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CHAPTER 4. WAYISSO'S MIGRATION HISTORY

Five generations ago, in the first half of the 20th century, three pastoral families began to settle in three different areas of Wayisso. At that time, the lands were forested and primarily the domain of the Habernoosa *gosi* (roughly 'tribe'[22]) of the Arsi Oromo ethnic group. The Habernoosa people of this region were highly mobile. Their semi-nomadic movements changed with the seasons, but they revisited common grazing places — towards the lakes in the dry season and away from them in the wet (see Figure 10). Depending upon the rain, they might travel further distances. They traded butter and meat for grains with the Silt'ee people to the West to supplement their cattle-based nutrition: meat, milk, and blood. When they moved, their shelters were abandoned, taken up by others or left to fall back into the earth. Towards the 1940s, these temporary homes started to become more permanent. In Wayisso, three *gandas*, or groups of homes within the same family, began to serve as a home base for their seasonal movements.

The Habernoosa have five *balbaala*, or 'doors': the Hadumana, the Godemena, the Alekira, the Afemena, and the Mujemena — each being what might be referred to as sub-tribes of the Habernoosa. Bedane Tuffaa, of the Hadumana *balbaala,* began to construct a simple home in what was then known as "Wayisso Macho," named for a small mountain. When he would leave with the cattle to graze for weeks or months at a time, others started stay behind in what came to be known as *ganda Bedane.* A kilometer or so south of *ganda Bedane*, another man, Dakabo Uso, of the Alekira *balbaala*, began building a home bordering the Macho mountain. One of Dakabo Uso's wives lived there, while his other two wives stayed in Jela, further away across the Awash river. In Wayisso, this one home for one wife would eventually become many homes; *ganda Dakabo Uso* was created.

Although this area was primarily occupied by different groups within the Habernoosa, a man from another Arsi Oromo *gosi*, the Abayii, moved into the area in the mid-20th century. His name was Dakabo Bulo, and he was known widely for his wealth. He gave some of his daughters in marriage to the sons of Dadi Tashité, of the Godemena *balbaala*, who had a vast area of land in the area, and Dadi gave his daughter, Obse, to Dakabo's first son, Dashi, in return. Dashi and Obse also made a home in Wayisso Macho area, and soon Dashi's father,

[22] Throughout the dissertation, I use the Oromo terms to describe different social or ethnic groups (gosi, balbaala, etc.). I recognize that this can decrease the readability of the text for someone unfamiliar with the language. But in the end, I decided it is more important to be true to how my informants categorized themselves, rather than filtering these distinctions into the flawed (and often colonialist) English concepts of 'tribe' or 'sub-tribe.' And ethnic group is too vague to capture minute differences in ethnic divisions. These distinctions will be interesting for the Ethiopian scholar, but they are not essential for the more general reader to understand.

and others, moved from the original Abayii territory, near Aluto, to Wayisso. In this way, *ganda Dakabo Bulo* was formed.

These three *gandas* represent the first settlement of Wayisso. The *gandas* became increasingly rooted over time, yet the ways in which subsequent generations lived, moved and settled changed from generation to generation. Bedane, Dakabo Bulo, and Dakabo Uso were the last true semi-nomadic pastoralists. Thereafter, there were two fundamental mobility transitions: from semi-nomadism to settlement, and from settlement to 'migration.' Identifying the key forces that have shaped these (im)mobility transitions is what this dissertation aims to elucidate. But first, *how* did the movements of these people change with each generation? After this is clarified in this chapter, the subsequent chapters address explanations for why.

Figure 10. Example of Semi-Nomadic Pastoral Trajectories in mid-20th Century
Source: Satellite image from 1984, Google, Digital Globe

The rest of this chapter explores more specifically who, when, and how people began leaving Wayisso, drawing primarily upon household survey data of three family *gandas* in Wayisso village. To illustrate more clearly how patterns of (im)mobility changed over time, the following analysis proceeds in four parts. First, kinship diagrams or 'family trees' of three lineages from Wayisso village illustrate within which generation out-migration from Wayisso began, and in which families it is most common. Second, the chapter presents a snap shot of the spatial dispersion of migration destinations from Wayisso at time of my survey. Most movement remains within the Adami Tulu Jido Kombolcha woreda and is directed toward neighboring urban centers. Third, analyses show how often people move and how patterns of movement changed across generations. Finally, the chapter provide some historical context to the international migration occurring from the region.

Family trees

The concept of a 'generation' provides a fruitful lens to analyze collective (im)mobility transitions and how they relate to broader social transformations. Generations both reflect and drive social change; they are shaped by ever-changing political, economic, and cultural circumstances and at the same time, act as a collective force of social change within that environment (Mannheim 1952, 1970)[23]. Perhaps this is why religious narratives and cultures across the globe rely upon the concept of 'generations' to structure their history. The term rests on its intuitive, self-evident meaning, yet applying the concept in social scientific research can be challenging. Some tried to pin down a single definition of 'generation' to unify social scientific inquiry into the phenomenon (e.g. Kertzer 1983; Ryder 1965), but the concept is still used in diverse ways.

In the context of this research, a 'generation' is defined in relation to two factors: kinship descent and age group. Anthropological research shows how kinship determined the livelihood opportunities and possibilities of individuals in cultures around the world; wealth, knowledge, power, and status were accorded primarily through family lineage. This approach to generations continues to structure the study of migration today: first-, second-, and third-

[23] Karl Mannheim's 1952 piece, "The Problem of Generations," introduced the concept of 'generation' as a distinct lens of sociological analysis. The concept had thus far been treated from the ends of the scientific spectrum: as a biological phenomenon, a collective fact based on the natural rhythm of birth, life and death; and as an anthropological subject, including the experiences of the life course and its transitions (childhood, youth, aging, death), as well as the world of kinship relations that organized remote cultures. However, these perspectives left a gap in explaining how generations as a social group shape and are shaped by social change over time, one Mannheim came to fill, and he remains the reference point for generational analysis today.

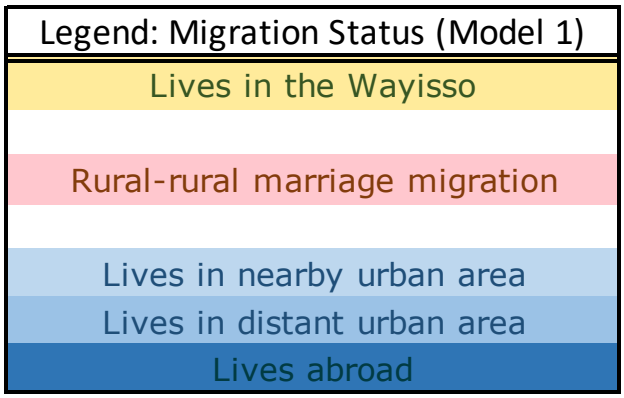
generation migrants are defined in relation to their familial descent from the first migrant groups. However, in the context of Wayisso, because men often have multiple wives, it is not uncommon for one man's child with a third wife, for example, to be younger than his grandchildren from his first wife. The vast age discrepancies between children within the same category of kinship descent can mask important differences in their life experiences and social milieu that are also determined by their age cohort. Certain age groups experience particular historical events from a similar vantage point (Mannheim 1970). Those who are born in the same period are "endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimensions of the social process" (Mannheim 1970: 192). Because social change occurred relatively rapidly in Wayisso over the last half-century, I wanted to capture this dimension of the concept 'generation' as well.

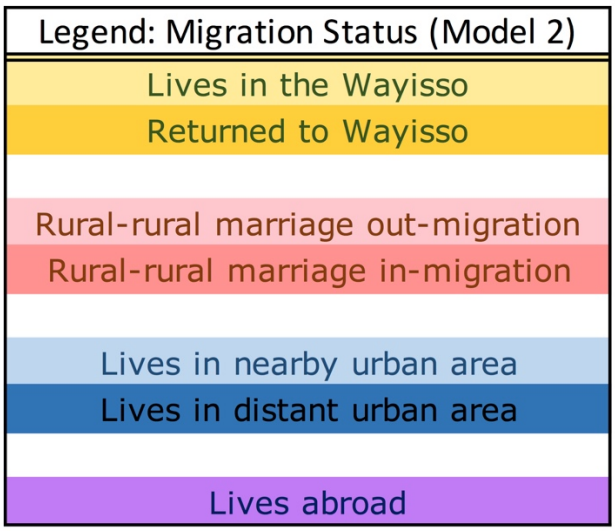
Drawing on notions of kin-ship descent and age-cohorts, I primarily speak about five generations in Wayisso. The first generation is the generation of the 'founding fathers': the men who first began to establishing homes in Wayisso that served as a central point around which their pastoral movements would gravitate. They eventually established clusters of family houses, or *gandas*, that would be named accordingly: *ganda Bedane, ganda Dakabo Bulo,* and *ganda Dakabo Uso.* This generation is now deceased. The second generation refers to the 'first farmers'; they are the children of the founding fathers, a generation who grew up with semi-nomadic pastoral movements but transitioned into more settled agricultural lives. Because these men often had multiple wives, and more of their children survived to adulthood, there was a great growth in family sizes thereafter. The third and fourth generation are distinguished by age more than kinship descent: those roughly between the ages of forty and sixty (at the time of the survey in 2016) make up the third generation and those between the ages of twenty and forty are the fourth. The third generation (roughly ages forty to sixty), largely stayed in Wayisso as farmers. The younger, roughly ages twenty to forty, started to look elsewhere, and many would leave Wayisso for futures in town or abroad. However, as the following will show, patterns vary by *ganda.* The fifth and youngest generation refers to those currently under the age of twenty.

Figure 11 presents the mobility histories of the three family clusters of Wayisso village. The figure can be read from top to bottom, with cells at the top representing the oldest individuals and declining in age towards the bottom. The three separate green lines at the top stand for the three founding fathers of the first generation: Bedane Tufa (Lineage 1), Dakabo Bulo (Lineage 2), and Dakabo Uso (Lineage 3). Beneath each, working downwards, you find the sons of these patriarchs. For example, under lineage 1, Bedane has seven sons, marked by

yellow cells with an "M" standing for male. Each cell is placed vertically according to their age (left-most column)/date of birth (right-most column), and horizontally according to birth order. Beneath each cell, the vertical black line often connects to a pink cell, marked with "F" for female, and each vertical line represents a marriage. Because many families are polygamous (though this trend is declining), one man may have several wives. The first son under Lineage 1, for example, has three wives. Beneath each wife, you find her children. All children remain in one column, according to order of birth, unless they marry and start their own family in Wayisso, in which case, they receive a new column. However, if an individual left and started a family elsewhere, their wives and children were not surveyed. This chart thus represents a snapshot of the current residences of individuals who were born in or moved to Wayisso village.

In this first model, the color coding corresponds to each individual's migration status at the time of the survey in 2016 (or the time of their death). Yellow represents those who live in Wayisso (non-migrants). Pink represents rural-rural movement; all those who moved into Wayisso from another rural *kebele* or left Wayisso for another rural *kebele*. The blue cells refer to rural-urban migration. The lightest blue refers to those who are living in nearby urban areas, such as Adami Tulu or Ziway. The darker shade of blue represents those who are living in more distant urban areas outside of the ATJK *woreda*. The darkest blue color represents those who were currently living abroad (arguably also a rural-urban movement across national boundaries). At the time of the survey, there was one individual from Lineage 1 living in London, and seven individuals from Lineage 2 living in the Middle East. Only five are shown from Lineage 2 in Model 2, because two migrants came from households that were related to, but not directly descended from, Dakabo Bulo. These households moved into Wayisso at a later date. Because they lived within the same *ganda*, they were included in the survey, but they are not depicted in the family trees.


Legend: Migration Status (Model 1)
Lives in the Wayisso
Rural-rural marriage migration
Lives in nearby urban area
Lives in distant urban area
Lives abroad


Legend: Migration Status (Model 2)
Lives in the Wayisso
Returned to Wayisso
Rural-rural marriage out-migration
Rural-rural marriage in-migration
Lives in nearby urban area
Lives in distant urban area
Lives abroad

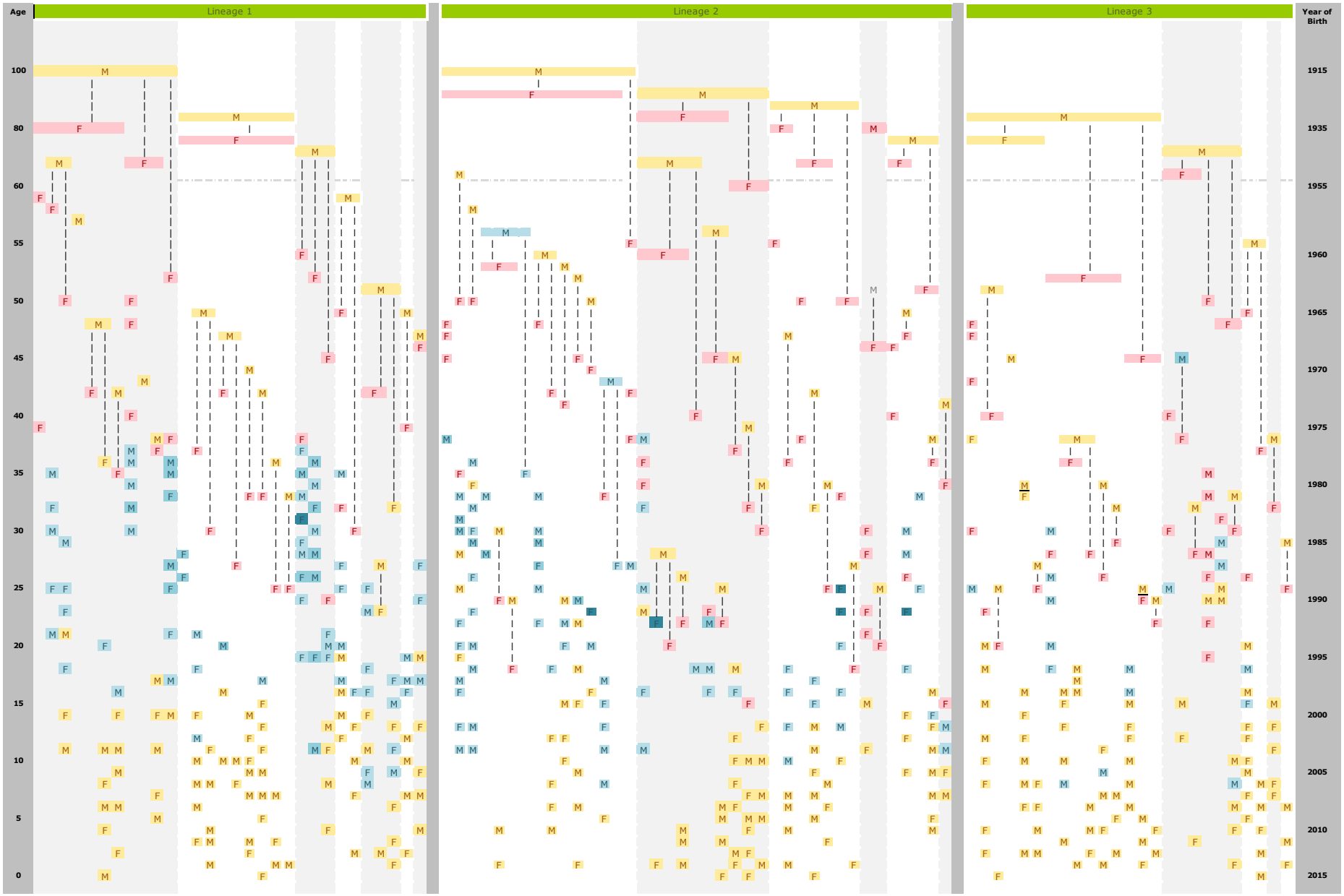


Figure 11. Migration Status by Family Tree | Model 1

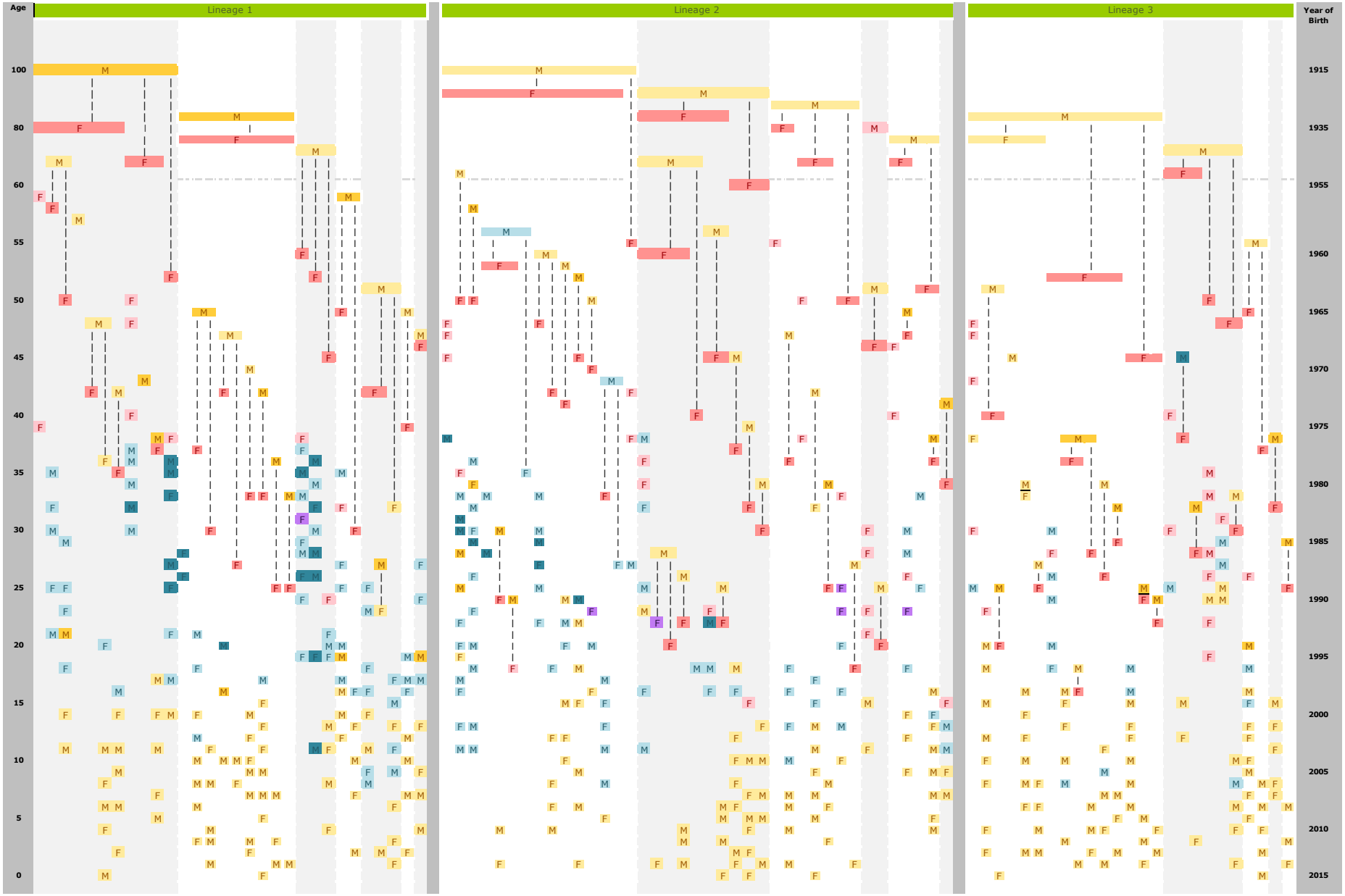


Figure 12. Migration Status by Family Tree | Model 2

A few clear trends stand out from Model 1 (Figure 11). The generation after the founding fathers, and their first children, largely settled and stayed in Wayisso (the yellow and pink cells). However, a movement to urban areas clearly began with the fourth generation, those who generally fall between the ages of twenty and forty, confirming qualitative assessments about who and when people first began leaving Wayisso for urban areas. A number of women, particularly within Lineage 1, have moved to urban areas; however, many women continue to move to rural areas for marriage, represented by the pink cells. In fact, it is apparent that women have always been mobile; almost all rural-rural migration across generations has been female (most often for the sake of marriage). The large number of individuals in yellow at the bottom represents a new generation of children growing up in Wayisso, some of whom, as early as age seven or eight, begin to leave. It is likely that many of these children will also leave Wayisso to pursue schooling or live with relatives elsewhere.

However, the clusters of blue – showing who left Wayisso for urban areas – varies by *ganda*, or family group. Lineage 3, for example, sees most of its male descendants remaining in the village and beginning their families there, even in fourth generation when men from the other family groups left in larger numbers. Lineage 3 also has no one living abroad. International migration is concentrated among women in Lineage 2. Lineage 1 sees a large out-migration to other urban areas, among both women and men, but only one woman abroad in Europe. It is notable that no men from any of the three Lineages (at the time of my survey) lives abroad.[24]

Model 2 (Figure 12) presents greater complexity into the mobility trajectories of those surveyed by including return migration to the village, distinguishing rural-rural in-migration and out-migration to/from the village, and highlighting international movement more clearly. A few patterns are worth noting: like in Model 1, Lineage 1 sees a concentration of movement to urban centers beyond Adami Tulu or Ziway. Here, we can see that Lineage 1 also has more men who left Wayisso at some point in their lives and returned to settle in the village (the darker orange cells). They experienced higher rates of mobility across the life course, even if they eventually settled in Wayisso. Both Lineage 1 and 2 see more women moving to the city; however, most women in Lineage 3 continue to move between rural areas.

[24] In 2016, Ademtuu applied for a visa for her brother to join her in London. He was initially rejected. In 2018, after a second application, he received a visa to go to the United Kingdom and became the first man from Wayisso to migrate to Europe.

Mapping Destinations

Where specifically do those who leave Wayisso go? Table 1 shows the percentages of men and women living in various destinations. By far, most people move close to home: to the neighboring "boom-town" Ziway, or to lesser extent, the market town Adami Tulu. International migration remains relatively rare, as does migration to urban centers further away. Only three people, for example, are in the capital city of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa. Seven percent live in other urban areas outside the ATJK woreda. Rural-rural migration remains common, most often women for marriage. About one-third of women born in Wayisso now live in another rural *kebele*. Three of the men living in rural areas are government workers. Another acquired land and now lives in a neighboring *kebele*.

Table 10. Where Do People Go? (%)

Place of Residence	Women (born in Wayisso)	Women (total)	Men	Total
Wayisso	16.4	47.2	57.4	51.9
Adami Tulu	7.8	4.7	7.1	5.8
Ziway	28.9	18.4	25.1	21.5
Adama	0.0	0.0	2.2	1.0
Addis Ababa	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.8
Middle East	3.9	3.3	0.0	1.8
Europe	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.3
Other: urban area (Ethiopia)	9.4	5.7	5.5	5.6
Other: rural area (Ethiopia)	32.8	20.3	1.1	11.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	*128*	*212*	*183*	*395*

Source: Household survey. *Notes*: Current residences of those surveyed aged 15 or older. Women (total) includes those born in Wayisso as well as women who moved into Wayisso, most often for marriage. "Other urban area" refers to towns or cities with 3 or less people residing there (Bulbulla, Shashemene, Hawassa, Borana).

As the following maps illustrate (Figures 13-14), movement within Ethiopia is concentrated within a particular area of Oromiya, and to some extent the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. Migration follows the main roadways. Movement outside of the Adami Tulu Jido Kombolcha *woreda* is directed toward larger urban centers like Adama (112 kilometers away), Shashemene (89 kilometers), Hawassa (113 kilometers), and Addis Ababa (167 kilometers).

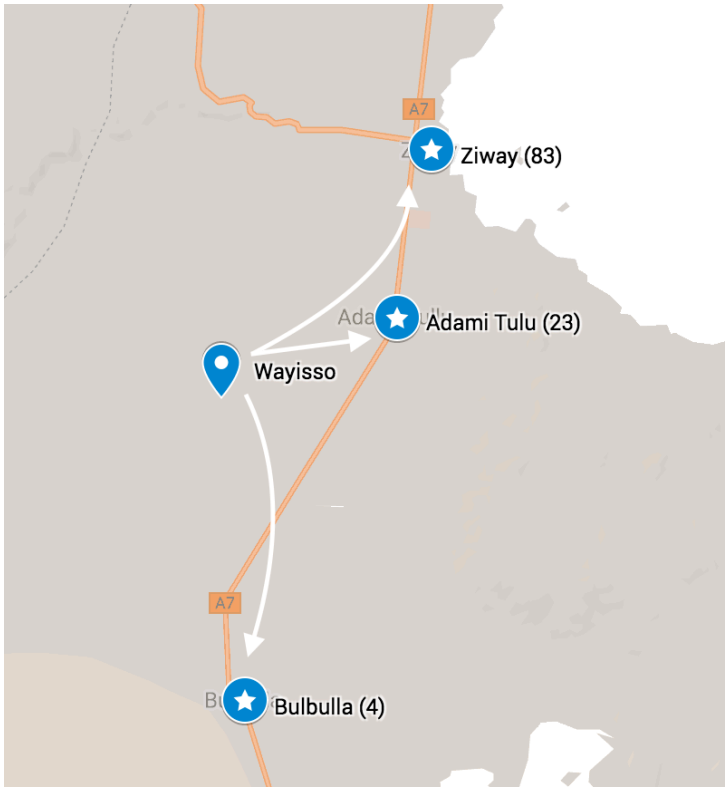


Figure 13. Main Destinations Within the ATJK Woreda
Source: Google, DigitalGlobe

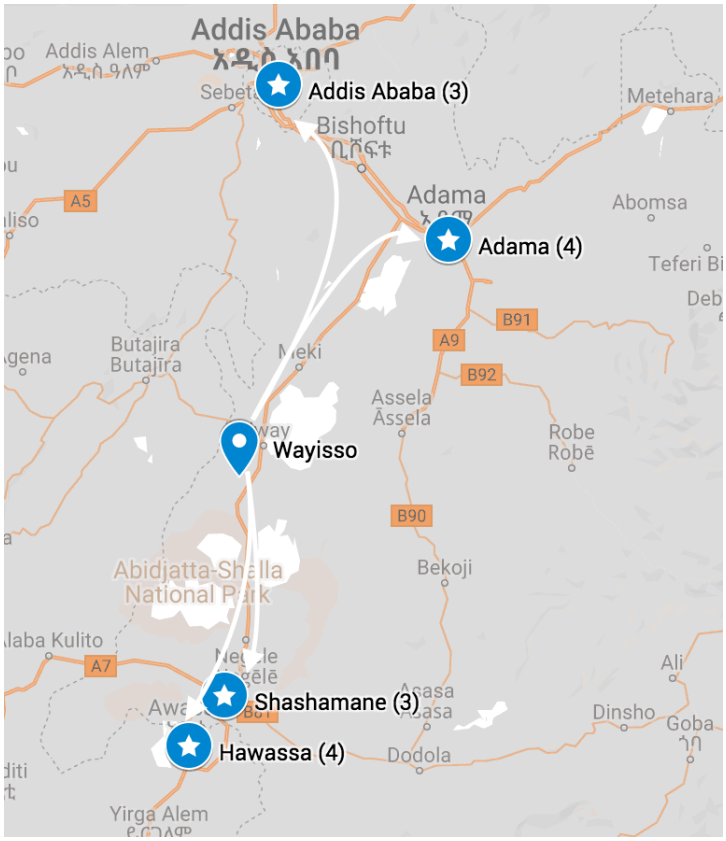


Figure 14. Main Destinations Outside the ATJK Woreda
Source: Google, DigitalGlobe

By family lineage, there are important differences in volumes and trajectories of out-migration. This is particularly notable when destinations are disaggregated by gender, and when focusing on the generation in their twenties and thirties, the first generation that really began to leave Wayisso (see Table 11).

Table 11. Current Residence by Family Group for Ages 20-39

Place of Residence	Lineage 1		Lineage 2		Lineage 3	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Wayisso	19.4	34.1	44.4	35.7	75.0	71.4
Adami Tulu	12.9	0.0	2.2	2.4	10.7	3.6
Ziway	32.3	39.0	40.0	21.4	14.3	0.0
Adama	12.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Addis Ababa	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Middle East	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.9	0.0	0.0
Europe	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other: urban area (Ethiopia)	19.4	14.6	6.7	4.8	0.0	3.6
Other: rural area (Ethiopia)	3.2	9.8	0.0	23.8	0.0	21.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	*31*	*41*	*45*	*42*	*28*	*28*

Source: Household survey. *Notes*: Current residences of those surveyed between the ages of 20 and 39. "Other urban area" refers to towns or cities with 3 or less people residing there (Bulbulla, Shashemene, Hawassa, Borana).

Lineage 3, the descendants of Dakabo Uso, show much higher levels of staying in Wayisso. Men who leave the Wayisso only make it as far as Adami Tulu or Ziway, while women predominantly continue to move to rural areas for marriage. Lineage 1, the descendants of Bedane Tufa, and Lineage 2, the descendants of Dakabo Bulo, show higher levels of out-migration. Migration out of Wayisso is predominantly directed at neighboring urban centers, but more men and women from Lineage 1 also live in other urban areas of Ethiopia. Lineage 1 sees the smallest share of men and women in their twenties and thirties remaining in Wayisso. Lineage 2, however, has more men staying in Wayisso (44.4 percent), but higher percentages in Ziway. Lineage 2 also shows much higher levels of international migration among women, with almost twelve percent of women from this family group living in the Middle East. These trends highlight that even within a single village, the volume, composition and destination of out-migration varies significantly by family group.

Mobility across the Life Course and across Generations

The mobility patterns described above present more of a snapshot than a process. Migration processes are often more dynamic and shifting than is typically imagined (i.e., uproot, leave, settle, possibly return). On the contrary, people move throughout their lives, from rural to urban, back to rural, out to urban again, or straddling residences in both areas. The following tables (Tables 12-14) show that the nature and degree of mobility experienced by different generations has changed over time. Looking in particular at changes in residence, the oldest living generations, those above the age of forty, are more likely to have settled in only one place (Wayisso), if male, or two places if female (due to marriage migration). Only seven individuals out of the ninety-five in that age cohort had lived in three or more places (7.4 percent). (Of course, these older generations were very mobile in the past, but this was semi-nomadic movement with their herds rather than 'migration' as a move in residence.)

This reality changes dramatically when examining the following generation of young adults in their twenties and thirties. Forty-five percent of this cohort (105 individuals) resided in three or more places. Women are slightly less mobile, with thirty-five percent of women having lived in three or more places compared to fifty-six percent of men.

The youngest cohort, children and youth below the age of twenty, are most likely to have lived in one or two places, with only five percent living in three or more areas. Girls move slightly more often, with seven percent having lived in three or more places. This may be due to moving at a young age to help with the household needs of relatives, a common practice in the region. However, for this young generation, it is likely that many more moves lie in their futures — in the pursuit of education, work, or marriage.

Table 12. Number of Movements by Age Group

	Places of Residences in a Lifetime (%)							
Age	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Total**	N
0-19	73.9	20.8	4.7	0.3	0.3	0.0	100	*322*
20-39	15.8	39.3	21.4	13.2	6.8	3.4	100	*234*
40-59	29.5	61.5	5.1	2.6	0.0	1.3	100	*78*
60+	52.9	47.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	*17*
Total	47.2	33.0	10.6	5.2	2.6	1.4	100	*651*

Source: Household survey

Table 13. Number of Movements by Age Group, Men

	Places of Residences in a Lifetime (%)							
Age	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Total**	N
0-19	75.8	21.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	*157*
20-39	22.9	21.1	22.0	19.3	11.0	3.7	100	*109*
40-59	62.5	25.0	3.1	6.3	0.0	3.1	100	*32*
60+	80.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	*10*
Total	55.8	21.4	9.7	7.5	3.9	1.6	100	*308*

Source: Household survey

Table 14. Number of Movements by Age Group, Women

	Places of Residences in a Lifetime (%)							
Age	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Total**	N
0-19	72.1	20.6	6.1	0.6	0.6	0.0	100	*165*
20-39	9.6	55.2	20.8	8.0	3.2	3.2	100	*125*
40-59	6.5	87.0	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	*46*
60+	14.3	85.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	*7*
Total	39.4	43.4	11.4	3.2	1.5	1.2	100	*343*

Source: Household survey

To better illustrate the changing nature of these movements by generation, and inspired by King and Skeldon's (2010) diagrams of step-wise migration, Figures 15 and 16 illustrate the mobility pathways of three generations within Lineage 1. Figure 15 shows the mobility pathways of Bedane's children. In this generation, Haji Tefo migrated internationally. He went to Saudi Arabia for the Hajj and then stayed for over one year. His brother, Dessie, moved to Addis Ababa in his youth to work first for a French family who hunted in the ATJK *woreda* and then, through their connections, for Haile Selassie's imperial guard. Abiyo, the fourth son, was conscripted by the military during the period of the Derg to fight Eritrea. All returned to Wayisso after this major movements. Bedane's children were unique in Wayisso for their early movements – going on the Hajj was exceptional; and migrating to Addis Ababa was unheard of at that time. Nevertheless, it confirms that long-distance movements did occur among earlier generations. It is also notable is that in their youth, none of Bedane's children seriously

considered migrating to Adami Tulu or Ziway; at the time, those urban areas were not desirable destinations.

Figure 16 shows the children of Haji Tefo. With three wives, Haji Tefo's children range in age from his eldest son, who is well over sixty, to his youngest, only age fourteen. There is a dramatic change in the place of migration in the life course trajectory between the third and fourth generations, even within a single household — the descendants of Haji Tefo. Migration becomes more multiple and complex over time, with the emergence of "step-wise" migration from smaller urban areas to larger ones — from Adami Tulu to Ziway to possibly elsewhere. While the daughters of Haji Tefo's first two wives only moved once to another rural area when they were married, the last two daughters of Tayeba, his third wife, moved to urban areas like their brothers.

Figure 15. Mobility Pathways of the Second Generation

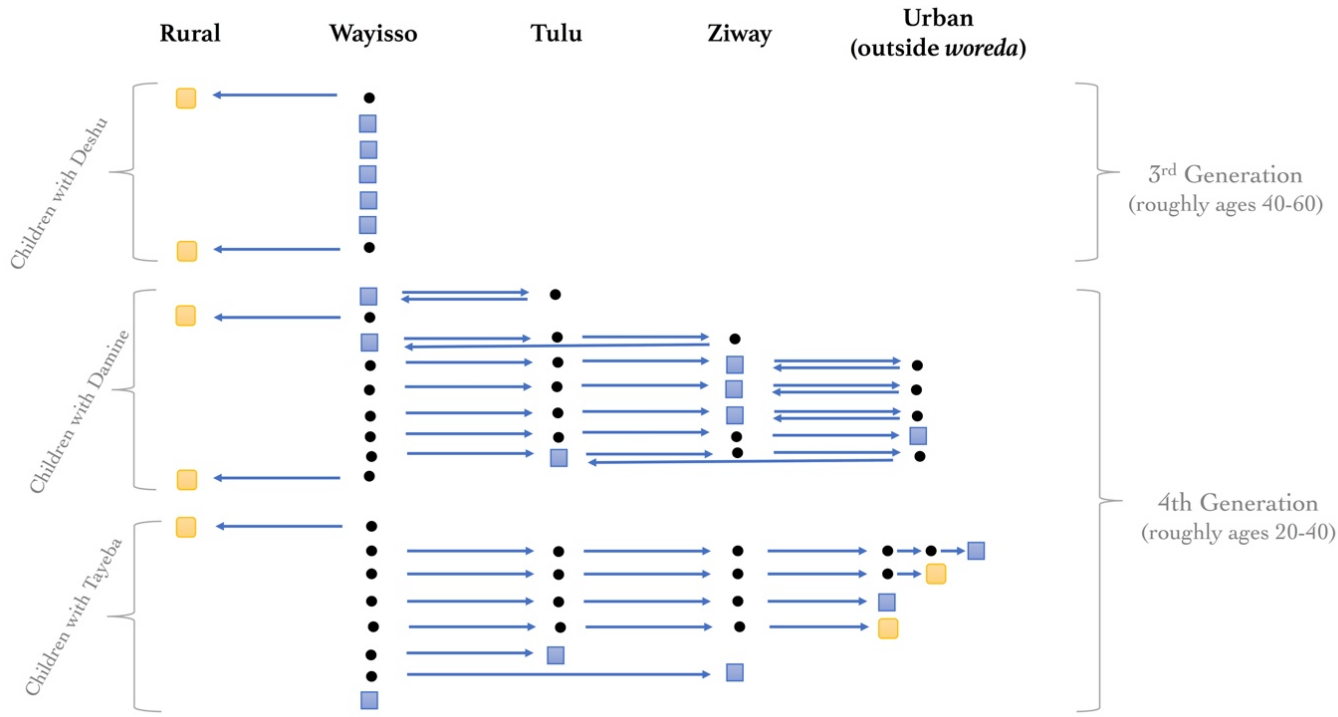


Figure 16. Mobility Pathways of the Third and Fourth Generations

International Migration

At the time of my survey, excluding Haji Tefo's migration for the Hajj, ten people from Wayisso had international migration experience – seven were in the Middle East, two had returned from the Middle East, and one was in Europe. All of these international migrants were women. These ten women, relative to the total Wayisso population surveyed, is small. Nevertheless, if you consider that there are forty-three other *kebeles* in the Adami Tulu Jido Kombolcha *woreda*, where similar dynamics appear to be occurring, the number of women leaving this region suddenly seems much larger.

Labor migration to the Middle East for the purpose of domestic work is a relatively new migration trajectory from this area, beginning sometime in the late 1990s or early 2000s from the ATJK *woreda*. The first women to leave came from Adami Tulu. They were the children of Wolayta and Hadiya migrants, who came to work at "Gerbi," a state-run farm. When a handful of young women learned about the possibility of migrating abroad, they left together for Beirut. Through this migration, they earned incomes previously inaccessible to un- or under-educated women in Ethiopia. Their remittances helped ameliorate the poverty of their families, and a few were even able to open their own corner shops on the streets of Adami Tulu

– a visible sign of what they had achieved through their migration. In the years that followed, more women began to leave, local brokers became more established, and a migration system consolidated.

This labor migration to the Middle East has roots in a history of religious connection. Islam is the predominant religion in the region, and movement for pilgrimage was the first reason to go abroad. The first people to leave Ethiopia from the Habernoosa *gosi* were Haji Gemeda of the Mujemena and Hajiti Hawi Irbemo, who went on the Hajj in 1967. After them, Haji Gelato Leta of the Hadumana and Hajiti Shunqaa Daraarso left in 1971. This long-standing religious movement foreshadowed the labor migration that would eventually come to dominate this migration corridor. One of the first woman to leave from a *kebele* neighboring Wayisso, for example, did so after her brother, when he was on the Hajj, arranged for her to come work for a family he met in Mecca.

Outside of this migration corridor to the Middle East, there is one migrant from Wayisso in Europe, Ademtuu. One of the first girls to go to school from Wayisso, Ademtuu received a scholarship to pursue her master's degree in the Netherlands. She now lives and works in London. The remittances she sends home support numerous siblings' and cousins' education and business pursuits. She also bought land and built a home for her parents in Adami Tulu. Unlike those who leave for the Middle East, Ademtuu has no intention of returning to Ethiopia.

The migration history of Wayisso does not reflect some important aspects of Ethiopia's migration history (see Chapter Two). The first major international movement of Ethiopians occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, for example, when millions fled the communist regime and sought asylum for themselves and their families in neighboring states – Somalia, Sudan, Djibouti – or for the lucky few, further afield. A relatively large number of Ethiopians associated with Haile Selassie's regime (also the more elite) received asylum in the United States. No one from Wayisso, however, left the country under the Derg. The Diversity Visa, an annual lottery system for immigrant visas to the United States, is another pathway out of Ethiopia. Many young men from Wayisso who live in Ziway have applied, but no one received one.

Other areas of Ethiopia also see a large and irregular movement of young men and women to Kenya, down to South Africa, or to Sudan, but no one from Wayisso left in this way. Likewise, young men in other parts of Ethiopia migrate in large numbers for low-skilled work in security, construction, or even as herdsmen in the Middle East, but again, no one from Wayisso has done so. In fact, the international migration that has occurred is through relatively formal channels. Although labor migration to the Middle East was officially banned by the

Ethiopian government between 2013 and 2018, the migration of young women from this area was most often facilitated through agencies or personal connections, with passports, visas and a written contract. In Chapter Six, I examine this migration corridor in more detail, examining the aspirations, motivations, and life-circumstances of the young women who left Wayisso for the Middle East.

What is perhaps striking about Wayisso is the degree to which migration aspirations are directed towards urban futures in Ethiopia, rather than abroad. This dissertation examines why migration aspirations are now widespread in Wayisso, and why this gives rise to 'involuntary immobility,' that is, having the aspiration, but not the ability, to leave (Carling 2002). But, importantly, this is relative to *internal* migration. Relative to international migration, on the contrary, voluntary and acquiescent immobility are remarkably common. Most people desire an urban future in Ethiopia, and thus do not meaningfully orient their aspirations or behavior around living in countries elsewhere.[25] While international migration to the Middle East is one notable exception, the aspiration to go abroad emerges as a strategy to finance an urban future in Ethiopia. Perhaps another explanation for low-levels of international migration, then, is that aspirations are not (yet) directed towards futures outside of Ethiopia.

Conclusion

This chapter sketched the mobility history of Wayisso village, highlighting variations in migration and immobility outcomes across families, gender, and generation. The two generations after the Wayisso's 'founding fathers' largely settled and stayed in Wayisso. However, a movement to urban areas clearly began with the fourth generation, those who generally fall between the ages of twenty and forty. Some people in previous generations, as Chapter Six will show, also moved out of Wayisso: for marriage, for conscription or new forms of work under the communist government, for example. Still, the majority of men over the age of forty have only ever lived in Wayisso, and the majority of older women in two places, reflecting marriage migration. Among younger generations, however, patterns of mobility are distinct: more people are living in more places, often following a step-wise pattern of movement from Wayisso to Adami Tulu to Ziway, and perhaps beyond.

By far, most people who leave Wayisso do not move far: they go to the neighboring boom-town Ziway, or the smaller market town Adami Tulu. However, certain trajectories are

[25] Voluntary immobility refers to immobility when one desires to stay, as opposed to 'involuntary immobility' (see Carling 2002). 'Acquiescent immobility' describes those who have neither the aspiration nor ability to migrate (Schewel 2019). It is a form of 'voluntary immobility' without the choice to migrate.

more common in some families than others. The descendants of Bedane Tuffaa, for example, show the highest levels of out-migration, to neighboring towns, Adami Tulu and Ziway, and to urban centers further afield in Ethiopia. The descendants of Dakabo Uso show less but similar levels of mobility. However, within this family cluster, a new international migration trajectory is increasingly common: the migration of women to the Middle East as domestic workers. The descendants of Dakabo Bulo, compared to the other family lineages, show much higher levels of immobility, relative to both internal or international migration – excluding women who continue to move between rural areas for marriage. It is notable that no men from any of the three families, at the time of the survey, lived abroad.

The following chapters each examine one dimension of explanations for these (im)mobility outcomes. In the next chapter, I show what demographic and geographic explanations related to land, climate, and population do and do not explain about changing migration behavior in Wayisso.