥናት ዓላማ ብቻ የሚወልድ ይሆናል። ስለዚህ ጥያቄዎችን በማንበብ በጥንቃቄ ትመልሱ ዘንድ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ።

1. በእንጅባራ ከተማ አስተዳደር የወጣቶችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ እንዴት ይገልፁታል?
2. በምን በምን የፖለቲካ ጉዳዮች ላይ የከተማ ወጣቶች ተሳትፎ ያደርጋሉ?
3. የእንጅባራ ከተማ ወጣቶች በምን በምን የፖለቲካ ጉዳዮች ላይ ሲሳተፉ ነው አሁን ባለው ገጂ መንግስት ህገወጥ ድርጊት የሚባለው?
4. የከተማ ወጣቶች በፖለቲካ ውስጥ ለመሳተፍ ያላቸውን ፖለቲካዊ ዕውቀትና ፍላጎት እንዴት ይገልፁታል?
5. በከተማ ውስጥ የወጣቶችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ሊገደቡ የሚችሉ እንቅፋቶች ምን ምን ናቸው? እንዴት?
6. ከላይ የተጠቀሱ እንቅፋቶችን ለማስወገድ የእናንተ ቢሮ ምን ምን ተግባራትን አከናውኖል?
7. በአሁኑ ሰዓት በከተማ ውስጥ ያለውን የወጣቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ ባህሪ፣ ደረጃ፣ ምክንያቶችንና እንቅፋቶችን እንዴት ይገልፁታል?

**Table 5: Table of the Interviews, coding, place of Interviews, and remarks**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Interviewee Code</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Place of Interview</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
1	01	04/05/2020	<i>Injibara</i> town Administration	Youth
2	02	23/05/2020	“	Youth
3	03	16/04/2020	“	Youth
4	04	17/04/2020	“	Youth
5	05	12/05/2020	“	Youth representative
6	06	16/05/2020	“	Youth affairs office
7	07	14/05/2020	“	Youth representative
8	08	29/04/2020	“	Youth
9	09	11/05/2020	“	Election board manager
10	10	21/04/2020	“	Youth and sport bureau officer
11	11	04/05/2020	“	Youth
12	12	21/04/2020	“	Youth representative
13	13	18/04/2020	“	Youth
14	14	15/05/2020	“	youth
15	15	18/04/2020	“	Youth