# Interviews with male teenagers in Kormargefia, Basona Werena wereda, North Shewa

[Rich male teenager 13 3](#_Toc436745370)

[Personal 3](#_Toc436745371)

[Opportunities for 13 year old boys 3](#_Toc436745372)

[Combining work and education 3](#_Toc436745373)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 4](#_Toc436745374)

[Getting married 4](#_Toc436745375)

[Setting up an independent household 4](#_Toc436745376)

[Migrating 4](#_Toc436745377)

[Living in the community 4](#_Toc436745378)

[The economy 4](#_Toc436745379)

[Religion 4](#_Toc436745380)

[Politics 5](#_Toc436745381)

[Inter-generational relations 5](#_Toc436745382)

[Middle-wealth male teenager 13 5](#_Toc436745383)

[Personal 5](#_Toc436745384)

[Opportunities for 13 year old boys 5](#_Toc436745385)

[Combining work and education 5](#_Toc436745386)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 5](#_Toc436745387)

[Getting married 6](#_Toc436745388)

[Setting up an independent household 6](#_Toc436745389)

[Migrating 6](#_Toc436745390)

[Living in the community 6](#_Toc436745391)

[The economy 6](#_Toc436745392)

[Religion 6](#_Toc436745393)

[Politics 6](#_Toc436745394)

[Inter-generational relations 6](#_Toc436745395)

[Poor male teenager 13 7](#_Toc436745396)

[Personal 7](#_Toc436745397)

[Opportunities for 13 year old boys 7](#_Toc436745398)

[Combining work and education 7](#_Toc436745399)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 7](#_Toc436745400)

[Getting married 7](#_Toc436745401)

[Setting up an independent household 8](#_Toc436745402)

[Migrating 8](#_Toc436745403)

[Living in the community 8](#_Toc436745404)

[The economy 8](#_Toc436745405)

[Religion 8](#_Toc436745406)

[Politics 8](#_Toc436745407)

[Inter-generational relations 8](#_Toc436745408)

[Rich male teenager 16 8](#_Toc436745409)

[Personal 8](#_Toc436745410)

[Opportunities for 16 year old boys 9](#_Toc436745411)

[Combining work and education 9](#_Toc436745412)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 9](#_Toc436745413)

[Getting married 9](#_Toc436745414)

[Setting up an independent household 10](#_Toc436745415)

[Migrating 10](#_Toc436745416)

[Living in the community 10](#_Toc436745417)

[The economy 10](#_Toc436745418)

[Religion 10](#_Toc436745419)

[Politics 11](#_Toc436745420)

[Inter-generational relations 11](#_Toc436745421)

[Middle-wealth male teenager 16 11](#_Toc436745422)

[Personal 11](#_Toc436745423)

[Opportunities for 16 year old boys 11](#_Toc436745424)

[Combining work and education 11](#_Toc436745425)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 11](#_Toc436745426)

[Getting married 12](#_Toc436745427)

[Setting up an independent household 12](#_Toc436745428)

[Migrating 12](#_Toc436745429)

[Living in the community 12](#_Toc436745430)

[The economy 12](#_Toc436745431)

[Religion 12](#_Toc436745432)

[Inter-generational relations 13](#_Toc436745433)

[Poor male teenager 16 13](#_Toc436745434)

[Personal 13](#_Toc436745435)

[Opportunities for 16 year old boys 13](#_Toc436745436)

[Combining work and education 13](#_Toc436745437)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 13](#_Toc436745438)

[Getting married 13](#_Toc436745439)

[Setting up an independent household 14](#_Toc436745440)

[Migrating 14](#_Toc436745441)

[Living in the community 14](#_Toc436745442)

[The economy 14](#_Toc436745443)

[Religion 14](#_Toc436745444)

[Politics 15](#_Toc436745445)

[Inter-generational relations 15](#_Toc436745446)

[Rich male teenager 19 15](#_Toc436745447)

[Personal 15](#_Toc436745448)

[Opportunities for 19 year old boys 15](#_Toc436745449)

[Combining work and education 15](#_Toc436745450)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 16](#_Toc436745451)

[Getting married 16](#_Toc436745452)

[Setting up an independent household 17](#_Toc436745453)

[Migrating 17](#_Toc436745454)

[Living in the community 17](#_Toc436745455)

[The economy. 17](#_Toc436745456)

[Religion 18](#_Toc436745457)

[Politics 18](#_Toc436745458)

[Inter-generational relations 18](#_Toc436745459)

[Middle-wealth male teenager 19 18](#_Toc436745460)

[Personal 18](#_Toc436745461)

[Opportunities for 19 year old boys 18](#_Toc436745462)

[Combining work and education 18](#_Toc436745463)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 19](#_Toc436745464)

[Getting married 19](#_Toc436745465)

[Setting up an independent household 19](#_Toc436745466)

[Migrating 19](#_Toc436745467)

[Living in the community 20](#_Toc436745468)

[The economy 20](#_Toc436745469)

[Religion 20](#_Toc436745470)

[Politics 20](#_Toc436745471)

[Inter-generational relations 21](#_Toc436745472)

[Poor male teenager 19 21](#_Toc436745473)

[Personal 21](#_Toc436745474)

[Opportunities for 19 year old boys 21](#_Toc436745475)

[Combining work and education 21](#_Toc436745476)

[Establishing an independent livelihood 22](#_Toc436745477)

[Getting married 22](#_Toc436745478)

[Setting up an independent household 23](#_Toc436745479)

[Migrating 23](#_Toc436745480)

[Living in the community 23](#_Toc436745481)

[The economy 23](#_Toc436745482)

[Religion 24](#_Toc436745483)

[Politics 24](#_Toc436745484)

[Inter-generational relations 24](#_Toc436745485)

## Rich male teenager 13

### Personal

He lives with parents, 2 sisters and 8 brothers. He ranked the household as rich having two pairs of oxen. He described farming as the main source of parents’ household livelihood, and no family members were involved in any off-farm work. One of his brothers stopped learning at grade 9 and is involved in the farm work with his father, regularly engaged in ploughing using one pair of oxen, the father dealing with the other pair.

### Opportunities for 13 year old boys

He insisted attending education is the main opportunity for all boys at his age.

### Combining work and education

He is 13, attending grade 6. He has completed grade 5 where he stood 23rd from 60 students. He never dropped out of school. He reported to have been engaged in domestic activities, herding, sometimes harvesting and ploughing. He never did any income generating work. He insisted that all the farm and domestic work he used to perform didn’t affect his education because he works only when out of school shifts and he studies in the evening with a gas light and on Sat/Sundays while herding. He said none of the work activities affected his health because he could perform only those activities manageable in his capacity. He prefers herding, which is the easiest work, while preparing cattle feed by mixing straw and furishka (improved fodder?) is a bit tiresome. His plan is to continue his education. He plays with his friends while herding where he plays Rur (Hockey like game), and football in the school compound or in the field. He sometimes listens to music on the radio at home. He said he is a follower of Orthodox faith. He regularly fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays, but doesn’t go to the church to attend regular mass. He studies/plays together with male friends at each other’s homes on weekends. He insisted all his friends are boys and shyly said that he didn’t have any special girlfriend, arguing that girls make friends among themselves and play with each other, as do boys among each other.

He said he would like to stay in the community as a teacher after completing his education, living at his parents’ house. He said he will continue his education until he completes secondary school and becomes a teacher. He is planning to marry after completing education and when gets a job. He insisted he will marry someone of his own choice and his parents would be involved only in preparing the wedding ceremony. He hasn’t approached any girl as a friend nor for future marriage partner. He would like to have children 2 years after marriage and have only 2 children, a son and daughter. He insisted he didn’t have any individual role model. He doesn’t have any worries about the future, but hopes to be employed as a teacher and achieve a good life. He argued education access is the best opportunity boys at his age have. A common problem for boys is that parents rage/abuse them when sheep are lost/eaten by Tekula. He didn’t know anyone living in the community who graduated from grade 10, 12, or colleges, and has no work.

He insisted there isn’t any young boy who works for payment and attends school at the same time, but combining household work and education is rather easier for boys from poor families because they don’t have much farm work to deal with. Boys from rich families were frequently absent from school due to much farm work. He said there is no one at his age involved any of the bad habits, chat, smoking, alcohol drinking, and theft.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He said everyone at his age is involved in all types of farm and domestic work activities for parents, but paid work is not common for his age. He indicated that rearing chicken and sheep obtained from parents is the main way for boys to accumulate own wealth for their future. He said most young people from rich parents could get land from their parents, but the poor young will not have any land from their parents, so they will be able to get some land only through sharecropping or by renting from others. He said none of his friends wants to be a farmer, rather all of them wish to be teachers in the community, and he knew around 3 of these who want to go to colleges and get good salaries, but didn’t know about the rest.

### Getting married

He said boys used to marry above the age of 18; the majority could marry at around 25, but only very few could marry at 18. None of his friends are married. He said the advantage of being married is that the wives would help them in preparing foods and dealing with domestic work while husbands handle the farm work. He insisted there aren’t any disadvantages/challenges in being married. He said in most cases, both rich and poor parents used to choose and arrange the marriages of their sons; government regulations didn’t affect young men’s marriage ages.

### Setting up an independent household

He said setting an independent household for young men would be ok if they could have accumulated enough wealth before marrying, and if they got land and livestock from their parents. But it could be difficult for those who didn’t have all such opportunities. He said newly married young men will continue getting help such as oxen, grain and money from their parents until they are self-supporting. He said it is more difficult for young men from poor parents to get any support as their parents don’t have land/livestock enough even for themselves.

### Migrating

He insisted he didn’t know any young boy from the community who migrated for work, and believed migration for work at his age is not common. Young men would migrate after 18 to Debrebrhan or other towns for daily labour. He insisted he knew no one who has migrated, and all this was from what he heard from other people talking. He said he doesn’t have any plan to migrate for any work.

### Living in the community

He insisted he like everything in the community and there wasn’t anything he dislikes. He said the community was growing richer; people were becoming more modernized; it is peaceful to live in. he said the young socialise based on neighbourhood and school friendship. He insisted there weren’t any group conflicts.

### The economy

He said the good thing about the community is that there are good harvests so farmers can support their families without being forced to buy food grain like the townspeople. There is nothing he dislikes. He thinks life in the community is improving due to use of fertilizers, hybrid dairy cows, and selling eucalyptus trees. He argued that all children and young boys/girls have been attending education.

### Religion

He insisted all people are strictly following their religious faith, and he was strengthening his faith by regularly fasting on Wednesdays, Fridays, and going to church during Filiseta (16 days fasting in August).

### Politics

He reported that the government supports the young by providing farmland to those who dropped out of education.

### Inter-generational relations

He said family relations are good every young person respects their elders, children obey their parents.

## Middle-wealth male teenager 13

### Personal

He lives with his parents, mother, father and an elder sister. He is attending grade 2. He reported farming as the main source of household livelihood and none of the family members are involved in any off-farm work. He described the household as medium wealth status.

### Opportunities for 13 year old boys

He said everyone at his age has education access in the schools in each village. Some rarely have daily labour work to generate cash incomes for clothes and education materials.

### Combining work and education

He is 13 years old, attending grade 2. He stood 16th from 40 students. He has never dropped out of school. He was involved in fetching water, either carrying it himself or on a donkey’s back, weeding, crop harvesting, feeding cattle, and herding. He said he was never been involved in any income generating work activity and insisted that next year, he will continue his grade 3 education without being involved in any income generating work other than household activities. He reported that he plays with his friends at each other’s homes in the evenings and in the fields while herding on weekends. He exercises by doing gymnastics and playing foot/volleyball in school. He enjoys listening to music on the radio. He said he strictly observes religious obligations of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays. He has never participated in politics (in terms of interaction with the party, kebele, or youth association). He didn’t know the differences between the youth League, Federation and association. He insisted he mostly socializes with male friends from his hamlet and schoolmates. He said he intimately interacts with two girls at school, but didn’t have any special girlfriend. He has planned to find a job and live in Addis Ababa after completing his education, because his aunt and 5 of his elder brothers live there. He would like to continue his college education at night by working in the daytime. He plans to marry someone of his own choice after completing college and when he has got a good job. He will then have only a daughter and a son. He said he doesn’t have any worries about the future. He argued that almost all boys at his age are attending school; no one to his knowledge is out of school. Only rarely could young males drop out for a year then return to school. He said dropping out for a while then returning could harm them, because when returning, their classmates would be one grade ahead.

He insisted that none of the young boys at his age are engaged in any work for payment and there isn’t any income generating work activities/wage labour for young men of his age. He didn’t know anyone grade 10, 12, or college graduates living in the community. He said combining work with education would be easier for the poor young people because they can work in daily labour when not in school shifts and on weekends, going to nearby constructions. Boys from richer families have a high farm workload to deal with so parents won’t allow their children to be involved in any part-time work other than for the household. He insisted no one at his age has ever been involved in alcohol drinking, chat, smoking, and theft.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He thinks young men will not get any land from the kebele, but they could get some plots from their parents. He said none of his friends want to be farmers, rather all wish to go to towns and get work mostly as teachers and some to be engaged in daily wage labour or as guards. No one wants to live in the community, all want to leave. He doesn’t know anyone who wants to go to colleges.

### Getting married

He said the youngest marriage was at 20 years and only a few could be married at this age, but many commonly get married at 25 and 26 years of age. But he also said that a girl he knew was married at 17 years of age to a boy of the same age (17). He argued that many of the young could choose who to marry and marry with their parents’ agreement.

### Setting up an independent household

He argued that setting up new households is not easy, but it would be more difficult for young men with poor parents because their parents could not provide them support. It is ok for those with rich parents, as their parents would give them enough to start new households.

### Migrating

He insisted that going out to other places for work is common among the young at 20 and above and even some could leave at the age of 17 to work in daily labour in Debrebrhan. He heard they usually migrate to Addis Ababa and work in construction daily labour.

### Living in the community

He said that among what he likes about the community is that people help each other in times of accidents, death of cattle and when their houses are burned down by fire. The frost is the bad thing his community suffers from every year, resulting in crop destruction.

### The economy

He said all people in the community have now improved their lives as every person was working hard. Even the poor could save money by working as daily labourers, going to ILCA, a private dairy farm, Wabasha beer factory construction, and many by planting and selling eucalyptus trees, vegetables, and milk. He insisted that in migration of farm daily labourers from Debrebrhan and other rural kebeles has increased.

### Religion

He said that people participate in church mass and contribute money. They strictly respect holy days and some even fast full days. He reported that some children attend religious education/learn alphabets in the villages before going to government school. He thinks religious rules are now followed more strictly than in the past.

### Politics

He said the government has a good attitude towards the young and wants to help them get education, and land, and vegetable seeds to be grown by irrigation. He mentioned the kebele has given farmland to some young people individually and irrigated land in groups, selecting those who dropped out of education.

### Inter-generational relations

He insisted that family relations were very good, children respect and obey adults/parents, and younger siblings respect their elders. But generally he argued that many young people tend to be disobedient to parents orders/advises and their respect to adults/elders is declining.

## Poor male teenager 13

### Personal

He lives with both parents and two sisters, attending grade 4. Farming is the main source of the family’s subsistence, but they also get cash by selling wood and dung cakes. He described the household as just poor.

### Opportunities for 13 year old boys

He said all young boys at his age have access to education and a few could collect and sell dung cakes, plant eucalyptus trees, and work in daily labour to generate own money.

### Combining work and education

He is 13, attending grade 4 and with a previous class rank of 17th out of 4o. He said he never dropped out of education, but attended grade 1 and 2 twice each by willingly failing in exams, because he didn’t like learning then. He insisted he was involved in all types of light household and farm activities, including herding, collecting dung, weeding, harvesting, sometimes ploughing and fetching water. He was collecting and selling dung for own savings. He insisted none of the work he did affected his health as he only conducted activities within his capacity. The work did not affect his education because he was working only when out of school. In free times, he plays with friends at each other’s home, in the fields while herding, with balls in the school. He likes music but didn’t listen to the radio for sometime due to dry cell energy exhaustion. He is regularly fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, but doesn’t go to/attend church mass. He exercises by doing gymnastics, playing volley/football in the school. All his friends are young male boys and he insisted that girls never mix with males in playing. He said there were many who drop out of education for a while and return. 5 of his classmates didn’t come to school this year, but he believes there isn’t anyone who didn’t start education at all. He knows only one young person who completed grade 10 and works at ILCA, living with his parents. He argued there is a great workload for rich young people, which affects their education, but the poor have little work to do, so they could regularly attend their education. He insisted that he doesn’t want to live in the community in the future; rather he plans to complete education until he becomes a doctor and work in Debrebrehan or other places.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He thinks many of the young at his age will get some plots of land depending on the size of land each of their parents have. Only one girl he knows wants to be a rich farmer and she has dropped out of education this year, but all the rest of his friends would like to be pilots, teachers and work in other places. But he indicated that some of them have already failed and dropped out of education so that couldn’t be what they wished to be. Many of the Youth in their 20s live with their parents, working for the families, many also generate their own incomes by planting/selling eucalyptus trees, quarrying/selling stone, through sharecropping/rearing, and working in daily labour.

### Getting married

He insisted the youngest marriage age is 20 and the common age is 25. He said none of his friends or anyone else at his age has ever been married. He said cooperation/sharing household workload is the main importance of being married in that the wife would help him in food preparation and harvest. Among the challenges he mentioned were that the couples could sometimes regret getting married too early when life becomes bad for them and could enter into conflicts resulting in divorce before long. He thinks parents and sons could work in consultation with each other in choosing and arranging sons’ marriage partners, but usually sons would be married to the women they have chosen. He said all this is the same for the young from both rich and poor families.

### Setting up an independent household

He insisted establishing new households for the young is too hard, especially for the poor because their parents would not have any surplus to provide gifts of land, livestock, or grain so that they have to depend only on their own efforts to establish and support their new households. It is easier for the young whose parents could provide all resources/assistances until they become self-sufficient. He indicated that many would not need parental support once they established households.

### Migrating

He said migrating for work is common among young people, some go to Addis Ababa and others to Debrebrhan, and most of them migrate between the ages of 20 to 30. He believes the males go to work as daily labourers and the women as house servants. He noted that one of the women who migrated to Addis came back last year to nurse her old father. He thinks migration for work is increasing and he too wants to go and work in Debrebrhan for the future.

### Living in the community

He reported the good thing about living in the community is that there is no need to purchase food grain as every person could produce all they need for consumption. There is nothing he dislikes about the community.

### The economy

He thinks the community is growing richer as they are increasing their production of grains using fertilizers, and American dairy cows and sheep. He described the kebele to be peaceful. He argued that rich people have become very rich and the livelihoods of families of many poor people have been improving, but they could not be equals to the rich.

### Religion

He insisted every person in the community is actively fulfilling his religious obligations as usual, and he regularly fasts and abstains from work on holy days. Some young boys attend religious education in the different hamlets.

### Politics

He doesn’t know what the Wereda is doing for the youth in the kebele, but noted that it was common to hear that government would provide land and credit for the young to start businesses. He knows the kebele gave farmland for about 10 young landless and irrigable land to some other groups of youth.

### Inter-generational relations

He insisted family relations in the household were very good, children respecting parents, obediently accepting/implementing their advice/orders. Younger siblings respect their elders.

## Rich male teenager 16

### Personal

He lives with both parents and two sisters. Rain-fed and irrigation crop farming and livestock are the main source of his parent’s household livelihood. He said he has been involved in own income generating activities, planting and selling eucalyptus seedlings, collecting dung in the fields and selling it in the market. He described the household as rich.

### Opportunities for 16 year old boys

He reported most of the young at his age are attending school and they could also generate their own incomes by collecting and selling dung cake, wood, planting eucalyptus trees, and working daily labour half days out of school.

### Combining work and education

He is 15.3 years old, attending grade 6 and previously ranked 38 out of 48 classmates. He never dropped out of education. He was always involved in all types of farmwork activities, ploughing, harvesting, threshing, weeding, and tending livestock, when he was not attending school. Tending his nursery, collecting and selling dung were among the activities he did for his own income. He sold seedlings at 65 birr, dung cake 30 birr, and wood from parents’ eucalyptus trees at 40 birr and used this money to buy education materials, shoes and clothes for himself. He insisted that none of the work affected his health as he could do only what was in his capacity. Work did not affect his education as he did it all out of school shifts. He said he there wasn’t anything he dislikes about any work, rather he likes being involved in farmwork activities, and described fetching water as the easiest activity as he used to fetch it on a donkey’s back. He plans to continue education, combining it with work for the next year too.

What he does in rest times: studying/doing homework, especially in the evening using gasoline light; playing with friends while herding in the field, mostly on weekends; he likes music, especially that of Manalimosh Dibo and religious songs and he uses his parents’ tape recorder. He said he actively observes his religion, strictly fasting and provides church service as a singer at Senbet (Sunday) school. He is a member of a student 1-5 group, but he didn’t participate in the youth association/league/federation. He plays foot/volley ball with schoolmates, exercises by doing gymnastics and athletics during sport periods.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He argued that most young men at his age would not have much chance of getting land except some who may be able to obtain it from parents who have more than 10 Timads of land. He insisted the majority of the young and all his friends don’t want to be farmers, rather wishing to go to other places and find work, being involved in any work including teaching, police, guards or daily labour. Very few of his friends, 2 or 3, would like to go to colleges and graduate if they don’t fail secondary education. He said the majority in their 20s have established their own households with farming as their main source of livelihood. Some are involved in part time daily labour work at ILCA, Habesha beer, and in irrigated vegetable production, while about 16-20 unmarried young people are working at a private dairy farm construction site in the kebele. He argued that the young from poor families could not get land and livestock from their parents, but the hard working ones could generate incomes by planting eucalyptus trees, collecting and selling dung, growing some crop through sharecropping. He said more young people from poor families could get money by working in daily labour.

### Getting married

He estimated 25 to be the minimum age at which a very few young people could get married and he insisted that above 25, up to 30, is the common marriage age in the community. None of his friends were married nor is anyone at his age ever married. He said the main advantage of being married is to be independent, self-supporting and to develop your own wealth, but insisted that it doesn’t have any disadvantages. Among the challenges he mentioned: the wife could suffer during her pregnancy and may face problems while giving birth; and without oxen, farming and supporting a family would be difficult. He reported that both rich and poor parents are involved in choosing sons’ marriage partners, sending elders to and arranging marriage dates with the girl’s parents, then preparing the wedding feast ceremonies. He argued that government regulations didn’t affect the marriage age for young men, because they want to marry later so that the girls could grow by then. He said he didn’t know whether or not there was any marriage age limitation for males, but knows that the government requires both couples to be tested for HIV before being married.

### Setting up an independent household

He argued that setting up an independent household was never an easy task for young people. In order to establish their first household, they have to have enough wood and grass or money to build the house, and at least an ox, land, and grain for at least for one year’s consumption. So new household establishers, who didn’t save enough when they lived with parents would not be able to maintain their family well. He insisted that parental assistance to sons after they formed their own households is not common, because parents need to concentrate on helping the remaining unmarried children. Rather they could provide advice, labour assistance and share equipment. He argued that both rich and poor parents support their son’s households with what they could afford, depending on their capacity, but things could be more difficult for new household establishers of poor parents due to a lack of land and oxen.

### Migrating

He estimated the number of migrating young men to be fewer than previously. Some boys between the ages of 16 and 18 could migrate for work, most of them to Addis Ababa, but he didn’t know what they were doing. He said such migrations have now decreased as many boys of this age are attending education. Two women from his neighbours went to Addis this year. One of them is known to have a sister living in Addis. He plans to go and live in Debrebrehan if he could get a job, and if he couldn’t, then he would go to Addis Ababa by himself to find any work.

### Living in the community

He said he neither specially likes nor dislikes anything about living in the community, but insisted the availability of transport on the main road crossing the kebele is good for taking seriously sick people to hospital urgently. He thought the community is changing as many hardworking people were getting richer through irrigation, by tree planting and selling, growing with fertilizers, and dairy production. He argued there will be more development after 5 years if people continued working harder. He indicated that the community is usually peaceful, but people sometimes disturb security when they get drunk on Areqe at the weekends and on holy day feast celebrations. He said young boys socialise with neighbours, relatives, and school friends when they go to towns for marketing. Among his parents’ worries about him are: they fear he may get hurt by entering into conflicts and fights, develop bad habits, face car accidents, or imprisonment due to involvement in fighting when he goes to market. They advise him to avoid conflict and take care of himself.

He said HIV is transmitted through unprotected sexual intercourse or sharing the same razors. He didn’t know anyone with HIV nor has he heard of anyone who has died. He thought a few people might be using condoms and he doesn’t think young boys have sexual relations, except those who are married.

### The economy

He argued that it is difficult to say that the community is richer or poorer than before, because some of the people have increased their wealth and others remained the same, but generally, the community has grown richer now compared to 3 years ago. He mentioned some changes: many farmers have increase fattening and selling their own oxen and sheep, involvement in carpentry and building work, quarrying and selling of stone have increased; every farmer plants crops through Zqosh ploughing (making a broad bed manually with a spade).

### Religion

He described the community as a whole to be highly respectful to the Orthodox faith. Most of the adults and young regularly attend Sunday mass, respecting non-working holy days, and even small children strictly fast. He guessed there might be some who are Gidelesh (less interested) in religion, but most of the young are strict followers of their faith. He noted there have never been any other different religions in his community. He said the church was not involved in other activities other than religious services.

### Politics

He said government has been helping the youth. It has enabled students at school to receive education materials (exercise books, pencils, pen) from Children for Food. The kebele provided irrigable land to youth groups, but didn’t know how they were selected. He argued they might or might not have tried to tell young men to be party members, but he didn’t hear anything about this and doesn’t even know who party members in the community are. He said there isn’t any youth association functioning in the community.

### Inter-generational relations

He reported their relations with parents have been very good; all children strictly respect/obey their parents, and siblings love/care for each other. They respect their elders. He argued generally the young in the community respect/obey adults and accept their advice, but a few siblings would sometimes enter into bitter conflicts and fights against each other.

## Middle-wealth male teenager 16

### Personal

He lives with parents, 3 brothers, and 2 sisters. He is attending grade 5. He said farming is the main source of livelihood. He described the household as medium wealth.

### Opportunities for 16 year old boys

He said daily labour work is available nearby for the young men to be engaged in income generating for their own savings and most of them at his age have good opportunities to attend their education.

### Combining work and education

He is 15 years old, currently attending grade 5. His previous class rank was 16th out of 45. He never dropped out of education. He insisted to have been involved in all types of household farm and domestic work activities and he tends his own chickens, chops and sells wood from eucalyptus trees that his parents give him. He has 100 birr from recent sales of wood. The work didn’t affect his health nor his education as he was working only when out of school and on Saturday. He said he likes music and could sometimes listen to music on his parents’ tape recorder. He plays with friends, works on his homework, fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays and regularly attends Sunday mass.

He plans to continue saving money by planting and selling eucalyptus trees and would like finally to go and live in Jimma after completing his education, because one of his brothers live in Jimma. He wants to complete grade 12 then find work. He insisted he has no plan to marry at all and he was not sure if anything in the future could change him and make him decide to marry.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He thinks many young people at his age may get some plots of land from their parents. None of his friends want to be farmers nor do they want to live in the community. Rather they would like to complete their education and get jobs in towns, many of these want to be policemen, but he wants to be a driver. He said the majority of the young people in their 20s are living with parents working for the family households. He said boys of poor parents could generate their own incomes through daily labour work, selling wood, and dung cakes to save for their future households as their poor parents would not be able to give them livestock and land.

### Getting married

He said rarely some people could get married at 18 years of age, but the majority marry at 20 and above. The advantages of being married are first to have children and improve their independent households. He insisted there aren’t any advantages to getting married at a younger age, rather it harms them because it is too hard for young couples to manage household work and support families, especially if their parents are poor. He insisted some could marry partners who their parents choose for them, but many would despise the women chosen by parents for them and they reject marrying them.

### Setting up an independent household

He argued that establishing new households for a young man is very difficult as it takes a lot of effort to build the house, find enough land to produce food grain every year, and they will also face shortages of herders, and labour for farm work. He insisted that many would ask/receive help from their parents for up to 3 years after they established their households and both poor and rich parents used to support them with what they could afford, until children become self-sufficient.

### Migrating

He insisted migration for work is common among the youth. Many of them drop out of education and leave, commonly to Addis Ababa. He didn’t know for sure what work they were doing, but he thought the males could be involved in daily labour and the female in caring babies. He said they were migrating at all ages, starting from 14 years old to commonly at 20. He said migration has been increasing. He plans to go to Jimma and find a job there after completing his education.

### Living in the community

People’s cooperation in times of misfortune is something that he likes about the community, and he dislikes the behaviour of some parents who disturb their families by coming home drunk. He described the place as peaceful to live in. he said young men form friendships between relatives, neighbours, and schoolmates, socialising by eating and drinking at each other’s homes. He indicated his parents worries are that he might be killed by a car while playing on/crossing the main road passing through the village, and they also suspect/ fear he may try to run away to Addis Ababa using public transport passing through. He insisted he was never involved in drinking and other bad habits. He said many people are getting HIV, and mentioned 3 persons who have HIV in the community including a wife who has started taking medicine. He insisted people don’t use condoms.

### The economy

He thinks the community has developed and people’s wealth has well improved compared to the past as people have increased dairy cows, planting and selling of eucalyptus trees, and daily labour work and have increased crop production by regularly using fertilizers. He said the number of people migrating for work has increased and the number of farm daily labourers coming from other areas has also increased. He thinks the gap between rich and poor has improved as many poor have become self-sufficient. He insisted the young in rich families could live better than the poor, but the rich young have much work load to deal with, affecting their education so that they usually get poor results in exams. The poor young could attend classes regularly and got good results as they face little farm workload, even they could work in their own income generating activities.

### Religion

He said everyone, from children to adults, is regularly fulfilling their religious obligations: always going to church, abstaining from work on holy days, and strictly fasting. He said children attend religious education at their villages. He also thinks that religious rules, especially fasting and respecting non-working days became mandatory obligations to be fulfilled.

### Inter-generational relations

He reported that the relations among family members are very good; children are highly respectful of their parents, each respecting his/her elder siblings.

## Poor male teenager 16

### Personal

He is living with his parents, 3 brothers and 3 daughters. He is attending grade 4. He said farming is their main source of livelihood. He spent some time working in daily labour at a nearby dairy farm construction, but none of the other household members are involved in any off-farm work. He described the household as medium wealth status.

### Opportunities for 16 year old boys

He reported that there is a good daily labour work opportunity for many young people at his age available around the kebele. Many parents have much land to give some plots for their young sons to generate incomes for their future lives.

### Combining work and education

He is 17 years old, attending grade 4 for the second time because he failed last year, and his previous class rank was 20th from 45 students. He never dropped out of education. He has been involved in household crop farming work and livestock tending, fetching water. He is working in construction daily labour, making charcoals from eucalyptus trees, cutting trees and chopping wood, then taking and selling charcoal, wood, and dung cakes in the market for his own income. One of his friends showed him how to make charcoal before he left to Tebase to continue his education. When out of school shifts he was involved in daily labour work at a private dairy farm project in the kebele by his own initiative and his parents encouraged him. In the last 12 months, he has sold 2 sacks of charcoal at 90 birr/sack and 4 donkeys’ loads of dung cakes at 15 birr/load, and he could buy clothes, a pair of shoes, and education materials. He argued that work didn’t affect his education or health and he will continue his education and working in his income generating activities in the next year. When he has free time, he used to play with a homemade ball and Rur with his friends, he likes music very much, particularly enjoying the songs of Manalebish Dibo. He said he has been actively observing religious rules by attending Sunday’s church mass and fasting.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He reported that many of the young from rich families will get their own land from parents, but the ones with poor parents will not get any land so they may use others’ land through sharecropping. Only two of his friends want to be farmers and the rest would like to go and work in other places where they could find any work. A few want to continue their education to college level and have good paying jobs. He reported among the young in their 20s, some live with parents, some by working daily labour, some are employed at ILCA.

### Getting married

He said some could get married at the age of 20, but the majority marry around 24 or 26. He knows two young men who married at 21 and 23 respectively. He said the importance of being married is to improve the household by working together and having children, but getting married before having saved enough could cause a great problem in maintaining/supporting the family. He insisted in all cases parents are involved in choosing mates and preparing weddings for their sons.

### Setting up an independent household

He argued setting up new households is difficult for young men from poor parents, whereas it would be a bit easier for the rich parented ones, because they would be able to receive gifts sufficient to establish new household. Young men whose parents didn’t have land and livestock enough for themselves would try to save for their future by working in daily labour, planting eucalyptus trees, sharecropping/rearing before they get married and form their own families. But most of the rich could save by growing crops and rearing livestock, receiving land and cattle/sheep while living with their parents.

### Migrating

He insisted migration for work is common. Many of them go to Debrebrhan, Addis Ababa and Jimma, and report that around 10 people have gone to Addis this year alone. He said the common age they migrate at is 20 and above and he thinks that the number of migrating young men has been increasing. A few of those who migrated could sometimes come back to visit parents and leave again. He said he would go and work in other places after completing his education.

### Living in the community

He said the community’s cooperation in helping people in times of misfortune is the thing he most he likes about living there and the community. There wasn’t anything he disliked. He argued the community’s standard of living has been improving in every aspect, and thinks it will grow much more after 5 years. He also described the place as peaceful to live in. He said young men establish friendship with relatives or neighbours, socialising by eating, drinking soft drinks together, and when they enter inter-personal conflicts it could be turned into group disputes involving stick fighting between groups of friends. He indicated that his parents worry about him, in particular that he may develop bad habits such as alcohol drinking, interpersonal fights, and theft and always advise him to take care of himself against these bad habits. He was never involved in drinking and other bad habits. He said HIV is transmitted through sexual intercourse, blood contact and pregnant mothers to child and it is not curable. It will make patients thinner and thinner, and then kills them finally. He didn’t know anyone with HIV in the community. He doesn’t think any person in the community uses condoms at all.

### The economy

He believed that there has been a lot of development in the community and people are getting richer by increasing mixed breed cattle, sheep, and especially milk selling. There is much more eucalyptus tree planting/selling, availability of daily labour work around the kebele has increased, farmers have increased crop production by regularly using fertilizers, many have started spreading sheep and donkey manure on their land and could produce good harvests. The number of people going out to work in daily labour has increased and also the number of people coming from other areas as farm daily labourers was growing. He said the gap between rich and poor has slightly decreased as more poor people could increase their wealth by working hard. He argued the young in rich families have a better life than the poor, but the poor young could save better by being involved in income generating activities. He argued that the rich young have a heavy household farm workload so they have little time to study or attend classes and get poor results in education. In contrast, poor young have less farm workloads as poor parents don’t have much land and/or farming activities. As a result, the poor young could concentrate on their education and achieve better results. The poor young also could be engaged in income generating activities/daily labour work part time while the rich young are always tied up with household formwork.

### Religion

He insisted that the majority of the people increasingly go to church for le-masqedes (attending weekly mass on Sundays), and to Amet-be al (the celebration of annual saints’ memorial days). However, he also indicated that there are a very few people who are not much interested in religion, in that they may not fast, they violate the non-working days rule and work on the farm. Some might go to church mass once, if they go at all. He said that some preachers from Debrebrhan come a few times in a year on special annual church celebration times and teach at the occasions.

### Politics

He reported that there are good relations between the government and youth. The government was supporting the youth by providing sheep and cows to poor families whose parents have died, land for shop and house building, and tree planting, and irrigable land from communal grazing to school drop outs. He said they organize them in groups and give them training and advise them to start cooperative development. He suggested that the Wereda/kebele should provide land to the young, selecting those who are hardworking and landless.

### Inter-generational relations

He described his family relations as very good; all children are respectful to their parents and elders. He insisted that the majority of the young in the community similarly respect and obeys adults, but some siblings rarely could quarrel, even fight each other. He argued that adults agree on the importance of education as every parent encourages their children to attend education.

## Rich male teenager 19

### Personal

He lives with parents, two sisters and 3 brothers. He described the household as rich and farming as the only main household livelihood. One of his brothers is working as a guard in ILCA on commuting.

### Opportunities for 19 year old boys

He said boys of his age have access to education, many of them attend secondary school in Debrebrhan and some could save money by working daily labour, rearing sheep.

### Combining work and education

He is 19 years old attending grade 5. He was ranked 6 out of 55 classmates and never dropped out of school. He has been involved in in all kinds of farm work activities, fetching water from the water point, Wat( sauce) preparation, herding, preparing Furishka and feeding cattle, going to the market to sell own and household wood, grain, livestock and buy things required. He sells wood from his own eucalyptus trees (800 trees), he has 10 sheep, having expanded from the original one sheep his parents gave him. This expansion is the result of rearing and buying additional animals from his wood sales. He could sell some when he needed. He insisted that none of the work he was doing affected his education as he was doing all activities out of school shifts. None of the work he was engaged in affected his health. He would like to continue his education as usual, working half day for himself and his parents’ household. He has planned to improve his class rank from the previous 6 to 1 to 3 in the next year. When he has rest time, he plays foot/volleyball with a ball made from pieces of clothes with his friends. He listens to music on his parents’ radio or the tape recorder. He said he respects his religion by fasting on Wednesday/Fridays, attending mass on Sundays, and abstaining from farm work on holy days. He exercises by doing gymnastics, athletics, and playing football at school. He didn’t participate in the youth association/league/federation. When he stays at home, he would do his homework and study, or feed cattle. He insisted all his intimate friends are males and doesn’t have any special girlfriend.

He said after completing his education, he would like to live at his parents homestead, being involved in modern farming including dairy production and bull fattening and would work in a part time job as a guard during the night. He argued his parents have more than enough land, around 24 Timad and as all his elder siblings are already self-sufficient, he is going to get a lot of land in the future. He plans to continue his education as before, working in household activities half day during off school shifts. He plans to marry a girl of his own choice after completing secondary education and argued that his parents would be involved in evaluating the behaviour of the girl he chooses for marriage, preparing the wedding and supporting him to form his household. He didn’t have yet any girl identified for his future marriage. He said he would like to have only two children, starting soon after getting married. He said he doesn’t have any role model. He fears that a shortage of livestock drinking water would get worse as the pond is going to be filled with silt/mud and dry out. As a result, keeping dairy cows and fattening could be difficult. He hopes he will establish and develop a good household and educate his children. Failing and dropping out of school from secondary education and a lack of jobs when they complete education, are the problems young boys at his age were facing. He also mentioned daily labour work at Habesha beer factory construction and hybrid sheep herding work at ILCA as good work opportunities for many young people. He indicated that most at his age are working just for their parents’ households, and only some are involved in daily labour income generating work. Hybrid sheep herding at ILCA pays 20 birr/day and Habesha beer project pays the highest in the area, 50 birr/day. He described the farm work pattern for the young at his age in the community: land preparation (ploughing) in October and February-June, weeding in August and September, harvesting in November and December, and crop threshing in January. He argued that the farm workload is too heavy for the young who attend school and some would be forced to drop out from education. He indicated there wasn’t any employment opportunities within the Kebele so young men could only try to start developing their own livelihood by growing crops using plots of land allocated by parents and/or sharecropping, by rearing livestock given by parents or obtained through share rearing, or by growing and selling own eucalyptus trees. He said there were many boys who had dropped out of education and were engaged in daily labour or farming with parents. Some of the young could drop out of education when they got well-paying daily labour work and return when the work phases out and they couldn’t find another job. He said there are 3 boys who completed grade 10 and work as permanent employees at ILCA, living with their parents (commuting). He argued that combining work and education is harder for the young with poor parents, because such parents preferred advising children to find some income generating work rather than going to school. He reported a few at his age, around 4, were involved in drinking alcohol drinks, but not no one he know was smoking, chewing chat, or stealing.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He argued that the majority of the young are likely to get access to land from parents and through sharecropping/renting, and some poor ones may receive group cooperative land or a few of them Mote-keda land individually. He insisted that a few of his friends want to stay in farming until they accumulate enough to start businesses going in towns, but many of them are planning to become successful farmers involved in livestock fattening, irrigation, and trading. He said none of his friends has any intention to migrate. Only one of his friends had a plan to graduate from a university and find a job in another place, but finally he failed to obtain the required grade to join university so he is now attending TVET. He insisted that most of the young below 25 are living with their parents, working for their parents and for their own future by growing crops on parental gift land, through sharecropping, rearing livestock provided by parents and/or through share rearing. He argued poor parents continue to exist from hand to mouth so would never be able to help their children escape poverty when they establish their own households at last. Even some of them lived in other households as servants and would give their children to their masters or other households as herders or farm workers, so it is too hard for poor parented young men to establish their own livelihood as their parents would not have enough resources, land, and livestock, to give them a start.

### Getting married

He insisted that the age of 24 has been the youngest at which a very few people he knows have already married, but 26 and above was the common age. He knows 6 friends who married at this age. Advantages of being married he mentioned include: cooperation over household work activities, wives dealing with the domestic work while husbands handle external activities including the farm work. Among the problems, both could face high workloads until their children grow up, as the wife has to handle all domestic activities alone, whereas the husband is forced to deal with all farm work. If the husband happens to be wasteful or a drunkard, the wife would be offended and their marriage could end in divorce. He argued that in nearly all cases parents were responsible for choosing and arranging their sons’ marriages. The only difference is that rich parents hold extravagant wedding feast ceremonies, while the poor young have to marry with ordinary informal ceremonies where very few close relatives from both families would be invited.

### Setting up an independent household

He argued it is always a bit difficult for all young men to form their first independent households unless they could have enough resources. New household establishers would initially face shortages of herders, farm work labour, oxen and this would gradually improve as children come. The majority could set up their new households using parental land and livestock gifts together with their own grain and the cash they saved. He said the majority of young household establishers would need support from their parents, commonly for about 2 years

### Migrating

He estimated many young above 20 were migrating for work, most of them to Addis Ababa to work as daily labourers, but he thought the number of migrating young has decreased as daily labour work availability has increased very much around and only a few poor parents tend to migrate further away. He insisted there aren’t any returnees and didn’t know anything about those who migrated. He doesn’t plan to migrate anywhere.

### Living in the community

He said very good availability of farmland is what he likes about the community and a lack of water for livestock drinking is the difficult thing in the community. The only community pond is drying up and the silt causes cattle to get stuck in the pond. He insisted that the community is improving as modern methods of production are increasingly used by farmers and he thought there could be electricity and many wells would be dug for drinking water in 5 years’ time. He described the kebele as peaceful to live in. He said friendship and socialization among the young is based on neighbourhood, blood relation, and classmates and interpersonal or group conflicts could rarely occur due to alcohol drinking or over pastures and land. However, he didn’t know of any such incidents personally. His parents worry about him, fearing that he may be befriended by bad boys or that he could develop drinking habits when he goes to the towns. They advise/warn him against all such things and he was never involved in chat chewing, drinking, smoking or theft. He said he didn’t know anyone with HIV nor who had died of AIDS, but he understood it is caught through sharing injection and sexual intercourse. He insisted most of the young at his age are not involved in sexual intercourse until they get married. He said condom use is not common, but suspected very few may rarely use them.

### The economy.

He ranked the community to be richer now than 3 years ago, due to price increases for livestock and grain. Many could produce much grain by fertilizers, growing different crops in intervals. Everyone has increased hybrid cattle and sheep, as well as planting and selling of eucalyptus trees. But he insisted any new off-farm work opportunity didn’t come/emerge in the community. Commuting for daily labour in and around Debrebrhan has increased, and the number of farm daily labourers has increased, many of them coming from Debrebrhan town. He argued the gap between poor and richer households has decreased as many poor farmers could increase crop /livestock production through share-cropping/rearing and by obtaining cattle and sheep supports from Food for Children. Young boys could get everything they need, good clothes, shoes, education materials including books, but the poor lack all these, so the majority of poor young could have worse grades than richer ones. He insisted that both the rich and poor young equally bear the household workload, but more poor were involved in daily labour than richer ones. The Rich young have much better access to parental support in land and livestock to start generating own incomes, but poor parents don’t have enough/surplus to give their children any such resources. But he argued there is no difference in terms of getting married except that rich parented young are married in huge wedding feast ceremonies while the poor marry in ordinary, small ceremonies.

### Religion

He reported all people in the community respect and observe religious obligations as usual. The young are also becoming more involved in religion in terms of strictly fasting, going to church, contributing labour for church construction. He doesn’t know if any preacher has come to teach at churches. He knows some children are attending religious education in some villages, but no one is going to other places for such education. He noted that following different faiths other than Orthodox is unacceptable in the community so there hasn’t been any family case where any one of its members changed religion.

### Politics

He reported that government says it will help the young to get land, and the kebele has allocated some land around the school, near the centre to selected unmarried, completed/dropped out of education, landless youth for house building to open shops. Some were given irrigated land. The Wereda has provided different sports materials including volley/footballs to the school and for students to play with. He insisted that the kebele/wereda was advising the young to organize themselves in groups and to join the youth association in order to get land or jobs, but the youth didn’t want to be organized, fearing that the government could force them to join the army whenever there is a war. He doesn’t know whether or not there is a youth association/league/federation.

### Inter-generational relations

He reported that the relations among family members are good. They work in cooperation, children obey parents, the younger ones respecting elder siblings. He insisted this was common in the community. The common disagreement between the young and adult parents was over family land where sons demand plots of land to be given for their own use to start saving for the future and parents refuse complaining of the existing shortage of land to support the household.

## Middle-wealth male teenager 19

### Personal

He lives with parents, 2 brothers, and a sister, attending grade 5. He said farming is the main means of livelihood. He was involved in daily labour work at a private dairy farm site for his own income, digging holes for fencing and cutting green grass for fodder. He described the household as medium wealth.

### Opportunities for 19 year old boys

He said young men have good opportunities of income generating daily labour work and most of them at his age are attending education.

### Combining work and education

He is 17 years old, currently attending grade 5 with previous class rank of 16th out of 55. He never dropped out of education. He said he has been involved in all types of farm and domestic work activities and own income generating daily labour work, digging fence holes and cutting grass. He indicated that he first decided to work because it was paying well and one of the young neighbours, who was a long-term worker at the dairy project, helped him in getting the daily labour work. Since then he goes to work at the dairy farm when he is out of school and on Saturday, and his parents accepted it when he told them. He obtained 40 birr/day for digging holes in 5 days (200 birr) and 45 birr/day for cutting grasses in 5 days (225 birr). He could buy two sheep with the money he obtained, adding some from his parents. The work didn’t affect his health nor his education as he was being involved only when out of school and on Saturday. He said he likes music and could sometimes listen on the radio. He plays with friends, studies/does his homework; fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays; participates as a singer with the Senbet education association members, regularly attends Sunday mass.

He said he will continue working daily labour side by side with his education for the next year. Finally, he plans to complete at least grade 10 then find any work and he would like to build his house and live permanently in Chacha town, where one of his uncles sons already live. He also plans to marry after 7 years. He will marry anyone his parents would choose and arrange for him. He wants to have two children starting two years after marriage. He would like to have a household as good and rich as the man who has 3 American dairy cows selling up to 30 litters daily from each. He insisted he doesn’t have any worries about the future.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He argued that many of the young at his age, especially from richer families, could get some plots of land from parents. Only few of his friends want to be farmers, but the majority would like to complete education and find jobs in towns, and a few others are considering dropping education and going to other places to find work. A very few want to complete college and get good jobs. He knows a few young people in their 20s who work in income generating daily labour, but the majority are living with parents working for the households/own incomes. He argued that poor parented boys were better in generating independent incomes through daily labour work, because they didn’t expect land, livestock or grain gifts from their poor parents for the future.

### Getting married

He said 25 is the youngest age at which many get married. He argued that he hears that boys in the past were commonly married at 19 and 30, but in his time the common marriage age is 25. He didn’t know anyone at his age who is married so far. The advantages of being married are first to have children and improve their independent households. He didn’t see any harm / disadvantages occurred, but at first, very young boys may face difficulties in managing household workloads and they would be able to be experienced through time. He insisted parents are commonly choosing the right women for their sons and only rarely a few young men could choose their mates and tell their parents to get permission. He believed that the young from rich parents have had better chances to marry whom they choose. He said government has limited the marriage age of women and not of male, but this has affected the young male preventing them from marrying the girls they choose, so some marry another grown up girl instead of waiting for the former until they reach the required age.

### Setting up an independent household

He argued establishing of first households for a young man is neither easy nor hard, because if one could have saved enough while living with parents and parents could build and provide him with a house, it would be easy for the young to set up a household. However, it would be difficult if he has to build his own new house by himself. He indicated that some would be able to receive land, livestock, and grain gifts from parents while others couldn’t get any. Some of those who couldn’t get gifts would face difficulties, but gradually they would be able to improve by working hard including daily labour work. He insisted that once they established their households many of the young would not ask for parental help, but a few may need some supports for a year until they have the first harvest.

### Migrating

He said going out to other places for work is common in the community, many of them going to Cheffe (somewhere after Addis Ababa), but didn’t know what work they were being engaged in. he estimated the common age they migrated at is 20 and above and the number of migrating young men has been increasing. He didn’t know any returnee, but knows a few who visited parents and went back. He said he doesn’t have any plan to migrate far away.

### Living in the community

Mutual assistance/ cooperation in times of crisis is the thing he most likes about the community, but he insisted he disliked nothing in the community. He said the community has improved its wealth with many becoming richer, and argued it will be more developed after 5 years. He described the place as a peaceful to live in. he reported that young boys form friendships with relatives or neighbours and socialise eating, drinking Tela, soft drinks together. He indicated that inter personal conflicts rarely arise due to alcohol drinking on market days. He reported his parents’ main worries include their fears that he might be befriended by bad boys. He could be involved in interpersonal fights and get hurt or harm others. He indicated his parents advise him to take care of himself against all such bad habits. He insisted he was never involved in drinking and all other bad habits. He said HIV comes through be-dem Nikiki (blood contact), makes patients thinner and thinner, then kills them finally. He didn’t know anyone caught by HIV in the community. He said a few young men could sometimes have sex with girls while washing clothes by the river or when they travel in the villages. He doesn’t think anyone ever uses condoms during sexual relations.

### The economy

He insisted the community has improved its standard of living compared to before, as many people have increased mixed breed cattle, sheep, and especially dairy production and selling. There is much more eucalyptus tree planting/selling; daily labour work opportunity at Habesha beer factory construction, a private dairy farm, and ILCA has increased so that many people could obtain cash incomes. Every farmer could produce more using fertilizers, irrigation, improved seeds. He reported that the number of people migrating for daily labour has increased, but the number of people coming from Debrebrhan and other rural areas for farm daily labour work on harvesting and Ziqosh has grown much more. He argued the gap between rich and poor remained the same because poor farmers were slightly improving by using share cropping/rearing while the rich farmers could increase their wealth much more using own oxen, land, buying enough fertilizers, renting irrigable land. He thinks rich parented young men have better lives than the poor because their parents would provide them land and sheep to generate own incomes for the future. Poor parents didn’t have enough to help their children generate own incomes, buy good clothes, shoes. He insisted the rich young are not involved in daily labour income generating activities because they could get enough support from parents, whereas the poor young depend on themselves to work hard and save for their future, by working daily labour and through share cropping/rearing. He thinks the poor were better in education results than the rich because the rich families have a lot of farm work to deal with, but poor parents don’t have much workload so they could manage it so that the children were free to attend classes regularly.

### Religion

He insisted every person is strictly observing all the religious rules/obligations, and spends the usual amount of time on religious activities. As always they are going to church, preparing Mehaber feast celebration ceremonies, not working on holydays. Youth participation in church choirs/Sunday education has increased; some children attend religious education in the villages and he knows 4 children going to a religious school in the neighbouring Tsgereda Wereda kebele. He thinks all religious rules including fasting and non-working days are being considered seriously.

### Politics

He argued the Wereda didn’t give any resource/advice/trainings to the youth, but the kebele could provide the young with land for houses, farmland from communal grazing, land for tree planting, and seedlings, especially for school drop outs and other landless selected by the community. He said he didn’t see/hear any attempt made to recruit young people as party members, and didn’t see any member getting any special benefits.

### Inter-generational relations

He said that the relations among his family members are good. Also children in the community are respectful to their parents; the young respect adults/old people; younger siblings respect/obey his/her elder.

## Poor male teenager 19

### Personal

He is an orphaned child, household head living with his two younger brothers. He has two brothers from same parents, two other brothers and a sister from his mother only. Following the death of his father, his mother moved to nearby Tebase town, suburb of Debrebrhan, where he and his siblings - two younger brothers - lived with her until she died in 2001 E.C. He then dropped out of grade 8 and tried to help his younger brothers, living in the same rented house. Since his mother moved to Tebase, his elder half-sister lived in their parents’ rural house, caring for his two half-brothers. But she married and went to live with her husband, taking the two brothers with her. She left the house shut up. In 2004, he and his siblings moved back to Milki where they opened the house and lived in it. He is trying to support his two brothers’ education, both of whom are attending grade 8 and 6 at Tebase, traveling back and forth. He said that their parents’ 10 Timad of land was the main source of livelihood. He indicated that at first the husband of his sister was ploughing the whole land and could give them Siso (1/3) from each seasonal production. Then they contributed equally for fertilizers and seeds, but they used his brother-in-law’s oxen and shared the produce. He said he decided to manage the land using another’s oxen through a labour exchange, but his brother-in-law prevented him from ploughing the land. He pointed out that he had just come to appeal the case to the kebele officials and was called for this interview by chance. He described his household as poor.

### Opportunities for 19 year old boys

He reported that there are good daily labour work opportunities for many young people at his age available around the kebele. Many parents have much land available and can give some plots for their young sons to generate incomes for their future lives.

### Combining work and education

He is 18 years old, a grade 8 drop out since 2001 when his mother died. He said his common class rank in grade 6-8 was 20 and below. He has been involved only in farm work activities, for his household and other people in exchange for oxen. He was involved in ploughing with labour exchanged oxen and digging with hoes for his own household crop production and harvesting. He has prepared land with the hoe for eucalyptus trees planting, growing lentils and peas around the homestead using the hoe, and he has planted irrigated vegetables/root crops on one Timad of his land for marketing. He didn’t work in any off-farm activities. He said he is eagerly learning farming skills and the work didn’t so far affect his health. He insisted he always wished to continue his education from where he stopped, but he couldn’t because he felt he has to help his brothers complete their education. He noted he will no more think about his education, but only to work hard and educate his brothers and improve his life as is God’s will. He said there was no time which he took for resting or recreation as he carries out light work activities, tending his cow and sheep, irrigating and weeding vegetables or working for others to get oxen in exchange to plough his land with. He said he listens to music and religious songs with his mobile. He strictly fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays, and sometimes goes to church. He didn’t participate in any political activity nor belong to youth association/league/federation. He was not involved in any sports. He socializes with a few male friends, and usually with his uncle’s son, inviting each other for food at each other’s houses and drinking tea/soft drinks together when they go to the market in towns. He didn’t have any special girlfriend. He reported that when he was at home, he carries out all domestic work activities, house cleaning, drying grain in the sun, separating/picking grain impurities, food preparation including the roasting of beans/peas, making Wat (sauces) and dry breads.

He said he would like to live in the community at his parents’ home place, improving his life by working hard as a farmer on the 10 Timad of land his parents left for them and renting/sharecropping land in addition. He insisted he doesn’t have any plan to continue education, but said he is getting tired/hurting himself by shouldering all the household responsibilities alone so he is planning to marry in 2007 after seeing the condition of the harvests in 2006 (he will postpone marriage if a bad harvest happens to occur). He argued that getting married/ establishing a new household before having saved enough to maintain it will result in divorce or the downfall of the household. He reported he didn’t choose his marriage partner yet. He would like to have his first child 2 or 3 years after marriage and a total of 4 children. He indicated a friend of his father has a very good standard of living in that children and parents are intimate and love each other, the wife and husband has never had any conflict so he always wishes and prays to God to give him a good household /standard of living as this. He said the non-stop rise of prices for consumer goods is a great worry for his future. He noted the expansion of schools to every hamlet, even around their homesteads is the good thing that would enable everybody to get education.

He insisted that most of the young people at his age are attending school, and almost all are involved only in parental farm work activities, while few are involved in income generating work including: daily labour at ILCA, Habesha beer factory, house construction. He said Habesha beer factory pays the highest for daily labour for digging one metre deep canals for water pipes from a spring to the factory site, paying 120 birr for 5 metres work. He reported parental gifts of land, livestock, and money to dependent children at his age is the main means of starting own livelihood development. He said most of the young people at his age are no longer in education, but a very few sometimes drop out for a while and return. He knows two people who have completed grade 10 who became farmers working with their parents because they couldn’t find any job equivalent to their education. He said it was not common among youngsters of his age to be involved in smoking, chat, theft, and alcohol drinking.

### Establishing an independent livelihood

He reported that young men whose parents have 8 and above Timad of land will be able to get some plots of land from parents, but poor parented young men will face shortage of land so many of them will depend on sharecropping. He reported that most of his friends would like to complete their education and find jobs, but a few of them want to be farmers and live in the community. But he thinks that even those who want to get jobs in the towns would not find any job so that they would come back to live as farmers in the community. He insisted that among the young he knew in their 20s, the majority are dependent on parents. Some are engaged in daily labour work as the source of their incomes, another few are self-supporting household heads being engaged in farming as source of subsistence. He argued that establishing a new household is harder for poor parented young men than the richer, because the poor young would not get any starting resource. But he argued the poor young are better in generating independent incomes by working daily labour, selling dung cake, wood, growing on share cropping.

### Getting married

He said 18 and 19 are the youngest ages that a few boys get married, but the majority are now getting married at 20 or 21. He mentioned that one of his aunt’s sons has just married at the age of 20. Among the mentioned advantages of being married young: it enables them to share the burden of work, it can prevent them from unwisely spending money as wives would advise them to save, and they behave in the right way. He insisted it hasn’t any disadvantages, but only advantages. He said the main challenge is that the young men would shoulder all the responsibility of supporting their households’ development so that they would be always worried thinking about the households’ problems. He argued that the role of parents in the choice of their sons’ marriage partners has declined now compared to before, as many could choose their partners and only then would tell their parents to ask/negotiate with their parents-in-law and arrange wedding dates. He insisted this was not different for poor parented young men. Government regulations didn’t affect the young men’s marriage ages as the rules are for girls.

### Setting up an independent household

He argued setting up new household for the young is hard, especially for elder sons as they have to build their own houses at other places nearby or a bit far from their parents, but youngest sons have the advantage of forming their own household in one of the parents’ houses in order to be around to help the parents who are getting old by then and finally they become the guardians of the retiring old parents. He indicated that all young people could form new households after they created/saved enough food grain and some of their own livestock, at least a few sheep, a cow or an ox if possible, while living with parents. A very few could form their households after living with parents for a year or two so that they would be able to share utensils, herders, oxen, grain until they become self-sufficient. He reported that married sons would require assistance from parents for about 1 or 2 years. They provide labour assistance to parents and receive oxen, land, grains, and money. He said poor parents couldn’t afford to give such support except utensils so poor parented young men have to depend on their efforts to maintain their households through share cropping and rearing, exchanging labour with oxen.

### Migrating

He didn’t know anyone who migrated for work in other places, but many young at the ages of 15-20 were going to Debrebrehan and around for daily labour, some work at ILCA commuting, on constructions and Habesha beer project. He doesn’t have any intention to migrate.

### Living in the community

He insisted there is nothing dislikeable and described the community as cooperative, helping each other in times of misfortune, collectively re-building when houses are destroyed by fire, contributing cash to replace cattle dying of disease/accidents. He said the community is changing in all ways. All farmers are producing with fertilizers, all people are educating their children, many earn much money by selling eucalyptus trees, and many people are involved in irrigation farming. He described the kebele as peaceful to live in and even to travel at nights. He argued friendship among youth is formed based on kinship, neighbourhood, and school acquaintances. He noted there weren’t any such group conflicts, but some rarely fight in groups when they go to towns and drink alcohol. He said he has never drunk any alcohol except Tela at home. He and his friends enjoy soft drinks, tea, or food when they go to the towns, and have never tested chat, cigarette.

He said he didn’t know anyone with HIV, but understands it is not curable, transmitted through sexual intercourse, and mother to child. He reported that many young people at his age have sexual relations with girls, but in secret. He insisted most of the young never use condoms in sexual relations, because they don’t find them around, and would be too ashamed to buy them even if they were available.

### The economy

He described the community as growing richer every year. People are improving by selling milk, as Food for Children has provided cows and sheep; many have got good barley and wheat harvest through Ziqosh (manually doing what the BBM does); many have increased milk production/sales by increasing hybrid cows. He said there is no off-farm opportunity as always. Out migration didn’t increase from the past. There is no permanent in-migration to his knowledge, but a number of farm daily labourers come from debrebrhan and other rural areas during crop harvests and this has increased. He said inequality between rich and poor households has rather decreased. He described differences between rich and poor young in terms of education; the rich could continue up to secondary and TVET as parents can afford to pay house rent and education fees, but most of the poor young would drop out when they complete the last grade in the Kebele School or after a year or so if they go to secondary school in Debrebrhan. The rich use servants and daily farm labourers and relieve their sons to attend their education while the poor bear the work burden and have less time for attending school. The poor lack starting resources, land, oxen, food grain, but the rich will provide the main starting resources for their sons before and at new household formation. Rich households prepare extravagant weddings and give at least an ox and some plots of land; but the poor young couldn’t obtain such resource from parents while living with them nor when they form their own households.

### Religion

He insisted that every person, old adult, young or woman, is actively observing his Orthodox religious rules, and many were more regularly going to the church. More people including little children were fasting. A few children attend education from religious teachers in their respective villages, but he didn’t know anyone going outside the kebele.

### Politics

He thinks the government has already provided work opportunities for many landless young; and estimated around 70 school dropout landless could receive irrigable land and vegetable seeds in groups so getting good cash incomes. He argued the government has also made education available at each hamlet and helped every young person to attend, but it could not provide jobs for those who completed education. He said there were no attempt /call to him and other youths to join EPRDF. He reported youth association, league, and Federation do not all exist in the kebele and suggested that it would be good if there was any for the youth to solve their common problems collectively.

### Inter-generational relations

He reported that his relations with his younger brothers are very good, with all doing what is good to each other. He insisted the relations between young and adults were generally good as the young respect/obey adults while adults also treat the young with respect so that there was no problem. The youth respects everything the adults respect.