Youth realities, aspirations, transitions to adulthood and opportunity structures in the drylands of Ethiopia

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Summary

The main aim of this study was to assess youth realities, aspirations, perceptions, challenges, opportunity structures and transitions in dryland agricultural livelihoods in Ethiopia. The research aims to understand how young people’s aspirations are formed, and how they relate to outcomes and life choices for the youth in dryland areas. The study was conducted in four districts of Oromia and Amhara Regional States. The research sites were purposively selected to meet the following criteria: (i) ICRISAT intervention sites (ii) in the drylands, (iii) availability of legumes and cereals, (iv) possibilities for comparisons between the locations, (v) relative peace and security, (vi) road access, and (vii) willingness to host the research. A qualitative comparative case study design was followed. Data were collected from 92 male and female respondents in the four districts. Semi-structured interviews were conducted using focus group discussion (FGD), life history interviews (LHI), and key informant interviews (KII).

“Youth” are defined in various ways, depending on where they live, what they do, what resources they own, etc. Using age as a major descriptor of youth is narrow, and misleading. Youth is a social construct, defined by themselves, by the broader society and by the specific culture they belong to. Socio-cultural norms, a gendered division of labour, and access to resources are the most important parameters for defining youth across cultures.

The aspirations of youth are driven by a common goal to improve one’s income, family, and quality of life. Such aspirations are shaped by social, cultural, environmental, and political realities and exposure to social media. Aspirations are also gendered. Social and cultural norms and the gendered division of labour, and the expectations of family and community shape the aspirations of male and female youth.

Youth transition is not a linear process. It is complex and dynamic, involving social, cultural, environmental, and political events and structures that influence youth aspirations, and their ability to take advantage of opportunities. Male and female youth have specific paths of transitions, which determine how access to certain resources (such as land and time) are distributed, hence presenting different challenges and opportunities for the two genders.

There are economic opportunities and support structures that can facilitate the engagement of the youth in dryland agricultural value chains. However, access and opportunities are often hampered by the lack of political commitment to youth issues, youths’ limited awareness of opportunities, unfamiliarity with bureaucracy, and massive corruption. Some of the stumbling blocks that constrain the engagement of male and female youth in agriculture include, lack of inclusive and context-specific rural financial services, land scarcity, limited technical capacity and knowledge of modern agricultural practices, limited access to extension services, limited markets, exploitative brokers, drought, erratic rainfall, poor rural infrastructure, and resource-based conflict. Available opportunities are also gendered. Females are often excluded from inheriting land, and burdened with domestic drudgery. Negative cultural perceptions against women’s engagement in agriculture and income-generating activities limit the ability of female youth to engage in dryland agricultural value chains.

Male and female youth respect and like agriculture and rural life in general. The popular narrative that portrays youth as haters of agriculture and rural life is mistaken. However, youths are gradually losing interest in dryland crop agriculture. This declining interest in agriculture is due to the lack of support to the sector and to the youth, but it is not a negative perception of agriculture. Male and female youth actively participate in agricultural production and are interested in participating in post-harvest activities, such as marketing, processing, and packaging.

Most of the dryland youth function in a complex and unforgiving environment with limited services and support. The male and female youth are constrained by social, cultural, economic, environmental, knowledge-based and political realities, shaping their aspirations and ability to take
advantage of opportunities. Youth are often misunderstood, stereotyped, alienated, and excluded from decisions pertaining to their future and livelihood. Sustainable development and economic growth of dryland agriculture can only be assured through the active engagement of the youth and by respecting their aspirations. No agricultural policies will succeed if youth are excluded. The youth make up the majority of the dryland workforce. Dryland agriculture needs the youth and the youth need agriculture. This symbiotic relationship should be supported by policies, strategies and support structures to mainstream youth in agriculture. Recommendations on how to facilitate youth engagement in dryland agricultural value chains include: adopting context specific approaches to understanding youth, address gender-based discrimination in access to resources, ensure availability of locally adapted and gender-responsive rural finance, streamline bureaucratic rules, train the youth as value chain actors and rural service providers, create market links, provide rural infrastructure that can support youth engagement in agriculture, promote the production of high value, early maturing, drought-resilient and disease-resistant crop varieties.

1. Introduction

Africa has the largest youth population: 35% of the continent’s people (AfDB 2016). Most youth in Africa live in rural areas where farming is the dominant livelihood activity. Up to 70% of youth in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) work in agriculture, and with rising levels of land scarcity, not all rural young people will be able to operate their own farms. For instance, in Ethiopia six out of ten farm households cultivate less than one hectare of land. A growing youth population poses a challenge in terms of ensuring access to land and to a livelihood. Alternative forms of land acquisition are also restrictive. For instance, according to Ethiopian policy, land cannot be purchased or rented on a long-term basis from other farmers (Bezu and Holden 2014). The rural youth in Ethiopia make up most of the poor. They suffer from continuous hunger, policy shocks, migration, conflict, and internal displacement. Since job opportunities for the youth are limited, parents provide employment for their young family members on farms. Youth are an important part of the labour force, assuming responsibility in different agricultural activities. Nonetheless, limited attention has been given to the youth, their aspirations and their source of livelihood. Provided that they are supported, rural youth can become powerful engines of rural transformation. Their potential can be unlocked, through designing inclusive and pro-poor social and economic projects that promote their empowerment and economic independence. It is critical to find ways to address growing youth unemployment through youth entrepreneurship programs.

Boosting youth’s agri-preneurial capacities is one of the policy directions of the Ethiopian government. This is also at the centre of local as well as global initiatives such as the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP I and II) of Ethiopia, Africa Agenda 2063, and the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). All of these initiatives emphasise supporting and building innovation capacities of the youth to facilitate their livelihoods. They also underscore the importance of diversifying livelihood opportunities for rural youth, expanding access to rural infrastructure and capacity-building programs that transform youth entrepreneurial capacity so they can take advantage of agricultural value chain activities. This requires understanding the environment where the dryland youth operate, how their aspirations are formed, how those aspirations relate to outcomes and life choices, existing opportunity structures, support mechanisms, and challenges.

The current study aims to assess youth realities, aspirations, perceptions, challenges, opportunity structures and transitions in dryland agriculture. The study aims to explain: i) who the dryland youths are and their aspirations and values; ii) youthful realities, and transitions in dryland agriculture; iii) opportunity structures for youth that enable successful transitions into adulthood; iv) challenges youth face while transitioning to adulthood, and v) youth perceptions and participation in drylands agricultural value chains and how they can engage youth.
2. Method

Approaches and design of the study

This study is based on a qualitative approach with a comparative case study research design. The study was conducted in four selected districts of Amhara and Oromia regional states. Field work was conducted in four selected kebeles (the lowest administrative unit in Ethiopia). Data was collected for 50 days between December 2019 and February 2020. The research sites were purposively selected according to the following criteria: i) ICRISAT intervention sites, ii) in the drylands, iii) producing legumes and cereals, iv) allowing comparisons between the locations and elsewhere v) relative security, vi) road access, and vii) willingness to host the research. In Ethiopia, administrative and development activities are organised based along kebele (community) lines (Figure 1).

Types, source, and methods of data collection

Data were collected from 95 male and female purposively sampled respondents in the four districts (within the two regions). All the respondents mentioned in this study were identified by their actual names, based on their consent.

Data were collected using key informant interviews (KII), life history interviews (LHI), and focus group discussions (FGD). All interviews were conducted using a separate semi-structured interview checklist for the different data collection techniques (see Appendix 1, Appendix 2, and Appendix 3).

Thirty-three KII were conducted with various categories of respondents (Table 1). Key informants were identified with the help of the District Bureau of Agriculture and local development agents. The KII provided social, economic, cultural, political, agricultural, and background information about the community where the project is operating, to help interpret results from the research (Figure 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of respondents</th>
<th>Development agents, frontline extension workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health extension workers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local elders (opinion leaders)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local youth group leader</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kebele leader (formal)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional leader (informal)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religious leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male trader</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female trader</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School directors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male school teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female school teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>District youth and gender office officer (GOs)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Progressive farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small &amp; micro enterprises officer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Types of participants for KII.
Twelve FGD were conducted (Table 2). Four types of FGDs were conducted: male youth, female youth, adult mixed (male and female), and youth mixed (male and female) (Figure 3). Each FGD had six to eight participants. The purpose of each FGD was to understand: (i) definitions of dryland youths, their aspirations and values, (ii) community nuances regarding youth transitions, and (iii) transition per each gender. Male and female discussants were asked to define the meaning of "youth", their aspirations and values, and the social, cultural, political, environmental, and economic factors that shape their aspirations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Youth (4)</th>
<th>Female Youth (3)</th>
<th>Adult Mixed (3)</th>
<th>FGD Youth Mixed (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer 1</td>
<td>Early married without child</td>
<td>Female heads of HHs</td>
<td>Farmer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer 2</td>
<td>Early married with child</td>
<td>Male heads of HHs</td>
<td>Farmer 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Elder men</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh graduate</td>
<td>Fresh graduate</td>
<td>Elder women</td>
<td>Fresh graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-farm worker</td>
<td>Non-farm worker</td>
<td>Resource poor</td>
<td>Non-farm worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth leader</td>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>Resource rich</td>
<td>Youth leader</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forty-seven life history interviews (LHI) were conducted in the four districts (27 female and 20 male respondents) (Table 3). The interviews helped explain: (i) the differences in the meaning of transitions between different age groups, (ii) the opportunity structures available to the youth and the unique challenges they face, (iii) which young men and women are able to take advantage of different opportunities, and how they start to engage with a commercial, local economy as producers, workers, business operators, or suppliers of products. Respondents were asked to tell their personal stories of transition, focusing on their childhood dreams and aspirations, events that triggered transition, the challenges they faced, and their current states, aspirations, and opportunity structures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early married and pregnant youth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adult with an early marriage history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returnee youth (male and female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returnee adult (male and female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth from resource poor family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth from resource rich family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth from female-headed household (HHHS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School dropout – male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School dropout – female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer youth – male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer youth – female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH heads from resource rich HHs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH heads resource poor HHs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful youth – male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful youth – female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview checklist. All three tools were translated to Amharic and Afan-Oromo (Appendices 1, 2 and 3). The translated interview guides were evaluated by experts for clarity and accuracy, and pilot-tested in nearby communities. Ambiguous concepts, theoretical ideas and scientific constructs that were difficult to understand were identified.
and revised. Some questions in the checklist were accompanied by vignettes: hypothetical or real scenarios posed to respondents. This was done especially when further clarification was needed for certain sensitive questions and questions with multiple meanings.

Data were collected by skilled enumerators. The enumerators were selected considering their prior experiences in similar activities, gender, knowledge about the local culture and language, and academic background. Considering the complex nature of the data, the authors ensured that all enumerators had master’s degree or above. The enumerators received additional training in Nairobi (by ICRISAT) and at Haramaya University on the data collection tools and on the qualitative approach.

All interviews were recorded on digital audio tapes and in field notes. Every day the field notes were typed and sent to the research lead. The notes for each interview include the date, time, type of interview, name and category of the respondent, location of the interview, and the person involved. The field notes record the type of tool used (FGD, KII, LHI), gender of the respondent (M or F), type of the respondent (youth, local elder, early married and pregnant, etc.), location (Babile, Mieso, etc.), and name of the interviewers (e.g. FGD.M.Youth.Mieso.Getachew & Abdi). Each audio file was saved using the same file name as the field note that corresponds to it. Photographs were also organised in the same way. This allowed linking the field notes with the audio recording later on, to facilitate quick referencing and analysis.

Strategies to ensure trustworthiness and reliability

At every step of data collection, much effort was made to ensure reliability and trustworthiness. Data were triangulated using multiple data sources and methods of data collection: semi-structured interviews and un-structured interviews (casual and informal conversations with local people) and on-site observations. Sometimes, key informants were asked for further clarity. The researchers did not find any substantial differences between the various methods.

Data analysis

Data collection and analysis were iterative and reflexive (Brayman and Burgess 2005). This allowed the researchers to collect useful data while identifying additional information to gather at the next step (Ortlipp 2008). Data were analysed at two levels: in the field and afterwards. Already available data were analysed in a rapid and preliminary way to identify gaps in information and possible explanations to check out during the next interview. Once fieldwork was completed, the data were analysed using combinations of interpretive content analysis (Hardy et al. 2004) and the thematic analysis method. Interpretive content analysis integrates content and discourse analysis. Data were analysed and categorised not only by looking at the text (content), but also at the intention of the speaker, or reaction of the audience (discourse analysis).

Data was analysed in five steps including transcription, cleaning, reviewing, data organisation, coding, categorising into theme, finding patterns of relationships, and interpreting. Since all interviews were conducted in Afan-Oromo or in Amharic, data had to be transcribed and translated. The first step was to transcribe recordings in the Afan-Oromo and Amharic languages. The transcriptions were made by experienced experts. Second, the transcripts were translated to English. Data transcription and translation was full of back and forth between the different groups over about 40 days. Third, data were then cleaned and made presentable. Casual spelling and grammatical errors were corrected; photographs and field notes were linked to each transcript. After cleaning the data, the senior researcher reviewed it, reading each transcript line by line.

At the fourth stage, data were organised by research question and responses. Qualitative data were then coded line by line and organised into themes. The transcriptions were read and reread repeatedly. The coded interview transcripts were then categorised using predefined concepts. Additional coding categories emerged during coding. Based on the themes that emerged, sections with similar themes were created. Finally, patterns of relationship were established between the different categories.

Ethical issues

Entry permit was secured from each respective zone and district. The lead researcher contacted zonal and district officials by phone prior to field work to get their permission. This was followed up by a formal letter from Haramaya University to the zones and districts.

In the field, the interviewees were also asked for their consent, by reading them an informed consent form that included a brief overview of the research, confidentiality and consent (signed by the interviewee) that they are being audio taped. Consent was also asked from every respondent for their photos to be taken and published (if need be).
3. Characterising the youth in the drylands of Ethiopia

Who are the youth in the drylands?

Our respondents from the two regional states gave us their views regarding who the youth are, where they live, what they do, their roles and responsibilities, access to resources, and their social life (such as entertainment, spiritual life, networks and relationships, including social media). They also described youth in terms of age, biological and physical changes, livelihood, access to resources, character attributes, and life style (Figure 5).

Defining youth by age was controversial among respondents from both cultures. At the community level, age was not commonly used to describe youth. Community members use age only when they are forced to do so, such as when they go to hospitals, or when they are asked by government workers. People are unlikely to know the exact age of their children unless they have some formal education. They tell ages by referencing some well-known event such as “I was born when the government announced the Land to the Tiller Policy.” “I gave birth to my first child when the ruling government took office.” Or “My son was born during the Ethio-Eritrea war.” As a result, there was no agreement regarding the age of youth across the regions. However, most respondents from Amhara and Oromia regions considered male youth as people aged 18-30, and the female youth as people aged 12-25. These years also mark the age of marriage in the districts. In some places, the youth were also identified based on the level of maturity to undertake certain activities. For instance, in Shewa Robit and Rayia Qobb, they are considered youth when they are ready for migration to Arab countries (which usually starts from 14 or 15 years of age).

Age as descriptor of male and female youth

Defining youth by age was controversial among respondents from both cultures. At the community level, age was not commonly used to describe youth. Community members use age only when they are forced to do so, such as when they go to hospitals, or when they are asked by government workers. People are unlikely to know the exact age of their children unless they have some formal education. They tell ages by referencing some well-known event such as “I was born when the government announced the Land to the Tiller Policy.” “I gave birth to my first child when the ruling government took office.” Or “My son was born during the Ethio-Eritrea war.” As a result, there was no agreement regarding the age of youth across the regions. However, most respondents from Amhara and Oromia regions considered male youth as people aged 18-30, and the female youth as people aged 12-25. These years also mark the age of marriage in the districts. In some places, the youth were also identified based on the level of maturity to undertake certain activities. For instance, in Shewa Robit and Rayia Qobb, they are considered youth when they are ready for migration to Arab countries (which usually starts from 14 or 15 years of age).

Biological and physical attributes

Physical and mental agility was one of the most widely used identifiers of youth in the study sites. The youth are those who have the physical endurance and the thinking ability to accomplish any given task. A common aphorism was, “A youth is the one who can run and escape from predators, and chase to catch a prey.”

One of the key informants, a religious leader, said the following:

“In the community we define youth as energetic, strong, and productive. The youth have high mental and physical agility. This definition applies to those segments of the community who can run and escape from any danger.”

Respondents also identified male and female youth based on certain biological, sexual changes in the body. Females start to menstruate, grow breasts and pubic hair, and their voice becomes melodious and mesmerizing. Males acquire deeper voices, while growing beards, and pubic hair.

Livelihoods (access to resources, assets, means of livelihood)

The youth were defined by adults as those males and females who live under the custody of their parents and who don’t have their own properties (such as land). The youth (male and female) were widely characterised as jobless, vulnerable, flexible, and mobile. The youth were regarded as migratory, moving from place to place to navigate opportunities in changing circumstances, often by travelling to Arab countries in search of better livelihoods to support themselves and their families.

Most of the youth work on family farms and support their families by agricultural labour. Some also work on irrigated agriculture or grow different types of crops (khat, sorghum, maize, millet, vegetables, etc.), livestock fattening (mostly in Oromia Region and some parts of Amhara). Some work in small shops (in Babile, Mieso District, Shewa Robit), carve cobble stones for construction (Babile and Shewa Robit districts), or work as day labourers for construction companies (both regions).

Behaviour (personal and character attributes)

Respondents described male and female youth differently. The female youth were often described as modest and clean, beautiful, and attentive to details, while the male youth were said to be strong, muscular, hardworking and energetic.

Some adults and government workers saw the youth as restless, impatient, and emotional. People say they youth are too quick to try to achieve things and frustrate easily when they fail. They are also said to be lustful (easily distracted by their sexual drives), and to prefer shortcuts. Adults argued that the youth prefer shortcuts and easy cash more than working in agriculture. Youth are accused of being extravagant (spending their parents’ money), stubborn (difficult to shape), rebellious (not willing to listen to the advice of parents and the elderly), showy (caring about their appearance), and spending time on social media and listening to politics on mainstream media. However, the youth regard themselves as energetic, forward looking, progressive, modern, change seeking, and wanting to improve their lives, but without opportunities to achieve them.

Lifestyle

One of the common characteristics of the youth (especially males) was their linkages with social media and other media platforms. Local people said that the youth follow social media (such as Facebook and IMO) and other media (such as local FM radio) to listen to music, local politics, and the weather forecast. The youth are active in political dialogue and debate among their peers on issues that matter to their livelihood and community. They generally support opposition parties that concentrate on the general improvement of rural youth and the rural economy.

Youth are a heterogeneous category that is socially defined. Their age, as used by agents and organisations to identify the youth is narrow and not very useful for identifying youth at the local level. Organisations and development agents have to understand that the youth cannot be identified by their age only. They have multiple characteristics. A context-specific definition that takes into account some of the characteristics of the youth (such as their mobility, vulnerability to migration, and current livelihood activities) can help program implementers to design their programs in line with the needs of the youth in dryland areas. In the following sections, those characteristics will be elaborated in depth.
4. Youth dreams and aspirations in the drylands

Youth aspirations

Across the four districts, most youth aspirations (both male and female) were driven by a common desire to improve one’s life and family, standard of living, and income. The common aspirations of the youth included buying or building good houses (in town and in the village), marrying a good spouse, getting a better education, starting an enterprise (agriculture-related such as sheep and goat farming, trading), getting rich, becoming good role models, buying cars and trucks).

Most of the youth aspirations are informed by local circumstances including available opportunities, exposure through social media, and peer influence. However, opportunities are limited to fulfill these dreams. The youth mentioned several barriers to achieving their dreams. These include ethnic conflict, early marriage, and death of parents, landlessness, displacement and resettlement, lack of cash, knowledge and skill to start small businesses. Most of the youth are forced to fulfill these dreams by migrating abroad or to urban areas. Migration to Arab countries was a shared dream among the youth respondents in almost all districts. Most of the youth believed that dryland agriculture does not currently generate sufficient income to foster their dreams. Such deep frustrations were identified as major causes for the frequent migration of the youth, leading to the tragic loss of many young lives by drowning in the Mediterranean Sea.

Most youth respondents and families considered migration to be a last resort – after trying other options. Migration is usually taken as a short-term measure to address financial problems. Most youth respondents believe that migration is a necessary evil. It is better than dying of hunger at home. If successful, individuals can earn money to invest in crop and livestock production back home. That is why the drylands are the most eye-catching destination for human traffickers. Human traffickers often take advantage of droughts (after harvest failure) to exploit the frustrations of the youth and persuade them to go to Saudi Arabia.

Youth aspirations are gendered, with marked differences between males and females. Most male youth respondents aspire to become a successful person with good houses and income, whereas the female youth want to get married to a successful man (with a good house, land, cattle, etc.) as early as possible. These different aspirations are shaped by social and cultural norms and by community beliefs. Men are traditionally considered the breadwinners, with the responsibility to take care of the financial needs of their family. Men are expected to acquire the assets before marriage. On the other hand, the females are expected to get married. Though most girls also aspire for education and a good income they are often discouraged for cultural reasons and unavailability of school or distance to it.

That is why as children, most girls dreamed of getting married and starting a family of their own. For instance, Abeb, 18, is a dropout from grade 6 from Shewa Robit, Amhara Regional State. We met Abeb through snowball sampling. She is from a well-to-do family. We met her while she was working at her family’s small shop. Abeb told us that she is engaged to be married soon to a person she never saw before through an arranged marriage – a customary practice in the rural areas of Shewa Robit. She told us that marriage is never her aspiration, but was forced upon her by the local customary practice and by her family’s will that she cannot go against. She said the following about how family members and local culture shape aspirations of male and female children:

“I wanted to study up to grade 8. This is as far as the highest level of academic achievement a female child is expected to attain in this locality (this is also partly because there is no school to continue their high school education in their locality unless they go to Shewa Robit or another town). After that, my plan was to go abroad. In our society, there is a long-held attitude that if a girl child allowed to continue her education (beyond grade 8 and which will be in town), she will misbehave (particularly sexual misconduct and prostitution) and tarnish the name of her family. Therefore, I wanted to go abroad, but this did not happen because I am engaged and about to marry now. During the years I went to school, it was for the sake of getting some knowledge. I wasn’t serious about my education. My parents used to tell me that educated girls will not find a successful marriage. They stay lonely. They also told me that there are no job opportunities for the educated ones. However, my father was clearly biased. He used to discourage me by saying “What would an educated woman do?” He thinks that education will spoil girls. On the other hand, he used to encourage the males. Even if the males drop out of school, it was by their willingness, not because they were discouraged or forced by their parents. Besides, I do not have a role model in my village. All my friends are either married or migrated to Saudi Arabia.”

Understanding youth aspirations helps organisations and development agencies to design and implement youth-friendly policies and programs that can help the youth achieve their dreams. Aspirations are socially constructed and males and females are not positioned equally. Aspirations of girls and boys are shaped by social and cultural norms and expectations of family and community. Traditional norms and beliefs often discriminate against the female youth. This is an area that requires intervention.

Where do male and female youth want to live and work? Why?

Virtually all youth (male and female) from all districts said that they want to live and work outside the villages—in towns and cities. Increasing land scarcity, tribal conflicts, drought, erratic rainfall, pests and diseases, lack of jobs in rural areas, peer influence, limited access to education, and growing poverty, were among the drivers of youth aspirations.

Land is crucial for dryland farming. However, land has become scarcer. Land fragmentation has been cited as one of the most important drivers of youth mobility across both regions. Land inheritance and gift (for marriage) from parents was once one of the most important sources of land, but it cannot be divided among children any longer. This left youngsters with no option but to go to other areas looking for jobs to support themselves and their families.
Conflict also triggers youth mobility in most districts. For instance, unresolved border disputes between Oromo and Somali pastoralists in Babile and Mieso of Oromia Region has caused significant welfare loss and triggered migration for over a decade. The youth are the primary targets of such conflicts, so they are often forced to flee from the area looking for safety.

Addisu Kusa (male, 23) is a school teacher at Hamaressa Kebele (Mieso District). He says:

“The border conflict with the Somali pastoralists is a resource-based conflict. This has claimed many productive lives over the years. The youth are the primary victims of such violent conflict. Many youths died in the conflict while many more left the villages for a safe abode. This conflict involves looting of houses, stealing livestock, and burning crops in the field – exposing the community to hunger and internal displacement. The trauma of the conflict has also hampered sustained investment by the community. Many youngsters have lost confidence to start stable livelihood activities in the villages the conflict may erupt at any time.”

Drought and starvation, caused by erratic rain, pests and diseases (livestock and crops), and crop failure, are common in the drylands. For the vast majority of the youth in the drylands, drought has been linked to forced migration. Among the youth respondents, migration was a hard choice to make. In some localities (mainly Raya Qobbo), migration has become a new social reality even for adults and the elderly.

Kebede (60) from Raya Qobbo told us that migration is not a luxury. Blaming the youth without understanding their situation is wrong. If there was irrigation, land, and support mechanisms, the youth would have preferred to stay here. The youth travel to Arab countries looking for opportunities to help themselves and their families. Migration is a desperate choice. He indicated that even at his age, he tried to go to one of the Arab countries, though he was deported back from the Somali border. He said:

“I knew the ups and downs (hunger, thirst) but I found it difficult to live here, so I had decided to migrate. Those who are migrating for the second or third time do so because they cannot afford to live here. So what can they do? There is a saying in Amharic that goes ‘Jib kemibelah jib beliteh tekedes’. (Instead of being eaten by hyena, eat the hyena and sanctify yourself). ‘The hyena is considered to be a filthy animal. Eating hyena is condemned for cultural and religious reasons. This aphorism indicates that when someone has no option left between death and survival, the rule of not eating hyena will no longer apply. It can even earn the person holiness by saving his or her life). The youth prefer to die while travelling instead of dying of hunger. Nobody cares about all this. Now those who have gone are already gone, but we have to teach the youth we are here if we need them not to migrate.”

Sometimes youth aspiration was also shaped by social perceptions. In some places, people consider sending their children as a source of income and prestige. Sometimes families take pride by the number of children they have sent to Arab countries, so children even from well-to-do families travel to Arab countries. For instance, during a focused group discussion with a mixed youth group in Raya Qobbo, the youth leader said the following:

“In general, all the youth in this community want to live and work here. We are happy to live here if conditions allow us. We want to go to school, graduate and work. There is nobody who dislikes his country. Migration is risky. Many youngsters die through drowning and others are also taken hostage by human traffickers every year. On the other hand, we need to be frank about our own weaknesses. As youth, some of us don’t believe we can work and prosper in our own country. Some of us prioritise migration rather than think of strategies to prosper in our locality. If this perception continues, I fear that nobody will marry and start a sedentary life here. A woman who has reached the age of marriage always thinks about going to Arab countries. To travel to Saudi, we spend at least 100,000 birr (around USD 3000). Parents sell their oxen, enter into ikub (a traditional table rotating cash system) to raise this money and send their children to Saudi. Sometimes, after all this spending, the son returns from Saudi with no gains. It is customary in our community that the parents give their children huge amount of money when they go to Saudi. The parents don’t give the money for the youth to start business here. Why don’t they use this money to change their life here? It is because the youth don’t think of starting small and growing. We want big things to happen soon.”

The youth are the future of the country and the main work force in the agriculture sector, but, with most of them leaving the country, it is not hard to imagine the fate of smallholder agriculture (the mainstay of the Ethiopian economy). One has to understand the causes of youth migration to make good policies and to improve their livelihood.

Attraction to stay in the community

Not everyone wants to migrate. Most youth want to stay in their villages. Even for those who leave, migration is a short-term solution. Respondents appreciate the drylands because of their good soil, potential for irrigated agriculture (in all districts), potential for livestock production (especially Babile and Shewa Robit districts), optimism about future potential of agriculture, family ties, functional social networks (cooperative behaviour among farmers), and good weather. These qualities attract the youth to stay and work.
One day during fieldwork, the research team was taking a short break in the shade of an acacia tree, when we saw a guy approaching in big laughter. Some of the local people who sat with us asked him to come over and talk to us about his experiences abroad. He eagerly came to us. This guy, named Ahmed (25), had returned from Saudi Arabia. Like most youth from the locality, Ahmed travelled to Saudi-Arabia to try out his luck and make money. When we asked him about his experiences and what made him come back, he said “how can you compare Paradise with Hell? My village is a paradise. We have everything.” Ahmed was hired as a sheep and camel herder in one of the remotest places and worked under the scorching sun of Arabia. But he was always wondering why he was doing the same job that he refused to do back home. Until one day he was caught by the police and deported back to his village as an illegal immigrant. “The day I got caught was the most important day to me. I felt alive again. This is where I belong. I can work and transform myself. We have good weather and social ties.”

5. Youth transitions in dryland areas of Ethiopia

Events that trigger transitions

Youth transitions are triggered by personal variables (such as age and labour capacity), followed by social ties (engagement in groups, roles, responsibilities), economic reasons (access to land from inheritance or gift), and political consciousness. However, mechanisms of transition vary according to specific culture, and local religious beliefs.

Respondents identified common indicators of transitions, including bodily and behavioural changes such as growing pubic hair (for both genders), menstruation (for females), carelessness (mainly for males), changes in voice (mainly for males), physical strength (mainly for males), being more careful with personal hygiene (mainly for females), wearing modern clothes (for both), chatting with peer groups (both), and attraction to the opposite sex (both). In contrast, growing grey hair, maturity and calmness, obedience to social norms and values, being less violent and being more responsible and stable, as well as marriage and pregnancy marked the transition to adulthood. Owning certain electronic items such as mobile phones, tape recorders, radios, and solar chargers also indicated youth transition in all districts.

Youth transition (for both genders) in both cultures was accompanied by changes in social roles and responsibilities. For instance, male and female children look after calves, goats and sheep. When they are older, they will be assigned to look after cows, donkeys, etc. As they enter into adolescence, the male youth will be promoted to keeping larger animals such as camels while the female youth will take full charge of the household chores, such as fetching water, cooking, and washing. In both cultures, adolescence is perceived as a preparatory stage for marriage. Parents teach boys farming skills, social norms, religious beliefs, and saving money. Girls are trained by their mothers in household chores, including washing, cooking, nurturing, and how to behave in a socially and culturally acceptable manner.

Participation in cultural events such as weddings and labour-sharing circles (such as wonfel, debbo, and fereqa) are also markers of youth transition in all cultures. For instance, in Oromia Region (particularly in Mieso District of Western Harerghe), to be considered a youth, a person should participate in an event called hawiso, which marks youngsters’ transition to adolescence. Hawiso refers to both the event and the ceremony. A person will be fully transformed after a night dance. During this night of gathering, youngsters meet in a small valley for dancing. On this night, a person meets many friends of a similar age and dance a traditional dance called shegoye. Hawiso often serves as a platform to choose one’s future spouse.

Youth transition is also marked by listening to music, singing traditional love songs, growing and combing hair (for males), twisting hair (for male), and brushing teeth in public with a stick (both genders, particularly in Amhara Region). However, traditional dress and hair styles that once signified transition in rural Ethiopia have been gradually abandoned.

Regarding generation gaps and modernisation, one of the key informants, Mr Aiyentensfisu, said: “It was much easier in the past to distinguish the youth from other age groups through the hair and dress styles. But these days those cultural symbols and dress styles are forgotten and have been gradually replaced by a modern ethos imported from urban areas. These days the youth instead carry mobile phones, own tape recorders, and other things as a sign of their transitions into adolescence.”

Some of the old markers of youth transition are fading away with modernisation and the influence of social media.

Migration is the new marker of youth transition in Ethiopia. People are considered to be youths if they are capable of or planning to go to an Arab country, even for boys and girls as young as 14 or 15 years of age. When we asked our field guides to bring us male and female youth in Shewa Robit
Differences regarding who is considered a youth. For instance, in Eastern Harerghe Zone, Babile be considered as a youth, even if very young. However, there are geographical and gender-based independence and an exit from adolescence. A married person (male or female) will no longer take charge of taking the produce to the market. Each season, some money will be given to the son to cover the marital expenses including dowry, clothing, and the party. “As the male child enters into adolescence, it is customary for the father to give his son a quarter of an acre (a gulma) for the male youth as a gift to support his successful transition to the next stage. During this stage, the male youth is expected to start accumulating assets as a basis to start an independent, married life in a few years. The youth is expected to work hard on the farm under strict supervision of his father and mother. One of the key informants from Amhara Region said: “Access to land and other resources varies by region. In the Amhara Region, access to land was one of the most important markers of transition for the youth. As the person enters into adolescence, the family will allocate a quarter of an acre (a gulma) for the male youth as a gift to support his successful transition to the next stage. During this stage, the male youth is expected to start accumulating assets as a basis to start an independent, married life in a few years. The youth is expected to work hard on the farm under strict supervision of his father and mother. One of the key informants from Amhara Region said: “As the male child enters into adolescence, it is customary for the father to give his son a quarter of an acre (if he is able to do so) to help him practice farming and accumulate some assets before marriage. The produce from the farm will be considered the son’s savings. The father and mother will take charge of taking the produce to the market. Each season, some money will be given to the son to cover his personal expenses and the rest will be saved for him until the day of marriage. Part of the savings will be used to cover the marital expenses including dowry, clothing, and the party.” The transition in Babile and Mieso district (Oromia Region) is quite different. Though land (depending on availability) is given to the male youth as in Amhara Region, in Oromia it is only given after marriage (if families can afford it). Newlyweds are also expected to stay within the family of the groom until they are economically and psychologically able to start an independent life. We found significant gender-based variations in both cultures regarding access to land. Female youth do not inherit land from their parents in either culture. Land is given only when she marries and even then the husband has absolute control over her share of land. The father of the bride (especially in Amhara Region) customarily gives the married couple a quarter of an acre (depending on the availability of land) as a wedding gift to start life. However, the female has only a symbolic right over the land. Her fate is at the mercy of her husband. Every decision concerning the land, including what to grow, is made by the male, unless she has married a kind person. Such discriminatory practices put male and female youth in an asymmetric relationship of hierarchy, dependence, and exploitation.

Marriage is an important marker of youth transition to adulthood in both cultures, signifying independence and an exit from adolescence. A married person (male or female) will no longer be considered as a youth, even if very young. However, there are geographical and gender-based differences regarding who is considered a youth. For instance, in Eastern Harerghé Zone, Babile District, marriage alone will not suffice to transform a person into an adult. They become adults only when they have at least two children and start an independent life. In contrast, in Western Harerghé (Mieso District) and Amhara Region a person is considered an adult as soon as he or she gets married. In some places, (such as Shewa Robit District of Amhara Region) a person (especially a male) can remain and be considered as a youth for a long time, so long as he is not married (even if he above 40). In contrast, a girl married at the age of 12 will no longer be considered a youth. Unlike the females, in certain cases a married male can still be considered to be a youth even long after his marriage. Such variations should be taken into account when designing interventions for rural youth. Otherwise, some potential beneficiaries could be excluded, while other, non-target people could be included.

With marriage come additional roles and responsibilities, privileges and changes in social status. A married person will be considered a functional member of the community. For instance, the person will be given full membership status in mutual support groups (funeral associations, labour sharing groups, etc). Adults are expected to obey social values and the norms of reciprocities. Failure to comply with such norms may result in sanctions. To earn the transition to adulthood that comes with marriage, it is important for the marriage contract to be socially and culturally valid. Virginity and chastity are among the criteria (especially in the two districts of Oromia Region and in the Shewa Robit area).

As a key informant from Mieso District (Hamaressa Kebele) explained: “A person is considered an adult when he or she forms a legal partnership, marriage, after fulfilling all the cultural and religious requirements. A formal transition to adulthood is accompanied by wedding ceremonies, family consent, dowry, and nikah (approval, legalisation of the marriage). Once, married the person is assumed independent.” Legal marriage was a precondition for resource entitlement in all study areas. A person will not be entitled to inheritance or a marital gift from parents, if he or she has not been properly married. The person can be stripped of existing access to family land (if the person is already entitled) until he or she formalises his or her marriage.

How these events affect the youth dreams and aspirations

The events that male and female youth experience in their lives influence their ability to take advantage of opportunities in agriculture, enhancing their employability, building their skills, improving their incomes, and building their resilience. These major events can be grouped into five categories: (i) socio-cultural, (ii) death and sickness, (iii) environmental, (iv) economic, and (v) administrative/political.

Socio-cultural norms and value system: Often, male and female transitions were forced. Respondents listed early marriage, female genital mutilation, the gendered division of labour, and limits to formal education as barriers to realizing their dreams. In both regions several respondents said that early marriage had negative consequences on youth and adult life. Often children are married without being ready mentally, physically, psychologically or and economically (especially in Oromia). Young girls assumed the responsibility of motherhood at an early age without the necessary maturity or psychological readiness. Once married, the female youth cannot pursue her dreams. She will be busy with reproductive, productive, and community obligations and will often face economic hardships.

A school director from Mieso District (Figure 9) explained: “Females get married at between 12 and 15 years of age. In my school, early marriage is one of the most important factors contributing towards young girls’ dropout from school. I have seen many girls drop out of school within just a few months of their enrolment. In 2018 for instance, around 14
females left my school due to early marriage. To my knowledge, there was only one female student who finished her education and graduated with a college diploma in agriculture. I remember how we were fighting to convince her parents to let her complete her education.”

Figure 9. School director Hamaressa Kebele: early marriage is the main reason girls drop out.

In contrast, young men who marry receive more encouragement to finish high school, even if they quit for other reasons. Some go on to university. Even after marriage, males have the right to stay in school, but cultural norms lead females to drop out.

Death or sickness of parents, guardians or spouse: a death in the family triggers a forced transition for most children. They will be forced to assume responsibilities they are not supposed to. Such a transition often results in dropping out of school and giving up other dreams. We saw many examples of this in the field. For instance, Shambel Ayalew, male, was born and raised in Amaya Kebele of Raya Qobbo District. He was his family’s only son and he had three sisters. He had dreams of continuing his education and becoming a government employee. But when his father died, the whole thing turned upside down. Shambel’s father died when he was seven years old. Being the only son, though young, he assumed the responsibility of supporting his widowed mother and three sisters by dropping out from grade four. He was not able to return to school since then.

Shambel (Figure 10) reflected:

“I had a miserable childhood. The death of my father affected the wellbeing of the whole family. After the death of my father, the responsibilities of raising the children fall on my mother. She suffered a lot raising us as a single mother. Sometimes we had to go for days on a piece of bread. She struggled hard to make us the people we are today. My dream was to continue in education and become a government worker. I never dreamed of becoming a farmer. It is the death of my father and my mother’s economic status that forced me to withdraw my education from grade four and become a child farmer. This event marked the end of my dream to pursue my education.”

For the female child, the experience could be even worse. The death of their mother or father can force them into an early marriage and pregnancy.

Husnia Mohammed (female, 15) is a married and pregnant girl from Babile District. She was born and grew in Berkele Kebele where she currently lives. As a child, she always wanted to pursue her career through formal and religious education. However, she gave up her dreams when her mother died when Husnia was 8 years old. She is the oldest among her brothers and sisters. When her mother died, Husnia assumed the primary responsibility of raising her brothers and sisters. In order to better care for her brothers and sisters, she got married two years ago, at age 13 and now has one child. Husnia says she cannot fulfil her dream because of those events. But she has committed herself to fulfilling her dreams by educating her own children in the future.

A death in the family and a lack of support can trigger forced transition for male and female youth, and put an end to their dreams. However, these challenges may affect male and female youth differently, giving them different options with different consequences. For the male child, dropping out of school and engaging in hard labour is an immediate solution to the death of family members. Whereas for the female child, dropping out of school and early marriage are the most anticipated solutions.

Environment: drought and hunger (caused by erratic rainfall, pest and diseases of livestock and of crops) affect successful youth transition in
all districts. The droughts resulted in youth despair, triggering massive displacement to Arab countries
and urban centres. During longer periods of drought and hunger seasons, children (mainly male)
often feel guilty for not supporting their families, and so they assume that responsibility, dropping out
of school and travelling to cities or Arab countries, to support their families through causal labour.

The impacts of such events are often gendered. For instance, due to their traditional role as
caretakers of children and the family, women and female youth are often depressed when food is
unavailable during droughts and longer dry seasons, which add to the burden on girls and mothers.
During dry seasons, young mothers and girls had to march on foot longer distances (sometimes for
the whole day) searching for water and firewood – often in a life-threatening situation. One key
informant from Shewa Robit told us that women and young girls have to walk for two or three hours
every day to reach water in the conflict zone bordering the Afar and Amhara regions. The widely
held belief that the Afar pastoralists will not kill women has made fetching water to be the sole
responsibility of mothers and girls in both study regions. Because women assume the responsibility
for fetching water for the entire household, they also take the blame if it runs out. They frequently
face humiliation from their families, neighbours, husbands, and in-laws, a form of gender-based
violence. If there is not enough water, they may be verbally abused for returning home empty-handed
or for returning home late after queuing for several hours.

The impact of such problems affects male and female youth differently, but environmental stress can
induce boys and girls to give up on their aspirations.

Economic factors: growing youth landlessness and the lack of money to start small enterprises were
among the barriers hindering the dreams of male and female youth. Agriculture is crucial for the
youth and their families in the both regions. However, with increasing land scarcity and the lack of
start-up capital, the youth are slowly moving out of agriculture. Though the Ethiopian constitution
accords the youth the right of access to agricultural land, its application is often constrained by the
lack of land and cumbersome administration. The land inherited from parents is too small to support
a meaningful livelihood. Besides, this is at the expense of the welfare of other family members (small
children, mothers, and fathers). Such situations trigger the youth to leave the rural areas.

For instance, Zemzem (23, female) is from Jegol Kebele, Babile District. She was recently deported
from Saudi Arabia. Below, she tells how she and her friends went to Saudi Arabia because of the lack
of jobs and farmland.

“...that can save our youth from migrating to Arab countries and build our household assets.”

Administrative and political structures: in the drylands, there is resentment between the youth and
government, with two contrasting political narratives. In all the districts, government officials in charge
of youth affairs said that the government opened a good atmosphere, conducive to assisting successful
youth transition by facilitating their active engagement in agriculture and non-farm employment
opportunities (by providing credit and land). But they said that the youth are impatient and have
attitude problems about non-farm employment opportunities. On the other hand, the youth believed
that there is no good will from the government side to improve the situation of the youth and to
support them to pursue their aspirations in agriculture and other opportunities. Local government
officials consider the many unemployed youths to be a political risk and a risk to local peace. The
youth respondents felt strongly that the government instrumentalises the youth cause and aspirations
to pursue cheap political goals, and that efforts to improve the livelihood of the youth were simply lip
services, not driven by genuine motives to change their realities. As a result, the youth have lost trust
in government.

In a FGD in Shewa Robit, one of the participants summarised the issue:

“There are the organisations working for the poor? We have never seen any organisation that works
to facilitate opportunities for the youth, though we heard about these organisations during meetings
and other public gatherings (other participants nod in agreement). Nobody cares about the youth
until today. You (the researcher) are the only person who ever conducted research on youth issues
in this locality. There was only one initiative we know of by the local government to organise the
youth in cattle fattening (the researcher team later observed the physical structure), but finally the
government said they have no money to start the enterprise. After hearing this, the youth lost hope
and finally took a deadly journey to Arab countries (only a few of them succeeded). NGOs invest
lots of money on issues that are not a problem anymore such as female genital mutilation and early
marriage, traditions we abandoned several years ago, while the real issue here is youth migration,
unemployment and poverty. What we need is tangible investment in our economy, an investment
that can save our youth from migrating to Arab countries and build our household assets.”

Figure 12. Women and girls marching to fetch water (Mieso –Hamaressa Kebele).
Youth returnees from both regions said that they went to Saudi Arabia because the government was not able to deliver its promises:

“The youth migrate because they are not getting support from the government. For instance, last time (around 2017) the government asked migrants to return to their home countries and they came back. However, the government did not keep its promises and so they went back again. Another very recent example was that we were asked by the local government to form a group and design a project proposal for funding to start agribusiness ventures such as animal fattening or livestock production. We did as we were told, and submitted our proposals. However, none of us have received this support until now. Such things are very common here. Such disappointments leave the youth with no other option but to take desperate journeys abroad.”

However, government is not the only party that appropriates the youths’ dreams. Respondents said that ethnic-based political parties (who claim that they are fighting for rights of rural youth) also co-opted youth aspirations and contributed to their massive migration. One of the informants said that that the youth were induced to follow tribal political ideologies and to fall into the trap of listening to fancy promises and indoctrinations (by some parties) telling them that the urban areas had better economic opportunities. As a consequence, the youth are made to feel that that they will not improve their livelihood in the rural areas. The recent political upheaval (government political reform that gave space to different political parties to freely practice their views) pushed the rural youth out of the drylands and into major towns due to such promises.

“In my opinion, I think the growing ethnic-based political ideology by political parties is the major driving force behind the mobility of the youth from the drylands. The youth attend different political discourses on the social and mainstream media telling them that they should go to major cities before they are occupied by other ethnic groups. Such discourses have escalated youth displacement abandoning the rural areas.”

These are examples of how the youth (and their aspirations) have become a centre of attention by abandoning the rural areas.

Youth transition is a complex process shaped by socio-cultural, economic, administrative, and environmental factors. Understanding this helps to design strategies to enable successful transition.

For instance, early marriage and discriminatory land inheritance patterns are often gendered, affecting male and female youth differently. Male and female youth do not have the same opportunities and resources to cope with their problems. Strategies to address such issues should consider the nature of the problem, local circumstances, existing opportunities and anticipated outcomes for male and female youth. Opportunities, support structures, and challenges for the youth will be discussed in the following sections.

6. Opportunity structures and challenges

Supporting structures in the drylands

Not everything is gloomy for the youth in the drylands. There are plenty of opportunities. Study findings across the four districts show the availability of support structures and opportunities that can enhance meaningful engagement of the youth in the dryland economy and enable successful transition. Available opportunities are summarised in terms of policy, economic, socio-cultural, and organisational support structures.

Policy related structures

The 2004 Ethiopian National Youth Policy Document stipulates the need to facilitate favourable supporting conditions that would enable the youth to create new jobs for themselves based on their competence and to benefit from them (Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture 2004). The phrase “supporting condition” could mean any type of support the youth may require in realising their aspirations.

There is also a distinction here between rural youth (whose means of livelihood is agriculture) and urban youth. For the rural youth, land is one of the most important assets to improve their livelihood. The allocation of common pool land to the youth was one of the most important policy moves (mainly in Amhara Region) for supporting the livelihood needs of the youth. We were told that over that last couple of years the Kebele administration (especially within the two districts of the Amhara Regional State) redistributed agricultural land (and house sites) mainly for three categories of rural youth (male and female) between the ages of 15 and 29 (as defined by the Ethiopian National Youth Policy). Those who are married and have children belong to the first group; those married, but without children are in the second group; and single youth are in the third group. The administration prioritised the first group followed by the second and third categories. However, such allocations are now on hold due to what is said to be the unavailability of agricultural land, though the youth considered this as a lame excuse. In Mieso (Oromia Region) the kebele land was not redistributed to the youth who took alternative measures by such as clearing forest land and turning it into agricultural land (e.g. in the Hochecha Forest).

Economic opportunities

Respondents from each district identified opportunities and enabling circumstances (including natural capital and market) for male and female youth to engage in income-generating activities. Respondents identified a huge untapped potential in animal farming, poultry and egg production, milk,
mining of mineral stones, good air, attractive landscapes for farming, groundwater, and the availability of dry, but fertile land (that could be cultivated if there was irrigation). These opportunities will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Organisational and service structure
There are few organisations supporting youth livelihood activities in either region. Even then, there are regional disparities in terms of diversity and availability of these organisations. Respondents identified organisations that support marketing and small businesses, agricultural extension and advisory services, organisations working in irrigation, in the delivery of agricultural inputs, in training and capacity building, and those addressing gender-based violence and youth migration.

In Amhara Region, rural marketing and small business activities were supported by the Amhara Credit Association. In Oromia Region, the small-scale and micro enterprise (SMEs) office supports youth enterprise development in the area. The organisation assists the youth by creating market linkages with traders and other actors to buy their products (especially for mining). The organisation encourages male and female youth to participate in trade. The females are widely engaged in the milk market, while the males are supported to participate in animal fattening and marketing.

There is a regional credit and saving cooperative (WALQO) in Oromia Region (the equivalent of the Amhara Credit Association) that provides credit services for male and female youth. But in both regional states many youngsters were not willing to use the regional credit system. Respondents said that paying interest on a loan is against the doctrines of Islam, the religion of most of the dryland dwellers. People are asking for a Sharia-compliant financial system which does not involve interest. Respondents also said that none of the credit providers target the youth. The providers require collateral as a loan guarantee. In this case, parents are the signatories on behalf of their children. However, parents often refuse to sign for fear of losing their collateral in case of failure. Short repayment periods and high interest rates were also among the challenges mentioned by respondents (particularly Christians).

The river irrigation project built by International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in Raya Qobbo covers 190 hectares of land. Farmers are producing onions, tomatoes and other vegetables, earning more than 200,000 ETB (USD 6,500) per production season. Though the project did not specifically target the youth, the youth are benefitting in farming and marketing activities across the value chain.

The District Office of Agriculture and Rural Development was a key player in providing fertiliser, seeds, and extension services in both regions. In Oromia Region (especially Babile District), Haramaya University was identified as a generous provider of high-yielding crop varieties and new livestock breeds and other technologies.

Addressing gender-based violence and empowerment is another core activity required to create a conducive environment for the youth. A key informant representing the Women, Children, and Youth (WCY) Office (Shewa Robot) indicated that they are doing some work to improving the situation, to address migration, gender-based violence, promoting access to education, and ensuring youth participation in income-generating activities by facilitating alternative credit access for male and female youth. However, this is in clear contradiction of the youths’ account.

There was no extension system that specifically targeted the youth (in either region), and the information that youth obtained indirectly through their parents was inadequate. Organisations such as the Agriculture Office, SME Office, land administration offices and NGOs like the Eastern Harar Region Catholic Secretariat (EHCS) were mentioned as key stakeholders facilitating youth agricultural engagement by providing training, technical support and inputs for the youth.

The Farmers’ Training Centres (FTCs), from Oromia region, run and supervised by the Bureau of Agriculture, is widely seen as an opportunity to enhance young people’s engagement in agriculture and other off-farm activities. The FTCs are established to build the capacity of farmers (including young ones). FTCs train the youth on crop production, natural resource management, livestock production and management, and other small businesses. However, most of these facilities are said to be very limited in facilities and organisational structure.

Social and cultural landscape
Many young respondents said that their deep ties to their culture and community were an incentive to stay in the community. Respondents said that people in the drylands were kind-hearted, generous, hospitable and cooperative. The research team also observed those qualities. In nearly in every place, the research team was invited for food or drink after every interview session. In some places, people nearly cried when the team left their villages. We were even invited for a wedding ceremony in Raya Qobbo and two days we were given lunch (Figure 15).

Dryland communities, like others in Ethiopia, have a system of indigenous mutual support practices (IMSPs) and social networks to support each other in times of good and bad. Cooperation and social support networks that respond to social needs and promote household and community wellbeing to shocks have been institutionalised and widely practiced among rural households in Ethiopia for many centuries. These arrangements offer different services, such as mutual insurance, labour sharing, savings and credit to rural households, among other obligations. These practices are based on widely agreed norms of mutual trust, moral obligation and reciprocities. These practices are opportunities for the youth to engage in farming and other activities in the drylands. The study identified several mutual support practices across the two regions, as summarised below:

Ye debeyat Bere - ox borrowing arrangement (specific to Amhara region, Raya Qobbo) is an arrangement for using someone’s oxen for agriculture in return for his labour contribution on the owner’s field. The person will plough his plot one day and ploughs the owner’s land for two days. This arrangement supports the youth to plough their land. We have several examples of the importance of this arrangement. For instance, after being deported from Saudi Arabia, Shambel was determined to work hard and make up for the time and resources he lost due to migration. He said his experience abroad motivated him to work hard. But he had no money to start farming since he sold his oxen to go to Saudi Arabia. Therefore, he borrowed oxen in exchange for his labour contribution, and he managed to get a bumper harvest. This enabled him to construct a house, buy oxen, and a bed.

Wonfel or Debbo (labour exchange groups) - is widely practiced among the youth in both regions. This arrangement is especially beneficial for youth from a labour-scarce household. The youth reciprocate agricultural labour when it is scarce or when they cannot afford to hire workers.

Figure 15. Hospitable local people invited the researchers to lunch and even to a wedding.


**Table 4. Summary of major youth challenges in dryland areas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMHARA REGIONAL STATE</th>
<th>OROMIA REGIONAL STATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shewa Robit</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kaya Gobbo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bable</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Mieso</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Finance</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No start-up capital to start business</td>
<td>High wedding cost for 3-day ceremonies, (downy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited or no financial capacity to rent land</td>
<td>Limited knowledge and skill for rainwater harvesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lengthy procedures and bureaucracy in getting credit</td>
<td>Limited skill regarding use and application of agricultural technologies (fertilisers, pesticides)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited knowledge about available opportunities (about profitable enterprises)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No financial literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local norms</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited knowledge and skill for modern agriculture</td>
<td>Limited knowledge and skill for rainwater harvesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited knowledge about agricultural inputs</td>
<td>Limited knowledge and skill for rainwater harvesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited knowledge about available opportunities (about profitable enterprises)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited skill regarding use and application of agricultural technologies (fertilisers, pesticides)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No financial literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education &amp; technical</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of interest free credit for the youth</td>
<td>Lack of access to affordable credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited extension service for the youth</td>
<td>Extension service that exclude female farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited water and electricity network</td>
<td>Limited access to market (leading to low price)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited input output market</td>
<td>No water and electricity network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited or no access to junior and secondary education</td>
<td>Limited access to market (ground nut...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited access to agricultural inputs</td>
<td>Limited access to agricultural inputs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No recreational facilities for the youth — a factor for youth migration</td>
<td>Limited access to health (human) facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor road network and transportation</td>
<td>Poor road network and transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of interest free credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No extension service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No water and electricity network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited access to market (ground nut...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited access to agricultural inputs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited access to health (human) facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poor road network and transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infrastructure/ market</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High cost of living</td>
<td>Decrease in yield size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decrease in yield size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decrease in yield size</td>
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<td>Decrease in yield size</td>
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<td>Decrease in yield size</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decrease in yield size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Price fluctuation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Eqqub** (rotating cash or table banking) — is an indigenous financial system often temporarily established by a small group of youth or others in order to provide members with rotating funding. The male and female youth have their own separate arrangements to help them mobilise resources. In both cultures, the eqqub prioritises those in need of urgent cash for buying oxen, covering medical expenses, renting land, buying agricultural inputs, or covering marital expenses.

**Hirta** — is an alternative way of accessing land through sharecropping or contract farming among the youth and others. Although the name varies slightly according to cultural and language differences, hirta is common in both regions.

Other social practices are gradually emerging to improve the engagement of the youth in various non-farm activities. For instance, the emergence of youth networks or mutual support groups in Oromia is an important avenue for the youth to mobilise resources to start small businesses.

A key informant from Bable told us the following:

“There are several youth groups in the area. The youth these days are using their social networks to start new business in the area. There is a culture of mutual support among the youth in the area. They have their own youth groups and contribute their share when one of them starts a new business. For example, if one young person wants to buy Bajaj (a three-wheel vehicle for a transportation business), members will loan cash, oxen or camels to help the person start the business. In my opinion, these youth groups can be used as an opportunity to engage the youth in the agriculture sector. The local Agriculture Office and the Gender and Youth Office should target these groups and support the youth to engage in agriculture.”

Sometimes mutual support groups and networks are also used as platforms to share useful knowledge, information, and skill in agriculture. Such platforms facilitate the exchange of agricultural knowledge, skills, and practices from experienced farmers to the youth. These are important support structures that can be strengthened to support youth engagement in dryland agricultural value chains.

**Youth challenges in the drylands of Ethiopia**

Most challenges have been indicated in earlier chapters. In this section, we will mainly focus on major structural challenges and push factors that constrain meaningful youth engagement in dryland agriculture. Respondents from both regions mentioned several structural challenges that male and female youth face. Most challenges were common across regions, but certain challenges were specific to the region and even to the districts. The challenges were structured around eight categories: 1) local customs and norms, 2) financials, 3) education and technical capacity, 4) infrastructure and market, 5) economic, 6) administration and policy related, 7) environmental, and 8) others (Table 4).
Table 4. Summary of major youth challenges in dryland areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>ANMHARA REGIONAL STATE</th>
<th>OROMIA REGIONAL STATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shewa Robit</td>
<td>Raya Qobbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Babile</td>
<td>Mieso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>Landlessness</td>
<td>Internal displacement and migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource based conflict (with neighbouring Afar Tribes)</td>
<td>Migration Landlessness</td>
<td>Internal displacement and migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erratic rainfall</td>
<td>Drought and hunger (food shortage)</td>
<td>Erratic Rainfall Drought and hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pests and diseases</td>
<td>Pest and diseases for animals (goats and camel) and crops</td>
<td>Pest and diseases for crops and animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal brokers (middlemen taking benefit)</td>
<td>Complicated procedure to borrow money</td>
<td>Addiction to khat and cigarettes (reducing their productivity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addiction to khat (especially on youth returnees)</td>
<td>Addiction to khat (source of despair and depression on youth)</td>
<td>Addiction to khat (source of despair and depression on youth)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Youth engagement in dryland agricultural value chains

Youth perception of agriculture

The youth respect agriculture and consider it a noble profession, and a lifestyle with deep sentimental and cultural values. Youth perceive agriculture as a bridge that connects them with the rural life and ancestral tradition. However, respondents believed that that lifestyle is now in danger and requires treatment before it pushes everybody out.

As already indicated in Chapter 4, the lack of interest in the rural life and agriculture was the most frequently cited response among the youth respondents from both regions. However, this should not be interpreted as a negative perception towards agriculture as a profession. The growing youth dissatisfaction with agriculture has to do with the poor performance of agriculture (mainly crop farming) and the lack of conducive working conditions that can engage the youth in agriculture (especially in commercial agriculture and small enterprises). Such conditions include the lack of services and infrastructures (education, electricity, financial services, health), massive youth landlessness, lack of start-up capital, environmental stress and growing resource-based conflicts in some areas (especially in Mieso and Babile districts of Oromia Region).

Many youths went to Arab countries hoping to accumulate enough money to buy farmland and a place to build a house. The huge number of successful returnees from Arab countries (the lucky ones) have established a future in their own places of origin (in both regions). For example, Sherif Mohammed, a male returnee from Shewa Robit said that he was not able to use his full potential because of his landlessness. He was working as a hired labourer in agriculture for others. Then one day Sherif decided, as he put it, “to liberate myself from slavery”. He went to Saudi Arabia and came back with some money, which he used to rent land and buy oxen. Sherif told us that he has now settled. His future plans are to start his own small goat farm business if he secures a small plot from the Kebele administration.

Sherif’s case is one among many. Most youth from both regions believed that there is a potential in dryland agriculture, if it is supported by government and other stakeholders. As such the youth demand a shift away from subsistence, crop-based agriculture to intensive agriculture (irrigated farming, livestock production, and businesses) with market orientation.

For instance, one of the respondents said:

“The youth strongly believe that agriculture can continue to be a basic means of livelihood, for male and female youth in this community, provided that it is supported. The area is more suitable for livestock production and fattening. Livestock from this area have huge market demand from urban consumers and international markets. This is promising for both male and female youth. Some of those who started this business at a small scale have demonstrated the potential of this sector. Yet, this is only possible if they get access to adequate farm inputs, breeds, water, financial services and training. But as it stands currently, the sector may not generate a reasonable financial return for the youth and the community. What we have is subsistence agriculture. I believe that engaging the youth in livestock production for dairy, fattening, and marketing is more viable than any other activity. If the youth are organised and get access to sufficient and interest-free credit, the sector will be productive and generate adequate return to the youth and their families.”

As this quote suggests, the youth have a positive attitude towards agriculture and rural life. The lack of interest in agriculture is influenced by the low status, poor economic conditions of farmers in both regions and the unsatisfactory performance of rainfed, subsistence crop farming, deficient infrastructure and inadequate support services for rural youth. It is necessary to focus on the youth and support them to get involved in small enterprises that require little space.
Farming systems and the dryland smallholder agriculture value chain

Farming systems

Before describing the research findings on dryland value chain and the youth, we will discuss the farming system of the study area (see Figure 16). In both regions, the farming system is smallholder and rain-fed, with highly integrated animal and crop production. A typical farming household has a hectare of land on which people grow different types of crops and rear camels, sheep, goats, and cattle (Table 5). Most farms are made up of small, scattered fields.

Crops

Sorghum, maize, and millet are the most important cereal crops in both regions. However, there were some regional and district differences. For instance, teff is produced in Shewa Robit and Raya Qobbo Districts (of Amhara Regional State). It is a major cash crop, popular with urban consumers. Mung bean is a widely produced legume in Shewa Robit (Amhara Region) and Mieso (Oromia Region), mainly a cash crop. The crop is increasingly accepted by farmers in the area to generate income. Groundnut, an oil crop, is widely produced (mainly in Babile District of Oromia Region). Mainly a cash crop, it is the second most produced crop next to sorghum. Sesame is another oil crop, mainly grown in Raya Qobbo and Mieso. Though sesame has a high potential as a dryland cash crop (due to its good market price), it is grown for subsistence and is often intercropped with other crops such as maize, sorghum or millet.

Table 5. Major crops and livestock of the study areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cereals</th>
<th>Amhara Regional State</th>
<th>Oromia Regional State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teff, sorghum, maize, millet</td>
<td>Shewa Robit</td>
<td>Raya Qobbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum, maize, millet</td>
<td>Babile</td>
<td>Mieso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legumes</td>
<td>Mung bean</td>
<td>Bean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil crops</td>
<td>Sesame</td>
<td>Groundnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Vegetables (tomato, onion), cotton</td>
<td>Mung bean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>Cows, oxen, sheep, goats, donkeys, camels</td>
<td>Cows, oxen, sheep, goats, donkeys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other crops

Tomato is widely grown by farmers in both regions, using small-scale irrigation and rain. It is a major crop that generates income for the vast majority of smallholders.

Livestock

Livestock is the pillar for the dryland economy in both regions. Most farmers in the drylands consider livestock as insurance against crop failure, and as a source of pride and prestige.

Cows and oxen are common in both regions for traction (ploughing), milk, and local market. Sheep and goats are mainly for local market.

Camels are one of the most important animals for smallholders in both regions. Among the agro-pastoral communities (of Mieso and Babile), camels are a source of milk and meat (to eat and to sell). Live camels are also exported, generating a lot of cash for farmers and the country. In contrast, in Shewa Robit (Amhara Region) the camel is only used as a beast of burden.

The donkey is common in the drylands, used for carrying loads. Donkeys greatly benefit women and girls, helping to carry water from distant places, take loads to the market, and transport grains after harvest.

Cereal and grain legumes value chain that involves the youth

The preferred cereals and legumes among male and female youth are maize, sorghum, and groundnuts (mainly in Babile District), and mung bean (in Amhara Region). Males and females participate in different activities across the agricultural value chains of the different crops (see Figure 17 for maize and groundnut). In both regions, male and female youth participate widely in production, with gendered differences. Female youth and young mothers participate mainly in weeding (as do men), shelling groundnuts, and storage; the male youth actively participate in land clearing, land preparation, threshing, and harvesting. Male and female youth participate little in marketing or processing, although in both regions they expressed interest in both of these activities.

Youth respondents from both regions expressed interest to work in the production and marketing value chain. In fact, some of the youths have already started working in some areas. For example, mung bean is attracting the attention of the youth from both regions, because of its high yield, good market price, drought resistance, early maturity, and reasonable production costs. However, respondents complain (especially in Shewa Robit District) that government interference and
monopoly in the chain affect their bargaining capacity and chances of improving the prices for their produce. Groundnut was another crop that respondents mentioned as having huge potential for the youth. Many male and female youth expressed an interest to engage (especially in Babile District) in marketing and processing, although they are concerned that marketing is prone to information asymmetry, dependence and exploitation. Illegal brokers are taking advantage of poor farmers’ limited knowledge of the market.

Alternatively, the government should legalise these brokers so that the producers will benefit from the fruits of their labour.

This year, there was some work done on market linkages by government agents. The agents tried to infiltrate and block the link between farmers and traders in order to exploit the farmers. The traders also cheat the females who take their produce to the market. We receive lower prices for our commodities. The traders also cheat the females who take their produce such as groundnuts. These brokers set prices for agricultural produce. As a result, we are being exploited by the traders. Illegal brokers are taking advantage of poor farmers’ limited knowledge of the market.

For instance, one the youth FGD participants from Babile District said:

“We participate in our district market. However, brokers are hampering the youth from benefitting from their produce such as groundnuts. These brokers set prices for agricultural produce. As a result, we receive lower prices for our commodities. The traders also cheat the females who take their produce to the market.”

In the Amhara Region, Raya Qobbo District, one of the youths FGD participants summarised the grievances of the youth:

“This year, there was some work done on market linkages by government agents. The agents tried to link the youth producers with potential market outlets and opportunities. However, the illegal brokers tried to infiltrate and block the link between farmers and traders in order to exploit the farmers. The brokers even threaten some of the traders who tried to reach the farmers. There is a need to control the illegal brokers.”

Alternatively, the government should legalise these brokers so that the producers will benefit from the fruits of their labour.

Figure 17. Dryland value chain for groundnuts and sorghum for smallholder farmers.

For instance, one the youth FGD participants from Babile District said:

“We participate in our district market. However, brokers are hampering the youth from benefitting from their produce such as groundnuts. These brokers set prices for agricultural produce. As a result, we receive lower prices for our commodities. The traders also cheat the females who take their produce to the market.”

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Alternatively, the government should legalise these brokers so that the producers will benefit from the fruits of their labour.

Facilitating youth engagement in dryland agriculture

Responses from experts and community members on how the dryland youth can be engaged in dryland agriculture can be classed in two broad categories: structural/institution and character/personality. Structural/institution recommendations were sub-divided into eight sub-themes.

Credit and financial services: promoting an affordable and socially acceptable financing system for the youth to promote their participation across the agricultural value chain was the most frequently response by community members and experts in both regions. People believed that the lack of access to youth-friendly financial services discouraged the youth from actively engaging in dryland agriculture as producers, business operators and suppliers. Agriculture is resource-intensive; the youth are required to rent land and buy inputs. When their financial needs are not met, youth often follow risky paths (such as illegal migration and theft) to look for the money.

Most respondents stressed that it is important to ensure availability of an inclusive and youth-focused rural financial system, which should consider the religious values of the youth. When credit is available, it is often interest-bearing, which is counter to Islam, the majority religion of both regions. The affordability and short repayment period of the credit also discourages many youths and their families from taking the credit. In some locations this is becoming a source of new social crisis. For instance, in Shewa Robit, respondents reported suicides due to the failure to repay loans with short repayment periods, exacerbating hopelessness and discouraging others from taking government loans.

Finance is a key resource in all parts of the agricultural value chain, so the government should revise its financial policy to encourage youth participations in dryland agriculture value chains.

Improve trust between government and the youth: improving the relationship between the youth and local government administrations was one the suggestions given by experts and community members alike. The relationship between the youth and government is filled with mistrust and suspicion. To ensure active engagement of the youth in dryland agriculture, the government has to work on restoring the youths’ trust. Rural youth distanced themselves from development interventions for a long time due to the mistrust they developed over the years.

One key informant from Shewa Robit said:

“Working to restore trust with the rural youth should be the first priority. The youth do not trust the government and government hates the youth. This is the result of long years of mistrust accumulated over the years. Government should go beyond the lip service and take practical measures to support the youth.”

The government should address this mistrust by working with the youth closely and addressing their livelihood needs.

Tailor-made extension and service delivery: The extension service is not customised to address the specific farming needs and priorities of youth farmers. The extension system does not target the youth, who may be reached indirectly through their parents. This was the same for male and female youth farmers in all regions. The extension system should separately target the rural landless youth and connect them to outside opportunities. Advice should include off-farm agricultural activities e.g., small businesses, and poultry production. In addition, expert respondents from both regions suggested that the extension and rural development office should work in tandem with government, universities and research centres on problem-solving research that can address emerging agricultural development challenges of the male and female youth farmers in the drylands. Timely provision of agricultural inputs, improved access to agricultural technologies, and improved access to drought-tolerant and disease-resistant crop varieties were among the key suggestions.
The youth lack knowledge of these practices. Respondents' suggestions are summarised in Table 6.

Training and capacity building in agriculture: interviews and discussions with community members and experts in both regions indicated the need for youth capacity building on modern agriculture as part of their active engagement as producers and market operators and suppliers. The agricultural extension system often side-tracks women. At household level women are not even considered farmers.

The head of the Youth and Gender Office, from Mieso District said:

“The agricultural extension service is generally a problem in this locality. But it is more limited when it comes to supporting the youth and women in agriculture. The major problem is that agricultural extension is generally targeted at the household level by concentrating on the traditional head of the household (which is the husband). Similarly, the system doesn’t address the specific agricultural needs of the youth since they are considered as landless and dependent on the family plot. In so doing, agricultural extension excludes young mothers. There is always a tendency not to acknowledge women as farmers and to associate agricultural only with the male. This prevented women from accessing even the minimum level of extension service, that is poultry production.”

The above example shows that even the modern agricultural extension system is vulnerable to the traditional structure of rural households that only considers males as household head and farmer. Such an understanding requires radical deconstruction. The major suggestion of experts and community members to ensure wider involvement of women in agriculture is for: inclusive and gender-sensitive agricultural extension, an inclusive rural financial system improving women's access to land and supporting and promoting the participation of youth and women in small businesses (such as poultry production, backyard agriculture, and milk processing).

Improve rural infrastructure: providing basic infrastructure that can support youth engagement in dryland agriculture was another common suggestion by respondents. Expanding rural access to rural electricity, water (both for drinking and irrigation), access to recreational facilities, and affordable housing and health care were suggested to retain the youth in the rural areas, reduce migration and enhance their engagement in income-generating activities.

Training and capacity building in agriculture: interviews and discussions with community members and experts in both regions indicated the need for youth capacity building on modern agriculture, as the youth lack knowledge of these practices. Respondents’ suggestions are summarised in Table 6.

Table 6. Key areas of intervention and capacity building in agriculture

| Land preparation for sowing crops |
| Knowledge on time of sowing crops |
| Soil and water conservation |
| • Soil and water conservation techniques |
| • Water harvesting techniques |
| • Irrigation |
| Fertiliser |
| • Timing and ways of fertiliser application |
| Improved crop production and management |
| • Weed identification and management |
| • Knowledge on application of insecticide and fungicide |
| • Disease and pest identification and control in crops |
| • Knowledge on appropriate time of harvesting crops |
| Knowledge on post-harvest handling of crops (storage and processing) |
| Improved livestock production and management |
| • Mastery of livestock breeding |
| • Livestock breed selection for specific purpose (fattening, dairying) |
| • Modern poultry production and management |
| • Disease identification and control in livestock |
| Improved beekeeping and management |

Record keeping

Promote and support youth enterprise development: boosting rural youth and women’s entrepreneurial capacity is one of the policy directions of the Ethiopian government. Respondents from both regions underscored the importance of diversifying livelihood opportunities for rural youth and supporting youth enterprise development. The core suggestions were: training youth to select profitable businesses, and prepare business plans, engage the youth in livestock production and marketing (goat fattening, poultry production, bee keeping, and milk processing), promote youth participation as brokers (to decrease exploitation by outsiders and to boost the village economy, capacitating the youth as rural service providers (e.g. suppliers of inputs such as seed, chemicals, fertilisers, transportation via Badjaj or tuk tuk), capacitating and organising rural youth into marketing and producers’ cooperatives (to increase their bargaining potential, competitive advantage, minimise risk, and increase profitability); and creating marketing channels (linking them with wholesalers, retailers, and factory owners – especially for groundnut and tomato producers).

Land for the youth: redistributing unused land and revising land policies.

Local peace and stability: these were cited as a pre-condition for stable livelihood activity and to ensure successful engagement of the youth in the agricultural value chain. The lack of peace and stability drove many youths out of the rural area in both regions. Several respondents suggested that government should resolve the resource-based and border conflicts in both regions. Addressing such conflicts will reduce youth displacement and improve their ability to start stable livelihood activities.
in their own villages. The youth invest thousands of dollars (up to USD 4,000) buying weapons (commonly Kalashnikov) from illegal dealers to defend themselves. This hard-earned cash could have been invested in productive purposes.

Character/personality focused suggestions

Several respondents suggested the character or personality traits required of the youth to thrive and to take advantage of the opportunities in the dryland agricultural value chains. These included, patience, hard work and determination (including developing a good work ethic), openness to learning and innovativeness, and financial literacy (saving culture).

Patience: this was one of the most frequently mentioned personality traits. Because dryland agriculture is very difficult, with frequent crop failure and drought, the youth should be guided by patience and good faith.

One of the elder respondents said:
“For the youth to live and thrive in this area, patience is one of the essential qualities for our youth. For instance, we grew mung bean last season. However, we lost everything due to rainfall variability. What can you do about it? This is a natural shock, and we need to be patient in dealing with such tragic and natural events. We have a saying in our culture, which says, a woman and farmer should not be impatient. If the baby dies while the mother is trying to give birth, will she stop conceiving again? No, she will conceive again hoping that Allah will help her for next baby. The same is true for a farmer. The farmer will not abandon cropping just because of a previous crop failure.”

Learning and innovativeness: It was mentioned that the youth should be resilient and learn how to convert a challenge into opportunities and adapt by making the best of their environment. The youth should be open to learning and take advantage of modern agricultural technologies.

As one elder said:
“The youth should learn to make a difference and cope with hardships. The youth should learn how to agriculture better by making use of available opportunities. The youth should collectively learn to innovate and make change. For instance, it is important that the youth learn the best soil and water conservation practices to improve their agriculture in this locality. The youth should know that wherever they may go there is no better place than your own land.”

Good saving culture: successful investment in the drylands requires saving. People indicated that the youth spend a lot of money (which could be invested). The youth should develop a culture of saving and efficient use of scarce resources.

One female youth key informant said the following:
“The youth should develop good saving habits. The youth in this locality are very bad in properly using their time and money. In this regard, I suggest the youth should be trained in efficient use of their time and money.”

Hard work and determination: perseverance to achieve one’s goal was an important quality frequently mentioned by respondents. Just because one works in a difficult environment, does not mean that he or she is destined to fail. The youth should find role models in successful youths who thrived and made it against the odds.

In conclusion, the structural and personality/character related opinions identified above are insiders’ perspectives obtained through active engagement of community members (including the youth) and experts. These are key areas to support youth engagement in rural value chains. These factors should be used to design and implement youth-friendly programs and strategies in terms of dryland agriculture, and economic growth.

8. Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Conclusions

8.1.1 Characterising the youth

There is no one single definition of “youth”. The youth are identified according to where they live, what they do, what they have, etc. Defining youth by age can be narrow, misleading, and problematic. Youth is a social construct. They are defined by themselves, by the society they live in, and by their culture. Socio-cultural norms, the gendered division of labour and access to resources are the most important parameters for in characterising the youth across cultures.

The definition of youth is also gendered. In most of the study area, males can be categorised as youth even long after marriage, but married girls are considered to be women. Such variations bring differences in access to resources. “Youth” must be defined contextually.

The elders and society at large hold various stereotypes, misconceptions and contradictions about youth. There are significant differences between how the youth perceive themselves and how they are perceived by adults.

8.1.2 Youth aspirations

The aspiration of most youths is driven by a common desire to improve their income, family, and quality of life. Aspirations of youth are shaped by social, cultural, environmental, and political realities and by exposure to social media. Aspirations are gendered. Aspirations of girls and boys are often shaped by social and cultural norms, a gendered division of labour and expectations of family and community.

There are significant differences in the aspirations of the youth and of older people. The youth are interested in pursuing non-farm businesses, whereas the older generation concentrates on traditional crops and livestock. However, most of the aspirations of the youth remain unachieved due to increasing land scarcity, tribal conflicts, drought, lack of job opportunities in rural areas, limited access to education, growing poverty, etc.

8.1.3 Youth transitions

Youth transition is a complex process involving different events and structures. Youth transition is social and cultural: norms, protocols, and values influence how male and female should make their transitions. Marriage is an important marker of transition from dependence to independence, according the person new social status, access to resources, as well as social and political responsibilities. Physiological and bodily changes are also important markers of transition in the study area.

Youth transition is gendered, dictating different access to resources (especially land and time), hence presenting different challenges and opportunities for male and female youth. Certain events (such as a death in the family, natural disaster, drought, war, or early marriage) trigger forced transition for male and female youth, affecting successful transition.

Youth transition is shaped by social, economic, political, and environmental factors. The different events influence the lives of youth and their ability to take advantage of opportunities in dryland agricultural value chains and to fulfil their aspirations (for jobs, skills, better incomes, etc.).

8.1.4 Opportunity structure and challenges

The drylands have fertile land, untapped natural resources and minerals, a huge and diverse livestock reserve, groundwater and rivers that can be wisely harnessed to improve the livelihood of the youth.
Indigenous institutions and mutual support structures are important assets that can be harnessed to facilitate meaningful youth engagement in dryland agricultural value chain activities. Different resource-sharing arrangements, such as labour-support networks, table banking, oxen borrowing, and youth mutual support groups play a vital role in the drylands.

There are also opportunities (from government and non-government) for rural finance and land reform policies favouring the youth. However, access to these opportunities is limited, hampered by lack of awareness of available opportunities, unfamiliarity with the bureaucratic procedures, a cumbersome bureaucracy (reflecting a lack of political commitment to youth issues) and corruption. In addition, some of the opportunities require other assets as a precondition (such as access to land, collateral).

Gender-specific challenges and power and relational dynamics between male and female youth shape the way they use opportunities. Land inheritance customs exclude women and girls, who are burdened with domestic drudgery. The communities and even the extension services do not perceive women as farmers, limiting their ability to engage in the dryland agricultural value chain.

Male and female youth are blocked from dryland agricultural value chain activities by financial constraints, lack of knowledge and technical capacity in modern agriculture and management, poor infrastructure and lack of access to markets, and by certain policies.

8.1.5 Engaging the youth in dryland agriculture value chains

The youth have positive attitude towards agriculture. Unlike the popular stereotype that the youth hate agriculture and the rural life, in reality the youth have positive attitude towards agriculture (as a source of livelihood and of income) and rural life. The erroneous understanding of youth attitudes towards agriculture and rural life may result in the wrong policy prescriptions. The youth consider agriculture as a noble and highly revered profession and a bridge that connects them to the rural life and tradition. However, the youth are less interested in crop agriculture, due in part to the lack of support to the sector. The youth believe that agriculture has been and can be a source of livelihood for them and their family if the sector is supported.

The lack of interest in agriculture is influenced by the low status and economic conditions of farmers in both regions and by the unsatisfactory performance of rain-fed, subsistence crop farming and because of the poor attention accorded to the youth in agriculture.

The preferred cereal and grain legumes among male and female youth include maize, sorghum, teff and groundnut. Other location-specific crops favoured by the youth include sesame and mung bean, and cotton. Farmers prefer quick maturing, familiar crops with market demand, good prices, and low production costs.

Age differences also matter. Older people and mothers favour traditional food crops, whereas youngsters focus on cash crops that have high economic returns and market demand.

Both male and female youth actively participate in agriculture, with gender differences. The females mostly participate in weeding and storage, while males are more involved in land clearing and preparation, planting, and harvesting. Both male and female youth are keenly interested in participating in post-production, such as marketing, processing, and packaging. Post-production could be a viable option for CRP-GLDC interventions.

8.2 Recommendations

Most of the dryland youth function in a complex and unforgiving environment, with limited services and support structures. The male and female youth are constrained by complex social, cultural, economic, environmental, knowledge-based and political realities, shaping their aspirations and ability to use available opportunities. These groups are often misunderstood, stereotyped, alienated, and excluded from decisions pertaining to their future and livelihood. Sustainable development and economic growth of dryland agriculture can only be assured through the active engagement of the youth and by respecting their aspirations. No agricultural policies will ever succeed with the exclusion and marginalisation of the youth, who make up most of the dryland workforce. Dryland agriculture needs the youth and the youth need agriculture. This symbiotic relationship should be harnessed and supported by genuine policies, strategies and well-rounded support structures that focus on mainstreaming the youth in agriculture. Specific recommendations:

- **Adopt a context-specific understanding of youth.** To ensure participation of the youth, the focus on age is reductionist, narrow, and exclusionary. It may exclude many male and female youth from targeted development projects. The combination of age with local definitions of “youth” is the most effective way to ensure youth participation in dryland agriculture and development projects. Development agents working for the youth in the drylands should customise their targeting criteria in line with social roles and responsibilities as defined by local culture.

- **Improve youth employment opportunities by focusing post-production.** Land is becoming increasingly scarce in the drylands. Negotiating land access for the youth through both the statutory and the local inheritance system will be difficult. It is important to find alternative ways to involve the youth in areas that will not require much land, e.g. in post-production.

- **Ensure meaningful engagement of female youth and women.** Women play a crucial role in the dryland agriculture value chain. However, their identity as farmers is often contested. As a result, they are often excluded from services that could benefit them and increase their contributions to dryland agriculture. Government and community-based organisations should work systematically to enhance the status and participation of female youth and young mothers in dryland agricultural value chains.

- **Tackle gender-based discrimination in access to resources.** Females are blocked from owning land, which prevents them from taking advantage of opportunities in dryland agriculture. It is important to eliminate inequalities in access to land, by changing attitudes within families and communities. Government and community-based organisations (such as mosques, churches, indigenous institutions, and schools) should work in collaboration to sensitise the community and family members against such discrimination.

- **Ensure availability of locally adaptable rural finance.** Finance is a crucial resource in the whole agricultural value chain. Encouraging participation of youth in the value chain as producers, market actors, and input providers requires affordable and locally adaptable finance for the youth. Most youth need interest-free loans without collateral. Government and non-governmental organisations should facilitate this type of finance.

- **Eliminate cumbersome bureaucracy.** Eliminating all forms of administrative and bureaucratic shackles that discourage the youth from taking advantage of various services (provided by government and other partners) must be a priority to encourage youth participation in economic activities. This requires a political commitment and a willingness to work closely with the youth.

- **Gender-responsive financing and credit.** It is important to ensure the availability of credit and rural financial services that take into consideration the varying needs and interests of male and female youth. Gender-disaggregated information about male and female youth on their varying needs and priorities may facilitate timely decisions.

- **Capacitating the youth as value chain actors.** Government and other development partners should support and capacitate the youth as value chain actors such as brokers and service providers to ensure wider economic benefits for the youth and their families from dryland agriculture.
Enhance the capacity of the youth through training and capacity building. Increasing production and productivity and enhancing economic benefits for youth require training and capacity building. Government and development partners should work to build knowledge and capacity of the youth across the value chain. Some of the areas that require capacity building include the use of modern agricultural technologies, soil and water conservation, harvesting and post-harvest practices, proper application of fertiliser and chemicals, modern production and management of livestock, packaging, and value addition.

Create market linkages. Male and female youth are constrained by the lack of markets to sell their produce at a reasonable price. The value chain is often dominated by unequal power relationships and information asymmetry that often force farmers to be price takers. Such unequal power and exploitative dynamics must be tackled. Government and other development partners can assist the youth by creating marketing linkages and connecting the youth with local and international markets. The government should train and encourage the youth to use ICT to be able to access real-time market information.

Provide basic rural infrastructure that can support youth engagement in agriculture and retain the youth in rural areas. Expanding access to rural electricity, building recreational facilities, providing irrigation and drinking water, strengthening animal and human health facilities will be important interventions.

Promote high value, early maturing, drought-resilient and disease-resistant crop varieties suited to dryland ecology and culture. Universities, research centres, and district, zonal and regional bureaus of agriculture should work in collaboration to support the youth and dryland agriculture in this direction.

Based on the above conclusions and recommendations, the following framework (Figure 18) is proposed to promote rural youth engagement in dryland agricultural-based value chain activities.

![Figure 18. Strategies to promote meaningful youth engagement in the dryland agricultural system.](image-url)
Appendix 1. KII checklist (in English, Amharic, Afan-Oromo)

1. Understanding youth in the community

How are youth defined in this community? (In the community in terms of beliefs, assets, holding, roles and responsibilities)

2. How do young people (men and female) move from being adolescence to adulthood in the drylands?

What are some of the ways in which young people transition from childhood to adulthood in this community?

• Move from school to your first job
• Move out your parental home
• Move to start a family
• Form partnership
• Move to engage in the community social and politically

What are the political, economic, social, technological and cultural indicators of youth transition in this community?

3. What are the young people (men and women) aspirations and values?

What are young people’s dreams in this community? What are the elements (political, economic, social, cultural and technological) in the community that enhance young people’s dreams in this community? What elements (political, economic, social, cultural and technological) in this community hinder youth’s dreams in this community? How do these elements affect young men and women differently?

What are the coping strategies of young men and women towards these elements hindering their dreams in this community? Where do young people generally want to live and work? Why do young people want to live and work in there? If they want to stay, what actually attracts them to stay in this rural area? If they want to leave, what should be done to make them remain in rural areas?

What are the economic activities that support youth livelihoods here/in this community? If agriculture is not one of them Can agriculture be a basic means of livelihood for female or male youth in this community? When you compare agriculture and other professions, is agriculture a viable profession with reasonable financial return? Are youth able to support themselves and their families using agriculture?

4. What kind of characters are required of youth (men and women) to be able to take advantage of different opportunities in the dryland agricultural value chains? (Checking mindset, personality, skills and ability etc.)

What kind of personality, attitude, and mindset is needed for youth to survive and thrive in dryland agriculture? What kind of resources, knowledge, skills or training do youth need to exploit agricultural opportunities in dryland areas?

5. What ‘opportunity structure’ are available for the youth dryland agriculture?

5.a What political, economic, social, technological and cultural structures exist to provide opportunities for youth engagement in the dryland? What economic opportunities exist in this area for young people?

If agriculture is an opportunity, what agricultural opportunities exist for young people in this dryland area?

Which organizations facilitate these opportunities? Are there government departments, NGO’s/CSO’s, youth groups, women groups, men groups, producer groups, community welfare groups, cooperatives, and farmer field school among others in your area? Are they viable platforms to improve youth engagement in agriculture? What services do they provide to young people? Do they support young people’s career development?

Do young people have opportunities to influence dryland’s agriculture among these people or institutions? Do young people hold leadership positions in these groups? Do young people participate in decision – making and policy making in these groups? If yes, how often do they participate in decision-making and policymaking in these the groups?

What other non-agricultural opportunities exist (networks, connections, services, facilities, leadership, leisure, non-income generating activities, technologies etc.) that support the youth in this community?

5.b What agricultural value chains (including their support systems) have highest potential for youth engagement? Why?

At production level; trading level; at trading level; at processing level.

5.c What unique challenges do the youth face while exploiting that available opportunities?

What are the political, social, economic, technological and cultural challenges young people face in agriculture? Are there gender-specific specific challenges?

What are the likely solutions for these challenges? What are the gender-specific solutions for these challenges?

What are your short term and long-term coping strategies to effects of changing weather patterns (Such as longer dry spells, less rain, polluted soil, unsafe drinking water?) Are young males and females able to access financial services? Who are financial providers? How do they access financial services? (Access mechanisms) What are the barriers? What are the possible solutions? What are the gender-specific barriers? What are the gender-specific solutions? What are the supportive policies in this area?

Are young males and females able to access land? How do they access land? (Access mechanisms) What are the barriers? What are the solutions to these barriers? Are there gender-specific barriers? Do cultural beliefs affect young men and young women access to land differently? Are there solutions to these gender-specific barriers?
Are young males and females able to access extension services? Do youth participate in farm demonstrations, field days, and other extension platforms? What are the barriers? Are there gender-specific barriers? What are the solutions to these barriers? Are there supportive policies in this area?

Are male youth and females able to access the market? What are the barriers? Are there solutions to these barriers? Are there gender-specific barriers? Are there gender-specific solutions to these gender-specific solutions?

6. How can dryland agriculture system engage the targeted youth?

How can the youth (be facilitated to) engage in a commercialised local/rural economy as producers, workers, business operators, or suppliers (or any other opportunity) of products in the dryland system.
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Gafflee Odeefannoo Ijoo Hirmaataa (KII Guide)

Odeefannoo Bakka Jireegnaa Ijoo Hirmaataa fi Yeroo Gaafi

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Odeefannoo wa’ee Ceehumsaa Dargaggummaa wajjin walqabatee

1. Hawwaasa kessatti halli/akkataan Dargaggumman itti hubatamu yookaan ibsamu

Hawwaasa keessan kessatti Dargaggumman haala akkamitin ibsama yookaan ilaallama? (Fakkenyoof: Karaa aadaatin, karaa dinagdeetn, karaa qabenya horachuutin, karaa hojjwwani hawwasuma rawwachutin geggesutin fi mirga adda addaa argachu wajjin walqabate akkamitti ibsama?)

2. Hawwasa kana keysatti dargagleeyin dhalaal fi dhiiroo dardarumaarraa gara nama guddatti haala akkamitin takaanfataan yookaan dabran?

Karalee jolleen dargaggummaarraa gara nama guddatti ceehan maal faadha?

Barataa ta’uu irra kara hojjetaati ceehudeen

• Mana haadhafi abbaa irra bahudhan
• Bultii jijaarudhan
• Gara sharliika arkaahudhan
• Wa’ee hawwaasumma fi siyaasaa keyssatti hirmachuuudhan

Akeekni dargaggummaa dhalaal fi dhiiroo garsisaa yookaan mul’issu gara siyaasaa, dinagdee, hawwaasummaa, teknolojii fi aadaatiin jiru maalfadha?

3. Dargagleeyin (Dhalaa fi Dhiiroo) wanti hawwaniifi bakka/gatti gudda kennanif maal faadha?

Hawwaasa kana keessatti abjuun yookaan hawwin dargagleeyi maal faadha?

Hawwaasa keessatti wantoota abjuu yookaan hawwii dargagleeyii deggaran gara siyaasaa, dinaggee, hawwaasummaa, teknolojii fi aadaatiin maal faadha?

Hawwaasa keessatti wantoota abjuu yookaan hawwii dargagleeyii iratti gufuu tahan gara siyaasaa, dinaggee, hawwaasummaa, teknolojii fi aadaatiin maal faadha?

Dhiibbaan gufulee kanan dargagleeyii dhalaal fi dhiraatiif garaagarummaan akkami?

Haalli dargagleeyiin dhalaal fi dhiiirii gufulee kannene bira itti darban akkami?

Dargagleeyiiin dhalaal fi dhiraatiis eessa jirachuu fi hoojachuu fedhan?

Dargagleeyiiin kun malif achitti jirachuu fi hoojachuu fedhan?

Dargagleeyiiin baadliyyaa keessa turuu yoo fedhanimo, maal faadhaatu isaan boji’a?

Dargagleeyiiin deemuu yoo barbaadanimo, akka turanif maaltu godhamuu qaba?

Hawwaasa kana keessatti dalagoolen yookaan dinagdeen jiru fi jireenya dargaggoota gargaaru maal faadha?

(Qonni isaan keesaa tokko yoo hintaane) hawwaasa kana kessaatti dalagaan qonnaa jiru fi jireeyna dargaggoota dhalaal fi dhiiroo gargaaru ni danda’aa?

Hogguu qonnaa fi hoojii yookan ooguma biraa wal-bira qabdee laaltu, qonni hoojii bu’a qabeeysadha jettee yaadding keessatti gara gali maalaaqaatin? Dargagleeyiin qonnaan if gargaariimi dhalaal yookaan isaanitiis gargaaruu ni dandayani?

4. Biyya akkanaa (Gamoojji/ Bakka hanqinni rooba jiru) kessatti hiree adda addaatti fayyadamuudhaaf dargaggessi (dhalaal fi dhiiroo) amalli akkammi qabaachutu irraa eegama? (fakkenyoof; ilaalcha isaan, beekumsa isaan, amala isaan, muuxanno fi dandeeytii wajjin walqabate).

Biyya akkanna hanqinni rooba jiru kessaatti jirachufi dargaggessi ilaalcha, beekumsa, amala, muuxanno fi dandeeyti akkami qabaachutu irraa eegama?

Bakka akkanha hanqinni rooba jiru kessaatti dalagaal qonnaatiir fayyadumu beekkomsa, muuxanno, qabeenyea fi leenji akkamtu dargaggeeyiidhaf barbaachisa?

5. Hariiroon hiree tamtu dargagleeyii dhalaal fi dhiraatiif ardiib bukraa tana keessa jiru?

5.a Dargaggonni dachii goggooyduu (bakka hanqinni rooba jiru) tana irratti dalagaal qonnnaa keessatti akka hirmoamanfi gargaaruudha gara siyaasaa, dinaggee, hawwaasummaa, teknolojii fi aadaatiin hireen jiru maal faadha?

Dinagde wajjin walqabate hireen dargaggeeyiidhi laatu naanmaa tana keessa maltu jiru?

Qonni yoo hiree taateefi, lafa goggooyduu tana irratti hireen qonnnaa dargaggeeyiidhaf taahu maal faadha?

Dhaabbiileen kantu dargaggoon hiree tanatti akka fayyadanfi maal mijeysa? (Dhaabbiileen mittomummaa, jaaruma dagaaggoota, jaaruma dawartootaa, jaaruma abboti, jaaruma rahmataa, jaaruma if-qabaa, jaaruma huji gmanta, dhaabbaa leenji, jaaruma qotee bulaa, kan biraa hoo)?
Dhaabileen armaan oli kun akka dargaggoooni qonna irratti hirmaataan haala gahaadhan ni-mijeesyani? (taajajila kan faadha dargaggoofii kennan? Dargaggoooni akka hujii-wayyeeyfatii ni godhanii?)

Dhaabille yookaan nammoota kannen keessa dargaggooonni waa’ee qonnaa irratti murti godhhu? (Seera tumachuufi, hirmaachuu fi dhiibba godhuu niidandayanii?)

Hireewwan qonnaa hin tahin kan dargageeyyiif tahu maal faadhaatu jira? (caasaan, walitti hidhannoo qabaachuun, taajajilaan, dhaabibileen, hujii gageeyeesumman, bashannansisumman, hujile gali-maleeyi taateen, teknolojii fi kff kan haawaasa keessaatti dargaggoni itti gargaaraman) maal faadha?

5. b Tartila/Sadarkaa dalagaa fi fayyadamu qonnaa keessatti (caaseyfoma gargaarsaatiis dababatee) kaamtu dargaggeeyyi himaachisuufi carra gudda kenna? Sababni isaa maali? Sadarkaa omishaatti, sadarkaa daldalaatti, sadarkaa jiijiru omisha fi kan fakaatan

Hiree jiirtuun fayyadamuudhaaf dargaggootatti maaltu gufuu taha?

5.c Gara siyaaasa, dinaggee, hawaseesummaa, teknoolojiis fi aadattin gufuf malitu qonnarratti dargaggoota mudachaaf jira? (Gufuule Dhiiraa fi Dhalaadha adda tahan ni jirani?)

Falli gufuulee tana furufu malchisu maal faadha? (Falli gufuuleedhaa kun dhiiraa fi dhalaalaa adda addatti laaliatu hoo maal faadha?)

Dhiibba jiijirramni qillensaa fidu furmachuf karrorri yaroo gabaabaa fi yaroo dheeraa qabdu maal faadha? (kan akka abaar goggoga, hanqina roobaa, biyyeen summaawuu, bishaan qulqullina dhabuudhaa)?


6. Caasaan qonnaa lafa goggoyduu akkamitti dargaggoota xiiyyeeyfataman kana hirmaachisu danadaya?

A. Dargaggoof haala akkamittin hujiiwan dinagde baadiya fi qonnaa (kan akka omishaadhaatti, akka hijjataadhaatti, akka diheeysaadhaatti, akka hujii hojijataa ykn diheeysaadhaatti (hire biraarratti) calla ykn bu’aa caasaan qonna lafa goggoyduu) keysatti akka hirmaataanii haala miyeysun danda’ama?

Appendix 2: LHI (in English, Amharic, Afan-oromo)

Life history semi-structured questions Life stage / questions

To gain general understanding of how youth (male and female) transition from adolescence to adulthood in the drylands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life stage / questions</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Amharic</th>
<th>Afan-oromo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How was it like growing up? (Your family, the geographical area you grew up in)</td>
<td>How far did/do you want to go with schooling? or do you think you had full/limited access to education?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>What livelihood activities did your family survive on?</td>
<td>What did you want to be or do when you grow up?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What are/were the causes of the mentioned events?</td>
<td>Did/Do you have someone you are looking up to or want to be like (a role model)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Explain the kinds of events that have affected/affected your life?</td>
<td>Why was this person your role model?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(education, migration, divorce, natural disasters etc.)</td>
<td>What are the major events that have occurred in your childhood?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>How did these events affect you? (Did they hinder or motivate you to pursue your dream?)</td>
<td>How did you manage this situation? How did you overcome the negative and how did you utilize the positive (probing for additional opportunity utilization)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>How did you transition (s) to independence? (move out, job, married, cultural ritual etc.)</td>
<td>How have these changes positively or negatively impacted your adult life? (e.g. long periods of loss of job; training opened new job opportunity etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>What support mechanisms helped you manage the changes? (From who and how) [If the support mechanism was not sufficient, what more could have been done?]</td>
<td>How were these changes positively or negatively impacted your adult life? (e.g. long periods of loss of job = divorce; or training = better job and salaries)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What economic activities are you currently engaged in?</td>
<td>What support mechanisms will help implement this plan?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What issue may be an impediment to the plan?</td>
<td>What economic activities are you currently engaged in?</td>
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</table>
## Gaaffilee Seenaa Jireenyaarratti Gamisaan Qindeeffame (LHI)

**Odeefanno Bakka Jiregnaa Gaafatamaa fi Yeroo Gaafi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naannoo Qoranno</th>
<th>Godina Qoranno</th>
<th>Aanaa Qoranno</th>
<th>Ganda Qoranno</th>
<th>Guyyaa</th>
<th>Yaroo</th>
<th>Jalqaba</th>
<th>Dhma</th>
<th>Maqaa fi Mallatto Gafi Gafataa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Odeefanno Haala Uumamaa Fi Jiruu Fi Jireenya Gaafatamaa**

| Maqaa Qoratamaa | Saala | Umri | Sadarkaa barnootaa | Buultii (fuudhee ykn heerumtee) | Saba | Amantaa | Qooda huj jahaabaa ykn dalagaa | Lakkoofsaa bilbila |

### Gaaffilee / Sadarkaa Jireenya:

Akkaataa dargaggoonni (dhiraafi dhalaal) ardilee Buekraa keessatti qerrummaa/qarrummaa irraa gara ga’eesummaatti itti cehan irratti hubannoo waliigalaa argachuudhaaf

### Gaaffiiffi / Qabixiilee Xiiyeeeftanno:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dargagguummaa/Qeerrummaafi Qarrummaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waa’ee keetifi waa’ee maaloo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Haalkii guddinaa maal faakkaata?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Maalii keen, Naannawni ati keessatti guddate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hojiileen maalii kee ittiin jiratu maali?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waa’ee adeemsaa/seenaa barumsa keetii naaf himi maalo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Barumsaan hangam deemuufi feerta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ykn barraa barsumaas guutuu ta’e/kan daanga e qaba jettee yaaddaa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waa’ee abjuu/hawwii kee kan qoojollummaa naaf himi maalo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Yoo guddatee maal ta’uuf ykn hojachuu feerta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Namii ati akka faakkeenynyit fudhassu ykn akka isaa ta’uufi feetu qabbdaa/ni jiraa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Namii kun maaliif faakkenya siif ta’e?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Ta’eeewwan jireenya kee miidhan (kanneen akkamitti)? |
| Wantii bakka ykn yeroo gaaritti uumame maal ture? |
| (Jijjiiramoota yeroo gara yerootti taasifame) |
| • Ta’eeewwan tuqaman kanaa sababooyi innaa maal fa’a/maal fa’a ture? |
| • Gosota ta’eeewwanii jireenya kee miidhan/miidoonh uibsi?  |
| (barkoota, godaans, buultii hiikku, balaawwan uumamaafi k.k.f) |
| • Ta’eeewwan kunnee akkamitti si miidhan? Kanneen yaraa ta’an/gaarrii hin taane akkamitti irra aante? |
| • Kanneen gaarrii ta’an akkamitti itti fayyadamte? (caraalee itti fayysadiimisaa dabalataa gaafachuu) |

### Ga’eessummaa:

| Ta’eeewwan adeemsaa gara ga’eesummaatti cehuu kam fa’a turen? |
| Cehuumsi (cehuumsonni) can kee kan gara of danda’u ur maal faakkaata? (achi dhiibuu, hooji, fuudhoo, jiloota aadaffi k.k.f. |
| • Jijjiiramoonni kunnee yoom uumamani? Bu’aa maaliis fidani? (fakkeenyaafaaf, yoom fuute? Jijjillee meeja qabda?) |
| • Ta’eeewwan ga’eesummaaa kee keessatti uumaman gurguuddoon maal fa’a?  |
| (fkn, yeroo dheeraaf hooji dhabuu, leenijn carraa hooji haaraa umuufi k.k.f) |
| • Jijjiiramoonni kunnee jireenya ga’eesummaaa kee irratti akkamitti dhiiibaabaa yaraa ykn gaari fidan? (fkn yeroo dheeraaf hooji dhabuu = buultii hiikku; ykn leenijn = hoojiiffi mindaa fooyya’a) |

| Tooftaaleen gargaarsaa kam fa’a turen? |
| • Jijjiiramoota aka too’attuuf tootaan si gargaare maali? |
| (Eenyurraa? Akkamitti?) [Tooftaan gargaarsaa gahaa yoo hin taane ta’e, dabalataan maalii hujatamu danda’u] |

### Haala ammoo/ffuulduuraa:

| Abjuun fikirriffi abdiibuuwa ammoo ka gara fuulduuraa jirinan yoo wal bira qabban maal fa’a? |
| Hojiileen diinagdee ati amma irratti hirnaattee jirtu maal fa’a? |
| • Abjuun kee kan joojoommaa kana turee? Maaliiffi? |
| • Abjuun kee ni jijjiirameee? |
| • Deebiin kee eeyee yoo ta’e haali yeroo ammaa kee kun maaliiffi sitti tole? |

| Tooftaaileen gargaarsaa ykn ittiin daangessan maal fa’a ta’u? |
| • Dhimmii karoorratti qofuu ta’u uumaa’u kami? |
| • Tooftaaileen gargaarsaa karooa kana hoojiirra oolchuu gargaaraa maali? |
Appendix 3: FGD (in English, Amharic, Afan-oromo)

Semi-structured questions for FGD's

FGD checklist

1. Who are the ‘youth in the drylands’ as a target group?
   a) How are youth defined in this community? (In the constitution, in the community in terms of beliefs, asset holding, roles and responsibilities)

   How do youth (men and women) transition from adolescence to adulthood in the drylands?
   What are some of the ways in which youth transition from childhood to adulthood in your community? (education, relationships like marriage, job, migration, access to assets)

   b) What are the political, economic, social, technological and cultural indicators of youth transition in your community?

   What are the youth (male and female) aspirations and values?

   What are young people’s dreams in your community?

   What are the elements (political, economy, social, technological and cultural) in the community that enhance young people’s dreams in this area?

   What elements (political, economy, social, technological and cultural) in the community that hinder young people’s dreams in this area?

   Where do young people generally want to live and work?

   Why do young people want to live and work there?

   If they want to stay, what actually attracts them to stay in this rural area?

   If they want to leave, what should be done to make them remain in rural areas?

   What are the economic activities that support youth livelihoods here/in this community?

   [If agriculture is not one of them] Can agriculture be a basic means of livelihood for female or male youth?

   When you compare agriculture and other professions, is agriculture a viable profession with a reasonable financial return? (are youth able to support themselves and their families using agriculture? [for this exercise, you could try ranking with participants on flip chart]

   c) What kind of young men and/or women can be/are able to take advantage of different opportunities in the dryland agriculture value chains? [checking mindset, personality, skill, ability etc.]

   What kind of personality, attitude and mindset, is needed for young people to survive and thrive in drylands agriculture?

   What kind of resources, knowledge, skills or training do youth need to exploit opportunities in the rural areas?

2. What ‘opportunity structures’ are available for the youth in dryland agriculture?

   a) What political, economic, social, technological and cultural structures exist to provide opportunities for youth engagement in the drylands?

   What agricultural opportunities exist in this area for young people?

   If agriculture is an opportunity, what opportunities exist for young people in drylands agriculture in this community?

   Who or which institutions facilitate these opportunities? [Are there government departments, NGO’s/CSO’s, youth groups, women groups, men groups, producer groups, community welfare groups, cooperatives, and farmer field school among others in your area?]

   Are they viable platforms to improve youth engagement in agriculture? [What services do they provide to young people? Do they support young people’s career development?]

   Do young people have opportunities to influence dryland agriculture among these people or institutions? [Do young people hold leadership positions in these groups? Do young people participate in decision – making and policy making in these groups? If yes, how often do they participate in decision-making and policy-making in these the groups?]

   What other non-agricultural opportunities exist (networks, connections, services, facilities, leadership, leisure, non-income generating activities, technologies etc) that support the youth in this community?

   b) What agricultural value chains (incl. their support systems) have the highest potential for youth engagement? why?

   At production level; trading level; at processing level

   c) What unique challenges do the youth face tapping into the available opportunities?

   What are the political, social, economic, technological and cultural challenges young people face in agriculture? [Are there gender-specific challenges?]

   What are the likely solutions for these challenges? [What are the gender-specific solutions for these challenges?]

   What are your short term and long term coping strategies to effects of changing weather patterns (such as longer dry spells, less rain, polluted soil, unsafe drinking water?)

   Are young males and females able to access financial services? What are the barriers? What are the possible solutions? Are there gender-specific barriers? What are the gender-specific solutions? Are there supportive policies in this area?

   Are young males and females able to access land? What are the barriers? What are the solutions to these barriers? Are there gender-specific barriers? Do cultural beliefs affect young men and young women access to land differently? Are there solutions to these gender-specific barriers?

   Are young males and females able to access extension services? Do youth participate in farm demonstrations, field days, and other extension platforms? What are the barriers? Are there gender-specific barriers? What are the solutions to these barriers? Are there supportive policies in this area?

   Are male youth and females able to access the market? What are the barriers? Are there solutions to these barriers? Are there gender-specific barriers? Are there gender-specific solutions to these gender-specific solutions?

3) How can dryland agriculture system engage the targeted youth?

   a) How can the youth (be facilitated to) engage with a commercialized local/rural economy as producers, workers, business operators, or suppliers (or any other opportunity) of products in the dryland system.
Gaafilee Mariilee Hirmaattota Garerratti Xiyeyeffatu (FGD Checklist)

Odeefanno Baakka Jiregnaa Hirmaattota Mari Garee fi Yeroo Gaaf

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naannoo Qoranno</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Godina Qoranno</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aanaa Qoranno</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ganda Qoranno</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guyyaa</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Yaroo           | Jalqaba  
| Maqaa fi Mallatto Mari’achisa | Dhuma  

Odeefanno Haala Uumamaa Fi Jiruu fi Jireunya Hirmaattota Mari Garee

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Kodii Hirmaata</th>
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<tr>
<td>Saala</td>
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</table>

Odeefanno wa’ee Ceehumseaa Dargaggummaa wajjin walqabate

1. Dargaggummaan akka garee dhimmaatti ardii goggoyduu tanarratti maaliidha?

Hawwasa kana kessaatti Dargagumman haala akkamnit ibsama yokaan ilaallama? (Fakkenyaaf: Karaa aadaattii, karaa dinagdeetn, kara qabenya horachuutin, kara hojjwani hawwasuma rawwachutin geggesutin fi mirga adda addaa argachu wajjin walqabate akkammitti ibsama?)

a) Biyya akkanaa hanqinni rooba jiru kessaatti dargaggeeyii dhalaal fii dhiiraa dardarummaarraa gara nama guddatti haala akkamnitin tarkaanfatan yokaan dabran?

Hawwasa keessan kessaatti karaleen joollen daggaggummaaarraa gara nama guddatti ceehahantu akkamnit dhawaan danda’aa?

• Barataa ta’uu irra kara hojjetaatti ceehudhan
• Mana haadhahi abbaa irra bahudhan
• Buliti jiarudhaan
• Gara shariika arkachuudhan
• Waa’ee hawwasuma fi siyaasaa keyssatti hirmachuudhaan

Akeekni dargaggummaa dhalaal fii dhiiraa garsisuu yokaan mu’fisu gara siyaasaa, dinagdee, hawwasummaa, teknoloojii fi aadaattiin jirtu maal faadha?

b) Dargaggeeyin (Dhalaal fii Dhiraa) wanti dargaggeeyii dhalaa fii dhiiraa dardarummaarraa gara nama guddatti ceehahantu akkamnit dhawaan danda’aa?

Dargaggeeyiin kun malif achitti jirachuu fii hojjachuu fedhan?

Dargaggeeyiin baadiyya keessa turuu yoo fedhanimo, maal faadhaatu isaan boji’a?

Dargaggeeyiin deemuu yoo barbaadanimo, akka turanif maaltu godhamuu qaba?

Hawwasa kana keessatti dalagoolen yookaan dinagdeey jiru fi jireunya dargaggootaa gargaaru maal faadha?

(Qonni isaan keessa toko yoo hintoane) hawwasa kana kessaatti dalagaan qonnaa jiruu fii jireunya dargaggoo dhalaa fii dhiiraa gargaaru ni danda’aa?

Hogguu qonnaa fii huji yokaan oogumma biraa wal-bira qabdee laaltu, qonni hoji bu’a qabeeyadsda jettee yaaddaa keysattu gara gali maalaaqqaatin? Dargaggeeyiin qonnaan if gargaaran dhalaa yookaan isaniiitiis gargaaru ni dandayani?

c) Biyya akkanaa (Gamoojji/ Baakka hanqinni rooba jiru) kessaatti hirree adda addaatti fayyadamuudhaaf dargaggeessi (dhalaa fii dhiiraa) amalli akkamni qabaachutu irraa eegama? (fakkonyaf; ilaalcho isaan, beekumsa isaan, amala isaan, muuxanno fi danbeeeytii wajjin walqabate).

Dargaggeeyiin qonni irratti gargaaran dhalaa yookaan isaniiitiis gargaaru ni danda’aa?

Bakka akkana hanqinni rooba jiru kessaatti jirachufi dargaggeessi ilaalcha, beekumsa, amala, muuxanno fi danbeeeytii akkamni qabaachutu irraa eegama?

Bakka akkana hanqinni rooba jiru kessaatti dalagaan qonnaattirra fayyadumufi beekkomsa, muuxanno, qabeeyaa fi leenihi akkammu dargaggeeyiidiif haraabachisa?

2. Hariiroon hiree tamtu dargaggeeyii dhalaa fi dhiiratti ardiib bukkaan tana keessa jiraa?

a) Dargaggonni dachii goggoyduu (bakka hanqinni rooba jiru) tana irraattii dalagaan qonnnaa keessaatti akka hirmachuu fii gargaaran gara siyaasaa, dinaggee, hawwasummaa, teknoloojii fi aadaatin hirree jiruu maal faadha?

Dinaadgii walqabate hireen dargaggeeyiidiif taatu nannawa tana keessaa maltu jiraa?

Qonni yoo hiree taatee, lafa goggoyduu tana irraattii hireen dargaggeeyiidiif taatu maal faadha?

Dhaabbiileen kamtuu dargaggoon hiree tanatti akka fayyadamanif haala mijjeysa?

(Dhaabbiileen miti-motummaa, jaarmaya dargaggootaa, jaarmaya dubartootaa, jaarmaya abboti, jaarmaya rahmataa, jaarmaya if-qabaa, jaarmaya huji gamtaa, dhaabbiileenkaa, jaarmaya qotee bulaa, kan biraa hoo)?

Dhaabbiileen armaan oli kun akka dargaggoonni qonna irratti hirmachaa haala gahaadaan nii-mijeeyaan? (toajaajila kam faadha dargaggotoof keessaa? Dargaggunni akka huji- wayyeyfatan ni godhanii?)

Dhaabbiileen yookaan nammoota kannen keessa dargaggunni waa’eene qonnaa irratti murti godhuu?

(Seera tumaachufi, hirmachuu fi dhiihbaa godhoo niidanayani?)

Hireewwan qonnaa hin tehin kan dargaggeeyiff tahu maal faadhaatu jiruu? (caasaan, waltiti hidhanuun qabaachuun, tajaajilaan, dhaabbiileen, hujiyee gaggummeen, bashananiisumman, hujjii gali-maleyyi taatee, teknoloojii fi kif kan hawwasa keessatti dargaggunni itti gargaaran) maal faadha?
b) Tartiiba/Sadarkaa dalagaa fi fayyadamu qonnaa keessatti (caoseyfama gargaarsaatiis dabalotee)
kaantu dargaggeeyii hirmaachaasufi carra guddaana kenna? Sababini isa maalii? Sadarkaa omishaattii, sadarkaa jijiru omisha fi kana fakaatan
c) Hiree jirtuun fayyadamuuddaaf dargaggoottatti maaltu gufuu taha?
Gara siyasaa, dinagge, hawaasummaa, teknoloojiii fi aadattuun guf malitu qonnaarrittii dargaggoota
mudachaa jira? (Gufuule Dhiraa fi Dhalaadha adda tahan ni jirani?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FALLI GUFAALEE</th>
<th>TANA FURUUF</th>
<th>MALCHIISU MAAL FAADHA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Gara siyaasaa, dinagge, hawaasummaa, teknoloojii fi aadaatiin gufu malitu qonnarratti dargaggoota | 7. ወገሱ ከፍርዎ ልብ ያስፋ እስከ ለልካት፣ምስካት?  
ii. ይህ በነገር ይህ ያንክ ከክፋል ይታክዎ ይታክዎ፣ባጤ፣ባጤ? (ለሞክር፣ ገብርዎ ይታክዎ፣ባጤ፣ባጤ፣እግዚህ፣ የካርባክስ ያስፋ እስከ ለልካት፣ምስካት?)  
i. ይህ ያስፋ እስከ ለልካት፣ምስካት ይታክዎ ይታክዎ፣ባጤ፣ባጤ ይታኋኝ ያስፋ እስከ ለልካት፣ምስካት? (ለሞክር፣ ገብርዎ ይታክዎ፣ባጤ፣ባጤ፣እግዚህ፣ የካርባክስ ያስፋ እስከ ለልካት፣ምስካት...)

| HIRREE JIRTUUN FAYYADMUUADF DARGAGGOOTATTII MAALTU GUFUU TAHAA | FALLI GUFUULEE TANA FURUUF MALCHIISU MAAL FAADHA | (FALLI GUFUULEEDEEHAAN DHIIRAA FI DHALAA ADDA MUDACHAA JIRA?) |
This work was undertaken as part of, and funded by the CGIAR Research Program on Grain Legumes and Dryland Cereals (GLDC) and supported by CGIAR Fund Donors. 
https://www.cgiar.org/funders/

About CRP-GLDC

The CGIAR Research Program on Grain Legumes and Dryland Cereals (CRP-GLDC) brings together research on seven legumes (chickpea, cowpea, pigeonpea, groundnut, lentil, soybean and common bean) and three cereals (pearl millet, finger millet and sorghum) to deliver improved livelihoods and nutrition by prioritizing demand driven innovations to increase production and market opportunities along value chains.

http://gldc.cgiar.org

About the CGIAR

CGIAR is a global research partnership for a food-secure future. CGIAR science is dedicated to reducing poverty, enhancing food and nutrition security, and improving natural resources and ecosystem services. Fifteen CGIAR Centers in close collaboration with hundreds of partners, including national and regional research institutes, civil society organizations, academia, development organizations, and the private sector carry out its research.

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