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Moved by modernity

How development shapes migration in rural Ethiopia

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APPENDIX B. SURVEY QUESTIONS FOR INDIVIDUALS

Household ID:	Father	Wife 1	Wife 2	Wife 3
Full Name				
Number of wives				
Number of children				
Tribe				
Place of birth	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Other:
Place of residence	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:
Age				
Age when married?				
Years in Woyisso				
Education level attained				
Work	<input type="checkbox"/> farmer <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> hadha mana <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> hadha mana <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> hadha mana <input type="checkbox"/> Other:
Other income activities?				
Where have you lived?	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Others:			

Household ID:	Father:		Mother:		
	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5
Name					
Sex					
Age					
Where are you from?	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/>
Born in a hospital?					
Place of residence	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other:
Education attained	<input type="checkbox"/> grade: <input type="checkbox"/> diploma <input type="checkbox"/> degree <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> grade: <input type="checkbox"/> diploma <input type="checkbox"/> degree <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> grade: <input type="checkbox"/> diploma <input type="checkbox"/> degree <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> grade: <input type="checkbox"/> diploma <input type="checkbox"/> degree <input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> grade: <input type="checkbox"/> diploma <input type="checkbox"/> degree <input type="checkbox"/> Other:
Currently in school?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Where? <i>[Current school or if finished, the last school they attended]</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> private <input type="checkbox"/> gov't	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> private <input type="checkbox"/> gov't	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> private <input type="checkbox"/> gov't	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> private <input type="checkbox"/> gov't	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway <input type="checkbox"/> Other: <input type="checkbox"/> private <input type="checkbox"/> gov't
Name of school:					
Work	<input type="checkbox"/> student <input type="checkbox"/> farmer <input type="checkbox"/> H M <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> student <input type="checkbox"/> farmer <input type="checkbox"/> H M <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> student <input type="checkbox"/> farmer <input type="checkbox"/> H M <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> student <input type="checkbox"/> farmer <input type="checkbox"/> H M <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> student <input type="checkbox"/> farmer <input type="checkbox"/> H M <input type="checkbox"/> other:
Other income activities?					
Where have you lived?	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway	<input type="checkbox"/> Wayisso <input type="checkbox"/> Tulu <input type="checkbox"/> Ziway
Married? (#W)					
# Children?					
Follow up survey?					

Note on abbreviations: *hadha mana*, or H|M, roughly translates to ‘house wife’; #W? after Married? refers to number of wives.

SUMMARY

This dissertation asks why people are leaving Wayisso, a village situated in the rural lowlands of the Ethiopian Rift Valley. More specifically, it asks how the social transformations associated with ‘development’ over the last century impacted the migration and settlement behavior of a traditionally semi-nomadic people. The purpose of this detailed case study is to contribute to a broader debate about migration and development, particularly contending claims about whether development can alleviate the ‘root causes’ of migration from poor, rural settings. This detailed case study reveals the mechanisms by which various dimensions of ‘development’ – the demographic, political, economic, and cultural – generate processes of rural-urban and international migration. It argues that, far from alleviating the ‘root causes’ of migration from Wayisso, development *is* the root cause of migration from Wayisso.

Utilizing survey data from seventy-three Wayisso households, eighty-four in depth interviews, and ethnographic methods, this research traced the settlement and migration behavior of three family groups in Wayisso. It describes how semi-nomadic pastoralist families gradually settled in Wayisso over the mid-20th century, and how Wayisso served as a center of gravity around which seasonal movement continued. This changed in the 1970s and 1980s, when agriculture became the primary livelihood occupation of rural households, and families “settled down” more permanently. By the 1990s and 2000s, a new form of movement, rural-urban migration, became increasingly common. Most of those who left Wayisso went to neighboring urban centers, Adami Tulu and Ziway. However, a few men began to settle in urban centers further away, while some women began traveling to the Middle East as labor migrants.

Among the first generation to leave Wayisso, (im)mobility outcomes vary significantly by gender, family, education and wealth. One family group, for example, show higher levels of educational attainment and spatial mobility, and more live in urban centers outside of the district. There is even one woman from this family living in London. International labor migration to the Middle East, however, clusters among a second family group. This family shows slightly lower levels of education and mobility, but still significant out-migration to Ziway. A third family group shows higher levels of immobility, relative to both internal or international migration – except among women who continue to move between rural areas for marriage.

To understand why people are leaving Wayisso, the analyses begin with the most common ‘push factor’ explanations for rural out-migration in this region: climate change,

population pressure, and land scarcity. The survey data shows that, indeed, Wayisso's population is growing, and there is not enough land for everyone to support a family as a farmer. Droughts remain common, and farmers will continue to struggle to make ends meet during certain years. However, the analyses also find that population growth and diminishing land-holding do not explain why migration from Wayisso looks the way it does — why some people go to neighboring towns, others to the Middle East, and still others facing significant land constraints remain in Wayisso. In fact, migration from Wayisso, even just to a town some fifteen kilometers away, is the domain of the relatively privileged, those with enough discretionary income to sustain the costs of living in town.

Further, climate-related factors appear to play a diminishing role in shaping the migration behavior of recent generations. Semi-nomadic pastoralism persisted well into the 1970s because it suited the semi-arid climate and erratic rainfall of the region. However, as Wayisso became incorporated into the modern Ethiopian nation-state, new political and economic forces began to influence the livelihood strategies of local peoples more than climate-related considerations. In fact, a long-term perspective shows that people actually began leaving Wayisso during years of higher than average rainfalls, and that in the 1980s, when there was comparatively lower average rainfall, people stayed in Wayisso and invested in agriculture. Today, rather than *driving* migration, drought appears to constrain rural-urban movement by reducing the incomes rural households have at their disposal to make a move to town.

Having established the need to look beyond land, climate, or population 'push factors' as explanations for out-migration from Wayisso, the analyses then focus on the impact of other social forces. The gradual incorporation of this region into the modern state is particularly significant. Under the Ethiopian empire, older forms of community organization through the gada system gave way to the political logic of the bureaucratic state, initiating a gradual sedentarization process in Wayisso. More specifically, the introduction of taxes and new land allocation practices advanced a shift from barter to money economies and from collective to private property. At the same time, families began to establish more permanent dwellings in Wayisso, around which semi-nomadic movements continued.

The 1974 communist revolution accelerated the process of 'settling down' by bringing the state closer to Wayisso than ever before. The communist government's development policies further shifted local relationships to land and livelihood, by nationalizing all land, creating 'peasant associations' and new forms of government work, and introducing formal education. Although Wayisso households initially resisted becoming farmers, by the end of the 1980s, almost all were farming plots of state-owned land allocated by household. The

communist regime also introduced new forms of movement — military or labor conscription, for example — but the more fundamental mobility transition during this period was the settlement of a semi-nomadic people into a single place, administratively circumscribed by the state. This settlement became the foundation upon which new forms of migration emerged in the subsequent decades.

The first major movements to urban areas occurred under the federalist government that took power in the 1990s. Initially led by Meles Zenawi and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, this 'developmental state' accelerated Ethiopia's urban-transition by abandoning an 'agriculture-led' industrialization policy and embracing market forces in pursuit of rapid economic growth. The analyses show how the thinking of small-holder farmers in Wayisso came to mirror the development thinking of the state. Farmers also abandoned agriculture and embraced the market as the way to material prosperity. As a result, farmers in Wayisso today maintain their farmlands, because for most it is all they have. But they aspire towards—and if they have the means, actively pursue—alternative income-generating opportunities in town.

The political-economic transformations pursued by different Ethiopian states reconfigured the socioeconomic landscape within which people in Wayisso could pursue their livelihoods. However, this research suggests that equally profound are corresponding transformations in how people conceptualize the idea of a 'livelihood.' Today, a good livelihood is measured not in cattle, but in income. This has fundamental implications for how people think about work, and how they think about migration. The 'migration decision-making' of earlier generations of semi-nomadic pastoralists was shaped by concerns for climate, and where they could best graze their cattle or rest for a season. Today, migration decision-making is along a few, specified pathways and motivated by the pursuit of money – not simply for money's sake, but because of the social, economic and spatial mobility that money can buy in 'modern' society. In this regard, by examining the decision-making of young women who leave for the Middle East, I suggest that their reasoning is impossible to understand without appreciating the impact of capitalist market expansion in recent decades. Migration to the Middle East for domestic work gives access to unprecedented incomes for under-educated women. It is precisely because of the commodification of so many dimensions of social life, and because of the increasing power of money to disrupt an otherwise predictable, rural future, that women consider leaving and their families often support them. In Wayisso, migration to the Middle East is often a short-term strategy to finance a long-term migration into town.

These cultural-economic shifts are compounded by the expansion of formal education, a key project of the Ethiopian state. In Wayisso, widening access to formal schooling has a profound influence on the aspirations and migration behavior of young people. The survey data reveals a strong positive correlation between educational attainment and spatial mobility. Education drives migration out of Wayisso for several reasons. First, access to secondary and higher education requires a move to town. For those whose family can afford it, education is often the first reason young people migrate. Second, after experiencing life in town, including access to basic infrastructure like water and electricity, or new services like television and the internet, students often do not want to return to village life. Third, and more subtly, the content of formal schooling—its formal and ‘hidden’ curriculum—orients young people’s aspirations towards urban, professional futures. Accordingly, the spatial location of schooling initially drives rural-outmigration, but the content and experience of formal education leads students to develop aspirations and expectations for their lives that cannot be fulfilled in rural areas.

Finally, the analyses showed that within any dimension of social change, there is always a two-fold process at work: transformations in the structural dimensions of a population’s material lives and transformations in their collective social imaginaries — both of which have implications for, among many other things, the ways in which people move and settle. This dissertation gives direct attention to changing notions of the ‘good life,’ as an indicator of broader shifts in the social imaginary. It finds that in Wayisso, the good life used to be a rural and pastoral one, measured in cattle, milk and butter. The towns were initially for the poor. Today, the opposite is true. The village is widely perceived as a place of poverty, stagnation and struggle, while the city offers the prospect of *change*. This urbanization of the good life suggests that people will continue to leave Wayisso even if objective opportunities to improve their rural livelihoods increase. Perhaps the good life will one day return to rural areas like Wayisso. However, given the current trajectory of development in Ethiopia, this will unlikely be anytime soon.

This dissertation ultimately argues that an ‘aspiration-opportunity gap’ drives out-migration from Wayisso, meaning rural youth’s aspirations are now oriented towards urban futures, which cannot be realized in rural areas and thus require migration to achieve. It suggests that future analyses of migration drivers in ‘developing’ countries should take seriously the changing aspirations of rural youth, not only structural constraints on rural livelihoods, to understand why and how rural people migrate. The Wayisso case shows that constraints on rural livelihoods do not explain why people are leaving; they better explain why

people stay. Because of other powerful forces of social change associated with ‘development’ – such as widening access to formal education, growing rural-urban connectivity, and the emergence of new kinds of economic opportunity in town, for example – young people’s aspirations are now oriented towards urban futures. This urbanization of the good life has consequences for both internal and international migration.

SAMENVATTING

Dit proefschrift stelt als vraag waarom mensen wegtrekken uit Wayisso, een dorp gelegen in de laaglanden van de Ethiopische Riftvallei. Meer in het bijzonder is de vraag hoe de met ‘ontwikkeling’ samenhangende sociale transformaties van de afgelopen eeuw het migratie- en vestigingsgedrag van een traditioneel semi-nomadisch volk hebben beïnvloed. Deze gedetailleerde gevalstudie heeft als doel is om bij te dragen aan het bredere debat over migratie en ontwikkeling, vooral met betrekking tot conflicterende claims over de vraag of ontwikkeling de grondoorzaken van migratie uit arme, plattlandsgebieden kan wegnemen. Deze gedetailleerde gevalstudie legt de mechanismes bloot waardoor verschillende (demografische, politieke, economische en culturele) dimensies van ‘ontwikkeling’ processen van ruraal-urbane en internationale migratie genereren. Deze studie stelt dat, in plaats van een factor die van de ‘grondoorzaken’ van migratie kan verlichten, ontwikkeling de grondoorzaak is van migratie vanuit Wayisso.

Gebruikmakend van onderzoeksgegevens van 73 Wayisso-huishoudens, 84 diepte-interviews en etnografische methoden, tracht dit onderzoek het vestigings- en migratiegedrag van drie familiegroepen in Wayisso te analyseren. Het beschrijft hoe vanaf het midden van de twintigste eeuw semi-nomadische herdersfamilies zich geleidelijk in Wayisso vestigden, en hoe Wayisso als een zwaartepunt fungeerde rondom seizoensgerelateerde mobiliteit. Dit veranderde in de jaren zeventig en tachtig, toen akkerbouw de primaire bron van levensonderhoud van de huishoudens op het platteland werd en gezinnen zich meer permanent gingen vestigen. Vanaf de jaren negentig van de twintigste eeuw werden een nieuwe vorm van mobiliteit, migratie van het platteland naar de stad, steeds gebruikelijker. De meeste mensen die Wayisso verlieten, gingen naar de naburige stedelijke centra Adami Tulu en Ziway. Een paar mannen begonnen zich echter verderop in stedelijke centra te vestigen, terwijl sommige vrouwen als arbeidsmigranten naar het Midden-Oosten afreisden.

Onder de eerste generatie die Wayisso verliet, verschillen de patronen van mobiliteit en immobiliteit aanzienlijk afhankelijk van factoren als geslacht, gezinsachtergrond, opleiding en financiële status. Eén familiegroep vertoont bijvoorbeeld hogere niveaus van opleiding en mobiliteit, en woont meer in verafgelegen stedelijke centra. Een vrouw uit deze familie woont zelfs in Londen. Internationale arbeidsmigratie naar het Midden-Oosten concentreert zich binnen een tweede familiegroep. Deze familie vertoont een iets lager niveau van opleiding en mobiliteit, maar toont nog steeds een aanzienlijke migratie naar Ziway. Een derde familiegroep

vertoont een hogere mate van immobiliteit zowel met betrekking tot binnenlandse als internationale migratie, behalve bij de vrouwen die migreren *binnen* plattelandsgebieden om te kunnen trouwen.

Om te verklaren waarom mensen dorpen als Wayisso verlaten, leggen gangbare analyses vaak de nadruk op 'push-factoren' die plattelandsmigratie in deze regio zouden veroorzaken, zoals klimaatverandering, bevolkingsdruk en landschaarste. Uit de enquêtegegevens blijkt dat de Wayisso's bevolking inderdaad groeit en dat er niet genoeg land is voor iedereen om als boer een gezin te onderhouden. Droogte is een normaal fenomeen, en boeren worstelen om gedurende droge jaren rond te komen. Uit de analyses blijkt echter ook dat bevolkingsgroei en afnemende grondbezit de migratiepatronen vanuit Wayisso niet kunnen verklaren - waarom sommige mensen naar naburige steden gaan, anderen naar het Midden-Oosten en weer anderen met weinig grondbezit juist in Wayisso blijven wonen. Zelfs migratie van Wayisso, naar een stad op slechts 15 kilometer afstand, is een zeker voorrecht dat alleen voorbehouden is aan degenen met voldoende inkomen om de kosten van hun levensonderhoud in de stad te kunnen dragen.

Verder lijken klimaatgerelateerde factoren juist een *afnemende* rol te spelen bij het bepalen van het migratiegedrag van jongere generaties. Semi-nomadische herdersfamilies bleven tot ver in de jaren zeventig bestaan en hun bestaanswijze was goed aangepast aan semi-aride klimaat en de grillige regenvalpatronen in de regio. Toen Wayisso echter werd opgenomen in de moderne Ethiopische natiestaat begonnen nieuwe politieke en economische krachten de bestaansstrategieën van de lokale bevolkingsgroepen meer te beïnvloeden in plaats van klimaatgerelateerde beweegredenen. Vanuit een lange-termijn perspectief blijkt zelfs dat mensen steeds meer uit Wayisso zijn gaan wegtrekken juist tijdens jaren van bovengemiddelde regenval, en dat in de jaren 1980, toen er relatief minder regen viel, mensen in Wayisso bleven en in de landbouw gingen investeren. Tegenwoordig lijkt droogte, in plaats van de migratie te stimuleren, de ruraal-urbane mobiliteit in te perken, omdat de door de droogte de inkomens vermindert van plattelandshuishoudens, inkomens die ze nodig hebben om naar de stad te kunnen verhuizen.

Nadat is vastgesteld dat het nodig is om verder te kijken dan vermeende 'push-factoren' als land, klimaat of bevolking als verklaring voor de migratie vanuit Wayisso, richt de analyse zich op de impact van andere, meer sociale krachten. De geleidelijke integratie van deze regio in de moderne staat is bijzonder belangrijk. Onder het Ethiopische rijk maakten oudere vormen van gemeenschapsorganisatie via het zogeheten 'Gada-systeem' plaats voor de politieke logica van de bureaucratische staat, waarmee ook het geleidelijke sedentarisatieproces in Wayisso in

gang werd gezet. Meer specifiek heeft de introductie van belastingen en nieuwe grondtoewijzingspraktijken geleid tot een verschuiving van ruilhandel naar een geldeconomie en van collectief naar particulier eigendom. Tegelijkertijd begonnen families meer permanente woningen in Wayisso te bouwen, waaromheen semi-nomadische activiteiten zich bleven voortzetten.

De communistische revolutie van 1974 versnelde het proces van ‘vestiging’ door de staat dichter dan ooit tevoren bij Wayisso te brengen. Het ontwikkelingsbeleid van de communistische regering verschoof de nadruk van lokale relaties steeds verder naar land en levensonderhoud, door alle grond te nationaliseren, ‘boerenverenigingen’ te creëren, ambtenarenbanen te creëren en formeel onderwijs te introduceren. Hoewel Wayisso-families aanvankelijk weerstand boden aan de druk om landbouwer te worden, waren aan het einde van de jaren tachtig bijna alle voormalig door de staat toegeëigende landbouwpercelen aan privé-huishoudens toegewezen. Het communistische regime introduceerde ook nieuwe vormen van mobiliteit – door de invoering van de militaire dienstplicht bij voorbeeld - maar de meer fundamentele mobiliteitstransitie in deze periode bestond uit het vestigen van een semi-nomadisch volk op één plek, bestuurlijk begrensd door de staat. Deze nederzetting werd de basis waarop in de daaropvolgende decennia nieuwe vormen van migratie ontstonden.

De eerste grote beweging naar stedelijke gebieden vonden plaats onder de federalistische regering die in de jaren negentig de macht overnam van het communistische regime. Aanvankelijk geleid door Meles Zenawi en het *Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front*, versnelde deze ‘ontwikkelingsstaat’ de stedelijke transitie van Ethiopië door een ‘landbouwgericht’ industrialisatiebeleid aan te moedigen en marktkrachten te omarmen in het streven naar snelle economische groei. Deze studie laat zien hoe het denken van kleine boeren in Wayisso overeenkomt met het ontwikkelingsdenken van de staat. Boeren verlaten in toenemende mate de landbouw en richten zich steeds meer op de markt in het streven naar materiële welvaart. Het gevolg is dat boeren in Wayisso tegenwoordig weliswaar dag hun landbouwgronden behouden – aangezien dit voor de meeste mensen het enige bezit is wat ze hebben – maar ze streven er tegelijkertijd naar, als ze de middelen daarvoor hebben, actief alternatieve inkomensbronnen in de stad te zoeken.

De politiek-economische transformaties die door de opeenvolgende Ethiopische regimes werden nagestreefd, hebben het sociaaleconomische landschap waarbinnen mensen in Wayisso in hun levensonderhoud voorzien en hun bestaan opbouwen ingrijpend veranderd. Dit onderzoek laat echter zien dat er zich net zulke ingrijpende transformaties hebben voortgedaan in de manier waarop mensen het idee van het ‘goede leven’ conceptualiseren. Tegenwoordig

wordt een goed bestaan niet gemeten aan de hand van het aantal koeien, maar door geldinkomen. Dit heeft fundamentele implicaties voor hoe mensen over werk en ook migratie denken. De ‘migratiebeslissing’ van eerdere generaties van semi-nomadische herders werd gevormd door een preoccupatie met het weer en vragen over waar ze hun vee het beste konden laten grazen of een seizoen konden laten uitrusten. Tegenwoordig verloopt de besluitvorming over migratie langs een aantal gespecificeerde paden en is gemotiveerd door het verdienen van geld - niet alleen omwille van het geld op zich, maar vooral vanwege de sociale, economische en ruimtelijke mobiliteit die geld kan kopen in de 'moderne' samenleving.

Mijn onderzoek naar de besluitvorming van jonge vrouwen die naar het Midden-Oosten vertrekken laat zien dat hun motivatie om te emigreren onmogelijk te begrijpen valt zonder de ingrijpende impact van de kapitalistische marktexpansie van de afgelopen decennia te begrijpen. Migratie naar het Midden-Oosten voor huishoudelijk werk geeft lager opgeleide vrouwen toegang tot voorgeen ongekend hoge inkomens. Het is juist vanwege de commodificatie van zoveel dimensies van het sociale leven, en vanwege de toenemende invloed en behoefte aan geld, en de daaraan gerelateerde ondermijning van het plattelandsleven, dat vrouwen overwegen te vertrekken en hun gezinnen hen hier vaak steunen. In Wayisso is migratie naar het Midden-Oosten bovendien vaak een korte-termijnstrategie om een lange-termijnmigratie naar de stad te financieren.

Deze cultureel-economische verschuiving wordt versterkt door de uitbreiding van formeel onderwijs, een belangrijk project van de Ethiopische staat. In Wayisso heeft het verruimen van de toegang tot formeel onderwijs een grote invloed op de ambities en het migratiegedrag van jongeren. Uit de enquêtegegevens blijkt een sterke positieve correlatie tussen opleidingsniveau en ruimtelijke mobiliteit. Onderwijs stimuleert migratie vanuit Wayisso om verschillende redenen. Ten eerste vereist de toegang tot middelbaar en hoger onderwijs verhuizing naar de stad. Voor degenen waarvan het gezin zich dit financieel kan veroorloven, is onderwijs vaak de eerste reden waarom jongeren migreren. Ten tweede willen scholieren en studenten na het leven in de stad, inclusief toegang tot de basisinfrastructuur zoals water en elektriciteit, of nieuwe diensten zoals televisie en internet te hebben ervaren, vaak niet terugkeren naar het dorpsleven. Ten derde, en op subtielere wijze, richt de *inhoud* – door het formele en ‘verborgen’ curriculum - de ambities van jongeren steeds meer naar een stedelijke, professionele toekomst. De inhoud van, en ervaring met, formeel onderwijs leidt ertoe dat studenten ambities en verwachtingen voor hun leven ontwikkelen die niet langer kunnen worden vervuld op het platteland.

Ten slotte toont dit onderzoek aan dat er binnen elke dimensie van sociale verandering een tweevoudig proces aan het werk is: transformatie in de structurele dimensies van de materiële levens van mensen en transformatie in hun collectieve sociale verbeelding. Beiden implicaties hebben voor onder andere het migratie- en vestigingsgedrag van mensen. Dit proefschrift besteedt directe aandacht aan veranderende noties van het ‘goede leven’, als een indicator van bredere verschuivingen in de sociale verbeelding. Het laat zien het goede leven in Wayisso vroeger een plattelands en pastoraal leven was, gemeten in vee, melk en boter. De steden werden aanvankelijk als plaatsen arme mensen gezien. Tegenwoordig geldt het tegenovergestelde. Het platteland wordt in het algemeen gezien als een plaats van armoede, stagnatie en strijd, terwijl de stad uitzicht biedt op verandering. Deze verstedelijking van het ‘goede leven’ maakt het waarschijnlijk dat mensen Wayisso zullen blijven verlaten, zelfs als de objectieve bestaansmogelijkheden op het platteland zullen verbeteren. Misschien zal het ‘goede leven’ op een dag terugkeren naar de plattelandsgebieden zoals Wayisso. Gezien het huidige ontwikkelingstraject in Ethiopië is dit echter op de korte termijn onwaarschijnlijk.

Dit proefschrift stelt dat de kloof tussen snel toenemende aspiraties en lokale mogelijkheden de belangrijkste grondoorzaak van migratie uit Wayisso is. Dit betekent dat de ambities van plattelandjongeren nu gericht zijn op een stedelijke toekomst, die niet in plattelandsgebieden kunnen worden gerealiseerd en daarom migratie vereisen om deze aspiraties te vervullen. Dit suggereert dat toekomstige analyses van migratiemotivaties in ‘ontwikkelingslanden’ de veranderende ambities van plattelandjongeren serieus moeten nemen om te begrijpen waarom en hoe plattelandsmensen migreren. De Wayisso-gevalsstudie laat zien dat materiële en sociale beperkingen die het platteland bestaan met zich meebrengen op zich niet verklaren waarom mensen vertrekken – ze zijn eerder een betere verklaring voor waarom mensen *blijven* en niet de middelen hebben om weg te trekken. Vanwege macro-structurele krachten van sociale verandering die we meestal associëren met ‘ontwikkeling’ - zoals het verruimen van de toegang tot formeel onderwijs, sterk verbeterde verbindingen tussen stad en platteland en nieuwe economische mogelijkheden in de stad, zijn de ambities van jongeren nu gericht op een stedelijke toekomst. Deze verstedelijking van het goede leven heeft fundamentele gevolgen voor zowel binnenlandse als internationale migratie.