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Aspirations of Rural Youth towards Agriculture: The Case of Hulet Eju Enese Woreda, East Gojjam Zone, Ethiopia

Aragaw Sergo

Lecturer, Ethiopian Police University College, Ethiopia

Abstract:

Beyond the contribution of agricultural sector as alternative source of employment to the growing youth populations, the youth are the key to the future of agriculture. But, how the young people respond to small-scale farming and can the sector meet the aspirations of youth will be critical in terms of both future employment and food security. Thus, an understanding of the aspirations of rural youth towards agriculture and the factors contributing to their opinion formation is important for the development of the sector and youth employment in agriculture.

The data presented in this paper is drawn from in-school and out of school rural youth that have been categorized in to four different age groups to understand how and why aspiration and hopes change in the life course of young people. In the study, qualitative methods (in-depth interview, focus group discussion and key informant interview) and survey were used in Hulet Eju Enese woreda, East Gojjam zone. One high school was purposively selected and two kebeles having upper level primary schools were randomly selected for the study. Accordingly, in the selected schools and kebeles, in-depth interviews were conducted with eighteen people and three key informants. Four FGD sessions, two with each kebele, were also held with young farmers. Quantitative data was obtained from a survey of 188 randomly selected in school youth, 121 from high school and 67 with upper primary students.

The study revealed that most of the rural boys and girls aspire to non-agricultural occupations. The absence of access to different kinds of services and infrastructures at a desired level to youth in rural areas compared to the urban make agriculture and rural life unattractive to youth. The general characteristics of agricultural and/or rural life (for instance backbreaking nature of the sector) have also contributed for youth to aspire non- agricultural career. Moreover, the social environments close to rural youth (e.g. family and media) have influenced youth to aspire beyond agriculture.

But a significant number of rural youth show a desire to engage in agriculture if favorable things are there in the sector at least as transition to 'best' means of livelihood. Thus, modernization of the sector and improvement of agricultural productivity, have influenced youth likelihood to engage in the sector. Nevertheless structural problems; land shortage, asset problems (like shortage of money), the problem of agricultural input, attitudinal problem, and backwardness of agricultural tools are among the constraints the youth face to start and/or do farming as their means of livelihood.

I argue, therefore, improving the condition of rural life by increasing access to basic services, modernizing the practice of agriculture and changing the attitudes of the community is necessary to encourage youth involvement in the sector. Moreover, due attention should be given to structural problems like scarcity of farm land and accessibility of farming inputs to improve agricultural productivity and youth employment in the sector.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Throughout the developing and emerging economy countries, a high proportion of the population depends directly on agriculture for their livelihood and wellbeing. It is the second largest source of employment after service, employing over one billion people globally in 2009. In 2010 the agricultural population represents 55 percent for sub-Saharan Africa (Proctor and Lucchesi 2012).

Available literature points to the fact that agriculture remains a key sector where the surplus unemployed youth labor force can be employed in Africa. Agriculture currently plays a major role in the lives of the many young people and it is projected to remain so even in the next few decades (FAC 2010).

In most poor countries, agriculture is a major employer and source of national income and export earnings (Manning and Thompson 2006). Similarly, the Ethiopia's population is predominantly rural with 80% employed in agriculture. And a nationally representative survey shows that the majority of Ethiopia's population is young with the youth and adolescent population alone accounting for 40.6% the total population in 2011 (CSA 2012).

Moreover, Ethiopia accounts for the largest youth population in Sub-Saharan Africa and the lack of employment opportunities for Ethiopian young people is among the critical developing challenges facing the country (Guarcello and Rosati 2007). And agriculture

could be a potential source of employment to solve this problem by providing productive alternatives for the engagement of youths in the sector.

The agriculture-centered rural development program has been adopted by the government as a major strategy expected to assist in the realization of the country's economic development objective (MoFED 2002). Thus, in an attempt to transform the agrarian society, the government has been promoting education in the country with the emergence of a number of public and privately owned schools and enrolments (Yisak and Tassew 2012).

But, agriculture in its present state appears to be so unattractive to young people that they are turning away from agricultural or rural futures (White 2012). Many young people are choosing not to pursue livelihoods in the agriculture sector, especially as farmers (Leavy and Smith 2010).

Children keep changing their occupational aspiration over time mainly based on their educational achievements. Farming has rarely been object of aspiration for children but emerged as outcome for those who could not achieve educational aspirations. Food security in Africa should be guaranteed not just by engaging those with 'failed' aspirations but those who aspire and learn to be 'farmers (Yisak and Tassew 2012).

Young people show no desire to be farmers or to be employed in farming after receiving vocational training. The number of youths who consider farming as a symbol of poverty and backwardness is very large indeed. Neither are they willing to assume hard physical work and therefore avoid employment in sectors such as agriculture, which require physical labor (MoFED 2002). Moreover, because of the negative attitude of the family and the society at large about agriculture, informal work in urban areas is preferred by those who are exposed to school even if it is low paying and as backbreaking as agriculture (Getnet and Asrat 2012).

Therefore, the attitudes of young people should be changed to consider agriculture sector as viable livelihood option valued by the society and essential for ensuring the national food security (Getnet and Asrat 2012). And the status of farming should be changed so that rural youth could aspire for, invest on and live by it (Yisak and Tassew 2012).

Yisak and Tassew (2012) further point out that in African countries like Ethiopia, where there is a serious food insecurity, getting young people with an ambition of becoming farmers is emerging as a challenge. Young people are being raised up with career aspirations by far beyond agriculture putting the farming enterprise at risk.

Thus, an understanding of the aspirations of rural youth and the links between aspirations and career decisions will be critical if agricultural policies achieve their intended outcomes (Leavy and Smith 2010). The study, therefore, aims to explore the aspirations of rural youth and the factors that shape their agricultural aspirations as a career.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Given the dependence on small-scale farming for domestic, regional and global food production, and its capacity to absorb labor specifically in regions where alternative employment is limited and where youth populations are expected to rise in the coming years how young people respond to opportunities and whether small-scale farming can meet their aspirations will be critical in terms of both future employment and food security (Proctor and Lucchesi 2012).

Moreover, with a rapidly growing global population especially in the developing world providing food security increasingly requires innovative solutions and technologies (Feighery et al. 2011). Yet, most point out that the young people should be at the forefront of revitalizing agriculture since they tend to be more innovative (FAC 2011). Young people are the key to the future of agriculture both as small-scale producers and as part of the labor market for different scales of agriculture (Proctor and Lucchesi 2012).

Above all aspirations play an important role in influencing how young people make life choices, how they think and feel about themselves and ultimately their life outcomes (Schaefer and Meece 2009). The aspirations of rural youth and the factors contributing to their formation should, therefore, be of interest not only to the young people themselves, their families and communities, but to all those with an interest in agricultural and rural policy and development (Leavy and Smith 2010).

However, regardless of the importance of understanding the aspiration of rural youth for the overall development of the agriculture sector, little is known about rural youth life aspirations in general and agricultural aspirations in particular (Leavy and Smith 2010). Recently, by recognizing the importance of understanding rural youth aspiration different scholars (e.g. Leavy and Smith 2010; Schaefer and Meecoe 2009) argued the need for such research.

Aspiration of rural youth towards agriculture has been overlooked by the researchers at the global level (Leavy and Smith 2010). Social science studies of young people's aspirations tend to be concentrated mainly on educational aspirations that focus on analysis of the effects of gender, disability, and social and economic deprivation (Furlong and Biggart 1999; Bajema et al. 2002; Tinklin et al. 2005 cited in Schaefer and Meece 2009).

In Ethiopia scholars (e.g. Getnet and Asrat 2012; Yisak and Tassew 2012) have provided insight about rural youth aspirations and the place of agriculture in the imagined future livelihood of the rural youth But the study overlooked the major factors shaping the agricultural aspiration of rural youth. They didn't address what characteristics of agriculture and rural life shape the aspirations of rural youth towards agriculture. The study underscores the impacts of individual and household characteristics on shaping rural youth agricultural aspirations. Furthermore, they didn't address the underlying constraints affecting rural youths' agricultural aspirations and involvement as a means of livelihood. Therefore, though some studies have been conducted about youth aspirations it is hardly enough in investigating the aspirations of rural youth and their attitude towards agriculture as a means of livelihood and as an employment opportunity particularly in our country case.

Thus, in the first place it is difficult to take for granted that young people are not interested to engaging in agriculture and agricultural career, with some evidence in the literature. Secondly most studies done were concentrated on youth educational aspirations and its related aspects. Moreover, they undermine not only the gender aspect in their study of aspiration but also little or no attention was

given to agricultural aspirations. More importantly, there is no enough investigation on the reasons behind the disinterest in agriculture on rural youth. Previous studies mentioned above overlooked the main factors which have contributed for low interest or ignorance of agriculture as a career for rural youth.

Thus, with a hope of understanding rural youth disinterest to agriculture and the reason behind for such attitude the study will explore rural youth aspirations towards farming as a means of livelihood and their life aspiration in general, and its implication on the prospects of future agriculture.

Therefore, this study address differences among rural youth aspirations across gender, educational level and other set of individual and household characteristics to come up with the diversity of views and a broader analysis of rural youth aspirations towards agriculture. Moreover structural problems that shape the agricultural aspirations of rural youth, for instance, inaccessibility of infrastructure in rural areas, fragmented land size, lack of capital and the application of agricultural technology appropriate for small scale farming have been investigated. Thus, it is my strong belief that the study could supplement the existing literature studied in the area by addressing those issues that are not explored by previous researchers.

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The main objective of the study is to explore rural youth aspirations towards farming as a means of livelihood and their life aspiration in general, and its implication on the prospects of future agriculture: with particular reference to Hulet Eju Enese woreda, East Gojjam zone.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To explore the place of agriculture in the aspirations and imagined futures of rural youth
- To identify the characteristics of agriculture and/or rural life that shape the aspirations of rural youth towards agriculture
- To explore a set of individual and household characteristics that determine the likelihood of youth engagement in agriculture
- To describe the underlying constraints affecting youths' agricultural aspirations and involvement as a means of livelihood

2. Research Methodology

2.1. Research Approach

In this study mixed research approach has been employed to use the major advantages of different research methods and to increase the validity and reliability of the study. According to Johnson et al. (2007) mixed methods research is an intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative research that recognizes the importance of traditional quantitative and qualitative research.

2.2. Research Design

The study's design is across sectional where the data is collected at one point in time. Thus, in the absence of any possibilities for a longitudinal study due to time constraints the researcher has categorized informants in to four different age categories: students aged 14 - 16 who are in upper primary school, students aged 17 - 20 who are in high school, students who left school (drop outs or graduates) aged 18 - 24, and young farmers aged 21 - 29.

In school youth

Young rural boys and girls who were still in school were the main focus of the study. This group of participants was further divided in to two sub-categories, those in upper primary school and those in high school. Since the study targeted students who were 14 or older, this meant that only students who were in grades 7 and above were to be considered during data collection.

Out of school youth

Out of school youth comprising those who have completed high school but have failed to pursue their studies further or those who have dropped out of high school were also participated. Since this category of participants were neither attending school nor engaged in other work of a permanent nature, the study were aimed at exploring how their aspirations and hopes have changed over time.

Young farmers

Along with in and out of school youth, young farmers were also a central focus of the study. This category of participants was composed of young people who have already entered in to agriculture as their main means of livelihood. The focus of the study with this category of participants was at exploring the factors that lead them to adopt agriculture as their livelihood with the intention of identifying factors that facilitate or hinder entry in to agriculture.

The decision to focus on the above four categories of participants was made with the hope that it will reveal not only how the hopes and aspirations of each group are formed, reformed and influenced but also how they change along with the wider socio-economic and other circumstances that individuals find themselves in along their life course

¹Hulet Eju Enese is a rural district located in EastGojjam zone, Ethiopia

²Woreda refers to an administrative structure equivalent to a district

In other words this classification by age is one way of documenting how and why aspiration and hopes change in the life course of young people and the transition from childhood to adulthood. Thus, the different categories of participants have made possible to get views of the informant since this reveals why aspiration and hopes change in the life course of young people.

2.3. Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary data is used in this research. Primary data is collected cross-sectionally using structured questionnaire, FGD, in-depth interviews and Key informants interview. Primary data is obtained with prior informed consent from all study participants and all names included in the text are pseudonyms. Secondary data is obtained from review of relevant literature and documents available.

2.4. Method of Data Collection

In the study methodological triangulation has been employed by using in-depth interview, focus group discussion and survey as major data collection methods.

2.4.1. Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion is a data collection method that enables the researcher to receive a wide range of responses during one meeting. Participants can ask questions of each other, lessening impact of researcher bias. It also helps participants to remember issues they might otherwise have forgotten (Dawson 2007).

Focus group discussion has been conducted with the categories of young farmers in four sessions. The groups were composed of 7-11 members at one discussion held in each group. Except one group of session held without female participants in the remaining all group discussion both males and females were equally participated which paved the way to understand the issue across gender. Therefore, 20 male and 12 female individuals have participated in the discussion.

The participants were recruited with the help of the local *kebele* development agent worker and the interviews took place in a secluded office in the premises of the *kebele* administration office.

For the purpose of this interview FGD guide has been provided based on the objective of the study and the moderator has played the role of facilitation during the discussion.

2.4.2. In-depth Interview and Key Informant Interview

The in-depth interviews were held to explore issues of interest in greater detail. Thus, in depth interviews were carried out with the following categories of informants classified in to four different age categories: young students aged 14 - 16 who are in upper primary school, students aged 17 - 20 who are in high school , young high school drop outs and high school graduates aged 19 - 24, and young farmers aged 21 - 29. Four informants (two male and two female) have been selected from each categories of participant based on the interest of the respondents. So a total of 16 in-depth interviews were held. In addition to the above mentioned categories of informants in-depth interview were also held with two college/university graduates who are unemployed. Since there was a list of these informants, they were recruited through snow balling methods after I have informed to one of the informants I know formerly. Most in-depth interviews were held in neutral venues which provided reasonable privacy and with no other third parties present. The interviews with these individuals have enabled to understand the agricultural aspiration as an alternative means of employment.

Moreover, key informants interviews were held with government officials. Thus, a total of three key informants' interviews, two with *kebele* officials, and the remaining one with the head of the *woreda* agricultural office were conducted. These key informants interviews were mainly aimed at gaining appropriate contextual information and to clarify some issues that appeared vague or uncertain from the information gained through the group interviews. In order to ensure that these later interviews served this purpose appropriately, they were conducted towards the end of the field work after all other interviews were completed. For the purpose of these interviews, interview guide was provided aiming at answering the already set objectives.

2.4.3. Survey Method

From those different categories mentioned above the survey is conducted with in school rural youth- both upper primary (14-16 years old) and secondary school students (17-21 years old). In cooperation with each school director I have accessed to the list (sample frame) of all students. And in the first category i.e. primary school youths who were attending grade seven and eight multistage cluster sampling was used to identify schools. As such from the whole rural *kebeles* in the study *woreda* that have full second cycle school (up to grade eight) two rural *kebele* schools, Shige-Keranyo and Gengerta primary schools, were identified. Then from each *kebele's* school, a total of 67 (ten percent of the whole attendants of upper second cycle) grade seven and eight students were surveyed using simple random sampling.

In the second category, the survey has been conducted in one of the *woreda's* high schools called Inese Senior Secondary School. There are three high schools in the *woreda* as a whole. All attendants in Inese Senior Secondary School are not only from a rural background, but also they come from different localities of the *woreda*. Thus, a total of 121 (ten percent of the whole attendant) high school students were surveyed using simple random sampling.

Those who participated in the in-depth interview were not included in the survey to avoid multiple sampling as well as to address more numbers of respondents' views. A structured questionnaire was prepared and administered to collect data from the sampled rural youth.

2.5. Data Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative data is analyzed using sequential procedures. According to Creswell (2007) sequential procedures is a method of data analysis in a mixed research method in which the researcher seeks to elaborate on or expand the findings of one method with another method. This may involve beginning with a qualitative method for exploratory purposes and following up with a quantitative method with a large sample so that the researcher can generalize results to a population. Alternatively, the study may begin with a quantitative method in which theories or concepts are tested, to be followed by a qualitative method involving detailed exploration with a few cases or individuals.

Therefore, the qualitative data; the data from FGD, in-depth interviews and key informants' interviews are categorized in to themes or categories and is treated qualitatively in relation to the objective of the study. The field notes taken during the interviews have been translated and contextualized.

Then the translated and contextualized data is organized across pre-identified themes regarding aspirations, their construction and formation, views of the rural, views of farming, and imagined futures. This process of coding done manually has revealed important differences across the different groups of participants, cross cutting themes, as well as emerging themes which needed to be integrated in to the pre-identified themes.

As to quantitative data, the collected data obtained using questionnaires is analyzed using statistical package for social sciences (SPSS version 20). This is to mean that data from the questionnaire was analyzed descriptively and presented using tables, frequency counts and percentage.

2.6. The Guiding Conceptual Framework of the Study

In this study Armstrong and Crombie (2000) circumscription and compromise approach is the guiding conceptual framework that views development of career aspiration as a result of continuous dynamic interaction between individuals and the social environment. Armstrong and Crombie (2000) suggest two processes through which occupational aspirations are formed; circumscription and compromise. Circumscription occurs as individuals eliminate unacceptable occupational alternatives by equating self-concept with perceptions of conceivable occupations and ascertaining the level of affinity between the two. Compromise refers to the process of giving up unattainable and inaccessible occupations for more attainable and realistic occupational alternatives by reflecting on one's occupational self-concept. In this approach individuals are seen as forming their aspirations within the limits of a "zone of acceptable alternatives" (circumscription). But even from this set of alternatives, individuals have to narrow down their aspirations to the more realistic choices in such a way that previously held aspirations are substituted for new but more realistic ones in a process of continual compromise. Compromises can be either 'anticipatory' (i.e. based on their perception of being able to access an occupation) or 'experiential' (i.e. based on their experiences (Armstrong and Crombie 2000).

Both the environment close to the individual and the broader societal context therefore influence aspiration formation. This includes socio-cultural influences and degree of social-embeddedness. Aspirations are formed against a broader, changing social context and wider changes in society. Phenomena such as financial crisis and recession, religious fundamentalism, the changing role of women, and rise of new media can therefore affect the determinants of aspirations, their relative importance, aspirations themselves and perceived barriers to achieving (occupational and social) aspirations over time (Gutman and Akerman 2008).

It is aspirations that tend to decline as children mature into young adults, in response to a growing awareness of the world, its possibilities and constraints, influenced by previous choices and experience: This decline is particularly marked for those facing multiple barriers (Gutman and Akerman 2008). Furlong and Biggart (1999) found a tendency for both aspirations and expectations to fall over time – especially for males – and for expectations to be towards much lower status jobs than those aspired to. Certainly, as young people mature, practical issues begin increasingly to inform aspirations. Young people's opportunities are often limited by the pathways that they have already taken, such as leaving education and becoming a parent. Over time, as young people become more aware of the obstacles they face, they may lower their aspirations to meet their expectations, particularly when facing multiple barriers to success.

3. Analysis and Discussion

3.1. Rural Youth Life Aspirations and Agriculture

3.1.1. Respondents' Background Information

Among 188 in-school youth respondents participated in the survey from three schools 51.6% of the participants in the study are females while the remaining 48.4% are males. The age of most respondents falls in to two main categories: between 14-16 and 17-20 years. Thus, 89.6% of primary school respondents belong to the age category of 14-16. Only 11% of primary school respondents aged between 17 to 20 years old. On the other hand, 89% of high school students are aged 17 and above.

Among all participants of the survey, 90.4% of the respondents are unmarried, while married and widowed account for 3.4% each. Regarding the educational level of the parents of the respondents, compared to the respondents' mothers, their fathers are better educated. That is, 49.3% of the respondents can only read and write while 30.3% have attended some kind of formal education. Only 13.4% of the respondents' fathers cannot read and write. On the other hand, nearly half of the respondents' mothers, 46.3%, do not read and write, while 32.8% can only read and write. And the remaining 20.8% have some kind of formal education.

3.1.2. Occupational Aspirations

The first thing that comes out strongly from the survey held with in-school youth as well as the interviews is that they have non-agricultural high occupational aspirations. The primary occupational aspiration for both primary and secondary school youth is becoming a medical doctor. From a total of students surveyed 34.75% of respondents' selected medical doctor as their ideal career followed by engineering and office work which account for 19.7% and 17.7% respectively. Compared to the primary school students, secondary school students tended to choose engineering as their primary occupational aspiration. That is, 22.3% of secondary school students chose engineering as their ideal career while only 5.9% of primary school students wanted to be engineer. On the other hand, compared to secondary school students, primary school students aspire to medical doctor as their ideal career.

Therefore, compared to primary school students, occupational aspirations were somehow different among high school students who were slightly older and educated. Moreover, all respondents of both sexes aspired to non-agricultural career such as doctor, engineer, business man, office worker, pilot, scientist, teacher, nurse and the like.

Thus, the overall aspiration of youth towards agriculture is very low which accounts only 6.9 % of the total respondents. Only 5.1% of female and 8.9% of male high school students have chosen agriculture as their future means of livelihood. For comparison nobody has chosen agriculture as an ideal career from primary school respondents. Almost all the respondents aged in between 14-16 aspire to non farming occupation while those who joined high school and aged seventeen and above, though few, aspire to be a 'farmer'. Regarding gender, the difference is too small for both males and females do not aspire to agricultural occupation.

To understand the occupational aspiration of rural youth students, they were asked to describe the reason behind choosing a particular occupation in the open ended questionnaire and during the in-depth interview session. Most of the respondents want to become a medical doctor in order to help vulnerable patients and to contribute to their country's betterment. Few students also mentioned that becoming a medical doctor would help them to earn good salary that would enable them to help their family. Moreover, some students also mentioned that medical doctor is a dignified profession in the community.

Regarding the second most aspired occupation, engineering, a significant numbers of respondents mentioned the current government policy for aspiring to this particular occupation. This is particularly true for high school students; they repeatedly mentioned that the current government is favoring technology related disciplines so many opportunities are given to such disciplines. They further added if a student is able to score the minimum pass mark it is possible to join engineering regardless of their educational achievement.

Moreover, some students' occupational aspiration for engineering was directly related to the betterment of family life. Students involved in the interview stressed that they want to help their families by generating 'good money'. They believed that they are in need of getting rich fast which they feel is not possible working in the agricultural sector but engaging in some lucrative professional activities. Informants remarked that engineering is the best profession to do a profitable personal business without waiting for being employed by the government.

If you want to change you and your family's life, you have to do professional private business. As to my knowledge, engineering is the best career to make your own business. I know engineers who are generating good income by contracting different projects. Moreover, I don't want to make my life passive by waiting for monthly salary. I think it is impossible to change one's life unless one engages in private business. So if you become an engineer you can regulate good means of income by your own. As far as you get good money you can help your family financially. It is my dream to see change in my parents' life. That is why I want to be an engineer (Tefera, grade 10).

The most important thing which was repeatedly mentioned by students in the open ended questionnaire as well as during in-depth interviews regarding their aspiration was, in fact, different but most of them have high non-agricultural aspiration. The reason for this kind of aspiration was to help their families in addition to their personal interest. Thus, to achieve their goals, informants stressed, they have to have a good rewarding non-agricultural occupation. Most of the interviewed youth stressed that agricultural occupation is also undesirable even for their parents. And if possible, they want to withdraw them from agricultural life. So, informants concluded, this could be achieved through succeeding to have a high rewarding non-agricultural job. During the in-depth interview in primary school, Medeset (female, age 14) stated;

I want to be a doctor because I want to change my family's life. I always think my family's life is not good in agriculture and I think I have my own responsibility to take them out of agriculture. So, if I become a doctor not only I can change my own life but also I can liberate my family from physically exhausting agricultural life.

This kind of idea, 'changing family's life', was repeatedly expressed in the open ended questionnaire and during the in-depth interview with a number of in school youth across all age categories of boys and girls. It may not be surprising since many of these youth are growing up in their community by observing the fact that when somebody finishes his/her education and gets employed he/she is expected to help the family members and to change the family's life as much as possible.

To conclude rural youth aspire beyond agriculture and youth informants responded that they believe they will not be farmers by any means. Thus for most of the study participants it is considered as a stepping stone to other 'best' means of non-agricultural occupations in which I will discuss in the next section.

3.1.3. Farming as a Transition to 'Best' Means of Livelihood

During my interviews the common ideas reflected across all categories of informants were that agricultural career is considered as a stepping stone to 'best' urban non-agricultural career. This attitude is more pronounced during the interview held with in-school youths. They stressed that they will engage in agriculture if they have no any alternative that serve as a means of livelihood. One of the respondent states:

After few months I will finish grade 10. I hope I will join preparatory. If I am unfortunate and fail to pass the exam I am not sure what I will do, but I may try any work other than agriculture. But if all these are impossible, I may get back home and engage in agriculture (Nekatibeb, 18).

As we understood in the above quote youth who are in school primarily hope their educational success as a means of achieving their career aspiration. Moreover even in case they fail to succeed in their schooling rural youth try any other non-agricultural occupation as much as possible depending on the opportunity available. And most in school youth back to agriculture if they fail to find any other non-agricultural occupation. This kind of idea was mentioned by most of the in-school youth I have interviewed. The following quote taken from the interview with the above informant shows this clearly.

I know many youths who have finished their education and led their life in agriculture. Let me tell you about my uncle's son. I know him closely. He completed grade 10 in 2000 E.C. For two years, he moved restlessly from town to town without being successful. He tried to do many things but failed to lead his life in city successfully. Finally, he got back home and started agriculture. I know he is doing well in agriculture now. But still he is not happy to live there and he always dreams to work in a city. And he is doing agriculture and stayed there because he has no any other option beyond agriculture (Nekatibeb, 18).

This was equally reflected by young farmers who are engaged in agriculture. For most of them engaging in farming is the result of the absence of other option. Most of young farmers assume farming as an occupation which only uneducated do. Moreover, they assume that they are farmers because they are uneducated. They believed that if they had the opportunity to go to school, they would not probably become a farmer. Moreover, they condemn their family for being uneducated claiming that their parents failed to send them to school when they were children. For those who grew up without an education in this rural *woreda*, the entry in to a life of farming is an option less option. Most of these young farmers believe that the apparent absence of any other means of livelihood and inaccessibility to formal education have forced them to walk the 'wrong' means of livelihood, farming.

Thus, during the in-depth interviews and focus group discussion held with young farmers, the most frequently given answer to why they decided to become farmers is the absence of any other option. Moreover, they are not happy with their career (farming) and they are expecting the 'proper' time to withdraw from agriculture. Almost all of the young farmers said farming was not just their proper option of making a living and consider it as a miserable means of livelihood.

For many, agriculture is a kind of career that may serve as a transition for securing 'best' means of livelihood. This kind of view was evident in the interview held with all categories of informants. Particularly, informants from high school were keen in stressing that agriculture can serve as a transition to non-agricultural careers they aspire if they couldn't succeed in their education and fail to get a professional job they aspire.

I think ignoring farming is totally a mistake. If it is possible, everybody wants to have a good job other than agriculture. But, life may not always go only the way we want. God may not permit. As to me, farming can also be a good alternative. If you work hard, you can have high chance of becoming wealthy, which in turn enable you start the career of your choice. So, farming could serve as a good starting point to do any business. As to me, if I fail to succeed in my education, I will involve in agriculture temporarily and then I will start a business (Smachew, age 19).

The interview with young farmers showed that they seemed to be more comfortable with farming compared to in-school youths, but still they didn't consider it as the best option; rather they took it as a means of transition to a better means of livelihood. For most farming is not a career which is done for life time rather it is considered as a seeping stone to start other lucrative professional business. During the focus group discussion, a young farmer in Shige-keranyo states:

For most of us farming is not that much satisfactory. I believe that farming is not a career you can hold on to for life. But it could be a starting point for a better life. We have seen, though few, who were farmers once and converted to rich business person now. They were farmers like us but by working hard, they left the life of agriculture. And now they are living a good life. It is also my hope that after working for few years, until I will be able to do a business, in agriculture, I will withdraw it and become a business person.

Thus, farming has been considered as a temporary means of livelihood that nobody wants to hold on to such exhausting means of livelihood for life. It is rather considered as a means of transforming to other career. And the young farmers further expressed this belief in their own words more or less reflecting similar ideas. In the focus group conducted with young farmers, for instance, Adugna (a young farmer from Gengerta, age 27) stated "I don't want to waste my age in agriculture. I want to change my and my families' life. I have been in agriculture since my childhood. Being a farmer, life is unchanging and difficult. "He further remarked "I am tired of a life without change. Now, I have decided to leave agriculture. Just I'm waiting the proper time to withdraw from it and do some kind of business."

From the interview with the young farmers, it can be concluded that most of them felt that farming is not the best way of earning a living rather they involve in agriculture for they are unable to do anything else. As a result, they are engaged in agriculture until they start non agriculture life in urban areas.

On the other hand, during my in-depth interview, I have found one young farmer whose attitude deviated from the above shared ideas. For him, farming is not a path to other career rather it is the best means of livelihood by itself. What was interesting about this young farmer was he has become a successful farmer after graduating with BA degree. He has been engaged in agriculture with interest passing through all cultural and economic obstacles. During my in-depth interview with him he said:

➤ I had been unemployed for one year after graduation. Since I grow up in this locality with my father looking after cows and sheep, I was aware of succeeding in agriculture in the area if it can be done properly with some creativity. I have faced many obstacles to do farming. Land problem was the main challenge for me. The other problem was the attitude of the community.

Here in this community being a farmer after holding a degree is somewhat strange. But, I decided to become a farmer while I was in college. I asked the government body to give me an arable land. They were cooperative and gave me half a hectare land that has been communally owned and used for grazing. Then I started to plant onion and some vegetables. Fortunately, it was productive and I was able to get good income. Thus, I found out that farming is the best means of livelihood that can change the life of youth. I have understood that farming is not the last resort, rather the best means of livelihood by which one can amass high income (Abebaw, 26).

He pointed out that he was not interested in the first place to do agriculture but latter he has decided to do agriculture and found it productive. He further advised the rural youth, particularly those who have completed their education like him, to do agriculture by pointing out the profitability of the sector. He remarked that productivity of agriculture could be increased if it is done by educated youth. But he recognized the challenges to be faced. The challenges in agriculture will be discussed latter in section 4.4.

To conclude most of the rural youth aspire to non-agricultural occupation. They consider agriculture as means of transition to 'best' means of livelihood. Though the overall agricultural aspiration of rural youth is low it differs across age level. There is also slight difference in the agricultural aspiration of youth across gender. The opportunity structures with in which agricultural aspirations are constructed significantly diverge for young boys and girls towards the end of high school. That is, compared to youth in the upper age the agricultural aspiration is greater than those youth in the early age (14-16 years old). This finding is different from the previous studies (e.g. Yishak and Tasew 2012; Alhaibwe et al. 2013) noted that in comparison to lower age cohort the upper year cohort are less likely to undertake agriculture. On the other hand it confirms with study by Muhammed (2011) that the more matured youths are more likely to choose agriculture as a career than the younger one. Thus, the reason for this may attributed to as young become increasingly aware of the limited opportunities open to them (circumscription); their probability of involvement in the sector also increased at least a way to transforming to other non-agricultural career.

This aspiration to non-agricultural career is not simply constructed rather there are many factors which have influenced rural youth to aspire beyond agriculture which I will discuss in the next consecutive sections. As such in the following section the characteristics of agriculture and rural life that have an impact on the aspirations of rural youth will be discussed. The impact of the accessibility of services in rural areas and how productivity in the sector of agriculture has impacted the aspiration of youth will be discussed. Moreover, the views of rural youth on rural/agricultural life and its impact on rural youth agricultural aspiration will be analyzed. Thus, the following section will also explore changes in rural areas in general and in agriculture in particular and how it has impacted the agricultural aspirations of rural youth from their perspective.

3.2. Characteristics of Agriculture and/or Rural Life and Agricultural Aspirations of Youth

3.2.1. Accessibility of Service and Agricultural Life

Farming and the rural way of life has changed tremendously over the past few years. Some of these changes are easily visible to anyone who is familiar with rural agrarian life in the *woreda*. It is also evident that there has been some improvement in accessing different kinds of services among this rural community. But these basic services are not yet accessed by all. In addition to my observation, the *woreda* agricultural office head also affirmed the fact that some improvements have been observed though there is still high gap in providing basic health service, sanitation facilities, agricultural extension support and access to infrastructural facilities. For instance, only few areas of the *woreda*- the *woreda*'s main city, Motta and few rural cities had access to electricity.

Types of service	Yes	No	Total
Access to electricity	19(10.1%)	169(89.9%)	188(100.0%)
Access to sanitation facilities	126(67.0%)	62(33.0%)	188(100.0%)
Agricultural extension support	148(78.7%)	40(21.3%)	188(100.0%)
Access to credit	154(81.9%)	34(18.1%)	188(100.0%)

Table 1: Service availability in respondents' locality Source: Field Survey, 2014

As data taken from the survey, as shown in table 4.2.1 above, from the whole in school youth respondents only 10% of them have access to electricity. Moreover, 33% of surveyed individuals responded that sanitation facilities are not accessed. Similarly, 21.3% and 18.1% of the respondents answered that there is no agricultural extension support and access to credit in their locality respectively.

During the survey most of in-school rural youth responded that, except electricity, other facilities like access to sanitation facilities, agricultural extension support and access to credit were available in their respective locality. But during the interview with this category of respondents, both primary and secondary school students, the idea which contrasts with the idea of the surveyed respondents was raised. They acknowledge the availability of services, but they stressed that the existing facilities are not enough. These in school youth also claimed that they have no access to different kinds of facilities because they are rural boys and girls.

Similarly, during the in-depth interview and FGD with young farmers, despite the rural development policy in preach, i.e., giving priority to rural people and agriculture, some young farmers claim that basic facilities are not provided for them. The absence of facilities, they stressed, is the manifestation of the fact that the government ignored the rural community. During the focus group discussion one high school graduate young farmer expressed this in the following manner:

> I believe that farmer is the backbone of the country. But priority is given to city dwellers in the country. Have you seen any electric power or other facility available for farmers? I think the government forgot us. I often hear the radio saying, 'farmers

are the backbone of the country, so the government has given special attention for rural development'. But to my knowledge there is nothing done here for farmers (Tadesse, male, 21).

Another participant in the focus group discussion added the following;

It is said that we have been provided with clean water, credit service and many other facilities. Let me tell you about the water. Water well pump has been built before one and a half years and it really made everybody happy. But our happiness did not last for more than a month. After giving service for one month, it stopped giving service. It has been more than one year now. We have even asked the woreda administrator to get the service, but still there is no response. This must be because they do not give attention to us (Yeshi, female, 23).

On the other hand, rural youth were asked what they think about the impact of the accessibility of rural facilities in affecting their attitude towards agricultural aspirations. As shown in table 4.2.2, most of the in-school youth respondents (95.7%) believed that the availability of services in the rural setting has an important impact on their agricultural aspirations. The remaining few students, i.e., 4.3% of the respondents, have replied that access to service as irrelevant in shaping their agricultural aspiration. The difference across gender and age categories is insignificant that the majority from both sexes and all ages category have responded that the availability of facilities have an impact on the agricultural aspiration of rural youth.

		Impac	Impact of access to services			
		Not important	Important	Very important		
Sex	Male	4(4.4%)	51(41.9%)	35(38.9%)	90(100.0%)	
	Female	4(4.1%)	64(65.3%)	30(30.6%)	98(100.0%)	
Total		8(4.3%)	115(61.1%)	65(34.6%)	188(100.0%)	
School	Primary school students	0	58(86.6%)	9(13.4%)	67(100.0%)	
	High school students	8(6.6%)	57(47.1%)	56(46.3%)	121(100.0%)	
Total		8(4.3%)	115(61.1%)	65(34.6%)	188(100.0%)	

Table 2: The impacts of access to services on agricultural aspirations Source: Field Survey, 2014

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the availability of services have a significant effect on the agricultural aspiration of rural youth. Similarly, during the interview, most of the respondents were keen to point out that it is difficult to be attracted to rural life with the absence of basic facilities like electricity in the rural area. For instance, Andargachew (age 17, male), a high school student expressed his view:

Nowadays, the youth cannot be fooled easily like our fathers and mothers. I don't want to live without electric power like my parents did. For instance, there is no power to charge mobile phone. To find electric power, you have to come here, Motta, by travelling for more than two hours on foot. Even there is no road and transportation service that can at least minimize the tiresomeness. You can guess how much it is devastating. I don't want to live in rural for a moment without such basic facilities. Thus, it is difficult to become a farmer; living such a backward life there is hard. In fact, even with availability of basic facilities in rural areas, I am not that much attracted to agricultural life.

This kind of expression was common throughout most of my interviews with rural youth. They are in need of better services like electricity than their mother's and father's. Recently a number of rural youth have started to use mobile phone and they need electricity to charge their mobile phone. But unfortunately they couldn't access such kind services and they are required to go far beyond their village to city.

Thus, to conclude, there have been improvements in rural areas in terms of different facilities, but they are not accessed by the majority of rural community; and the needs of rural youth are not yet fulfilled. Thus, the rural youth feel dissatisfied because of the inaccessibility of basic facilities in their localities. As a result, the unavailability of these facilities in a desired level has influenced the rural youth negatively in aspiring agriculture and residing in the countryside.

3.2.2. Satisfaction on Agricultural/Rural Life and Its Characteristics in Fulfilling Rural Youth Life Aspirations

It is quite striking that the youth do not define their vision of good life with reference to their involvement in the agriculture. As shown in the table below, they strongly feel that their vision of good life cannot be achieved by spending their time, and investing their energies in agriculture.

		Rur	Rural life in fulfilling life aspirations				
		Very poor	Poor	Good	Very good		
Sex	Male	30(33.4%)	40(44.5%)	14(15.6%)	6(6.5%)	90(100%)	
	Female	21(21.4%)	52(53.0%)	20(20.4%)	5(5.1%)	98(100%)	
Total		51(27.2%)	92(48.9%)	34(18.1%)	11(5.8%)	188(100%)	
School	Primary school students	30(44.8%)	19(28.4%)	17(25.4%)	1(1.4%)	67(100%)	
	High school students	21(17.4%)	73(60.3%)	17(14.0%)	10(12.1%)	121(100%)	
Total		51(27.1%)	92(48.9%)	34(18.0%)	11(5.8%)	188(100%)	

Table 3: Respondents' view on rural life in fulfilling life aspirations

Source: Field Survey, 2014

As shown in table 4.2.3, for most of the respondents the rural life couldn't fulfill their life aspirations. As such most of the respondents (77.1%) have replied that the rural life is 'poor' and/or 'very poor' in fulfilling the life aspiration. Only 26.5% of individuals have responded 'good' and/or 'very good' about rural areas in fulfilling their life aspiration. Thus, most of the respondents believed that the rural life doesn't fulfill their needs and aspiration.

The view was almost similar for both male and females. Thus, 78.9 % of male and 74.4% of females responded that the rural life fails to fulfill their life aspirations. Similarly, 77.7% high school students and 73.2% primary school students responded that the rural setting fails to fulfill their aspirations.

As such, from the whole participants of the study almost all rural youth have chosen to live in rural and they mentioned that rural areas are for those 'damned'. During my in-depth interview what was mentioned repeatedly by the informants were they are not happy with the rural life and wanted to leave rural future. For most of in-school youth informants' rural life is a kind of living without access to modern technology and it is full of 'repetitive' life struggling with nature. One of high school male informant stated this in the following manner;

- For me living in rural is living without nothing. You are expected to look after for cows, farm in rainy and sunny day, you have no light, television and other facilities living your entire life in a dusty and the muddy condition. Have you imagined how much ugly living such a damn life is? He asked rhetorically and further remarked;
- I don't know I may change my mind at some point in time, but what I have in mind at this time is I will not live in rural area. What I prefer is to live in urban city. I know that living in urban has its own challenges, but by any means it would not be like rural areas. You know, living in urban means your future is shining.

There is no significant difference towards perception of rural life in fulfilling life aspiration across gender, age and educational level. As such all of them perceive the rural life as poor or/and very poor in fulfilling their needs. Similarly, except one of my informant, all I have interviewed in school youth, both male and females, stressed that the rural life fails to fulfill their need. They have perceived the rural as 'backward' that have nothing to fulfill their needs. As mentioned earlier, few rural *kebeles* in the study *woreda* have accessed to some basic infrastructure services like telephone services, but other services like electricity and transport services are not yet available in many rural *kebeles* of the *woreda*. To the extreme some informants consider agricultural/rural life as segregation of oneself from world reality. They consider rural life not beyond keeping cows and sheep for the entire life. One of graduate unemployed male respondents from Gengerta *kebele* expressed the rural life in the following words;

For me, living in rural is just making myself idle, disconnected from the world reality. And you have no connection with others. Moreover, in rural areas there is no way to access different kinds of information. Obviously, without information it is difficult at this time. Your life will be stagnant with no change. It means living the same kind of lifestyle through your entire life. Assume that I have decided to live in rural; it means I'll just farm the land, keep the cows and sheep. Then what? It is just doing this for my entire life. There is nothing beyond this. This is too boring. And that is not life for me (Belay, 24).

Thus, during my in-depth interview only one in school youth deviating in some way from the consensus that rural life fails to fulfill the aspiration of rural youth and views rural life as better. He stressed on most appealing sides of agricultural life claiming that rural life has many good things. But he is still not sure that rural life is capable of fulfill the basic needs of rural youth.

The most important thing that should be mentioned here from my rigorous interview and focus group discussion, the categories of youth farmer engaged in agriculture were more inclined to see the rural life as having the capacity to fulfill their needs and aspiration compared to the in school youth and rural youth completed their education and not involved in agriculture. But still like in school youth informants, many young farmers considered the rural life as simple having no civilization.

The dissatisfaction on rural life was evident during the interview held with all categories of respondents. As were in the survey, most of the informants seem to be less satisfied on the rural life they are part of it. Moreover, there are many youth who consider being rural youth as a misfortune that makes life too difficult. As a result they are far from satisfying by rural life. A female high school informant expressed;

➤ Being a rural boy means leading a measurable life. It is difficult to compare rural and urban boys/girls. The urban boy can keeps all his safety. For instance, let's tell you my misery because of I'm rural boy. I have expected to go more than three hours on foot by carrying my prepared food. If I were an urban boy I was not expected to confront such a miserable life rather I may use the time wasted on long hour journey to entertain myself (Abebu, 19).

As mentioned in the above quote students are required to go far from their locality to access high school education. At the same time they are required to carry their weekly food on their back or shoulder. This and related burdens, therefore, makes the rural youth to be less satisfied by being rural boy/girl. The dissatisfaction on rural life was the repeatedly said statement during my interview held with the in school youth informants.

Similarly, the young farmer during focus group discussion; 'it is difficult to express the life of farmer. We are living a miserable life here in agriculture', one of the respondents said, 'we live a life not better than feeding ourselves', another added. The hardship evident in agriculture and their perception of backward life may have attributed for this kind of attitude. Thus, many of youth interviewed undermines the farmer's way of life.

3.2.3. Development Opportunity in Agriculture and Youth Aspiration

It is evident that agriculture and its productivity have improved compared to the earlier times. For instance, as to the Shige-keranyo *kebele* coordinator of DA's, a farmer produces more than 70 quintal of wheat per hectare in this *kebele*. According to him, many youths have changed their lives through agriculture. I also proved this during my data collection in both *kebeles* involved in the study; Gengerta and Shige-keranyo. I observed the youth who have shown progress in their life significantly. A numbers of youths who are

working in agriculture have changed their lives tremendously. It is not strange to hear and/or find stories of farmers who have accumulated a great amount of money. The story of a young graduate farmer, who has become wealthy by working in agriculture, from Shige-Keranyo *kebele* could be a good example. According to the *kebele* DA officer, this young farmer has been able to amass much wealth through agriculture. He was also chosen as a model farmer and got an award from the government of the regional state of Amhara. I also proved this during my interview with him.

For the last few years, the government has organized many unemployed rural youth so as they engage in agriculture in the *woreda*. According to the *woreda* agricultural office, there are many youths organized in group that are engaged in agriculture and able to win their life. Similarly the DA officers from both *kebeles* stressed that there are a significant number of organized rural youth who are able to accumulate good wealth through agriculture and agriculture related activities. The DA officers also acknowledged that not all organized groups are successful in becoming productive in agriculture due to different reasons. But all of them stressed the availability of development opportunities for rural youth in agriculture.

To understand this from the rural youths' perspective, they have been asked what they think of the availability of the economic opportunities in their locality. As shown in table 4.2.4 below, most of the respondents, 62.7% of the surveyed, believed that there is high economic opportunity in their respective localities. On the other hand, 37.3% of the respondents believed that the economic opportunity in their respective localities is low. Compared to females, the male respondents believed that there is low economic opportunity in their respective localities.

Moreover, the older and higher grade level respondents perceived the local economic opportunity better than the younger and lower grade level respondents.

			Perception of local economic opportunity			
		Low	High	I don't know	Total	
Sex	Male	38(42.2%)	48(53.3%)	4(4.4 %)	90(100.0%)	
	Female	24(24.5%)	70(71.4%)	4(4.1%)	98(100.0%)	
Total		62(32.9%)	118(62.8%)	8(4.3%)	188(100.0%)	
	Primary school students	19(28.4%)	45(67.2%)	3(4.5%)	67(100.0%)	
School	High school students	43(35.6%)	73(60.3%)	5(4.1%)	121(100.0%)	
Total	•	62(32.9%)	118(62.8%)	8(4.3%)	188(100.0%)	

Table 4: Respondents' perception of local economic opportunity Source: Field Survey, 2014

Therefore, most of the respondents surveyed have a positive attitude towards the availability of economic opportunity in their respective agricultural localities.

Affirming this, few rural youths engaged in agriculture became successful. These farmers testify the opportunity available in agriculture that can change the life of many youths. During the in-depth interview with the young farmers, one of the informants who is a member of an organized group that engaged in cattle husbandry testify their success in agriculture. He expressed his idea as follows:

➤ If you work hard and able to pass the straddles, you can get good money through agriculture. You may lack money to buy the oxen and other related inputs. But if you pass these challenges, you can get good profit. For instance, we had bought three oxen with a total of 9500 birr and after a year we sold these oxen for 22 thousand birr. Now, we are planning to buy other oxen again since we found it profitable. So, if you work hard, there are many options in agriculture and you can make good money (Addisu, grade 10 completed).

But do most rural youth aspire to do agricultural career by recognizing the availability of economic opportunity and this observed slight improvement in their locality? The most important thing raised by informants was the possibility of changing one's life through agriculture and recognizing the availability of opportunities in the sector. Therefore, according to the theory of circumscription and compromise, the aspirations are adapted and changed in light of new experiences, choices and information. This includes an individual's awareness of their own abilities and the available opportunities seems working here. But they have stressed the challenges in the sector, which I will return to later in section 4.4 supplemented with unattractive nature of rural life have made rural youth to consider agricultural career not beyond as a stepping stone to best means of livelihood. Participants of the study raise many problems in agriculture that challenge and/or hamper rural youth engagement and/or success in agriculture.

The in-depth interview showed that most of in-school youth believed in the availability of high economic opportunity. Compared to the earlier times, productivity of agriculture, informants expressed, has improved. They come to believe in the possibility of changing one's life through agriculture. And they come to conclude that if one owns land, today's farming can make many local residents wealthy, even better than government employed people. Despite the fact that some sort of productivity is evident in agriculture, informants stressed, the life style of farmers is still backward. One of the female informants from high school remarked:

Now the farmer who owns enough land has started to gain more. Productivity has improved compared to earlier times. In some conditions, a farmers' income exceeds that of many government employees. A farmer is gaining more income than a degree holder government employee. But for me, the life style of farmers is still unattractive. Though they have become more productive and their income grows, they still lead a backward life (Attegeb, 19).

Therefore, those who believe in the availability of many options in the area stressed the possibility of leading good life through agriculture and few numbers of youth who have engaged in agriculture have been successful in changing their lives. But that doesn't

seem to affect significantly how agriculture is perceived in and most of them considered it only a path to other 'best' means of livelihood.

3.2.4. Status of Agriculture in the Community

The status given to agriculture could be one of the determining factors to the agricultural aspiration of youth. This was evident in Smith (2010) aspirations are not just about economic opportunity –status is important: agriculture is unappealing to young people because it does not bring status regardless of economic outcomes.

As shown in table 4.2.5, in the survey held with in-school youth, most of the respondents view agriculture as prestigious in the given community. This affirms that Gella and Tadele (2014) argument that due to the likely origin and long history of use in the region, the plough occupies a pivotal and privileged place in the history of farming in Ethiopia.

			Status of agricultural career					
		Highly prestigious	Somehow prestigious	Low prestige	I don't know			
Sex	Male	32(35.6%)	33(36.7%)	20(22.2%)	5(5.6%)	90(100.0%)		
	Female	45(45.9%)	32(32.7%)	21(21.4%)	0	98(100.0%)		
Total		77(40.9%)	65(34.6%)	41(21.8%)	5(2.6%)	188(100.0%)		
School	Primary school students	49(73.1%)	16(23.9%)	0	2(2.9%)	67(100.0%)		
	High school students	28(23.1%)	49(40.5%)	41(33.9%)	3(2.6%)	121(100.0%)		
Total		77(40.9%)	65(34.6%)	41(21.8%)	5(2.6%)	188(100.0%)		

Table 5: Respondents' view on status of agricultural career Field Survey, 2014

As such, a significant numbers (40.9%) of respondents believed that agriculture is a 'highly prestigious' career in the given community. On the other hand 34.6% of them have responded that agricultural career is 'somehow prestigious'. Only 21.8% of the whole individuals surveyed consider agricultural career as having 'low prestige'. For comparison, female respondents view agricultural career as highly prestigious compared to their male counterparts. But the percentages share of respondent who view agriculture as low prestige is almost equal.

Therefore, the expression of Smith (2010) that agriculture does not bring status as a result youth fails to aspire agriculture does not seem work in the study area since my survey shows that the status given to agriculture by most of the respondents is high, but as discussed earlier, rural youth don't aspire agricultural career.

On the other hand the difference across age category and/or grade level regarding on the views of the status of agriculture is too significant. As such compared to the early tenth ages of youth (mostly primary school students), the older youths in their late tenth and early twenty (mostly high school students) view agricultural career as 'low prestigious'. As shown in the table above, from the whole respondents who answered agriculture as a 'highly prestigious', most of them (73.1%) were primary school youth. On the contrary, from the whole respondents who answered that agriculture as 'low prestigious' (33.9%), no one has been from the primary school students.

This difference may have attributed to their level of awareness about the status given to the occupation. Taking other factors constant, when an individual becomes older and get more educated, the ability of his/her understanding of the social reality could be better than those in the early age and low educated. Thus, in the survey the reason behind for the absence of nobody's response who view the status of agriculture as 'low prestigious' from primary school may have attributed to their lower age and low levels of understanding to the status attached to different occupation.

3.2.5. Becoming a Farmer in Modernized Agriculture

Students were asked whether or not if the agriculture is modernized and improved they would prefer farming as one of the best career of their livelihood. Their view on the impact of modernization of agriculture on the agricultural aspiration of rural youth was mixed. As shown in table 4.2.6, informants were equally responded on the desire to engage or not to engage in agriculture as far as modernized.

		Impact o	Impact of agricultural modernization			
		Yes	No	Undecided		
Sex	Male	43(47.8%)	40(44.4%)	7(7.8%)	90(100.0%)	
	Female	37(37.8%)	42(42.9%)	19(19.4%)	98(100.0%)	
Total	·	80(42.6%)	82(43.6%)	26(13.8%)	188(100.0%)	
School	Primary school students	10(6.7%)	39(58.2%)	18(26.9%)	67(100.0%)	
	High school students	70(57.9%)	43(35.5%)	8(6.6%)	121(100.0%)	
Total		80(42.6%)	82(43.6%)	26(13.8%)	188(100.0%)	

Table 6: Respondents' view on the impact of agricultural modernization on youth aspiration Source: Field Survey, 2014

As presented in the tables 4.2.6 above, out of the whole surveyed 43.6% of students have decided not to engage in agriculture even if improved and modernized. On the other hand 42.6 percent of respondents favor the improvement in productivity and mechanization. The remaining 13.3% of respondents have been yet undecided.

Like in many aspects of the characteristics of agricultural and rural life a significant difference was observed across the age group. As a result, high school students have inclined favorably towards engagement of agriculture as far as the sector is improved and modernized than primary school students. As such 57.9% and only 6.7% of secondary and primary school students respectively responded that they could choose agriculture as one of best career of livelihood. On the other hand a significant numbers (26.9%) of primary school students were undecided. And equally important, more than half (58.2%) of them have responded not to engage in agriculture regardless of its being modernized and improved.

Similarly during my interview with in school youth the view on whether or not they will engage in agriculture as far as it is improved and modernized was also mixed. Some of the informants remarked that they are ready to do agriculture if it is modernized. But in the state of current traditional practice having a physical exhaustive nature, they stressed, will not take it as a means of livelihood unless they couldn't find any alternative. Most informants associate the backwardness of the current agriculture with its physically exhaustive and labor intensive nature of the sector. One of the informants (TVET graduate in level three and unemployed), for instance, expressed it as follow:

> It is obvious farming is done by an ox in our woreda. It is too backward and backbreaking. For instance, to plough one timad of land it require not less than one day. I am not sure, but I think if it is done by tractor it may not even take two hours. You are not required to waste your labor too. The current farming is too traditional and less rewarding as compared to the farmer's effort. So it is difficult to be attracted by such exhaustive and backbreaking career with its less satisfying reward. But, if the current practice is changed and become modernized, why you regret to do agriculture? You will have no reason and just can do it passionately (Setegn, 22).

Thus, as shown in the above quote, there are youth who have affected by the current traditional practice of agriculture on their decision to do agriculture and to become a farmer. This conforms to circumscription and compromise approach to youth aspiration that aspirations are personal and dynamic: aspirations may mean different things to different people and they are formed and develop in response to different environments and circumstances which is found in agriculture and its characteristics. Thus for a significant numbers of rural youth the modernization of agriculture seems to influence the agricultural aspiration positively.

To conclude as explored in the previous section in so far as the agricultural career occupies a low place in imagined futures. Though there is a slight improvement in access to different kinds of services in rural areas the problem is still too demanding. As such most of the youth are dissatisfied by the current state of rural life and agricultural practice. The preference to a non-farming occupation is also influenced by the back breaking and tiring nature of farming. On the other hand contrary to the previous studies (e.g. Smith 2010) status given to agriculture does not seem affected youth agricultural aspiration since most rural youth consider agriculture as prestigious in the given community but they fails to aspire it.

But a significant numbers of rural youth have showed a positive attitude to involve in agriculture if the current condition of rural life is improved as well as improvement of productivity and the application of modern agricultural practice in the sector is guaranteed. The study shows that though the overall agricultural aspiration of rural youth is low because of the current characteristics of rural life and agriculture they didn't ignore doing agriculture totally rather a significant numbers of rural youth will consider it in the presence of many favorable conditions in the sector.

The above conditions are not the sole factors that shape rural youth agricultural aspiration. It is also influenced by the environment close the individual (rural youth) which will be discussed in the next section. Thus, the influence of the condition of family agriculture and their living condition, and the impact of family members' engagement in agriculture on youth agricultural aspiration will be discussed.

3.3. Individual and Household Characteristics and Agricultural Aspirations

3.3.1. Family Agriculture and Child Aspiration

As shown in table 4.3.1, most of the respondents, 92%, of them have responded that their families encourage for life success. But, the family's encouragement tends to focus on non-agricultural occupation. That is, families consider their children as successful as far as they able to achieve non-agricultural occupation. Thus, despite the fact that most (88.8%) of respondents parent have based their livelihood on agricultural occupation, their preference was non-agricultural career to be their future means of livelihood. As such, 95.7% and 4.3% of rural youth have responded that their parents prefer non-agricultural occupation and agricultural occupation respectively.

Family career preference for children		Family encourage	Total	
		Yes	No	
	Agricultural occupation	8(4.3%)	-	8(4.3%)
	Non-agricultural occupation	165(87.8%)	15(7.9%)	180(95.7%)
Total		173(92.0%)	15(7.9%)	188(100.0%)

Table 7: Respondents' family career preference for children and family encouragement Source: Field Survey, 2014

This is affirmed by youth farmers during my FGD and in-depth interview with them. When they were asked if they wanted any of their children to be farmers' themselves, the most frequently given answer was absolutely no rather they aspired to their children beyond agricultural occupation. They never wish their children to end up being a farmer. Both children and farming parents felt it would be better if children were able to avoid the possibility of becoming a farmer.

This confirms with the study by Yisak and Tassew (2010) that both parents and children have similar occupational aspirations; therefore, parents have significant influence since early age of the children. Parents who experience the challenge of farming life wanted their children to have non-agricultural occupations, usually with higher returns.

But despite this aspirations of non-agricultural occupation both by parents and children, as shown in the table 4.3.2, most of the respondents view their family's agricultural life as successful.

Conditi	Condition of family's agricultural life		Model farmer	
		No	Yes	
	Successful	82(43.6%)	36(19.1%)	118(62.7%)
	somehow successful	44(23.4%)	13(6.9%)	57(30.3%)
	Unsuccessful	11(5.9%)	2(1.0%)	13(6.9%)
Total		137(72.9%)	51(27.1%)	188(100.0%)

Table 8: Respondents view of condition of family's agricultural life Source: Field Survey, 2014

From all surveyed 27.1% of respondent's family was a model farmer in the year between 2000 and 2006 E.C. Moreover, the majority of the respondents, 62.7%, have responded that the condition of family's agricultural life was 'successful'. The remaining 30.3% and 6.9% of surveyed responded that the condition of family's agricultural life was 'somehow successful' and 'unsuccessful' respectively. So why children fail to aspire their parents means of livelihood, agriculture, if they consider their families' agricultural life is successful should be answered. During my in-depth interview with in school youth I have tried to dig out the reason behind it. But, most of the informants interviewed were keen to point out, though, their parents are successful in their agricultural life, informants stressed; their families have sustained their life successfully with the ups and downs of agricultural hardship. So rural youth come to believe, though, their families were successful in respect to rural life having many drawbacks, they don't want such kinds of 'unattractive life' similar with their families.

Therefore, their perception of family success and their families becoming being a model farmer does not seem significantly affected rural youth positively to aspire agriculture as their means of livelihood. This could be also attributed to the interest of family to non-agricultural career for their children. As shown in table 4.3.1, when children grow up in family, they have encouraged by their parents to aspire non-agricultural occupations.

Nevertheless, parents want and/or encouraged their children to engage beyond agriculture as a means of their livelihood; in school youth were also asked whether or not close family members with some kind of formal education have based their livelihood in farming to have some insights on the trends of youth engagement in agriculture after some kind of formal education. As a result from the whole surveyed respondents a significant numbers of individuals 65(34.6%) have close family members who have engaged in agriculture after some kind of formal education.

Family member engaged in agriculture		Level of grade completed						
		= = I Primary school I		I Primary school I Primary school I II		10 th or high school	TVTC/Diploma	Total
		first cycle	second cycle	complete	complete			
	Yes	2(3.0%)	26(40.1%)	35(53.9%)	2(3.0%)	65(100.0%)		
	Total	2(3.0%)	26(40.1%)	35(53.9%)	2(3.0%)	65(100.0%)		

Table 9: Respondents' family member engaged in agriculture and their respective level of education Source: Field Survey, 2014

As shown in table 4.3.3, from all close family members engaged in agriculture, more than half of them have been completed their high school education. As such from all respondents who have close family members engaged in agriculture the majority 35(56.9%) of them have the educational levels of high school graduate and above.

3.3.2. Rural Youth Role Model and Occupational Aspirations

In addition to occupational aspirations, respondents were asked whether or not they have a role model and to describe someone, if they have, considered to be their role model. From the whole participated in the survey nearly half, 91(48.4%) of them have responded that they have a role model who they considered as an exemplary either by his/her career or any quality found in this individual.

		Ideal career						Total
	Role models job	Business man	Engineer	Farmer	Doctor	Office work	Other	
	Business man	11(73.3%)	1(6.7%)	1(6.7%)	1(6.7%)	1(6.7%)	-	15(16.5%)
	Engineer	-	8(80%)	2(20%)	-	-	-	10(10.9%)
	Doctor(Medical)	1(3.6%)	-	-	24(85.6%)	2(7.2%)	1(3.6%)	28(30.8%)
	Clever student	-	1(9.1%)	1(9.1%)	7(63.6%)	2(18.2%)	-	11(12.1%)
	Gov't employee	-	2(14.3%)	3(21.4%)	5(35.7%)	3(21.4%)	1(7.1%)	14(15.4%)
	Other	1(7.7%)	3(23.1%)	1(7.7%)	2(15.4%)	6(46.2%)	-	13(14.3%)
Ί	otal	13(14.3%)	15(16.5%)	8(8.8%)	39(42.9%)	14(15.4%)	2(2.2%)	91(100.0%)

Table 10: The respondents' ideal career and their respective role models jobs Source: Field Survey, 2014

As shown in table 4.3.4, doctor, engineer, business man, government employee and cleaver student were the most repeatedly mentioned role models for most surveyed respondents. Moreover, other role models written in the open ended questioner by some students were close family members, university instructor and university students.

For most the role model's position and job is their first occupational aspiration. For instance, as shown in the above table, for most of the respondents who aspire to become a business man their role model occupation is business men alike. Similarly, for most who aspire to become an engineer and a doctor their respective role model job is the same with the respondents' occupational aspiration.

Different from the respondents who aspire to non-agricultural occupation, youth who aspire, though few, to become a farmer the role model were not a farmer rather individuals in non-agricultural occupation were their role model. Despite those who aspire agricultural occupation role model is different from agriculture, it is evident from the survey that there is similarity between respondents' occupational aspiration and the role models position he/she occupy in the given community.

Respondents were also asked the rational in choosing their role model in the open ended questioner. The ideas expressed by most of them were directly related to their perception of the aspired occupation. They have stated the perceived qualities found in a specific occupation which is done by their respective role models. For most of the respondents whose role model is a doctor, an engineer, and government employee, they stated, these individuals are their role model because they are living 'good life' and able to help their families as a result they wanted to be like them. So, they further added, following the foots of their role model they wanted to help their families in addition to their desire to lead better life through making good money.

A respondent who want to be an engineer from primary school, for instance,

My role model is Tadese. He reached at higher position and he helps his family. So it is also my wish to have an occupation similar with him, engineering. And also I want to help my parents (Biyabl, 15).

Confirming the results of the survey, during the interview, most of the informants' aspirations are directly related to their perception of role models position and the state of living condition. As such, business man, government employee and doctor were most frequently mentioned. They believed individuals doing these occupations are living 'good life'. Their position is not limited to the betterment of their own life only rather, informants stressed, they are contributing to their families and country's development. For instance, one of a high school student who wants to become a business man while completing his education said the following about individual he considered as a role model:

➤ I admire Gash Tena. He has opened a Hotel and he is now gaining a good profit. Since he treats his costumer in a good manner he is growing fast. He started from a small business, carpenter. Gradually through hard working, he opened his own hotel. And he becomes very rich. Now he helps his family a lot and also employed many other people in his hotel. That is why I admire him and want to be like him (Alebachew, age 16).

Similarly one of the 8th grade Shige-Keranyo male students stated about local pharmacist.

I admire Sileshi Adugna because he has been able to amass a great wealth from medicine trade. He has two pharmacy shops; one here in Keranyo and the other one in Motta. He employs his own worker and his role is only supervising them. He now becomes the richest person in the locality. I heard that he is on the way to buy his own car. So I want to be like him (Kindu, 14).

Thus, as we can understand from the above quotes, for most the occupational aspiration and role model of rural youth is more or less related with the ideas of accumulating wealth and living 'good' life. Thus, for most of the informants, the perceived better life could be achieved by modeling and adopting the life style of individuals who are out of agriculture. But they seem to fail to understand the ups and downs of a particular occupation they aspire. They simply wants to become like their role models without taking in to account the straddles found in each particular position they aspire. Thus, for a significant numbers of rural youth the occupational aspiration is based on inspirations emanated from the people they know or from the story of someone from the community members, though, most of them seems to fail in considering how to achieve it. Above all, none of the informants have been mentioned a farmer as a role model.

3.3.3. The Impact of Media on Agricultural Aspirations

The penetration of the mass media is still very low in the study area. In the *woreda* as a whole there is lack of modern amenities like, for instance, media. As shown in table 4.3.5, most of the respondents surveyed have no frequent opportunities for media consumption.

Types of media		Frequency of exposure		
	Regular	Occasional	Never	
Agricultural program newspaper reading	=	5(2.7%)	183(97.3%)	
Non-agricultural program newspaper reading	=	15(8.0%)	173(92.0%)	
Agricultural program radio listening	=	30(16.0%)	158(84.0%)	
Non-agricultural program radio listening	21(11.2%)	166(88.3%)	1(.5%)	
Watching agricultural program on TV	=	9(4.8%)	179(95.2%)	
Watching non-agricultural program on TV	=	87(46.3%)	101(53.7%)	
Agricultural program magazine reading	-	0	188(100.0%)	
Non-agricultural program magazine reading	-	8(4.3%)	180(95.7%)	

Table 11: The respondents' media exposure Source: Field Survey, 2014

Compared to other media, radio was the most accessed means of gaining information for rural youth in this *woreda*. As such radio was the only media watched regularly at least by few respondents. Almost all respondents have the opportunity to listen radio either occasionally in most of the cases or regularly in some aspect. Thus, 88.3% of respondents have listen radio occasionally and the remaining 11.2% regularly. But this exposure to radio programs or news was to any kind of non-agricultural programs. Only 16% of respondents have listened agricultural program occasionally. The remaining 86% of respondents who have listened radio never watch agricultural program.

Next to radio many rural in-school youth had the opportunities to watch TV in different occasions. It could be at school during their break time or in tea house. As such from all surveyed 46.3% had watched television program occasionally. But, all they have watched were non-agricultural issues. As such only 4.8% from the whole respondent have watched agricultural television program occasionally.

Most of the rural youth included in the survey haven't got the opportunity to read newspaper and magazine. Only few numbers of youth have access to read some kind of newspaper and magazines occasionally. This could not be surprising since the *woreda* has no such facilities for different reason. I had asked different residents informally whether or not they have any opportunity to read any kind of newspaper and magazine. And I have proved that nobody has distributed magazines in the regular basis. But in some occasion's individuals who went to cities like Bahirdar or Addis Ababa for different purpose may get some magazines, though, it is rare. In fact, government journals like *Addis Zemen* reaches to the *woreda* but it is mainly accessed only by government offices.

Therefore, as discussed above though, mostly occasional, all of the respondents in one or another way have been exposed to one or more types of media. Taking this in to account, respondents have been asked the influence of these mass media exposure on their life aspiration. As a result, as shown in table 4.4.5 from the whole surveyed in school youth most of the respondents (69.7%) have answered that exposure to one or more of these media have influenced their life aspiration. Thus, there are indications in the data as to the potential influence of the media on imagined futures of rural youth.

		Influence of mass r	nedia exposure on life aspiration	Total
		Yes	No	
Sex	Male	60(66.7%)	30 (33.3%)	90(100.0%)
	Female	71(72.4%)	27(27.6%)	98(100.0%)
Total	·	131(69.7%)	57(30.3%)	188(100.0%)
School	Primary school students	40(59.7%)	27(40.3%)	67(100.0%)
	High school students	91(75.2%)	30(24.8%)	121(100.0%)
Total		131(69.7%)	57(30.3%)	188(100.0%)

Table 12: The influence of mass media exposure on life aspiration of respondents' Source: Field Survey, 2014

The influence seems greater among the high school students. From all 75.2% and 59.7% high school students and primary school students respectively responded that exposure to media has influenced their life aspiration.

During my interview with all categories of respondent the influence of media on life aspiration was also clearly observed. One of the informants from Shige Keranyo primary school, for instance, said the following;

> "I sometimes watch TV, what I see in the screen attracts me very much. The people seen in the screen are very clean, educated and smart. And I wish to be like them" (Bogale, 14)

It is important here to note also the influence of peer as one of the major source of information. Particularly young farmers and out of school youth have been influenced by the information they hear from their counterparts who were migrated to Addis Ababa. Many rural youth are filled with the information (mostly exaggerated) about the city life as too good. They also hear repeatedly the abundance of job in Addis. As a result many youth are migrating to Addis Ababa in search of non-agricultural job. Therefore, one of the factors for this mass migration of young farmers and other out of school youth mentioned by informants was the story they hear from early migrants. The head of agricultural office also said that many rural youth prefer to migrate to city mainly to Addis Ababa for search of job than engaging in agriculture in their locality. The head of the *woreda* agricultural office also stressed that the influence

of their counterpart exaggerated and mistaken story is high and he pointed that it is one of the main factor inspired many young farmer migration to Addis Ababa by leaving their farm.

During my focus group discussion with young farmers there were also young farmers who have planned to migrate to Addis Ababa taking in to account the information they heard from their friends. One of a young male farmer from Gengerta *kebele* said the following:

I saw many of our friends improved their life after going to Addis Ababa. Some of them came back to their families for trip and I had the opportunity to meet them. They look great. Occasionally, my uncle's son also was in Addis and he was here with us before one month for holiday. He told me that there is high job opportunity in Addis Ababa that could change one's life. He also told me it is possible to save good money. Now I have planned to go there (Addis Ababa). I think it is better than living with mud and dust. At least you can live being clean (Shimels, 24).

As such most of out of school rural youth who are not engaged in agriculture and young farmers engaged in agriculture, leads to aspire non-agricultural career in large city. But there were informants who were keen to point out that the anecdote we hear could not be granted. And, stressed the importance of investigating the reality. One of unemployed 10th completed youth from Shige Keranyo, for instance, have said the following:

Sometimes we become foolish. How can we be sure on the safety of life and job opportunities there in Addis Ababa? When we look few individuals come from Addis Ababa, wearing jeans added with their story we simply assume that they are living good life. But, it may not be. They may not tell us their ups and downs they have confronted (Sewagegn, 19).

Despite few informants reflected such kinds of idea curiously, most of them seems to agree on the idea that there is better life and great opportunity in the city. As such most of them aspire to this non-agricultural career in city and eager to migrate to cities for search of their aspired jobs.

To conclude in addition to the factors discussed in section 4.2 that have impacted youth to aspire non-agricultural career, the family members and their role model have influenced youth to aspire beyond agriculture. This is further reinforced by the influence of the media and the strong modernization discourse among the peer group leading to the idealization of the urban career and the demeaning of the rural and agricultural career.

Therefore as discussed in the previous consecutive sections, because of many factors most of the rural youth aspire beyond agriculture. In spite of the rural youth non-agricultural aspirations, there are many youth who wants to engage in agriculture as one means of livelihood in the absence of any other option. But, there are many structural problems that hinder rural youth to do and/or start agriculture. Thus, in the following section the major constraints affecting youth agricultural engagement will be discussed.

3.4. The Underlying Constraints Affecting Youth to Do Agriculture

3.4.1. The Major Problems of Rural Youth in Agriculture

Although, farming may appear as a last resort for many rural youth who are either attending school or have completed school, there are other factors which make this last resort inaccessible to many young people.

The major factors particularly stand out in this regard; land problem, lack of assets like money and skill, backwardness of agricultural tools, and attitudinal problems are the major challenges hindering rural youth engagement in agriculture as a means of their livelihood.

Major constraints	Perception of	Perception of facing obstacles	
	Yes	No	
Land problem	187(99.5%)	1(.5%)	188(100.0)
Asset problems like money, skill	153(81.4%)	35(18.6%)	188(100.0)
Agricultural input problem	159(84.6%)	29(15.4%)	188(100.0)
Attitudinal problem	115(61.2%)	73(38.8%)	188(100.0)
Backwardness of agricultural tools	120(63.8%)	68(36.2%)	188(100.0)
Total	157(83.51%)	31(16.48%)	188(100.0)

Table 13: Underlying constraints that affect youths' agricultural aspirations and involvement Source: Field Survey, 2014

As shown in table 4.4.1, in the survey conducted with school youth, respondents have been asked their view whether or not they think that youths will face obstacle if they want to engage in agriculture regardless of their interest. Thus, from all surveyed individuals, both males and females, more than 2/3(83.51%) believed that they may face obstacles if they want to do farming as a means of livelihood

Though, many respondents believed that individuals can succeed in agriculture through hard working, they were aware of the obstacles to do agriculture. Thus, despite their beliefs in possibility of success in life through agricultural career respondents have been identified the major obstacles in agriculture.

Land problem was the main obstacle mentioned by almost all respondents. From all informants' surveyed in school youth 99.5% respondents have considered the land shortage as one of the major and most important problems that may impede youth engagement in agriculture. Respondents are aware of the scarcity of land in the *woreda* and they have understood difficulty of accessing land for farming purpose. This fact could be associated with the fragmented land holding of their family who are the primary source of land for children. Obviously, a source of land for most of young farmers who wants to start farming is mainly inheritance from parents.

But, as shown in table 4.4.2, from all surveyed school youth the land holding of their family is too few compared to their family size. More than half of the respondents' family land holding is not more than one hectare. For instance, from all surveyed 63.3% of the respondents' parents household have more than six family members but with the land holding of one and below hectares of land.

Parents' land ownership in hectare		Parents family size			Total	
		Below3	Between 3 and 5	Between 6 and 8	Above 8	
	0.5 hectare and below	2(1.1%)	4(3.4%)	11(5.9%)	0(0.0%)	17(9.0%)
	0.5-1 hectare	2(1.1%)	25(13.3%)	45(23.9%)	6(3.2%)	78(41.5%)
	1-1.5 hectare	4(3.4%)	10(18.8%)	36(19.2%)	0(0.0%)	50(26.6%)
	1.5- 2 hectare	2(1.1%)	6(3.2%)	17(90.1%)	0(0.0%)	25(13.3%)
	More than 2 hectare	2(1.1%)	12(6.4%)	2(1.1%)	2(1.1%)	18(9.6%)
	Total	12(6.4%)	57(30.3%)	111(59.1%)	8(4.3%)	188(100.0%)

Table 14: Respondents' parents land holding and family size of respondents' family

Source: Field Survey, 2014

Similarly, according to the agricultural office record of Gengerta *kebele*, for instance, the average land holding per household is 0.75 hectare with average family size of six.

The problem of land shortage was also pronounced during my interview in a more elaborated ways. Although many in school young people may consider farming as a fall back option in case they fail to succeed in their education, returning to farming can prove more challenging than they might have anticipated. One of the major challenges to these youths is access to farm land. During my interview informants mentioned that there is no land that could be used by youngster despite the interest to engage in agriculture wholeheartedly after they have completed their high school education.

> If I'm fortunate, I will pass the exam and continue my education. As you know, the opportunity to pass is too narrow as a result many students are failing to pass the exam. So I'm not sure on my success in education. Taking this in to account I sometimes think what I do if I fail to succeed. The only answer comes to my mind is to engage in agriculture. Unfortunately, I come to understand this option also inaccessible since there is no land. My father is bureaucrat³ and he can't give land to me. Even he is struggling to afford the families cost by renting land and sharecropping. So, where I can get land? You may say why not you rent land or do in sharecropping like your father, but renting land and/or sharecropping means serving for others. You produce and give your labor product for the land owner. So if you become a farmer you have no other option you will serve the land owner to make your soul alive. I'm not sure what will happen next in my life, just I'm waiting the time. But I don't think I will engage empty handed. How it could be without land, it is impossible (Taddesse, grade 10).

Similarly in-depth interview were held with out of school youth and young farmers regarding the problems impeding youth engagement in agriculture. Consequently, in my interview held with the categories of out of school youth the problems raised by in school youth were also mentioned here again. But the intensity and severity of the problem is too deep and demanding in this category of respondents. In the first place these groups of youth are in real life difficulties compared to in school youth. They are trying or seeking their own means of livelihood since they are unemployed. Secondly, these categories of youth are either hesitating or trying to start agriculture since these individuals are seeking for agricultural related or other career employment. Thus, the issue of landlessness among rural youth is something that is common in every discussion I had with young farmers and those who were considering entry in to farming.

But, as to the *woreda* agricultural office head, some attempt has been made by the government to solve the problem of youth in general and landlessness in particular aimed at assisting young to engage in agriculture. The *woreda* officials have tried to organize landless rural young men and women. Then land has given in groups from a communally owned land for the purpose of agricultural activities. Similarly, the two *kebeles*, Shige-Keranyo and Gengerta *kebeles* have tried to organize such a group in attempt to solve landlessness. For instance, in Gengerta, out of school unemployed rural youth have been organized in to a total of two groups. These groups comprise a total of 31 youth, out of which 29 men and only 2 women. During my focus group discussion 11 of these young farmers belongs to such association. They have wondered the government attempt to provide them communal land but with grievance. They claim that the land given in group is too small in comparison with the numbers of young organized in a piece of land. One of the participants during the discussion said the following:

Look at the land how much is too small. If measured, I am not sure it reaches four timad⁴. But it is said four timad. Most of us have our own families, wife and children. So how could be this amount of land can feed 31 individuals with their families? Sometimes I feel the government is joking on us just leaving us to live in hunger and poverty. Everybody can understand we are in very serious problem (Girma, 27).

More over participants are not even sure for the sustainability of the land currently at the hands of the youth. Another participant in the FGD stressed this issue in the following words;

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³Bureaucrat refers to individuals who were the members of former government (Derg) administrative staff. In Amhara regional state there was land redistribution during 1989 E.C. As such the land formerly entitled to the so called bureaucrat were taken away by the then government(EPRDF)and they have given only one hectare of land

⁴Timadrefers to the land size which approximately equivalent to one hectare

The given land being too small is not the only problem for youths here. Even we are not sure that this land also be ours for the next year. Many people are complaining on it. This land was a common property that serves as a common grazing land. Many individuals are not happy on this issue. They are complaining. Because of this, they leave their cattle on the cultivated land during night unresponsively. We are just in fight with the local community (Simeneh, 29).

To the worst, there are also rural youth who haven't land for home making. What is the major problem for few youth farmer is inability of getting little land for home making. For cultivation youths have tried to sow grain and other kinds of food type by renting land and sharecropping from land owners but to build home they need to have some portion of land in permanent base. Thus, land is a critical problem for young farmers too. A young farmer in Gengerta Kebele, for instance, said the following;

I have no any land. If considered I'm a member of the recently organized group but my share could not reach ¼ gemed⁵. How much production could be get from such a little land? It is nothing. So I'm leading my life and family is just by share cropping (timado). But what stress me is getting land for home building. Until now I have been with my father. You may say why not your father gives you just little land. But he has only two gemed with five my little brothers and sisters. In fact I have asked him to give me but he is not voluntary (Alebel, 27).

Those young farmers in focus group discussion and in-depth interview stressed landlessness as a critical problem and they have also understood that their parents were not having enough land for each child to provide.

The issue of landlessness among rural youth is not something peculiar to the research sites, nor is it a recent phenomenon in Ethiopia. Researchers who have done extensive studies in the field such as Desalegn (2008:ch. 6 as cited in Getnet and Asrat 2014) point out that landlessness among rural youth has been a recurring affair encountered by successive generations of youth who came of age after the state-led land redistributions that have been implemented by the last two regimes in the country.

The following quote is taken from one participant during the focus group discussion;

Think of our parent's family size. Most of our parent's family size is more than six. We know also how many timads of land is owned by them. It is too small. So how can they give us land? Let's say my father gives one gemed land for me and another one gemed for my elder brother. What he left for him and the whole members of the family is only one and half gemed. So how can he feed those five and six members of the family? It is not difficult to imagine the degree of the problem (Nigusu, 19).

Of course, owning land is not the only option for young farmers, and farmers tried to make a living through renting land and share cropping. But, young farmers claim, it is often difficult to get as much of it as they would want and the share cropping terms often favor the land owner. For instance, renting one timad land for a single season requires a cash payments ranging from 800 - 1500 Birr. Moreover, because of the challenges in agriculture coupled with the scarcity of land, youth farmers stressed, 'we end up working for others at very exploitative wages'.

This is similar with the research finding by Getnet and Asrat (2014) who points out young farmers have no choice but to try and make a living by renting and sharecropping farm land from others. And many of them do earn enough to make a living. But they feel that they are being exploited.

As such, in some conditions, young farmers tries to improve their living condition by engaging in other non-agricultural activities in addition to share cropping to generate additional income and, if possible, in the long run to leave agriculture.

Therefore, land is a major problem for all categories of young in the study area. But, the problem to start farm is not only land scarcity, though it is the most serious problem, raised by the informants. There are many other problems. Thus, following to land, problem of agricultural input is another major challenge for rural youth.

As shown in table 6.1, problem of agricultural input and asset problems were considered as the major obstacles by 84.6% and 81.4% of respondents respectively. Similarly, inaccessibility of technology or/and backwardness of agricultural tools, and attitudinal problems also considered as an obstacles by 63.8% and 61.2% of respondents respectively. In addition to these problem of water or lack of rain was mentioned by respondents many times in the open ended question during my survey.

Asset problem was also one of the problems raised by the informants during my interview. This was particularly raised by out of school youth repeatedly as a main challenge to start agriculture. Through my interview with these youths one of the most important challenges related to asset was shortage of money to start agriculture.

There is no job opportunity here at this time. Though, I have completed my education in masonry in level two before a year from Motta technical and vocational institute, but still I have no job. I have thought of many things to have my own jobs. Last year, I have been decided to do farming as my last alternative. Unfortunately, I have found it difficult and too challenging to do this job. In fact, I know that land is scarce. What I thought was doing agricultural related activities like bee keeping, raising cattle and the like. But to do this it needs, at least, a small piece of land for home building and money. Where can I get this money? To get credit you have to have twenty percent saving account. So I couldn't do anything just I sat idle (Tariku, 23).

As an administration rule, youth who wants credit to start new business required to save at least twenty percent of money they want unless they couldn't access the credit. Thus, for youth who couldn't save the required amount of money, it is unthinkable to take credit. This was one of challenges for rural youth in the *woreda* who decided to start farming. As mentioned above, despite the fact that the decision to do agriculture was resulted from the absence of any other non-agricultural means of livelihood by many youth but they also unable to do it as a last resort because of money problem. Thus, during the interview held with youth farmer lack of access to

⁵Gemed is similar to timadwhich is equivalent to ½ hectare of land

credit was also one of the difficulty that challenge many young farmers to be more productive. A young farmer from Shige-keranyo *kebele* expressed this in the following quote:

I have strong desire to change my life as anybody does. I want to be more productive in agriculture since once I become a farmer. But there are many challenges as far as I'm being a farmer. The amount of production gained from two timads, the land that I have, is only hand to mouth. So I wanted to diversify the means of livelihood to improve my life. I have planned to start bee keeping after I have understood that it is profitable. Now one kilogram honey costs seventy up to ninety birr. But to buy the bee it is required to have money. Even to buy one traditional bee you have to have more than one thousand birr. I couldn't save money since I incur many costs. I pay for fertilizer and other different taxes here and there. So how can you have the money? To get credit you have required to be organized in group as well as you have to have twenty percent of saving (Ambachew, 28).

We can understood from the above quote that because of money problem in addition to other related constraints youth farmers have faced difficulties to win their life in agriculture. And the options they come up to diversify their means of livelihood within agriculture has failed due to asset problem like shortage of money.

Asset problem has also affected the possession of the traditional means of doing agricultural activities, for instance, the possession of oxen for plough. Obviously farming activity is conducted through traditional way by oxen in the *woreda*. But, there are young farmers who have no any oxen for farming. In some cases there are youth who have only one farming ox. These youths are better off than young farmers who have no any farming ox. This situation is not their choice rather it is due to the fact that they have no the capacity to buy oxen. Thus, for youth who have no any ox, help from the family members is one means of getting oxen for the temporary base in return for labor in time of seed cropping or in need of labor at any time by the members of the family or neighbor. On the other hand those who have one ox partner with another person having one ox known as $Kenja^6$. So during cropping season the partnered individuals programmed the day of use based on their interest. Therefore, the force behind this kind of survival mechanism is resulted from the inability of farmers to buy their own oxen.

This problem of access to credit for rural youth was recognized by the local administrator. During the interview with the head of the woreda agricultural office I have asked how these youth afford the twenty percent saving account as a precondition. And the woreda administrator recognized the problem and said 'I also believed that it is illogical kind of working mechanism to put twenty percent saving as a precondition that hinders many youth access to credit'

Therefore, as clearly mentioned by the informants during the interview, without money rural youth couldn't rent land and even it is difficult to have their own oxen used for farming purpose. This is particularly true for rural youth who spent their many times in education. They have nothing to start agriculture. Thus, rural youth who have spent all their time and effort towards their education and they have to start form the scratch. They have no any asset including land to do agriculture. As a result they face much difficulty.

I have completed grade 10 last year. I fail to pass the exam. I'm in dilemma because I found becoming a farmer very hard thing. I have spent most of my lives as students. I have nothing and have to start from nothing. The only option that I have is go back to my parents and ask them for their help. But, I feel disappointed and frustrated to do so (Gebre, 19).

Moreover, agricultural inputs are another challenge in farming occupation. According to the informants that I have interviewed input like fertilizer is too costly in the market. Its' cost is increasing from year to year and becomes a common problem in agriculture. In the interview held with one of in school youth respondents expressed the problem of agricultural inputs in the following quote;

I know what difficulty is there in agriculture because I live in it, though I'm a student. Land is an obvious problem but there are also other critical problems in agriculture. I know that how many birr my father invested to buy fertilizer last year. It is surprising 1400 birr per quintal! That is a total of more than four thousand birr for three quintal of fertilizer. You can guess how much it is difficult for one farmer to invest this amount of money a year which is incompatible with gain of production (Kumlachew, 17).

During the interview held with in-school youth as well as graduated informants, they point out attitudinal problem as one of the major constraints in addition to the above mentioned problems. Here, attitudinal problem can be seen from two directions. The first is an attitude related to the interest of youth themselves to engage in agriculture. Thus, the issue of attitude here is the interest of individual themselves to engage in agriculture that could be shaped and reshaped by many internal and external factors. This has been touched earlier in chapter four and five. The second which is my concern now here, is the attitudes of the general community towards the agricultural engagement of youth with some kind of formal education. The interview with school youth proved that members of the community have no good words for those youth who engaged in agriculture after completing high school education and/or technical school. Those who back to their family's agriculture after certain years of education considered as a failure by the members of the community in this *woreda*. There is also the same kind of perception by the youth themselves. One of unemployed 10th completed youth expressed this negative perception in the following quote:

I have tried farming. Though, it needs hard work it could be rewarding. But in this community it is difficult do agriculture after failing in education. The members of the community undermine the morals of your humanity just by saying many immoral insults. How can you stay insulted by everybody else? The community has no good attitude towards educated youth engaged in agriculture. It is too difficult, embracing and mind torching. So as time gone I become very dissatisfied, too stressed and somehow I become aggressive. So I have preferred to sit idle (Shegaw 18).

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⁶Kenja refers to a method of using one's ox in partner with other for farming purpose. Farmer who own only one ox may partner with other famer in similar condition (having only one ox) to do farming. So it is a coping strategy in the absence of the ownership of two oxen per household.

Similarly, in focus group discussion with young farmers, a high school graduate young farmer stressed his being in dilemma to continuing in agriculture because of the 'improper' attitude reflected on him in the community plus with other problems. Therefore, in addition to problems common to all youth like scarcity of land, asset problem and the like those youth who completed their high school education and couldn't go further in their schooling entry to farming is too challenging. Their attempt to do agricultural career is constrained by the negative influence by the members of the community. Thus, although some young people are willing to start and base their livelihood in agriculture, for most, an attempt of becoming a farmer with all these problems is just impossible.

This could not be surprising since the finding of Getnet and Asrat (2014) based on the two study conducted in between June and July 2011 and in between June and September 2012 in the rural communities of Ethiopia conformed this and pointed out that despite the negative attitudes of rural youth towards agriculture many of them are likely to adopt farming as their principal or only means of livelihood, either by choice or the lack of other options. But, they encounter a number of insurmountable problems when they set out to be farmers. Thus, rural youth particularly those who pass with some kind of formal education face a numbers of problems to do agriculture and mostly an attempt to do agriculture by these youth end up with a failure.

To conclude this section shows that an attempt to involve in agriculture as a last option is constrained by structural problems. Although young farmers as well as those who are contemplating agriculture as a potential future livelihood and aspired for better lives through farming, inability to get farm land and a starting capital hinders rural youth to progress their livelihood in the sector.

I have also tried to show that the process of becoming a farmer is relatively difficult for all youth particularly for those who have attended school. While the existing literature emphasizes unfavorable attitudes among rural youth towards farming, structural factors that complicate entry in to farming have largely overlooked.

4. Conclusion and Recommendation

While agriculture remains the principal source of livelihood in the *woreda* and the youth are a dominant constituent in the community's demographic structure; most of youth fail to aspire farming as their means of livelihood. I have found out that the majority of young farmers as well as those considering entry in to farming believe farming as only a stepping stone to realizing further aspirations. The youth do not see working in the agricultural sector as a viable means of realizing their dreams of a good life. Instead, they want to engage in non-agricultural occupation in urban areas.

The reason behind the low aspiration of agricultural career is associated with many factors but the characteristics of agricultural life and/or present form of rural inability to fulfill the needs and aspirations of rural youth is one of the factors that forced youth to aspire towards non-agricultural city life. Though, the country's agriculture-led development policy gives significant emphasis to the agriculture sector, the rural areas have been deprived of access to different kinds of services and infrastructure, such as road, electricity, and sanitation facilities. Both the qualitative and quantitative data show that the rural youth feel that the current state of rural life and agricultural practice does not fulfill their needs and aspirations. As such most of the respondents are not satisfied by rural life. Thus, rural youth are not that much interested to do agriculture in the absence of these facilities.

The views of parents and relatives on rural life, and the influences of role models and media also have significantly influenced rural youth to aspire beyond agriculture. Though respondents' parents have based their livelihood on agricultural occupation, they preferred and encouraged their child to have non-agricultural career.

On the other hand status given to agriculture does not seem affected youth agricultural aspiration since most rural youth consider agriculture as prestigious in the given community but fails to aspire it. Thus the conclusion by previous study by Smith (2010) which stated that low status given to agriculture have influenced youth to aspire beyond agriculture does not seem work in the study area.

Beyond this the finding of the study shows that all rural youth are not totally ignorant to do agriculture and a significant numbers of youth are likely to consider it in their occupational aspiration in the presence of favorable conditions. As such the existences of attractive things in agriculture and/or rural setting have contributed for the likelihood of youth engagement in the sector as a means of livelihood.

As a result, a significant numbers of rural youth show a desire to do agriculture if the agricultural productivity is improved. Moreover, changing the traditional practice of agriculture and making it modernized have a positive impact on most of rural youth agricultural aspiration. Thus, considerable numbers of rural youth have showed a desire to do agriculture if conditions are improved in rural setting in general and agricultural practice in particular at least as a means to leave the status of being unemployed. This clearly shows Armstrong and Crombie (2000) circumscription and compromise approach to aspiration that views development of career aspiration as a result of continuous dynamic interaction between individuals and the social environment. Therefore, though the agricultural aspiration of rural youth is low and they consider it as a means to transition to 'best' means of livelihood, a considerable numbers of youth are likely to engage(also engaged) in agriculture in the presence of favorable conditions in the sector.

The study also showed that in spite of most rural youths' non-agricultural aspiration, an attempt to start and/or do agriculture as a last resort is also challenging since it is constrained by many structural factors. The constraints are more sever particularly for youth who were in school empty handed. Land problem, asset problems like shortage of money, the problem of agricultural input, attitudinal problem, backwardness of agricultural tools are among constraints to mention few of them.

Therefore, rural youths' low agricultural aspiration supplemented with these constraints has made youth to far from engaging in agriculture. Thus, the agriculture continued to be done by the older generation who has no/little formal education. As indicated in many literature and also acknowledged by the rural development policy of Ethiopia, the desired agricultural productivity could not be achieved unless these youth, having some kind of formal education, are involved in the sector.

Moreover, the young people should be at the forefront of revitalizing agriculture since they tend to be more innovative. In addition to these, the continued migration of the rural youth to city by aspiring city life can be the problem not only to the prospects of agriculture

but also to urban areas by increasing youth unemployment. Thus, the constraints facing rural youths in agriculture should be examined to improve participation in agriculture.

Therefore, I recommend the following points to change the low agricultural aspirations of rural youth as well as to improve agricultural productivity and youth employment in the sector.

- Improving the condition of rural life and providing different accesses to infrastructure to the rural areas is mandatory. There is a need for development planning to put adequate structures in place for youths to improve their immediate environment. Thus, the government should provide infrastructures and social amenities in the rural areas to encourage youths to live and work in the rural areas. This can also contribute to decrease rural urban migration in search of 'better' life.
- There should be an effort to change the attitude of the community concerning the mindset of a general belief that agriculture is only for uneducated. This belief has significantly influenced the 'educated youth' to regret from engaging in the sector. Awareness should be created to change this discouraging culture in the community for the development of the sector.
- Encouragement and support should be provided particularly to the new beginning young farmers. Credit should be accessible to these youth without any precondition. There should be an administrative mechanism that gives a special attention to youth who want to start agriculture.
- Since a considerable number of rural youth show a positive attitude to engage in agriculture, as far as it is modernized and productivity of the sector increased; it is necessary to leave the traditional practice of agriculture by replacing it with the modern kind of agricultural technology appropriate for small scale farming.

5. Acronyms

- a. ARDB- Agricultural and Rural development bureau
- b. DA- Development Agent
- c. EC- Ethiopian Calendar
- d. FAC- Food and Agriculture Committee
- e. CSA Central Statistics Agency (of Ethiopia)
- f. IFAD International Food and Agriculture Development
- g. FDRE Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia
- h. FGD Focus Group Discussion
- i. SPSS Statistical Package for Social Sciences
- j. MoFED Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (of Ethiopia)
- k. MoYSC- Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture (of Ethiopia)
- 1. SES Socio Economic Status
- m. TVET- Technical and Vocational Education and Training

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