

The “Migrant Hero”: Culture of Migration and Its Implication on Mate Selection among Hadiya Society, Southern Ethiopia

¹Zenebe Yohanis Candido, ²Kasahun Desyalew Mekonen & ³Mulugeta Berihun Asfaw

¹Department of Anthropology, Wolaita Sodo University, Ethiopia
amanawezenebe@yahoo.com

²Department of Sociology, Wolaita Sodo University, Ethiopia
desyalewkasahun@gmail.com

³Department of Sociology, Wolaita Sodo University, Ethiopia
mulertaytukung@gmail.com

Abstract

The phenomenon of migration has been indispensable aspect of human histories, cultures and civilizations. In Ethiopia, the post-1991 period witnessed the beginning of new migration to the republic of South Africa in search of greater economic opportunity particularly for unskilled labor. This paper is meant to disclose the developments of the culture of migration and its social and cultural implication, particularly how the culture of migration influence the long standing traditional practice of mate selection among the Hadiya society. A cross sectional study design was employed. In-depth interview, telephone interview, key informant interview and FGDs were data collection tools. The findings of the study revealed that youth migration to the republic of South Africa is bringing a significant and far reaching consequence on the social fabric of Hadiya society specifically on the traditional system of mate selection. In the tradition of Hadiya society, the primary considerations during mate selection were social acceptance on the basis of one’s ascribed qualities like lineage membership and higher position in the stratification. On top of this one’s achieved status such as, hardworking in farming and possession of large land and domestic animals was also credited. These criteria in the mate selection process are currently altered in favor of migrants to South Africa. Most parents, now a day’s prefer mate for their daughter from a migrant in South Africa even without any prior connection. The motive behind the preference of giving ones daughter to a man migrated to South Africa is the anticipated economic changes in the form of bride price and remittance.. Hence, the revival of abduction is one consequence adopted by non migrants as a desperate mechanism of getting mate. Marital instability and family disorganization are also among the worth mentioning negative outcomes of the emerging mate selection system.

Keywords: culture of migration, mate selection, Abduction, Hadiya society, Ethiopia

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of migration has been indispensable to human histories, cultures and civilizations. International migration is a global phenomenon that is growing in

complexity, scope and impact (UNDESA 2013; Liang 2007). As of 2010, an estimates, around 214 million individuals are international migrants, representing around 3.1% of the world’s population (UN

DESA, 2012; Betz & Nicole, 2013; Siddiqui, 2012). But, recently this figure has increased by millions (UNDESA, 2013). There were 232 million international migrants in 2013 (UNDESA, 2013).

Historically, Ethiopia and the Middle East have been closely connected for long time (Erich, 2007). The movements of slaves, soldiers, merchants, traders, laborers, tourists, pilgrims, priests and scholars have been gone along with the circulations of commodities, money, language, ideas and religion (Marina de Regt & Medareshaw, 2015). Until the early 1990s, Ethiopia was one of the largest producers of migrants in Africa (Bariagaber, 1999). The migration of Ethiopian youths for labor force is mounting from time to time (Selamawit 2013).

Though the Middle East is the most known place of destination for Ethiopian labor migrants, now a day's large numbers of youths are migrating to the republic of South Africa driven by the economic opportunity (IOM, 2013). Specifically, the post-1991 period witnessed the beginning of Ethiopian migration to the republic of South Africa which was liberated at the beginning of the 1990s from the yoke of Apartheid (Markos, 2001; FSS, 2012; IOM, 2009). This is due to the fact that South Africa provides a greater economic opportunity particularly for unskilled labor so that it becomes preferable traditional destination point for migrants from Ethiopia. Because of this the republic of South Africa continues to be the recipient of the highest annual number of asylum applications worldwide, with 82,000 applications in 2012 (IOM, 2013).

As indicated in several studies (Mulugeta, 2016; ILO, 2006; PTA, 2011; Teshome et al, 2013), now a days the existence of large numbers of migrants is contributing for the development of culture of migration in various parts of Ethiopia. The existence of

migrant network and the development of culture of migration are mentioned as one factor that contributes for the ever-growing migration of youths from Hadiya and the surrounding environment to the RSA (Teshome et al, 2013). Illegal oversea migration is considered as the most viable way of personal, social, and material success creating wrong role models for the younger generation (Mulugeta, 2016).

Most studies on migration with the objectives of understanding its causes and consequences examine the forces of poverty and the economic rationales of migration. Studies like (Abinet 2011; Teshome et al. 2013; Dawit, 2015) showed the economic significance of youths labor migration from *Hadiya* and its environs to the republic of South Africa; they mentioned the importance of migrants remittances on the life of the local people. However, the influences of labor migration from the study area to the republic of South Africa are not limited to remittance and the economic life of people. The ever mounting of migration of youths and the gradual developments of traditions, cultural practices and beliefs that celebrate migration and migrants had far-reaching consequence on the local population. Thus, this paper is principally designed to disclose the developments of the culture of migration and its social implication, particularly how the culture of migration influence the long standing traditional practice of mate selection among the *Hadiya* society.

2. METHODS AND MATERIALS

Study Area

The Hadiya zone is found in the southern Nations, nationalities and people's regional state of Ethiopia. The zone is geographically located in 7°3'19"-7°56'1"N and 37°33'14"-38°52'12"E. It is one of the most densely

populated parts of Ethiopia. Its population reaches 1,243,776 (CSA, 2007). By 2010 based on the census report projection, it has increased to 1316962. Total area of the study is 3850 square km and the population density is 357/square km. More than 90% of its population depends on agriculture for subsistence.

Hadiya zone has three distinctive agro-ecological zones with average rainfall and temperature 1150mm and 16.4 respectively. The zone is traditionally divided in to three agro ecological conditions such as *Dega*, (cool and humid) 23.7% experiencing higher rainfall and cooler temperature, *woyinedega* 64.7% (cool and sub humid), with somewhat moderate amount of rainfall and temperature, and *kola* (warm and semi arid), 11.6% ,with relatively low rain fall and high temperature. Altitude and humidity have significant impact on temperature condition in Ethiopia. The warmest months of the area are between February and May. On the contrary, the coldest months of the study area range between June and August. October and November are windy months. Hadiya zone has the total area of 309492.74 hectares of land. Of which 2159.16 ha is covered by water. From the total land area of Hadiya zone, 236511.43 ha (76.4%) is cultivated, 17454.12 ha (5.6%) is grazing land, 17326.74 ha (5.59%) is covered by forests of both manmade and natural and the remaining 246041.29 ha (11.67) is used for settlements, construction of social institutions and other purposes (HZHRSSO, 2013).

Study Design

This study is cross sectional in its design whereby the required data on the culture of migration and its implication on potential mate selection among Hadiya society were collected once at a time. Hence the entire data collection process was completed from

July 14, 2015 up to September 7, 2015/16. Data relevant to address the objectives of the study were obtained from both primary and secondary sources of data.

Data Collection Methods

In-depth interview, Telephone interview, key informant interview, FGD and observation were the major primary data collection methods utilized in this study. Beside the above mentioned primary methods documentary review was also used.

In-depth interview

In-depth interview were conducted with local elders, parents of migrants, parents of potential migrants, local brokers, potential migrants, fiancée of migrants. In the context of this study a purposively selected five local elders, three parents of migrants, three parents of potential migrants, two local brokers, four potential migrants and three fiancée of migrants. a total of eighty participants were interviewed. Through in-depth interview, researchers uncovered detailed information about the issue under concern.

Telephone interview

Interview with migrants who were in RSA during data collection time were indispensable to generate qualitative data regarding their perception, meanings and subjective experience on migration and its socio cultural implication. So, telephone interview was conducted with four migrants who are still living and working in the RSA and whose origin is from Hadiya.

Key informant interview

Key informants were selected on the base of their knowledge, proximity to the issue, experience and willingness to participate in the study. A total of sixteen key informants

were conducted. Hence, two local elders, two parents of migrants, three parents of potential migrants, two local brokers, four potential migrants, two fiancée of migrants and one government official (head of Hadiya Zone BoLSA) were participated in the study.

Focused group discussion

Focus Group Discussions were employed with different social groups keeping homogeneity of discussants in each group constant. Four FGDs were conducted each group contain six to eight discussant with local elders, parents of migrants and potential migrants, potential migrants and returnees. All the discussions were held with the help of guidelines for facilitating the discussion. Important question were provided, directed and redirected by the researchers as moderator so as to smooth the progress of the discussion. Each of the FGDs took more than an hour. In Addition to the primary data, secondary data were employed through review of relevant literature regarding the culture of migration and its multitude of consequences. Various articles and published and unpublished journals by MOLSA and BOLSA was reviewed to get a preliminary understanding about the general situation of migration in the study area

Data analysis

Thematic approach of data analysis is used in this study. Thus, the collected qualitative data was analyzed manually through careful interpretation of meanings and contents, organizing and summarizing in accordance with the issue under concern. Hence, all the data which was collected using the local language-Hadiya language- was directly translated into English by one of the researchers. A great care was taken to

maintain the originality and clarity of information while translating it into English.

Ethical consideration

Ethical clearance letter was obtained from sociology department of Wolaita Sodo University and a written consent was obtained from women, children and youth affairs office of Hadiya zone administration. All the study participants were informed about the purpose of the study and finally their consent was obtained before the actual data collection process started. The information provided by each respondent was kept confidential in order to safeguard them from different troubles. Above all the researchers had made an attempt to develop a sense of trust and gain the genuine consent of all of the participants of the study including confidentiality of their information.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

I. Brief background of the development of culture of migration among Hadiya Society

The culture of migration is those ideas, practices and cultural artifacts that reinforce the celebration of migration and migrants (Massey et al., 1993). It is the product of the increased prevalence of migration and the increase in density of migration networks in a community (Massey et al., 1993).

Among the Hadiya society, internal migration is not a recent phenomenon. In the long tradition of Hadiya society, people opt to migrate as an adoptive response of the existing socio-economic as well as environmental dynamics. For instance “*Darebacha*” or trans-humanism (seasonal migration of the people with their large group of cattle) was a very common phenomenon. Since there is seasonal shortage of pasture and water for their cattle

in the community, youths are expected to move to distant places with their herds in search of food and water for their cattle. Thus, this practice is taken as rite of passage for the local youths especially among pastoral community, declaring their transition from childhood in to manhood. Therefore, in the long tradition of Hadiya society parents and the community celebrate their youths who have the courage and dedication to travel far and keep their cattle.

Beginning from 1970s, massive internal migration has been taken place due to high population pressure which in turn resulted with fragmentation and scarcity of farm land (Horwood, 2009). Thus, significant numbers of people were migrated to private as well as government owned plantation sites, mining areas and various urban centers ranging from one year up to life time. Now days, it is not hard to find Hadiya people who permanently settled in every parts of Ethiopia (Teshome et al, 2013).

On the other hand, the international migration of Hadiya people to South Africa is relatively a recent phenomenon. The post-1991 period witnessed the increasing of labor migration from Ethiopia, to the RSA (Teshome et al., 2013:20). Though the international migration of Hadiya youth to the RSA is relatively a recent phenomenon, within two and/or three decades hundreds of thousands of youths had migrated to the RSA (Dawit, 2015). Few studies done in the study area looked only at the economic rationales as a sole factor for the rapidly increasing phenomena of migration to the RSA. Most studies mentioned poverty as the sole push factor that forced Hadiya people to migrate to RSA. However the researchers in this particular study argued that beside the economic rational of migrants there are other socio cultural forces that explain the massive migration of Hadiya youth to the RSA.

As per the evidences of the study the development of culture of migration is another factor underlying the current massive migration. The evidence in this study reveal the existence of various cultural beliefs, social norms and traditional practice on the part of the community that depict migration as a socially approved and viable means of changing ones socio economic status. Due to the existence of large number Hadiya migrant workers in RSA and the network between this migrants and youth in the place of origin made RSA socially approved place of destination. As Epstein and Gang (2010) put it, one of the salient characteristic of international migration is the clustering of immigrants in ethnic communities. People usually prefer to migrate to the place where there are large number of their own people, people who share the same language, history, origin and traditions. Regarding this one key informant, local elder, in the have explained the situation in the following way:

“...We usually don't want to send our children to the Arab gulf region, this is not because of absence of economic opportunity there, but because most people from Hadiya migrate to RSA and the fact that there are large numbers of our people there. Thus, since they can easily find people of their kind easily there, we believe they wouldn't face that much trouble in their arrival and latter in managing their living and working condition...”

As stated in Messay et al. (1993), the existence of a set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and share community origins that would magnify the anticipated net profit of migration is one factor that contributes for the development

of culture of migration. The interview with local elder disclosed that the people in the study area prefer to migrate to RSA. This is partly due to the development of beliefs, norms and traditions in the local community that depict migration to RSA as viable and accepted behavior as a result of strong social network between previous migrant in RSA and people in the place of origin.

Interview with local elders, potential migrant youths and parents of migrants revealed that migration decision in the study area is not an individual decision. Family members, friends and community members actively involve throughout the process up to the final decision to migrate. A migrant father who sent his son four years age explained how the ideas and decision of migration to RSA is a collective phenomenon.

“...few years ago, I was working hard on my farming to make sure that my children will complete their education so that they will be able to help themselves latter when I can't be there for them. In the mean time, my neighbors and my friends were constantly telling me that I better send them to RSA; however I was resisting them, saying that they are good in education so that they will have better opportunity in education. But finally it was when my wife and two of my brothers told me to send them not only for my benefit but also to their own sake I decided to send my first born son...”

Therefore, this study proved that the culture of migration is proved to be existent and deep rooted in the study area and the decision to migrate is not only left to the individual migrant as it may seem. However, the very idea to migrate and/or even the final decision to migrate represents the interest,

tradition and attitude of family member, neighbors and the community at large.

The development of these cultural values that celebrate migration and migrant in turn had created a far reaching social consequence in the cultural practices of Hadiya people particularly the practice of mate selection. Now a day massive lure for migration on the part of the local youths and the development of affirmative view of migration on the part of the community brings a kind of feelings that depict migrants as a hero and this image made them preferable potential mate.

II. ‘What was there ?’ : Long standing marital arrangement of Hadiya society

In the long tradition of Hadiya society when someone is old enough to be engaged or get married he /she evaluates his/her own worth and then goes to select who will fit best in a traditionally sanctioned manner. Data obtained from Key informant interview and FGD revealed that there have been various traditionally accepted requirements in mate selection process.

A local elder of age 67 argued in his own words as follows:

“...when someone is marriageable and intended to select his/her marriage partner, there are different traditional criteria to be taken in to account. It is very common to marry someone who lives in the same geographical area than from distant places. Physical attractiveness is another requirement what usually brings two people together. Next to geographical proximity and physical attractiveness, Social class is a major determinant in mate selection. Most people marry within their own

class or income level. We prefer to marry outside of our kin group. This is mainly due to the fact that, in our culture we believe that mixed-kin marriage has a much higher chance of success and prosperity. Religion is another important item to consider in mate selection....”

Other informants also repeatedly mentioned the importance of selecting ones mate from similar religious affiliation. There are two convincing reasons for this: First, it reduces the amount of marital conflict and second, it lessens the complications of child-rearing. Another point to consider is the degree of religiosity of each partner. The more religious either partner is, the harder it is to be married to someone outside of the religion. Couples who profess no religion have a less likely chance of marital survival than mixed religions. People often marry a person similar to the opposite sex parent. All the above mentioned criteria which have been applied in mate selection for generations may be tolerated to some extent depending on various circumstances. But whatever circumstances are, marriage with socially out casted groups like: slaves, tanners, pottery makers, blacksmith are exceedingly prohibited due to culturally understood justifications. However, now a day new economic status and wealth gained through remittance begun to reduce and undermine the role of aforementioned requirements in mate selection because of the assets (bride price and other gifts) brought to marriage play a paramount role in shaping the economic situation of a given family. The culture of migration and celebration of migrants is putting its foot prints on the long standing practice of mate selection among members of Hadiya society.

**III. Dissolution of long standing order:
“A migrant as a culturally preferable mate”**

In most case people choose to migrate by looking at the economic advantage of migration. However, among the Hadiya, migration is not only about economic success; rather it is highly entwined with one’s social status. Currently migrant in Hadiya society enjoy social prestige higher than non migrants which is well manifested during marriage. Migration is taken as the most viable way to increase one’s marriage marketability or status value as ‘potential mates’. The evidence in this study disclosed that most parents in Hadiya society prefer to give their daughter to migrants than a non migrant. Among Hadiya society there is a long tradition of giving “Bride wealth” for the bride’s family by the groom and his families. Thus, when the marriage partner is a migrant in RSA, the gift is very high as compared to the non migrant.

However, the economic advantage of migration coupled with its social meaning in the community come to drastically change the quintessence of the traditional long established meaning of social status and prestige among the studied group. Migration is no longer understood as a means to an end rather, being a migrant is an end in itself and become a high-status identity. This ‘migrant-hero’ (specifically male,) is desirable for a marriage partner, challenging and even displacing other traditional ascribed status identities and even trumping achieved status of education. During the course of fieldwork the researcher’s came across various implications of the impact of migration on partner selection. The following case study also reveals the aforementioned fact:

Case one: A 22 years old local girl
I was born and raised in the small rural village of ‘Wagebetta’ from poor peasants. When I was 19 years old and 11th grade student, me and my early childhood friend had made a promise to get married as soon

as we finish our education. My boy friend was not only a hardworking farmer but also a popular and socially accepted man in our society which is the reason to fall in love with him and decided to marry him. Unfortunately, one day my father gave me a bad news that I never thought about to see in my life. He told me that he had already decided with the parents whose son was living in South Africa so that I had to marry him. Having said this, my father gave me a week period to sleep over the issue and came up with my last decision. By the time I was so shocked for not only it was totally unexpected by me but also he told me nothing about who is going to marry me except one of our neighbors son. It was the toughest time for me as I couldn't take things easy and convince myself to marry somebody with whom I know nothing about his personality including even his face. After taking some breathing time alone I decided to tell everything to my mother if she was able to deal with my father to change his mind so that I can marry the one whom I love most. Having understood how I feel bad, my mother had felt sad about the unexpected idea I have faced. However she was pre informed and already decided with my father so that she urged me to respect the words of my father than to resist. A week later, both of my parents had spent much time trying to convince me to marry the man who is living in South Africa. They have mentioned those families whose socio economic life, they think, have significantly changed following the marriage of their daughter with the one who lives in South Africa as a success story. They further argued that the future of our family is on my hand and I have to accept their idea if their dream to come true. On the other hand I was trying to convince them mentioning the fact that I am only interested to marry the one, who is a hardworking farmer, from good family, has large farm land, many cows and

goats and one whom I love most. In addition to this, I tried to discredit the man they proposed for me by stating some facts about him. Such as he has no sufficient land for farming and he is among the marginalized social groups in our society. Despite all this, my parents insisted in their ideas and keep telling me the advantage of marrying the migrant stressing as it is their only possible way to escape from a thorny and hard knock life they are trapped in and achieve better life within short period of time. Finally, I understood that I had no any option than accepting their ideas.

Source: local girl (bride of migrant worker in RSA)

The above case story disclosed how economic remittances from migrants have affected the way social status and prestige is perceived in the community. Migrant remittance and the social meanings of migration brought a change in the ways that status as a social identity has come to be defined, from ascribed to achieved one. Migrants have come to be seen as something of heroes, people to be emulated. Materially, those who have people abroad, whether the families are rich or poor, live better than they would otherwise, as the incomes of workers abroad are substantially greater than what they could earn at home. Thus, migration and the consequent remittances have a great effect upon economic mobility of the society under concern.

During the time of field observation of several wedding ceremonies of migrants and non migrants, the researcher come to realize that the wedding feast of the migrant is much greater than that of the non migrants. The migrants celebrate their wedding at a grander scale with a more astonishing ceremony and large sum of wealth put in to display as bride wealth gift from the migrant to the bride and the bride's family. Money is put to social use for bride wealth and

wedding costs where large sums are spent on feasts. Migrants and family of the migrants now convert their money in to social status through means of spending large sums of money during the time of marriage and other social events. As Syed (2007) in his study of the culture of migration among Muslims in Hyderabad, India put it, to convert wealth in to status, it is not enough to have but to display. And it is not enough merely to display, but to lavishly distribute to others, particularly at wedding feasts. One of the informants also revealed this fact as follows:

“...In the tradition of Hadiya society, wedding ceremony is always accompanied with large feast and bride price depending on social and economic status of the bride and groom as well as their families. For instance my wedding ceremony was very impressive because my families are owners of many cattle and herds. Therefore, when my families arranged my wedding ceremony they were not worried to cover the cost of the ceremony. But now a day if you observe a wedding ceremony celebrated in large scale is either it is a wedding ceremony of migrants or those who have got remittance from their families or close relatives who live and work in South Africa. That is why most girls opt to marry returnee migrants or those still live in abroad/South Africa...” (Achamo Lombebo, a local elder)”.

The above story clearly elucidate that emphasis on ritual public display is not a new phenomenon in the society. What is different now is that the sheer number of people for whom giving such a feast is within their scope has expanded greatly, and this is due in large part to inflated wealth as a result of remittances from South Africa.

Thus, one major reason for going abroad is the possibility of remaking oneself, which is tied to the possibility of making vastly more money, which can alter a person’s status. Just as important, being a migrant in it has become a status marker. On the other hand marriage with one of these migrants is perceived as an easy escape from Ethiopia that many women among studied group have learned to do, and leads to upward status mobility.

A 21 year old informant puts what she knew in such a way:

“...a couple of years ago, my parents had decided and proposed my sister for one of the sons of the most respected and known clan leader. Unfortunately, a man who came from South Africa for vacation show some interest to marry my sister and asked my parents if it is possible. Just like most of her friends in our village, my sister had a dream to marry a migrant man in South Africa and change her life as well as my parents living condition. So, my parents had decided to pay compensation to the previous one for violating the agreement and give my sister to the new one. Finally she gets married with the migrant and took her to South Africa; her dream comes true! ...”

The new phenomenon of mate selection in the society has already replaces the previous actors who were traditionally the right people to deal with all the staffs in relation to marriage. Hence, the role of local elders (*‘Lommana’*) and other family members who were the main actors in the process are now replaced by the *‘Lambemancho’* or Marriage Mediators. Currently most mate selections are totally left to and arranged by *‘Lambemancho’*. Unlike the elders of

traditional marriage, marriage mediators are not necessarily from family members but they can be friend, brokers or smugglers of illegal migrants. Marriage Mediator provides go-between services between grooms and inquired bride family by arranging mate selection processes especially in mass migration areas.

The ‘*Lambemacho*’ put all his roles in his own words:

“...my role as ‘Marriage Mediator’ is introducing potential candidates and families to each other. Secondly I try to avoid direct confrontation and differences in opinions between them by serving as an intermediary for working out the details of the marriage. Unlike the traditional way, we collect photographs of potential candidates (girls) with her short personal profile. Then the collected photograph with the profile (which mostly includes; name, age, health, occupation and kin background of potential candidates) is sent to South Africa through face book, Viber, email or Posta-mail. Finally the migrant will select his favorite among the candidates and the process will proceed.”

What has been mentioned and discussed in the above couple of pages clearly indicates that, in the study area, most parents including their young girls aspire to marry with migrants as best alternative way to work and live abroad, to reinforce their ascribed status through achieved status. More specifically, what has emerged in the marriage market is a new hierarchy of qualities sought, achieved rather than ascribed.

IV. ‘Whom to marry?’ : dynamics in mate selection and its consequence

Despite the positive contribution of migration in the form of remittance, its consequence of the new way of marital arrangements had also introduced several vices in the society. Findings of this study revealed that migration is taken as a viable way for most family to escape from thorny and hard knock life. Youths are able to transform themselves and their family economically through remittance. Many youth from low social strata were able to marry girls from high social strata by converting their money in to social status through displaying impressive bride wealth gift. Despite this, migration brought various social problems in the community. The revival of abduction, marital instability and family disorganization are found to be the most common social vices of migration in this particular study area.

Revival of abduction

“...Remaining unmarried or abduct...!”
(One FGD participant, 27)

Harmful traditional practices which were in the process of disappearance due to modernization and legal efforts seem to recover in the society as a desperate option by those who are not preferable for mate. The revival of, once eroded, practices of abduction is proved to be one of the social problems that migration and the new way of marital arrangement brought in the local community.

One young informant argued that:

“...though abduction is illegal in our country, I don’t blame those who try to marry through abduction because getting marriage partner by computing with migrants and those families who get remittance is as equal to reselling with “Shonkola” Mountain (the largest mountain in the area)...”.

Data obtained from FGD indicates that a given groom is supposed to pay 50,000 - 60,000 Ethiopian birr as a bride price without including other expenses of buying gifts like Honey, bride ornaments and traditional cloths to bride family. In addition to this an average wedding ceremony of migrants will cost 70,000-80,000. So, it is clear that only few merchants and economically strong farmers can afford the expenses which forced non- migrants to take abduction as the only mechanism to get wife.

Marital instability

This study also revealed that marital instability and latter disorganization of the family are another social dysfunction of the new way of marital arrangement. Interview with local elders, parents of migrants, returnees and migrant worker at RSA reveals the ever growing practice of marrying the “migrant hero” brings marital instability in different ways. When parents in this community give their daughters for migrant the only advantage they look is the economic advantage of receiving remittance. It has nothing to do with their tradition, culture and religious beliefs etc.

One local elder have the following to say:

“...Marriage stays intact and holy when both the spouse lives together. When the husband lives abroad in RSA for long period the wife usually heard rumor that their husband engaged in other marital or sexual affair there. This tempts the wife to engage in to sexual relationship with other men that may end up forming new family...”

Since the community is highly patriarchal, fathers hold high social position and are crucial for the security

of the family. Thus, the absence of husband for long period meant the children and the wife are not secured. The following case study is the result of telephone interview with 42 years old migrant worker in RSA.

Case two: A 42 years old migrant worker in RSA

“Before seven years I got married to a beautiful woman in my parent’s locality. In fact she and I are from different lineage group. Relatively her lineage is respectable in our community and they always practiced endogamy marriage as a mechanism of keeping their lineage pure. However, because of the large amount of wealth I had I was able to persuade her family to give their daughter to me. We don’t have prior romantic relationship; we don’t even know each other before our marriage. However, I was desperate to marry someone and I found her very beautiful that is why I decided to marry her. After getting married I spent only four months with her, and then I returned to RSA. In the two years history of our marriage except the first year the rest were full of disagreement and resentment between us. She always blames me for having an affair with other girls here in RSA. Simultaneously, every time I called to my relative I always hear a rumor that she started affair with other guy. This was the source of our disagreement and grief to one another. One day I returned to Ethiopia to visit my family and in the mean time to make sure weather the rumor is true or not. What I found is very upsetting, as I heard she had started a real affair with the local guy I used to know, she even got pregnant to him. Finally what I realized is that I can buy women for some time but I can’ buy real wife for real.

Source: migrant worker in RSA

Most local elders, migrant returnees and various informants echoed the same story just like the above case. The fact that the spouse doesn't know each other neither do they have prior romantic relationship made their emotional involvement within marriage shallow. Usually in the new marital arrangement the bride and family of the bride are not happy in the social background of the migrant groom what they saw is only the economic advantage. Therefore after some time the marriage formed on the base of no or shallow emotional involvement will manifest various trouble. Most girls who married to migrant men for the sake of securing their safe travel to RSA and their living and working condition, they usually abandoned their husband after settling in the destination country. This is undeniable fact that the only advantage local women saw in marrying migrant is economic wealth, thus most of the time there marital relationship will be temporary only as a means to an end.

4. CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this paper was to disclose the developments of the culture of migration and its social implication, particularly how the culture of migration altered the long standing traditional practice of mate selection among the Hadiya society. Migration to the republic of South Africa is bringing a significant and far reaching consequence on the social fabric of Hadiya society. Specifically, the traditional system of mate selection (where social acceptance, hardworking in farming and possession of large land and domestic animals were the primary consideration for mate selection) is completely altered in favor of migrants to South Africa. This is the result of the economic changes anticipated from giving ones daughter to a man migrated to South Africa in the form of bride wealth and remittance. Most parents, now a day's prefer to give their daughter to a migrant in South Africa by looking his photograph even

without any prior connection. Economic remittances from migrants have affected the way social status and prestige is perceived in the community. Migrant remittance and the social meanings of migration brought a Change in the ways that status as a social identity has come to be defined, from ascribed to achieve criteria. Migrants have come to be seen as something of heroes, people to be emulated. The new phenomenon of mate selection in the society has already replaces the previous actors who were traditionally the right people to deal with all the staffs in relation to marriage.

Finally, this study proved that despite all the positive change migration and migrant remittance brought in the place of origin, the revival of abduction, marital instability and family disorganization are found to be the most noticeable dysfunction of the new form of marital arrangement.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors declare no competing interests among them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Authors are very grateful to all the study participants for their commitment and time in responding all the questions.

REFERENCE

1. Abinet Ergando. 2011. The role of remittance and return migrants on urban growth and Rural
2. Urban Linkage: The case of Hosanna. MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University
3. Betz, William & Nicole, B. Simpson. 2013. The effects of International Migration on the well
4. Being of native populations in Europe, the Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA); Discussion Paper No. 7368.

5. Bariagaber, A. 1999. States, International Organizations and the Refugee: Reflections on the complexity of Managing the Refugee crisis in the Horn of Africa, the Journal of Modern African Studies, 37(4), 597-619.
6. CSA (Central Statistical Authority). 2007. Population and housing census of Ethiopia,
7. Administrative report, Addis Ababa. Ethiopia.
8. Dawit Abebe. 2015. Business Engagement of Return Migrants from the Republic of South
9. Africa: Challenges, Opportunities and Prospects, the Case of Hosanna Town. Master thesis.
10. Epstein, S.G & Gang, N.I. 2010. Migration and Culture, Discussion Paper No. 5123, Institute for
11. the Study of Labor, Germany.
12. Erlich H. 2007. Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and Ethiopia: The Messages of Religions. The Fifth
13. Annual Levtzion Lecture Jerusalem 2013.
14. Forum for Social Studies (2012), Labour Migration and Human Trafficking from Ethiopia to the
15. Middle East and South Africa: A case study of change through CSSP core grant support, Ethiopia.
16. HZHRSSO (Hadiya Zone human resource statistics and support office). 2013.
17. ILO. 2006. ILO Multilateral Framework on Labor Migration, Non-binding principles and
18. guidelines for a rights-based approach to labor migration, Geneva, International Labor Office, 2006, pp. 55
19. IOM (2009), In Pursuit of the Southern Dream: Victims of Necessity, Assessment of the
20. Irregular Movement of Men from East Africa and the Horn to South Africa, IOM, Geneva, Switzerland.
21. IOM (2013), Health Vulnerabilities Study of Mixed Migration flows from the East and Horn of
22. Africa and the Great Lakes region to Southern Africa. Working paper for International Migration Report of 2013; Geneva, Switzerland.
23. Liang,L. 2007. "The Sociology of Migration." In C.D. Bryant, D.L. Peck &P.M. Bryant (Eds.),
24. 21st century sociology: A reference handbook (vol., 1, pp. 487-495). California: Sage publication
25. Marina de Regt & Medareshaw Tafesse. 2015. Deported before experiencing the good sides of
26. migration: Ethiopians returning from Saudi Arabia, African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal, DOI: 10.1080/17528631.2015.1083178.
27. Markos Ezra. 2001. Ecological Degradation, Rural Poverty, and Migration in Ethiopia: A
28. Contextual Analysis, No. 149 Maastricht Graduate School of Governance.

30. Massay, Douglas S., Joaquin arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J.
31. Edward Taylor. 1993. "Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal." *Population and development review* 19 (3): 431-466. Retrieved June 22, 2014 (<http://WWW.stor.org/stable/2938462>).
32. Mulugeta Berihun. 2016. The dynamics of voluntary labor migration disguised human
33. Trafficking in North Wollo; *the case of migrant returnees in Doro gibir and Hara*. MA Thesis submitted to the department of sociology. Addis Ababa. Ethiopia.
34. Play Therapy Africa. 2011. Trafficking in person oversea for labor purpose: the case of
35. Ethiopian domestic workers. Addis Ababa: Africa printing Plc.
36. Selamawit Bekele. W. 2013. *The Vulnerability of Ethiopian Rural Women and Girls*. Uppsala
37. University.
38. Syed Ali. 2007. 'Go West Young Man': The Culture of Migration among Muslims in
39. Hyderabad, India. Routledge. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 33, No. 1, January 2007, pp. 3758
40. Siddique, M A B. Nd. *South African Migration Policy: A Critical Review*, the University of
41. Western Australia, Business School Economics
42. Teshome D. Kanko, et al. 2013. Irregular Migration: Causes and Consequences of Young
43. Adult Migration from Southern Ethiopia to the South Africa. Paper Presented at the XXVII IUSSP International Population Conference 26-31 August, 2013 Busan, South Korea
44. UN DESA. 2013. International Migration Policies Government Views and Priorities United
45. Nations Publication, New York.
46. UN DESA. 2012. Migration and human mobility: United Nations Task Team on the post-2015 UN
47. Development Agenda, Thematic Think Piece, IOM, New York
48. Horwood, C. 2009. In Pursuit of the Southern Dream: Victims of Necessity. Assessment of the
49. Irregular Movement of Men from East Africa and the Horn to South Africa. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.