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**The Socio-Political Impact of Homeland Conflict on Diasporas: The
Case of Tigrrian Diasporas in Germany and The Netherlands.**

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CONTENTS

Contents	pages
Contents	II
List of Appendices	IV
List of Acronyms	IV
List of Tables	IV
Acknowledgments	V
Abstract	VI
CHAPTER-ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background of the study	1
1.2. Research Objectives	3
1.2.1. Main Objective	3
1.2.2. Specific Objectives	3
1.3. Research Questions	4
1.4. Conceptual Frameworks	4
1.4.1. Conflict De-territorialization	4
1.4.2. Conflict Re-territorialization	5
1.5. Theoretical Framework	5
1.5.1. Social Movement Theory	5
1.5.2. Large Group Identity, Chosen Trauma and Chosen Glory	6
1.6. Ethical Considerations	8
1.7. Positionality	8
CHAPTER -TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	9
2.1. Diaspora	9
2.2. Emigration from Ethiopia	9
2.3. Ethiopian Diasporas	10
2.4. Migration to Germany	11
2.5. Migration from Ethiopia to The Netherlands	12
2.6. Diasporas and Conflict	12
2.7. Home Conflict and Its impact on Diaspora	14
2.8. Hosting countries response to Diaspora conflicts	16
2.9. Ethiopian Diaspora and Home politics	17

CHAPTER-THREE: METHOD AND METHODS	19
3.1. Research approach and Design	19
3.2. Data sources and tools of data collection	19
3.3. Sample size and sampling techniques	19
3.4. Method of data analysis	20
CHAPTER –FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	21
4.1. Who Are “We”? Why Is This All on “US”?	21
4.2. Beyond the soil where it is fought; we are no more friends and the same, our bond between us is rocked!	27
4.3. No Empathy “Here” And No Mercy “There”!	32
CHAPTER-FIVE: COCLUSION	38
Appendices	46
Appendix-1: Interview Guide	46
Appendix-2: List of name of interviewees	47
References	41

List of appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Appendix 2: List of names of the interviewee

List of Acronyms

ADPC	African Diaspora Policy Center
CUD	Coalition for Unity and Democracy
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU	European Union
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRM	Irish Republican Army
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
LTTE	Liberation of Tigers Tamil Eelam
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPK	Kurdistan Workers Party
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
WB	World Bank

List of Tables

Table 1: List of names of interviewees

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Abstract

The study investigates the impact of the Tigray war on the identity and social relations of the ethnic Tigrians living in Germany and The Netherlands within the broader Ethiopian Diaspora community. Employing a qualitative research approach the study examines how the conflict in the country of origin has reshaped the Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrians and how their ties to other Ethiopian Diaspora communities have also changed. Data was collected using semi-structured interview and were analyzed using qualitative method of data analysis. Snowball sampling technique were used to select participants of the interview. The Tigray war had a profound effect on their Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrians, according to the findings which caused many Tigrians to redefine themselves more exclusively along ethnic lines rather than as part of a unified Ethiopian Diaspora. The war has also caused in dwindling of social bonds, with Tigrians distancing themselves from Ethiopian communities not sharing the traumatic event in their country of origin and those who have supported the war. Such change in relationships and identity has also affected the Diaspora's economic and social dynamics, underscoring the profound impact that home conflicts have on Diaspora communities abroad. By focusing on how home conflict affects the Diaspora identity and their inter-group relations, the study is relevant to the development studies, as it can contribute to understand how conflict, identity, and intergroup Diaspora relations intersect in ways that influence the social cohesion with in the Diaspora community and overall development of both the home and host nations.

Key words: Home conflict, Tigray war, Diaspora, Tigrian Diasporas, Germany, The Netherlands.

1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Today an approximately of 3.5 % of the world population reside far from their country of origin (United Nations, 2019). People move from their country of birth for different reasons. Among them the most commonly raised include violation of human rights, environmental insecurity, injustice, fleeing violent conflicts and disasters of many natures (Safer World, 2016). Migration is therefore among the forces that are shaping today's world politics (Roser, 2016). The increment in mobility and the subsequent creation of Diaspora community in destination countries affects and shapes conflict in the home nation. The participation of Diasporas from distance provides new shapes and forms to conflicts in the country of origin (Toivanen and Baser, 2020, p. 2).

Diasporas are becoming to be crucial participants in the global political spheres (Vertovec, 2005, p. 1). According to Cohen and Sheffer, at center of the concept Diaspora is collective identity. Collective identity is viewed as the fundamental component that enhances the cohesion among members and initiates cross-border interaction. Consequently, issues like nationality, religion, and ethnicity are repeatedly employed to define the boundaries of innumerable diaspora groups, be it internally and externally (Cohen, 2008; Sheffer, 2006). Diasporas can be formed by different ways of diasporization processes. However, diasporas can be ceased, disappear from their existence but also enlarged by mobilizing more individuals (Elise and Sofiya, 2021, p. 211). The 20th century migration wave of ethnic communal groups to new countries, tied with the advancement of new technologies and communication channels, has given diaspora communities the opportunity to not merely recuperate but also reinvent their traditions outside of their home nations (Christopher, 2013, p. 50). Diasporas have the power to create or destroy peace (Democratic Progress Institute, 2014, p. 9), either by sustaining domestic conflicts or by supporting to put an end to them. Diasporas are believed to be involved in home conflicts in many ways; in some circumstances, they ties seem to fuel and exacerbate the conflict. In other situations, Diasporic voices and projects may advocate for demobilization and peace (Demmers, 2002, p. 86). Depending on the players involved and the unique circumstances in both home and host countries, armed conflict in the country of origin can set off particular processes of diaspora formation in the countries of settlement and in the transnational space (Féron, & Voytiv, 2021, p. 214).

The topic Diaspora is well studied topic. Many studies have been conducted investigating different issues related to Diasporas. Most of the studies emphasized on the influence and role of Diasporas in the social, economic, and political life of their country of origin. For example, Epstein and Heizler (2016), and Ullah (2018), studied the role of Diasporas in the transfer of knowledge, experiences, and technology to the home nation. Minto-Coy (2016), Constant and Zimmermann (2016), Newland and Patrick (2004), Wei-Y and Balasubramanyam (2006) look the economic role of Diasporas including remittances, growth and internationalization of business, and poverty reduction. Besides, studies by Adamson (2016), and Mirilovic (2018) investigate the political involvement of Diasporas in the politics of the country of origin.

Studies about African Diasporas which most of them similarly emphasized on their role in the socio-economic and political life of the continent have been conducted. Africans living abroad have been making an outstanding contribution to the social and political emancipation of their continent (Erghabe, 2007, p. 25). African Diasporas are becoming more obvious as substantial actors regarding their countries of origin. They have a great deal of ability and potential to positively impact their home communities (ADPC, 2016, p. 4). Their efforts are focused on civil society domains, including civic assignment, solidification of the capabilities and networks' organizational frameworks, and progressing community-based development, social liberation, grassroots political engagement, and the like (Mohamoud, 2009, p. 8). On the other side of the coin, the African diaspora's long-distance activities affect the dynamics of conflict in their home countries in both positive and negative ways (Mohamoud, 2006, p. 7).

The history of Ethiopian diaspora can be considered as a new phenomenon that emerged post 1970s. As per to the information from Ethiopian government sources, the number of Ethiopians living abroad is estimated over 3 million (Getahun, 2019, p.1). Ethiopian Diasporas are believed to be involved in the economic, social, and political aspect of the country. For example, Ethiopian diaspora who are permanently or semi-permanently living overseas and Ethiopian nationals transfer money to their country in the form of remittance (Chacko and Gebre, 2019, p. 495). Besides, they also play a substantial role in home conflicts through their substantial financial contributions, shaping the conflicts through media and controlling institutions where political tactics are discussed and leaderships and tactics are validated (Lyons, 2009, p. 594)

In addition to the studies on the role of diasporas in the socio-economic and political life their home county, studies had also been conducted regarding the role of Diasporas in home (Mari and

Baser(2020), Féron and Lefort (2019) and Shain (2002). Furthermore, there are also pre-existing investigations on how conflicts can be transported to the receiving countries, the de-territorialization of conflicts, and hosting nation's response, the mobilization process by Diasporas during conflicts in the country of origin, the diasporization of migrants as a result of home conflicts, and the intergroup relations among Diasporas.

Although, those various studies have been conducted regarding Diasporas, studies on the impact of homeland conflict on Diaspora communities are very limited and can be considered as the Skippy aspect of Diaspora scholarship. Consequently, the impact of home conflict on the mobilization and transformation of migrants identity and the inter-group relations more specifically to those who arrived before the conflict needs due attention. The impact of home conflicts on the mental well-being, and socio-economic life of Diasporas as well as on their Diasporic identity are either less discovered or understudied. Similarly, most of the studies about Ethiopian Diasporas emphasized on their impact on the political life of the country and their role on its socio-economic development.

To fill the empirical gap regarding the impact of home conflict on Diaspora community this study focuses on ethnic Tigrians in Germany and The Netherlands and emphasized on how conflict in the country of origin affects Diasporic identity transformation and intergroup relations with in the Diaspora setting particularly in response to conflict occurred in their country of origin after years of their migration. The Tigray war is a recent one that is believed to have various impacts on the Diaspora community due to the nature of the conflict. To the knowledge of the researcher, there are no research works on the impact of the conflict on the Tigrayan Diaspora community so far. Therefore, by considering the ethnic Tigrayan communities in Germany and The Netherlands, the study emphasized on the effect of Tigray war on the Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrays and their relations with other Ethiopian Diaspora communities in the countries of destination.

1.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.2.1. Main Objective

The main objective of the study is to investigate the socio-political impact of the Tigray War on the Tigrayan Diaspora communities in the Republic of Germany and The Netherlands.

1.2.2. Specific Objectives

1. To investigate the effects of the Tigray war on the Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrayan Diasporas.

2. To explore the social effect of the Tigray war, and the social interaction of the ethnic Tigrians with other Ethiopian Diaspora communities.
3. To scrutinize the war related factors that kept the Diaspora divided and/or united and how?

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How the conflict back home affects the Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrian Ethiopians?
2. How does the home conflict affect the social life of the ethnic Tigrians and their interaction with other Ethiopian Diaspora communities in Germany and The Netherlands?
3. What are the war related factors that kept the Diasporas divided and/or united? How?

1.4. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

1.4.1. Conflict De-Territorialization

Conflict de-territorialization is the enlargement of the area where domestic conflicts are fought (Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 376). Media, migration, as well as other actors are instrumental in de-territorializing the symbols, ideas, narratives linked to the conflicts in the country of origin. These can then be re-territorialized to fit the new contexts by several actors including political parties, transnational organizations, migrants, and Diasporic individuals and groups. Home conflict can be re-territorialized from the home nation to the various social connections in the hosting nation. This implies a non-territorial process that originates from the territorial event that degenerates to a modified territorial state (Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 376). In the de-territorialization of conflict, the modern information technologies are used as their main tools of their de-territorialization efforts (Voytic, 2020, p. 14). The flow of information that enables the narratives and symbols disassociate themselves from the actual location of the conflict are central to the processes of conflict de-territorialization (Voytic, 2023, p. 15). The concept de-territorialization is relevant and can be applied to the current study. Although the ethnic Tigrians are far from the war, they were highly connected to the war by de-territorializing it to their hosting nation. Hence, the concept can be used to look on how the conflict in their country of birth reshaped their identities, loyalties and sense of belonging through their extended presence in the conflict. It is useful to see how the war in Tigray (Ethiopia) affects and reshapes the previous group identity that leads to the internal divisions among the Ethiopian Diasporas. It can also be used to see how the differences among the Diasporas on the views regarding the causes, dynamics and justice of the conflict

can lead to the division among them. Furthermore, it will also be used to examine how the divisions among the Diasporas as a result of conflict de-territorialization disrupt the previously unified identity of the Ethiopian Diasporas.

1.4.2. Conflict Re-Territorialization

Conflict re-territorialization is the process of reimagining or acting on the attitude toward the conflict in relation to others in the current country of residence. Conflict re-territorialization is habitually interconnected with conflict importation and automatization. For Voytic, conflicts that have ethnic dimensions can re-territorialized into the group after it has been de-territorialized in the context of Diasporic individuals (Voytic, 2023, p. 16). The concepts of conflict transportation and conflict re-territorialization includes more than just the expansion of domestic conflicts into Diasporic contexts. Additionally, the two concepts also encompass the ways in which these transported conflicts depend on distinct actors and discourses and evolve their own dynamics (Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 376). In the context of diaspora setting, disputes can be transmitted in a variety of ways, including in daily life and at the institutional as well as political levels. High degree of endogamy, residing in different neighborhoods, and generally avoiding social interaction with members of the “other” Diaspora group are all manifestations of the widespread physical and social distancing among the Diaspora groups (Feron 2017, cited in Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 376). Occasionally, conflicts are taking place on a physical level, with violent outbursts usually happening during rival street protests or in times of conflicts among different ethnic or religious groups (Feron, 2013, cited in Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 376). Hence, the concept conflict re-territorialization is still relevant to the study. It will be used to investigate how the ethnic Tigrians not only brought the conflict to the country of destination but how they made the conflict to be embedded and localized to the new context where the Diaspora communities live. Besides, it can also be used to see how the Diaspora members identify themselves with in the hosting nation after the Tigray war. On the other hand, the concept of conflict re-territorialization can also be used to look at how the ethnic Tigrians develop new identity in response to the war and connect with other Diasporas sharing the same feeling and views.

1.5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

1.5.1. Social Movement Theory

In his article entitled “Mobilizing in transnational space: a social movement approach to the formation of Diasporas, Sokefeld propose the social movement theory to analyze the formation of Diaspora

through mobilization. He argue the concepts in the social movement theory can be applied to the study of Diaspora community. For Sokefeld Diasporic formation is not a natural and direct process that could happened right after migration but, it is the result of the processes of mobilization (Sokefeld, 2006, p. 272). The social movement framework is particularly useful to understand the mobilization that take place among Diasporas when they respond to critical events, at places of origin as well as in host communities. This is relevant if the Diaspora are seen as transnational imagined communities (ibid). A Diasporic community, then does not inevitably appear but is framed through the mobilization of co-ethics (Sokefeld, 2006, p. 269). He refers to Diasporas that did not emerge as a direct consequence of migration, but developed later in response to specific events that are unrelated to the original movements of migration. Identity groups are products of processes of mobilization. Then, Sokefeld proposed applying these ideas to the concept of Diaspora and suggested to define as imagined transnational communities. The assumption of a shared identity that unites people living dispersed in transnational space thereby becomes the central defining features of Diasporas. Rejecting ideas of migrant's natural rootedness and belonging to places of origin, he argued that Diaspora identity and the imagination of a Diaspora community is also an outcome of mobilization processes.

1.5.2. Large Group Identity, Chosen Trauma and Chosen Glory

The concepts of large group identity, chosen trauma and chosen glory come from Volkan's social group theory. The concepts can be used to analyze the study of Diaspora experiences in the country of destination in response to the conflict happened in the country of origin. For example Stein applies to the collective experience of the Jewish people in the Diaspora (Stein, 2014, p. 236). In this study the concepts are used to analyze the experience and mobilization of ethnic Tigrians in Germany and The Netherlands during the two years of war in Tigray region of Ethiopia. These concepts are discussed below as it has been cited in Stein's paper.

Large group identity

I found the concept of Large Group Identity as it can be applied to the current study. The Large Group Identity is used to see how the war waged against their ethnic group back home and the subsequent damage on their people made the ethnic Tigrian Ethiopians to be more dedicated to maintain their Tigrian identity as their group identity. It will further be used to see how the shared experiences about the sufferings resulted from the Tigray war of the families, friends and the ethnic group in the country of origin has been used to differentiate themselves from the other ethnic Ethiopian Diasporas. According to Volkan, large group identity is conceptualized as the subjective experience of many people

linked a feeling of their own peculiarity as suitable. The large group identity theory postulates that members of the stressed-out large group whose large-group identity is threatened or damaged become accurately conscious of their “we-ness” and quickly and forcefully differentiate their large-group identity from that of the “other,” or “enemy,” large group. The large group identity framework states that when “others” who belong to another large group identity humiliate or threaten a large group, the attacked population gives up their usual concerns and becomes dedicated to maintaining, repairing, and preserving their large group identity (Volkan, 2008, p. 3).

Chosen glories

Chosen glories are these mental representations passed into the next generations via the engagement of members in ritualistic ceremonies reminding past successful events. They are mostly transmitted through parents and teacher-child interactions (Stein, 2014, p. 238). It is therefore children of a large group are connected to each other and to the large group through such kind of chosen stories and consequently feel more confident when they are linked to these glories. The large group found it very crucial to pass the mental representation the chosen glories to their children as it can easily be understood its importance. Significant achievements in different aspects including religion, politics as well as success in battlefields often appear as chosen glories. In tough time political leaders usually amplify the representation of chosen glories with the aim of strengthening their large group’s identity and motivate its followers through the revitalization of the already existed shared large-group amplifier (Volkan, 2008. p. 8).

Chosen trauma

Volkan cited in Barbara, defined the concept chosen trauma as the catastrophe suffered by a group’s lineage and collectively memorized by members of the group (Barbara, 2021, p. 53). Although an agreement is simple and reached on the role of “chosen glories” in promoting large-group identity, the role of the opposite amplifier found more complex and contentious. The role of chosen trauma in amplifying the large-group identity is found to be stronger than the chosen glories (Stein, 2014, p. 239). The concept Chosen trauma can be conceptualized as the collective mental image of a historical event where a significant number of group experienced a devastating loss, humiliation, and powerlessness coming from the actions its adversaries. The main issue in chosen trauma is members of the victim strive to pass the images of their “wounded selves” and the mental tasks to be accomplished. These include reversing humiliation, helplessness as well as assignment of finishing the mourning process, when they there was no possibility to grieve their losses and inverse their pooled sufferings. This is commonly considered as Trans-generational transmission of trauma. After some time later the same historical event

mentioned in all these pictures and assignments, the collective memory of this event connects all of the members of the big group. Hence, the psychological representation of these events can be used as the main markers of identity or the amplifiers of the large-group identity (Volkan, 2008, p. 8). Hence, the concept chosen trauma has been used to examine how the ethnic Tigrians have used the traumatic event that they have experienced during the Tigray war to connect among themselves and develop a group identity.

1.6. Ethical Considerations

While conducting studies related to conflict and its impacts (psychological, financial, and social), there are a number of Ethical issues that a researcher should take into consideration. Hence, I as a researcher, I am aware of the Ethical issues that can possibly raise regarding the topic. The research was conducted after final approval from the ISS (International Institute of Social Studies) of Erasmus University Rotterdam. Until this stage, protecting the participants' rights and well-being was my priority; an informed consent was obtained from all participants; the confidentiality of their personal information was ensured, and I tried to respect cultural norms and minimize any potential harm or discomfort. I was actively engaged with the Diaspora community and complying with ethical guidelines that guide the research process and ensure that it is conducted with utmost care and responsibility.

1.7. Positionality

A war broke out in the Tigray region of Ethiopia in November 2020 that has resulted in both human and material destruction. I spent the whole period of the war in Tigray. Hence, I have immediately experienced the whole effects of the war, as every Tigrian did. It is obvious that people inside the region and those who were outside of the region experience the effects of the war differently. However, each of them could imagine and understand its effect in one or another way. As a result, despite being from a distance, I had information regarding the effects of the war on Tigrian Diaspora communities from media and relatives who were abroad during the wartime. Hence, my direct experiencing the effects of the war and little information about the possible effects of the war on the Diaspora community could influence the whole process of the research. However, the researcher tried to merely rely on the responses of the subjects under investigation. But sharing the same language, similar place, and the same experience, on the other hand, enabled the researcher to access the required data that other researchers may not.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Diaspora

The term Diaspora has been defined differently by different authors and organizations.¹ As a result there is no a commonly agreed definition of Diaspora. However, for this paper the definition provided by IOM and MPI in a recent handbook has been taken. As it is written in the handbook “Diaspora” is: “Emigrants and their descendants, who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still maintain affective and material ties to their countries of origin”.²

2.2. Emigration from Ethiopia

Emigration from Ethiopia can be relatively considered as a new Phenomenon of the 1970s. The main reasons for the outflow of people from Ethiopia were the two decades of fight and the significant exodus of Ethiopian refugees following the 1974 revolution. As it has been indicated by Bariagaber, during the stage entitled African refugee crisis, over one million Ethiopian refugees were be located in the nearby countries of Sudan and Kenya, and are statistically the largest in the globe (Bariagaber 1997, cited in Kushminder and Siegel, 2010, p. 2). The exile of Ethiopians to the rest of the world can be best assumed in terms of waves. They have emigrated in four waves where each wave has its own distinct features. Each of these waves of migration and their unique characteristics is summarized in the following table.

Table 1: Ethiopian Migration Waves

No	Wave	Period	Features
	First	Prior to 1970	Very small in number People affiliated to the monarchical system For professional purpose Returned home

¹ International Organization for Migration/Migration Policy Institute, Developing a Road Map for Engaging Diasporas in Development: A Handbook for Policymakers and Practitioners in Home and Host Countries (2012).

² Ibid, p. 15.

	Second	After 1974	Migrated because of the Red-Terror. Ethio-Eritrean conflict
	Third	1982-1991	For family Re-unification Catastrophic famine from 1984-85
	Fourth	Post 1991	Economic and Political reasons

Source: Compiled from Tesse, 2007; Terrazas, 2007; Berhanu and White, 2000; and Kuschminder and Siegel, 2010.

2.3. Ethiopian Diasporas

More than three million Ethiopians and people of Ethiopian decent are expected to live all over the world. Middle East is the famous destination for Ethiopian migrants constituting over one million immigrants. Over 600,000 Ethiopians also live in Africa and North America is on the third place as their destination where over 500,000 lives there. The rest of Ethiopians are spread across Europe, Australia, and Asia (Ethiopian Herald March 2017 cited in IOM, 2018, p. 2). Ethiopian Diasporas which are the largest of all the African Diasporas and mainly centered in the US and UK. They are very instrumental in sending remittances back home that are vital in meeting household subsistence and sustaining in time of shocks. Moreover, they are currently actively involved in the overall development processes of the country. Divergently it is believed to be that the Ethiopian Diaspora is the result of the political unrest of the 1970s and the 1980's drift of bulk refugees (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009, p. 4).

As it is indicated above, the Ethiopian Diaspora is the result of the four waves of migration from the country. Hence, the first stage was the one that has come about preceding to 1970, the emigrants were mainly elites. The second wave is resulted from the Dergue regime's Red Terror happened between 1974 and 1982. The Third wave that caused to the mounting of the Ethiopian Diasporas is made of people roamed to the west on the base of family reunion lasted from 1982 to 1991. The last wave that led to the birth of the Ethiopian Diaspora was those who fled the country owed to political suppression and ethnic fierceness (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009, p. 20). The entire figure of Ethiopian Diasporas across all OECD nations is projected to be 146,100. Out of this number the bulk of them be vested in in the US. It is followed by Canada, Italy, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and The Netherlands. 460,000 Ethiopian-descended people and 73,000 Ethiopian-born people exists in the US (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009, p. 20).

2.4. Migration to Germany

Emigration from Ethiopia to then West Germany has occurred in four waves. During the 1960's and 1970's many students moved for educational purpose and diplomats. After the military regime assumed power after the 1974's revolution, and in the event of Red Terror voluminous Ethiopians from diverse ethnic background fled the country to Germany. This accompanied by drought, famines and armed conflict across all ethnic regions of Ethiopia. In the 1980s drought and unsuccessful ethnic rebellion made the involuntary emigration of many Ethiopians and Eritreans from their country. In 1991, the Dergue regime was overthrown and a multiparty alliance formed by the TPLF, called EPRDF assumed power. Following the regime change many refugees and a number of former migrants particularly those who have been hosted in the adjoining countries returned. It was more evident after the adoption of the new FDRE constitution (Abye, 2004 cited in Warnecke, 2015, p. 11).

The data on migration in Germany is only available after the German-reunification. It should be noted the German statistics has been adjusted in Eritrea got independence as people those have come in to Germany from the now Eritrea were reckoned and registered as Eritreans. Approximately 80% of Ethiopians who were successful in obtaining asylum in Germany were essentially Eritreans (Bauer, 2004 cited Wornecke, 2015, p. 13). The German Federal Statistical office figure indicates that, there is a trend of in the number of registered Ethiopians residing in Germany reduce from 14,310 in 2001 to 10,115 in 2008, with 5,208 (51.5%) and 4,907 (49.5%), females and males respectively (German Federal Statistical Office, 2009). There are roughly 20,000 members of the Ethiopian Diasporas living in Germany. According to the WB (2008), Germany is placed as the 5th largest destination for the Ethiopian Diasporas (World Bank, 2008, p. 103). Frankfurt (Main) is the foremost pivot of the Ethiopian Diasporas in Germany which is a home to a good-sized number of Diaspora organizations and gathering spots including cafes and restaurants (Warnecke, 2010, p. 61). Besides, Cologne, Berlin, Nuremberg, Hanover, and Hamburg are cities where the largest Ethiopian communities stationed. As per the German micro census figures from 2013 (Destatis 2014c cited in Warnecke, 2015, p. 11)), roughly 16,000 Ethiopians resides in Germany. The number comprises around 10,980 citizens of Ethiopia and the remaining which is 5,000 are German citizens with an Ethiopian migration background (Ibid).

2.5. Migration from Ethiopia of The Netherlands

The migration of Ethiopians to The Netherlands is only a recent occurrence. Up to the late 1970s only a small number of Ethiopians reached The Netherlands predominantly for educational aims, but later as refugees and asylum seekers. Ethiopian asylum seekers instigated to land to The Netherlands in 1976 and the 1990 can be taken as the peak year (Van Heelsum, 2006, p. 4).

The foremost causes for their exodus during that period was, First, the forced migration of Ethiopians when the military regime assumed power in 1974, second, constituting the fresh cohort of migrants in the post 1991, mainly fled owing to the economic stagnation and drought in the late 1980s and 1990s. The third one is the migration of Ethiopians subsequent to the border conflict with Eritrea. Besides, in more recent times individuals who opposed to the government's authoritarian tendencies caused to migrate to The Netherlands. As it has been indicated above, education is the most common reason for the migration of Ethiopians to The Netherlands (Warnecke, 2010, p. 78). A study by Van Heelsum found that, a quarter of Ethiopian immigrants to The Netherlands come to study, most notably at the Institute for Social Studies and the Agricultural University of Wageningen (Van Heelsum, 2007, p. 4).

2.6. Diaspora and Conflict

Conflict and diaspora well correlated concepts in many ways. On one hand Diasporas can affect domestic conflict in a number of ways, and inversely can be impacted by conflict in their new country. Numerous investigations are in place showing for both circumstances. There are also a lot of aspects of them that sought thorough inquiries. Below few empirical studies will be reviewed to clearly grasp the problem. Vertovec, assert that it is clear that they are becoming an important actors of the international political sphere (Vertovic, cited in Regab, 2020, p. 4). In relation to this Regab, while acknowledging the role of Diasporas in conflict situations, debate on the nature and impact of Diaspora mobilization in conflict situation is in place. Consequently, the discussion regarding the issue focuses on various topics in different periods (Regab, 2020, p. 4).

Enquiry is mostly outstretched on whether Diasporas are to be seen as peacemakers who promote harmony and development in their countries of origin or as peace-wreckers. The next query concerning the relationship focuses on comprehending the dynamics of mobilization chiefly on

exploring the motives on the violent or moderate forms of mobilization by the Diasporas and instruments Diasporas used in time of mobilization. Given their negative engagement, a wide agreement is reached that Diasporas can incite conflict in a multiplicity of means (Regab, 2020, p. 4). The political dynamics of both their country settlement and country of birth determines the form, scope, and impact of Diaspora involvement in peace and conflict. Further, the stage at which peace-building or ongoing conflict is taking place in their home country is likewise imperative. Nevertheless, there can be weighty variances in the reasons and approaches to engage in home politics. The indulgent of the Diasporas as transnational non-state actors performing on a de-territorialized basis is overriding to comprehend how they organize and mobilize towards their sending nations and the motives after their engagement (Toivanen, and Baser, 2020, p. 4).

The already mentioned nature of Diaspora engagement implies that Diasporas frame actions and drives not only in their country of origin and settlement setting, but in how academicians termed as transnational space (Baubock and Faist, 2010, p. 23). Transnational space refers to a social space that surpasses national boundaries and includes the cross-border connections, activities, mobility, social ties, and emotional attachments, the group preserve and create with in the country of settlement, together toward their homeland and the same Diaspora communities that have settled abroad. The transnational space offers the Diaspora power to rally. This is principally apparent in the virtual space that Diaspora members' engagement to organize transnationally and obtain information regarding the political and cultural matters regarding their country of origin (Toivanen and Baser, 2020, p. 4).

Through their provision of political and financial support to numerous groups parting in conflicts Diasporas usually contribute to the dynamics of conflict (Regab, 2020, p. 4). For instance, the Albanian Diaspora in the west were instrumental in raising funds that led to strengthen the Kosovo Liberation Army's (KLA). Similarly, the Croatian Diaspora played a crucial role in making the world community behind the Croats in their conflict with the Croatian Serbs in the mid-1990's (Demmers, 2022, p. 86). Moreover, Armenian Diasporas in the US put pressure on the American government to cease its diplomatic relations with the Azerbaijani government. Further, they have also put their effort in making the Azerbaijani government stooping from assisting the American oil companies in obtaining drilling and exploitation contracts in that petroleum rich Caspian country aiming to minimize the chance that landlocked, resource-poor Armenia will face a long-term military threat from Azerbaijan (Demmers, 2022, p. 86). Additional most imperative Diasporas identified for their partaking in their country of origin are the Tamil Diasporas. Due to their active involvement in the political life of their country, they are

labelled as “insider-outsiders.” Despite they stay far from their state’s border, they vigorously take part in influencing the local political environment through the recent means of communications. Moreover, they also provide financial support; promote their allies back in the home nation and creatively utilizes their transnational presence and political networks (Vimalarajah, 2021, p. 8). Staying on the role of the Tamil Diasporas, Venogopal, indicate that, the Tamil Diasporas persist the chief strength of the ethno nationalism of the Tamils. This made the LTTE “to rise funds; obtain arms; and organize international advocacy (Venugopal, 2003, p. 23). Study by Pande also show that the LTTE succeeded to have a well-advanced system of fund raising where the mainstream of Tamil able to contribute on a regular base named ‘freedom fight’ in Sirilanka (Pande, 2016, p. 6). The LTTE created a global network of offices that enables it to collect both obligatory and voluntary financial contributions. More prominent examples are also found fund raisings in the Diaspora including Kurdistan Workers Party (PPK), the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and Palestinian engagements (Byman et al., 2001, p, 2). Kurdish Diasporas stayed also helpful in convincing politicians of the UK and Europe to backing the Kurdish movements in Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran (Tas, 2007, p. 13). The Eritrea and Croatian Diasporas are also known for their decisive part contribute in time of the war for independence or succession from their mother land and providing funds to the secessionist group’s rebellion movement. The regime in Eritrea even requested, Eritreans living abroad to send 2% of their monthly income to Eritrea in the post-independence period and during the war with Ethiopia (Hockenos, 2003; Fessehatzion, 2005 cited in Marianin et al., 2016, p. 2). The involvement of Diasporas goes beyond the political and financial support. For example, thousands of young Kurdish men and women have left London, Berlin, or Istanbul to fight for and support the Kurds in Turkey and Syria (Tas, 2017, p. 13).

2.7. Home Conflict and Its Impact On Diasporas

Regarding the impact of home conflict on Diaspora community, Feron and Voytic argue that depending on the parties involved in the conflict and the peculiar circumstances in both the country of origin and settlement, conflicts in the sending nation can activate the developments of diaspora formation in the country of settlement. For them this process is non-linear and this kind of Diaspora formation can occur both individually and collectively, transforming a migrant into a Diasporic person and enthused migrants to behave collectively. Continuing their argument they claim that this mobilization can lead to the authomization of conflict in the receiving nations commonly named as “conflict authomization”. Taking different case studies including their research work, Feran and Voytic separate amongst the narratives, actors, and spaces of Diaspora initiation and enlistment within the structure of conflict de-

territorialization (Feron and Voytic, 2021, p. 210) which I will use as a conceptual framework to discuss the findings of my research. Disputes in the country of origin rouse migrant people to their roots, sparking a curiosity in dynamically learning their past and connect with people of the same background (Ibid, 2021, p. 211). Statistical evidence proposes that there is probability of persisting the home conflicts in the country of settlement after some years of migration. Nevertheless, as has been clarified by Feron and Voyti this process has not yet been fully conceptualized, despite that fact that there is fragmentary first-hand indication that conflicts in the migrants' home countries can ignite Diasporas long after migration by forcing migrants to align their mobilization and discourse with events there (Feron and Voytic, 2020, p. 211). War in the country of origin is able to inspire existing Diasporas to take action and create new, recognized organizations. The availability of information about the homeland makes events there, suddenly tangible and real, which de-territorialized the conflict from its immediate location. Following that, it can re-territorialize itself in the Diaspora on a variety of levels, including micro and organizational (Voytic, 2020, p. 32).

Tensions rooted in the homeland can be de-territorialized to the country of settlement and commonly expressed in the form of clashes among innumerable groups of the Diaspora. Commonly, fierce interactions get due attention than the latent one. Violent interactions unlike the latent one, can lead to the stigmatization of one group by the other and supplementary make topics of immigration and integration point of discussion in the receiving nations (Toivanen and Baser, 2020, p. 7). Many cases are in place showing the clash among Diaspora groups in the country of destination due the conflicts back home. Say, in 2022 a violent fight broke out in Leicester city between Muslim and Hindu men groups. Similar riots materialized in different British cities such as Bradford. Those who participated in these violent conflicts are arrested and an inquiry from police is still on board (Allen, 2022, cited in Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 375). Reports from the incidents specify that, action such as setting fire on flags or causing damage to mosques and temples have taken by either group (Murray et al, 2022 cited in Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 375). Clashes between the Kurdish Diasporas has also been seen. Three Kurdish Diaspora members who were active in the Kurdish movement were killed by the far-right extremist attack on a largely Kurdish locality in Paris. The protest changed into violent conflict when the Turkish ultranationalist men disrupted the rally and aggravated the crowd by waving symbols compartment the name of a particular nationalist group in Turkey (Broomfield, 2022, cited in Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 375). Despite the relations characterized by conflict they transported from the country of origin, there are also cases where a group of Diasporas attempting to address their disputes in the country of settlement via their civil organizations, parliaments, protests, or even the back street of migrant-

populated districts. Toivanen and Baser showed such types of nonviolent resolving of disparities among the Tamil and Sinhalese groups in Canada, Greek Cypriots in London and the Serbs and Croats in Australia (Toivanen and Baser, 2020, p. 8).

The success of Diaspora involvement in domestic and host nations politics is determined by their extent of freedom to form their own civil society groups, associations, or similar organizations, over and above how much latitude the receiving states offers them to prompt their own program (Shain and Barth, 2003, p. 46). The impact of Diaspora activism and mobilization is further predisposed by the connections among the home and host state governments. The relationship the two countries may be strained if the home country wishes to slow down or accelerate Diaspora formation of a specific group in the country of settlement (Toivanen and Baser, 2020, p.6).

2.8. Hosting Countries Response To Diaspora Conflict

For Shain and Barth, to mobilize the diaspora and promote engagements with the homeland, the diaspora's relationship with the host nation is key (Shain and Barth, 2003, p. 463). The enabling situation in the host nation, particularly the institutional and political ones, are among the utmost and weighty factors affecting the level of diaspora mobilization (Sökefeld, 2006, p. 2069). The success of Diasporas engagement in the political life of both country of origin and destination is determined by the nature and extent of space that the host nations afford to the Diasporas community to express their own agenda plus their freedom to organize their own civil society groups, and associations. Besides, Diasporas significance as a foreign policy possessions or accountability in the eyes of the country of origin also indomitable on how much the country of settlement permits the Diaspora group to exert sway (Shain and Barth, 2003, p. 463).

In the discussion concerning the destination countries response to the action of the Diasporas, Three slants are identified that the countries of settlement could follow towards the activism of Diasporas in sending nations. There are countries following enabling approach but others also use passive and hindering approaches. In point of fact, those Diasporas residing in country of settlement providing an enabling space and atmosphere will have a great opportunity to make a difference in their countries of birth. One example here is the Kurdish Diasporas in Sweden, through their vigorous advocacy and lobbying efforts significantly contributed to increasing awareness of the poor human rights conditions facing the Kurds in the Arab world. However, other case also show that the hosting nations hindering the mobilization and activism of the Diaspora. Mostly raised of such happening is, the LLTE,

who have been able to mobilize Diaspora members to the point where they have a direct impact on the conflict in Sri Lanka. Both the UN in 2001, and the EU in 2002 designated the LTTE as a “terrorist organization” (Potters, 2010, p. 267). When Diasporas movement lack the political thumb to be taken seriously or are unable to raise sensitive issues, the hosting nation could refuse to provide them any attention. The way the hosting nation perceive the Diasporas is fundamentally influenced by the country of origin and hosting nation’s overall relations. Moreover, the relationships among the governments of the home and host nations impacts the effects of Diaspora activism and mobilization. In time when the home country try to stoppage the actions and mobilization Diasporas groups in the country of destination, their relations could be in trouble. Hence, it has been argued that both the home and hosting nations should recognize Diasporas as important actors with their own agency (Toivanen and Baser, 2020, p. 6).

2.9. Ethiopian Diasporas and Home Politics

Diasporas have been playing a significant role in the politics of their country of origin. In the contemporary period their influence become more crucial due to the advancement in communication and technology (Hanna, 2021, p. 13). As it has been stated above Ethiopians live in almost all parts of the world and formed one of the largest African Diaspora communities. The Ethiopian Diaspora has established a multitude of groups, organizations, radio and television shows, and media outlets to connect and engage people in Ethiopia (Lyons, 2007, p, 536). However, unlike this reality, a division among them is evident and very common. Political beliefs and ethnic background can be regarded as the main dividing factors of the Ethiopian Diasporas. But, it is also important to consider there are more dividing factors on top of them (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009, p. 21).

The Ethiopian Diasporas have been active in participating in the social, and economic affairs their country. They were also equally actively engaged in the political life of the country. The political participation of the Ethiopian Diasporas become very crucial and visible during the 2005 election which can be taken their high-level engagement. During the 2005 national election, the Diaspora supported the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD), one of the opposition groups to the EPRDF. Members of the opposition travelled to North America and Europe to participate in the political discourse with the Diaspora members. One of the significant manifestations of their participation was, the Diaspora encouraged and supported the CUD to boycott the result of the election. However, 131 CUD members were accused of treason and genocide by the then government in power. EPRDF claim that, the conflict following the 2005 election was an act of extremism which is initiated by individuals who belong to the

Diaspora (Lyons, 2007, p. 542). 17 members of the Diaspora were charged with treason and genocide that shows the transnational connection of the CUD. As an extension of its measure the Ethiopian government closed Media owned by the opposition that are based abroad. Beyond their active engagement in the political discourse, they were also lobbying the US Congress, the EU and the WB, and also raise fund to support the opposition inside the country. Due to their active support therefore, the Ethiopian Diasporas the Ethiopian Democracy and Accountability Act of 2007 was passed. Besides, they were also active in testifying before the US congress, and creating and circulating petitions as well as protests and demonstrations throughout the globe have been used as a motivation for the global Diaspora's campaign (Lyons, 2007, p. 543). The Ethiopian Diaspora have increasingly become a key element in the national politics. In situations where the national debates are broadcast on media platforms to include the Diaspora, they have attained a transnational aspect. It is clear that Ethiopian diaspora citizens are engaged in the country's politics. Members of the diaspora community also become influential figures, and many of them have powerful voices in the national politics. Moreover, the Diasporas were providing financial support to the opposition parties' activities in Ethiopia (Lyons, 2007, p. 539).

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHOD AND METHODS

3.1. Research Approach and Design

The research is based on a qualitative approach. Qualitative approach to research is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions, and behavior (Kothari, 2004). As the main objective of the research is to know about the opinions and experiences regarding the impact of the Tigray war on the Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrayans and their social relations with other Ethiopians, qualitative research approach is an appropriate to it. The participants of the research project were asked to explain the impact of the Tigray war in their Diasporic identity, their relations or interactions with other Ethiopian Diaspora communities, as well as the factors that made the Ethiopian Diasporas divide and/or united. Hence, these questions can be better addressed through qualitative research approach than quantitative one. The study is a case study type of research design which entails the detailed exploration and analysis of a single or specific case i.e., the impact of home conflict on Diasporic identity, and intergroup relations as well as factors that made Diasporas divide and/or united. Case study is based on intensive study of a comparatively fewer persons (Singh, 2006).

3.2. Data Sources and Tools of Data Collection

The study basically relied on primary source. The data collected from the sample respondents were used as a primary source of data. Semi-structured interview was used as instrument or tool of data collection. Interview was conducted with ethnic Tigrayans residing in six cities found in both in Germany and The Netherlands.

3.3. Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

Regarding to the sample size, 15 Diaspora community members were part of the interview. The subjects of the study are ethnic Tigrayans living in Germany and The Netherlands. Germany was chosen for three basic reasons. First, Germany hosts the majority of the Tigrayan Diaspora community in the European Union and is in second place in Europe next to England. Second, there are different forms of associations based on Ethnic identity that was helpful to get access to the Tigrayan Diaspora community members in Germany. Third, during the wartime, the Tigrayan Diaspora community in Germany was among the most active Diaspora members in protesting and exposing all the injustice that have been committed to their people back home and therefore believed to be that the

Tigrians in Germany could better know about the overall impact of the war. Besides, The Netherlands is also selected because I am currently living in The Netherlands and was easy to find participants to my interview. On top of that, it has been used to as a comparative analysis. This approach was helpful to the researcher to compare the impact of homeland conflict and the response to it among countries hosting numerous Diasporas and fewer numbers.

To study a subject with small in number or with a specific characteristic from the majority of the population, snowball sampling is a suitable sampling technique. The Tigrian Diaspora community members are a small number of populations living outside of their country of origin. Due to this fact, snowball technique was used as sampling technique. Snowball sampling is the process of selecting a sample using networks. To start with, a few individuals in a group or organization are selected and the required information is collected from them. They are then asked to identify other people in the group or organization, and the people selected by them become a part of the sample. This process is continued until the required number, or a saturation point is reached, in terms of the information being sought (Kumar, 2011).

3.4. Method of Data Analysis

A qualitative method of data analysis was used to analyze the data gathered using the tool of data collection stated above. The qualitative method involves developing and applying coding, identifying themes, patterns, and relationships, and summarizing the data. To be precise data from the interviews was analyzed using a thematic approach. Thematic analysis is a way of analyzing empirical data by organizing the data into common or major themes (Quinn & Cochran, 2002). In this research paper, different labels were developed and were used to categorize and organize data into themes and patterns. I have used different colors as labels (codes) and were assigned to phrases that represents important themes in the data. Next to that, data were categorized and organized according using the colors then themes were identified in a way suitable for analysis. After searching for commonality, patterns and relationships among the data, three themes were identified. Lastly, these identified themes were thematically analyzed using the identified concepts and theories developed.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter the findings from the field work are presented and discussed. After data were collected, they were coded then followed by development of themes and patterns. Consequently, the findings are discussed using different concepts and theories which are relevant to address the questions posed in chapter one.

4.1. Who are “WE”? Why is this all on “US”?

The first question that was presented to the participants of the interview was: Does the conflict in the Tigray region of Ethiopia affect their Diasporic identity? Accordingly, almost all the interviewees have replied that the conflict has brought a change in their Diasporic identity. Before the war, they were thinking and considered themselves as Ethiopian Diasporas. However, during and after the war, their Diasporic identity has been changed. These days they prefer to be considered and identified, themselves as Tigrian Diasporas rather than Ethiopian Diasporas. The effect of the war on their Diasporic identity has been explained by one of the interviewees from Germany as follows:

“I was born in Addis³, and never visit Tigray. In my childhood time all my friends were from different ethnic groups. I have migrated to Germany 20 years ago. Since my arrival to Germany, I was connected to Ethiopian Diasporas irrespective of their ethnic background. But, after the Tigray war everything has changed. My identity has been completely changed, and strongly connected to my Tigrian fellows. All actions during the war both at home and here made me to be aware of my ethnic background. Now a days I cut all my relations with other Ethiopian Diasporas. I want to be considered as Tigrian Diaspora. People ask me where I come from, and I reply “ich komme aus” Tigray. And I explain to them Tigray is a nation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. I have two kids; I also teach them to be aware of their Tigrian ethnic background.” (Almaz, Female).

³ Addis is the short name for the capital city of Ethiopia, Adiss Abeba

She also added

“I do not speak “Tigrigna”⁴ before the war but, now I learn how to speak the language. I am also insisting my kids to learn the language. I am now happy with my Tigrayan Diaspora community.”(Almaz, Female)

Another interviewee from The Netherlands has explained his view as follows:

“In the pre-war time I considered myself as Ethiopian Diaspora, or as an Ethiopian who lives abroad. As an Ethiopian Diaspora with Tigrayan background. But, after the war although I hold Ethiopian passport and have Ethiopian citizenship, I feel as only Tigrayan and Tigrayan. I consider Ethiopia as traitor. Ethiopians who were working with us, who have been sharing meal and drinking with us, stood against us, they stood against our “race” and identity from no real ground and due to propaganda and false political narratives. Hence now a days, I think and considered myself as a Tigrayan Diaspora.” (Micheale, Male).

The ethnic Tigrayan Ethiopians are performing activities that will make them to be identified as they are different by outsiders. In Germany, they have organized around nine Orthodox churches. Eight of them got recognition and started providing services to the ethnic Tigrayan Ethiopians. Besides, they have started to organize cultural and sporting festivals of their own. The participants of the interview have explained that although Tigray is still found on the map of Ethiopia, they feel like they are Tigrayan Diasporas and behave as if they have independent state. The ethnic Tigrayans mobilized using diverse mechanisms in response to the war that made them conscious about their roots and develop a new identity.

A follow-up question was asked to know the conflict-related factors that made them to feel different or forced them to develop new Diasporic identity. Both the actions of the federal government and the public in the country of origin and the views, stand, and actions of the Ethiopian Diasporas of other ethnic groups in the country of destination during the Tigray war were raised as the main factors. For them in the country of origin, a war was waged on their people because of their ethnic background, which has resulted in their trauma and stress. During the two years of conflict, thousands of people have been killed, hundreds of women were raped, and houses were looted. Moreover, in the country of destination, Ethiopian Diasporas supported the war, and they were on the side of the federal government and its allies. They support the war and the federal government,

⁴ It is a language spoken in Tigray region of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

both financially and diplomatically. Besides, the Ethiopian Diasporas did not show any solidarity with them or feeling about the suffering of their people in the country of origin.

Numerous methods were used by the ethnic Tigrrians to make their like-minded people informed about what was really happening against their people in the country of origin. There were many online platforms where they share information and discussed the developments regarding the war, both inside Ethiopia and abroad. Television and radio stations were also established abroad, which were very crucial in updating the Diaspora community about the war. These all activities were instrumental in mobilizing the Diaspora and making the ethnic Tigrrians conscious about their roots, that has resulted to the development of new Diasporic identity.

Departing from the findings above, it can be said that there is a change in the Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrrian Ethiopians following the war in the country of origin. The study demonstrates a positive correlation between Diasporic identity of immigrants and conflict in the country of origin. It supports the theory suggesting conflict in the country of origin can bring a change in the Diasporic identity of migrants in their country of settlement. In this regard, Feron and Baser, argue that conflict of any kind, be it active or dormant, would affect the development of Diasporic identity and inter-community interactions (Feron and Baser, 2003, p. 376). Similarly, due to the war and the subsequent results of it, there is a development of new identity among the ethnic Tigrrians. Following the war, the ethnic Tigrrians have been working towards the development of new Diasporic identity. The two years' war in the country of origin that has resulted in the suffering their people have caused them to be aware of their ethnic background and mobilize to develop a new identity. The Tigrrians in Germany and The Netherlands tried to establish their own churches, organized sport festivals, and concerts, as well as Diaspora community associations that can be considered markers of group identity. From this, it can be said that the ethnic Tigrrians are working to establish or develop some elements of Diasporic identity that differentiate them from other Ethiopian Diasporas. The conflict in the country of origin is de-territorialized to the country of destination. The Tigrrian Diasporas have used different methods to mobilize their like-minded individuals in response to the conflict in the country of origin and develop a new Diasporic identity. They have used televisions, social media and zoom meetings to make them conscious about what was happening to their people back home during the war. These mechanisms played a significant role in informing the Diasporas about the situation in the country of origin and making them aware of their roots. Related to this, Voytic stated that media and informational technologies are crucial instruments used by actors to de-

territorialize symbols, ideas, narratives, and beliefs related to the conflict in the homeland (Voytic, 2023, p. 15).

The result can also indicate that Diasporic identity can be developed after years of migration. The finding supports the social movement theory that argues the development of Diaspora identity is not simply a natural and inevitable result of migration, but a historical contingency that frequently developed out of mobilization in response to specific critical events. The current study showed that the ethnic Tigrrians maintained their Ethiopian Diasporic identity and were considering themselves as Ethiopian Diasporas before the Tigray war. However, the war that has occurred after years of migration has completely changed their identity and made them to strongly connect to the people from the same ethnic background. Besides, children born to the ethnic Tigrrians also associate themselves with people from the same ethnic group. This finding aligned with the larger group identity that claims conflict in the country of origin could intensify the collective experience and trauma around ethnicity promoted the in-group connection among the same group, in our case, the ethnic Tigrrian Ethiopians. Moreover, it can also indicate that conflict on the country of origin does not only affect the identity of the first generation migrants but makes second-generation migrants aware and search for their identity. Usually, studies on the correlation between Diasporas and home conflict mostly focuses on the pre-existing Diasporas. There is ample empirical evidence showing conflict-generated Diasporas can sustain conflict in their country of settlement after years of migration. However, evidence is lacking on whether conflicts in the country of origin can lead to the formation of a new Diasporic identity after years of their migration, as it is also suggested by Feron and Voytic (Feron and Voytic, 2020, p. 211). Feron and Voytic argue that there is scattered empirical evidence with regard the issue and they urge the need for a thorough investigation (Ibid). There are some documented examples of such change of the identity of Diasporic identity after years of migration. For instance, unlike to their pre-migration time, migrants originated from the Azad Kashmir identified themselves as Kashmiri Diasporas as a result of the 1989 Kashmir insurrection. Another example is the 1984 'Blue Star' action by the Indian military over the pre-eminent hajj sites of Sikhism, the Golden Temple in Amritsar lead to the emergence of the Sikh Diaspora (Axel, 2001). Similarly, the data from the current paper has also shown the ethnic Tigrrians reclaim and reshape a new identity in response the Tigray war. The study result support the findings by Feron and Voytic that has indicated the emergence of Diasporic identity as a result of conflict de-territorialization can lead to specific discourses as well as forms of Diasporic mobilization (Feron and Voytic, 2020, p. 212). The study result therefore can contribute to

fill the gap on whether home conflicts can be de-territorialized to the country of destination and lead to the formation of new Diasporic identity after years of migration.

According to Feron and voytic, the Diasporic processes can be happen at a collective and individual level. Correspondingly, the data from the interview has shown that the Tigrian development of new Diasporic identity was at a collective and individual level. Collectively, they tried to organize churches and arrange cultural and sporting festivals which are the shared markers of identity. At the individual level, those who had never spoken the language of their ethnicity have been trying to learn the language. Parents also trigger and encourage their children to be sensitive and aware of their roots. Besides, they have been working to teach the language to their kids. Hence, these findings support the theoretical assumption that states, Diasporic identity is not a static but developed as a processes and can happen at a collective and individual level (Feron and Voytic, 2020, p. 210). Furthermore, Feron and Voytic also argue that, Diasporic identity formation is not a direct and forward process that can happen at collective and individual level, but it is a processes where a migrant can be bowed into Diasporic individual and those individuals correspondingly mobilize for shared action (Feron and Voytic, 2021, p. 210).

Moreover, the data indicated that, the ethnic Tigrrians in the two countries of destination have developed different elements that identify them from other Ethiopians. These elements are intended to use as an identification and recognition of the ethnic Tigrrians by others or outsiders. As one interviewee from Germany indicated, they are acting as having an independent state and want to be recognized in that way. Unlike the pre-war time, they are being served in an independent orthodox church, organizing their own sport tournaments and cultural festivals. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church was the main bonding element among the Ethiopian Diasporas for years. Elements that bonded the Ethiopian Diasporas are getting less importance and replaced by other elements that lead to the development of new Diasporic identity that will be shared by a new subset, in our case the ethnic Tigrrians.

Both factors in the countries of destination and origin has resulted in the mobilization of the ethnic Tigrrians. The actions of Ethiopian Diasporas of other ethnic groups and their stand towards the war back home made the ethnic Tigrrians to feel they are different. This could imply the ethnic Tigrrians become conscious about the need to connect with the same like-minded people. Taking different case studies including their research work entitled “Towards a theory of diaspora formation through conflict de-territorialization”, Feron and Voytic, argue that conflicts in the country of birth

can make immigrants to be aware of their root that subsequently resulted in making them conscious of their origin and the importance of linking themselves with the like-minded people (Feron and Voytic, 2021, p. 212).

On the other hand, the effects of the war in the country of origin trigger the ethnic Tigrrians to share the same feeling. As reports from different media and international organizations and media reports show, during the wartime many have been killed, disappeared and rape has been used as a weapon of war. Many ethnic Tigrrian Diasporas have been receiving the daily news and developments of the war through different means of communication. The region was encircled and remained under almost total blockage by the allied forces for about two years. During the active war and the consequent blockade, the ethnic Tigrrian residing abroad were worried and developed trauma and stress. These all traumas and stress were shared by the ethnic Tigrrians everywhere and brought them together. This finding therefore supports the concepts of “large group identity”, “Chosen glories” and “chosen trauma” developed by Vamik Volkan in his social group theory. Howard Stein has applied the concepts to the collective experiences of the Jewish people. Similarly, I also argue that, the concepts of large group identity, chosen trauma and chosen glory can be applied to the collective experience of the ethnic Tigrrians living in Germany and The Netherlands during the two years’ war in their country of origin. According to Volkan, large group identity is conceptualized as the subjective experience of many people interrelated to an emotion of their own uniqueness as fit (Volkan, 2008, p. 3). The large group identity framework states that when “others” who belong to another large group identity humiliate or threaten a large group, the attacked population gives up their usual concerns and becomes dedicated to maintaining, repairing, and preserving their large group identity. The large group identity theory further postulates members of the stressed-out large group whose large-group identity is threatened or damaged become accurately conscious of their “we-ness” and quickly and forcefully differentiate their large-group identity from that of the “other,” or “enemy,” large group. Similarly, the ethnic Tigrrians who believe they are attacked by the Ethiopians develop a distinction between “we” and “they”. “A Chosen trauma, on the other hand, is a shared mental representation of an event in a large group’s history in which the group suffered a catastrophic loss, humiliation, and helplessness at the hands of its enemies”. The ethnic Tigrrians shared the suffering of their people during the two years’ war in their country of origin and used this shard experience to mobilize them. Hence, it made them to be connected to each other. They come together and strive to disclose the impact of the war on their people and influence the world governments. But it is important to be mindful that the ethnic

Tigrians had a history of strong connections to each other even before the war. The main reason behind could still be the suffering of the people of Tigray in the seventeen years of war against the Dergue regime, which still goes with the concept of chosen trauma. During the time of armed struggle for self-determination, the ethnic Tigrians suffered a lot. Hence, the ethnic Tigrians living abroad become more conscious about the roots and strongly connected among themselves to help their people and support the struggle. However, that self-identification as Tigrian Diasporas was not as strong and solid as the current study shows. In contrast to that period, recently the ethnic Tigrians are acting like a different Diaspora group with distinct characteristics. Hence, from this finding, it can be said that in both cases the chosen trauma has played more important role in connecting the ethnic Tigrians. The ethnic Tigrians also shared a history of pride, as they are considered to be the center of the Aksumite civilization among the ancient world civilizations. Besides, they also believed that they played a significant role in building the state of Ethiopia. Both are well aligned with the concept of chosen glory. However, the connection created by the suffering of their people is found to be more important than their history of pride. Therefore, the finding supports the claim by Stein that chosen trauma is a stronger identity marker and large group amplifier than the chosen glory (Stein, 2014, p. 242).

4.2. Beyond The Soil Where It Is Fought! We Are No More Friends And The Same, The Bond Between Us Is Rocked!

To address the second research question, the participants were asked to explain their current social relations or interactions with other Ethiopian Diasporas. To clearly see over the dynamics of their interactions, they were further asked to compare their interactions before and after the war. Consequently, the data indicated that the relation of the ethnic Tigrian Diasporas with other Ethiopian Diasporas is completely changed after the war. They explained that, before the war, their interaction can be considered as normal and good. Many ethnic Tigrians had friends from other ethnic groups of the Ethiopian Diasporas. They have been also participating in social gatherings such as baptism, engagement, wedding, graduation, and funeral ceremonies. Besides, they were also active in various sports and cultural festivals organized by Ethiopian Diasporas in their respective countries of destination. They have been participating in events organized during the summer seasons. Moreover, they have explained that, they were invited in concerts organized by the Ethiopian Diasporas where artists from Ethiopia were performing. During that time, the ethnic Tigrians, who were considered themselves as Ethiopian Diasporas, were actively participating in such kind of events. Besides, before

the war, they were members and active participants in Diaspora based organizations, and associations. The Tigrians were also known for their participation in different events organized by the Ethiopian Embassies and consulates. One example raised by most of the participants was their active participation in buying a bond arranged by the Ethiopian government to build the great renaissance dam (GRE). The ethnic Tigrians were also active in mobilizing the Ethiopian Diasporas to buy the bond. They were also present themselves in various events organized to support their country of origin. However, after the war all these interactions and activities are completely changed. Most of the Tigrarian Diasporas cut their relations and connections with other Ethiopian Diasporas. Many people have cut their friendship with other Ethiopians. Unlike the pre-war time, the ethnic Tigrians now consider their participation in different activities organized by the Diasporas community to support their country as working against their people back home.

An interviewee from The Netherlands explained the current social interaction with the Ethiopian Diasporas as follows:

“After the war I do not considered Ethiopians as my friends and people with whom I will live. It is not the same feeling with the pre-war time. All actions and social relations are not as they were. I would prefer to approach other people who do not share things in common with me over Ethiopians. In the pre-war time when I find any Ethiopian on the street, I fell as I met my brother, but after the war I feel nothing. I want to distance myself from “them”.” (Zenebe, Male).

Another interviewee also explained as follows

“Various events are organized by Ethiopian community here in The Netherlands as well as in Europe. But I never go to such events. I do not have any appetite to join them. I do not want to see myself in such arrangements. When I go and attend, it will make me to remember all the crimes and attacks on my people. I think like they are killers of my mother, father, sister and generally the people of Tigray. Hence I do not have any appetite and moral to go there. Almost all my connections are cut”. (Leake, Male).

A female interviewee from Germany has also replied as follows:

“They felt nothing when artilleries were raining on our people, when drones were killing innocent people. They never asked me except one friend, despite our longtime relations here. I live near Hamburg, and I often meet Ethiopians inside the train and also in my workplace and currently they pretend as nothing has happened. They want to greet me. This makes me even more to feel bad. For me it is almost done, and I do not want to have any kind of relations, as friends and people whom I knew” (Almaz, Female).

Although the majority of the ethnic Tigrians cut their relations with other Ethiopians, there are some Tigrians who still maintain their interaction even after the war. They present their reasons for sustaining their relationship because those Ethiopians were supporting the Tigrians cause and stand on their side during their difficult time or the war period. One participant of the interview put the case in the following way:

“Although I reduce my contact with many Ethiopians, I did not completely cut my interaction with all of them. I still keep my friendship with some Ethiopians and maintain my social interaction. For example, recently I was invited to two wedding ceremonies of Ethiopian couples and attended the ceremony. There were some people who were opposing the war in Tigray and share our pain during that unforgettable time. I know some friends who stand with the people of Tigray. They were saying, we are people, and we stand with people despite the politics. I mostly live peacefully with anybody. I do not approach the majority but, I still have some friends” (Leake, Male).

Another interviewee also added that, the interaction between the Tigrian and Ethiopian Diasporas is almost zero at community level. But, at individual level there are still some interactions among them. He put his idea in the following way:

“I would say it is not totally collapsed; it obviously become very weak. I personally do not want to participate in the activities of the Ethiopian Diasporas. But, you find individuals, here you do not find many people as you can find in your country. Then you try to approach and create relation with any “Habesha” you meet. To change your life and to share information. I have some contact with some Ethiopians but, I do not approach them confidently as it was before. We can share ideas and take tea together.”(Berhanu, Male).

Considering the current weak relations among the Ethiopian Diasporas in their respective country of settlement, some participants raised the importance of making peace among the Diasporas. They said despite the destructions and losses due to the war, there is a need to restore relation among

the Ethiopians. In this regard, they suggest that religious leaders should play an important role. They also pointed out that they can work if an assignment is given to them. But they emphasized making peace in the country of origin as an important step to restore the peaceful relations among the Ethiopian Diasporas.

Some of the research participants have also stated the division among the Ethiopian Diasporas is not started only after the Tigray war. The relations among the Ethiopian Diasporas have been impacted by the regimes in the country of origin. Even before the recent war, there were a clear difference among the Ethiopian Diasporas. Especially in the post 1991 period these differences were widened. There was a clear divergence among them regarding the federal arrangements introduced by EPRDF in 1995. Some of the Ethiopian Diasporas, which included the ethnic Tigrians and the Oromos, support the federal arrangement and self-governance of the regional states. On the other hand, there are also some groups who oppose the Ethnic-based federal arrangement and consider it a threat to the historic nation of Ethiopia. One participant from Germany explained about the pre-period relations as follows:

“We had a difference among us even before the Tigray war. Some of the Ethiopian Diasporas associate us with the government in power. They claim that, we are responsible to the problems created by the EPRDF that ruled the country for twenty seven years” (Hadush, Male).

The above findings can indicate that there is a significant transformation in the social cohesion within in the Diaspora group where ethnic groups from the same country of birth are distancing from one another, particularly at community levels. Conflicts in the country of origin activate strong group identity that make migrants to connect more with people of the same roots. While the war intensified, the in-group interactions among the ethnic Tigrians but led to the distancing from other ethnic Ethiopian Diaspora communities. The finding goes with the concept of chosen trauma, where the ethnic Tigrians commonly remembered the shared suffering of their people back home that connected them together. Consequently, the participation in social gatherings and events with other Ethiopians can considered by the ethnic Tigrians as an act of disloyalty and creates a feeling of discomfort among the ethnic Tigrians. Hence, the collective memory among the ethnic Tigrian about the suffering of their ethnic group back home made them to cut the social connection. The finding can also show home politics, particularly conflict can significantly impact the relations among the Diasporas. On the

other hand, the involvement of the ethnic Tigrians in activities organized by the Ethiopian government and the Ethiopia Diasporas is considered as supporting the government actions against their people. Hence, from the finding, it can be concluded that, the social relations among the Ethiopian Diasporas is weaker at community level than the individual level, where there are signs of maintaining of social interaction at the individual level. There were differences among individuals from other ethnic Ethiopian Diasporas in their view towards homeland conflict.

The identity marker connecting the Ethiopian Diaspora were smashed by the war. These elements are currently losing their significance as markers of solidarity. The bonding elements are challenged and have lost their significance as a result of new events in the country of origin. From this, it can be said that, any development in the country of origin can rock the main bonding elements in the Diaspora setting that will result in weakening the relations of the pre-existing Diasporas.

While discussing the social relations and solidarity among the Ethiopian Diasporas, I found the importance of reviewing their previous relations. The Ethiopian Diasporas are among the largest groups of Diasporas in Africa. However, Fransen and Kuschminder indicated that they have been historically divided. Despite the fact that other factors have been identified as the reasons for their split, their political stance and ethnic background are thought to be the primary dividing factors (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009, p. 21). This claim is supported by the current study where the Tigray war and the ongoing conflict in Ethiopia has created a huge rift among the Diasporas in their country of settlement. In line with this Lyons, taking the Ethiopian Diasporas in Washington DC where high number of Ethiopian Diasporas live as a case study, found that the Ethiopian community are extremely polarized. The study shows as there were different subsets, “who would go to different restaurants, belong to different churches, different community associations.” For example the ethnic Oromo Ethiopians do not want to be part of the Ethiopian community associations (Lyons, 2003) which is similar with the finding of this study where the ethnic Tigrians would have nothing to do with the Ethiopian community associations in Germany and The Netherlands. Most of the Oromos consider Ethiopia as an empire that had oppressed the Oromo people (Ibid). Concomitantly, one interviewee from The Netherlands has indicated that he considers Ethiopia is a traitor nation that kills its people.

4.3. No Empathy Here and No Mercy There!

The findings from the fieldwork indicates that the Tigray war resulted in the development of a new identity among the ethnic Tigray Ethiopian Diasporas. Besides, it is also the main cause for the recent weak social bonding among the Ethiopian Diasporas. The war made the majority of the ethnic Tigrayans distance themselves and cut their contact with other Ethiopians. This finding goes hand in hand with Volkan's theory of large group identity and is discussed using the large group theory below in the discussion part. The interviewees identified two main reasons as responsible for the weak social interaction after the war. The first one is the situation in the country of origin and the actions of the federal government, regional states, and the public in the country of origin. During the war time many people from the Tigray region have been killed, many have also displaced and hundreds of women were raped by different armed groups involved in the war. The Tigray region has generally experienced huge economic loss and social problems. During the war time, the public was on the side of the federal government and supported the war against the region. Inside the country, ethnic Tigrayans were attacked in other parts of the country, and many were displaced from their jobs. Those who have been living outside of their region were out casted by other ethnic groups or Ethiopians. They were considered as traitors and enemies of the country.

The second reason is the action of the Diasporas in the country of destination. The Ethiopian Diasporas were supporters of the war from the beginning and were providing both financial and diplomatic support to the federal government during the war. In their country of settlement, they work to convince the respective governments about the rightness of the war and to provide diplomatic support to the Ethiopian government. The Ethiopian Diasporas also worked to halt different diplomatic activities of the ethnic Tigrayans. The participants of the interview explained that the majority of the Ethiopian Diasporas did not feel their pain. They even worked to stop demonstrations and their diplomatic efforts to make the world community aware about the war and suffering of the Tigray people.

One interviewee from The Netherlands for example put the situation as follows:

“The Ethiopian Diasporas were joking on the demonstrations which were held by us. They laughed at our death. While people were dying in our region they were laughing. This made people to be separated even those who were sharing meals and take tea together.”(Leake, Male).

After asking about the role of the Tigray war in dividing or uniting the Ethiopian Diasporas in Germany and The Netherlands, they were also asked what could be the impact or implication of the weak relations among the Ethiopian Diasporas to the Ethiopian Diasporas and the hosting nation. The interviewees indicated that the weak relations among the Ethiopian Diasporas has both Economic and political impact on both the Ethiopian Diasporas and the country of destination. In the pre-war time, most of the Ethiopian Diasporas, including Ethnic Tigrians and the Eritrean Diasporas, were consuming products from shops owned by “Habesha”⁵ people. According to their rough estimation, around 80-90% of the customers were people from Ethiopia and Eritrea. However, during and after the war, this reality is completely changed. Nowadays, the Tigrian and Eritrean Diasporas prefer to shop in their respective ethnic lines if available and even prefer consuming products from the local Dutch markets, African shops, and other producers and providers. The change in shopping and consumption behavior among the Ethiopians, particularly the Tigrian and Eritrean Diasporas, has a huge economic implication. As a result, they claim that the situation has resulted in the closing up of businesses owned by the Ethiopian Diasporas. There are some shops and restaurants that have been closed in the last four year as a result of declining in customers. Hence, this finding can go with the concept of conflict de-territorialization, where the conflict in the country of origin is enlarged and brought to the country of settlement. Although the ethnic Tigrians are far from the war, they were highly connected to the war by de-territorializing it to their hosting nation. Hence, the concept can be used to look at how the conflict in their country of birth can reshape their identities, loyalties, and sense of belonging through their extended presence to the conflict. Conflict de-territorialization is the enlargement of the area where domestic conflicts are fought (Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 376). This finding is supported by the concept re-territorialization. Conflict re-territorialization is more than just the expansion of the domestic conflict into the Diasporic context; but it encompasses the ways in which these transported conflicts depend on distinct actors and discourses and evolve their own dynamics (Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 376). Besides, conflict re-territorialization states that disputes can be transmitted in a variety of ways, including in daily life and at the institutional as well as political level (Feron 2017, cited in Feron and Baser, 2023, p. 376). Similarly, the Tigray war has been de-territorialized to the country of destination and also re-territorialized to the Diasporas in their daily life including their shopping, all forms of social gatherings, religion (being served in different church) and cultural and sport festivals.

⁵ Habesha is a term referred to Ethiopians and Eritreans

Regarding to the political impact, the interviewees explained that the weak intergroup relations will definitely affect them politically, which will reduce their power to influence issues regarding the Ethiopian Diasporas in their respective countries of destination. It will have a negative impact in the effort to achieve their interests and secure benefits and can reduce their chance to be heard by foreign governments in their effort to influence policies towards their country of origin.

The conflict among the Ethiopian Diasporas could affect the country of destination in many ways. The impact can be economic, socially, political and security. In the economic aspect, the interviewees indicated that the weak relations among the Ethiopians will affect the business owned by the Ethiopian Diasporas. This will directly or indirectly affect the economy of the countries of destination. Besides, they also added if the Diasporas engaged in conflict among themselves, it will affect their participation in the labor market and consequently the economy of the hosting nations. They also indicated the conflict and weak relations among the Diaspora will have a social impact. One interviewee from The Netherlands explained as follows:

“The government of The Netherlands spent a lot of money for the integration of the newly arrived immigrants. The already settled migrants have been playing a significant role in integrating the new arrivals to the hosting nation’s system. However, due to the conflict the early arrived migrants are not willing to help new people. Hence, this will have its own implication on the integration effort of the Dutch government.”(Leake, Male).

Although the current relations among the Ethiopian Diasporas cannot be explained as active and destructive, the interviewees indicated that the current weak relations among them can be changed into active conflict. Consequently, it can bring a security threat to the country of destination. It will also affect the hosting nations in terms of security. The participants from The Netherlands presented the conflict happened among the Eritrean Diasporas in The Hague in the month of March 2024 as an example. In the month of March, conflict occurred among Eritrean Diasporas. The incident among the Eritrean Diasporas in The Hague has resulted in material destruction and posed security threat to the state. The research participants also indicated, such conflict could happen among the Ethiopian Diaspora if the current silent (dormant) conflict among them is not addressed on time.

As it has been stated above, the result from the field indicated that the Tigray war has played an important role in dividing the Ethiopian Diasporas. It is the main cause for the recent weak social bonding among the Ethiopian Diasporas. The research finding shows that both the actions of the

federal government and the public during the wartime with in the country of origin as well as the response of the Ethiopian Diasporas towards the war were the war-related factors that divided the Ethiopian Diasporas. In that way, the war made the Ethiopian Diasporas Divided. Within the country of origin, the war declared by the federal government claimed the life of thousands of civilians and resulted in the economic and social sufferings. In general the ethnic Tigrrians suffered a lot due to the war. Besides, during the war the public supported the war and provided the federal government both financial and manpower support. These all made the Diasporas to feel their people were being attacked because of their ethnic identity. Hence, the ethnic Tigrrians were forced to cut their contact with other Ethiopians. Vokan's concept of chosen trauma can be applied here where the suffering by the ethnic Tigrrians become a shared trauma maintaining strong connection and enhancing Tigrrian identity and, on the contrary, denouncing connection with those considered indifferent to that trauma. This finding is supported by the large group theory developed by Volkan. According to the large group theory when "others" who belong to another large group identity humiliate or threaten a large group, the attacked population leaves their commonly shared elements and becomes dedicated to maintaining, repairing, and preserving their large group identity (Volkan, 2008, p. 3). In our case the ethnic Tigrrians believed that their ethnic group in their country of origin is threatened and suffered because of their ethnic identity. Hence, this made them to give up the former elements bonded them with other Ethiopians, and they prefer to maintain and preserve their large group identity (Tigrrianness). Besides, the theory also claim that members of the attacked or humiliated group becomes conscious about the "we " and quickly and forcefully differentiate their large-group identity from that of the "other," or "enemy," large group (Volkan, 2008, p. 3). Similarly, the Tigray war that brought huge loss to the ethnic Tigrrians made them to be conscious about the "we ness" (Being Tigrrian) and distanced themselves from their Ethiopian fellows.

The other dividing factor was the fact that the ethnic Tigrrians and other Ethiopians were different in their view over the Tigray war. The Tigrrians considered the war an act of genocide declared over their people. Whereas the other Ethiopians sees the war as a law enforcing action, which is similar to the claim of the federal government. The stand and action of the Ethiopian Diaspora also was the factor their division. The Ethiopian Diasporas provided both material and diplomatic support to the government of Ethiopia. One example of such diplomatic support was the "no more" movement organized all over the world, including in the destination countries of the current subjects of the study. Therefore, the Ethiopian Diaspora's support the federal government, which the ethnic Tigrrians claim to be

complicit in their suffering, makes them to feel alienated. Consequently, this change reflects the breakdown of trust and social solidarity, as ties based on a common Ethiopian identity break in favor of exclusive ethnic group solidarity.

Well, studying the role of homeland conflict over Diasporas in the country of destination is crucial by itself; however, it is also important to look at the implication of such division among the Diasporas. The implication of such division could be to the Diasporas themselves and the country of destination.

The unity among the Diasporas in the country of Destination is very crucial for many reasons. In contrary, once Diasporas divided it would have negative implications for the Diasporas themselves. The financial impact is the most important one. The data from the current research implied that, the Tigray war has brought a change in the consumption behavior of the Ethiopian Diasporas. Diasporas with different ethnic lines prefer to consume products of their respective ethnic lines unless they would prefer to go for other options. Hence, from this, it can be said that the economy of the Ethiopian Diaspora entrepreneurs are impacted by the war and lost costumers. Due to the division within the Diaspora, their consumption pattern is changing where members of the Tigrian and Eritrean Diasporas are now choosing local Dutch or African shops or businesses. The concept of conflict de-territorialization, which holds that conflict in the country of origin transcend national boundaries and have an impact Diaspora markets and behaviors, is consistent with this change. The finding validates how social and political divisions within the Ethiopian Diasporas have actual financial repercussions as former clients now steer clear of businesses owned rival groups. . Besides, the result can also show that the Ethiopian Diaspora might decrease their diplomatic power in their countries of destination as a result of their division.

The current situation among the Ethiopian Diasporas can be characterized as dormant conflict with a probability of changing into an active one if it is not resolved on time. Hence, the time it is changed into active conflict it could have a political and security implication to the countries of settlement. This is supported by the recent development in The Hague, The Netherlands, where the long time disagreement within the Eritrean Diasporas converted into actual conflict. Similarly, the current dormant conflict among the Ethiopian Diasporas characterized by miss-trust could be changed in to an actual conflict. In this regard Toivanen and Baser, suggested that most of the time it is the violent conflicts that are given an attention and claim that the dormant conflict should be also given due courtesy (Toivanen and Baser, 2020, p. 7). Consequently, there is a need among the

Ethiopian Diasporas themselves, civic organizations, and the hosting nation to work on resolving this disagreement among the Ethiopian Diasporas before it is turned into active conflict. Some of the participants in the interview wish to normalize their relations with other Ethiopians. But they expect the recognition of the problem created by Ethiopians in Tigray. But, even after the war they never recognize the problem created in Tigray and to Tigrians. Hence, it can be said that there is a need to solve the political problem inside the country of origin to enhance the relations among the Ethiopians Diasporas. Besides, there is also a need among the Diasporas to recognize the problem created within Ethiopia but, also to share the feelings of the Tigrian Diasporas. This in turn would help on the effort for national reconciliation and regain unity among the Ethiopian Diasporas. Whenever such actions and initiatives are in place the problems raised above can be resolved.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION

In this study, I have tried to investigate the impact of the Tigrayan war on the Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrayan Ethiopians and their social relations with other Ethiopian Diaspora groups. I used the social movement theory as well as concepts of conflict de-territorialization, Conflict re-territorialization, large group identity, chosen trauma and chosen glory to understand how homeland conflict has reshaped the Diasporic identity of the ethnic Tigrayans and their relations with their fellow Ethiopians

as a group. Depending on the data from the field some conclusions were drawn. The Tigrayan war has significantly influenced the identity of the ethnic Tigrayan Ethiopians, where they have distanced themselves from other Ethiopian groups and disengaged from shared Diaspora activities in the Diaspora setting. The war resulted in the development of new identity and new collective identity among the ethnic Tigrayans in Germany and The Netherlands and dismantled the pre-existed unity among the Ethiopian Diasporas that align with the social movement theory of Sokefeld. The study confirmed that the theoretical assumption stating that Diasporic formation is not a natural and direct processes that could happened right after migration; rather it is the result of the processes of mobilization as has been argued by Sokefeld. The ethnic Tigrayans re-claim and re-shaped their Diasporic identity after years of migration as a response to the critical event (in their case, war) in their country of origin that could be best understood using the social movement framework. The Tigrayan war resulted in both human and material costs, and it brought huge suffering to the people of Tigray with in Ethiopia. Consequently, the ethnic Tigrayans abroad or the countries of destination shared and collectively experienced the suffering of their people back home. The ethnic Tigrayans, who commonly believe their people have been humiliated and threatened during the two years' war, gives up the prior connecting elements with the broad Ethiopian Diaspora group and subsequently prefer to maintain, repair and preserve their large group identity (their Tigrayan identity). The ethnic Tigrayans provide priority to their Tigrayan ethnic identity to their pre-existing broader Ethiopian identity that goes with the large group identity of Volkan. The result has shown the redefinition of their group boundaries and collective identity among the ethnic Tigrayan Ethiopians. The ethnic Tigrayans Ethiopians commonly shared the traumatic experiences resulted from the Tigrayan war and develop a collective image about the event that has caused a devastating loss to their people back home. This shared trauma which has resulted from the suffering of their ethnic group shaped their group identity and resulted

in the creation of new alignments and divisions. Here the Tigray war has catalyzed a shift in large group identity, aggravating separations where members of the same group align with their like-minded people (people from the same ethnic group) along the lines of chosen trauma. Therefore, one crucial thing here is the finding challenged the impression of a unwavering Diasporic unanimity, as the current study showed Diasporic identity can be reshaped in response to the traumatic events in the country of origin. Besides, the result has showed the Tigray war has negatively impacted the social relations of the ethnic Tigrian with other Ethiopian Diaspora communities in the host nation. The war in the country of origin has been de-territorialized and enlarged its area where it is fought to the country of settlement, but in a dormant manner that can potentially be changed into an active after a while as it has been seen among the Eritrean Diasporas in The Hague, The Netherlands in the month of March 2024. The de-territorialization of the home conflict then resulted in the redefining their sense of belonging, where they strongly aligned with their Tigrian ethnic group instead of their large group or national identity. The war in Tigray (Ethiopia) affects and reshape the previous group identity that leads to the internal divisions among the Ethiopian Diasporas. The war in their country of birth reshaped their identities, loyalties and sense of belonging through their extended presence to the conflict. The differences among the Diasporas on the views regarding the causes, dynamics and justice of the conflict can lead to the division among them. The conflict is not merely de-territorialized, but the study result further showed the re-territorialization of the home conflict. It has also re-territorialized to the Diasporas Daily life that is manifested through distancing from participations in engagements, wedding, baptism, and birthdays. Besides, they have also stopped being served in churches of the Ethiopian Diaspora community, consuming products of Ethiopian Diasporas, and participating in cultural and sport festivals and activities organized by the Ethiopian Diasporas and embassies that aligns with the concept of conflict re-territorialization. In that way the de-territorialized homeland conflict was re-territorialized into the groups as Voytic has also stated. Generally, as per the current study, conflicts in the country of origin can drastically change intergroup dynamics and reshape collective memory and identity, stressing the complexity of Diasporic identity in general.

The study could contribute to the broader understating of how conflicts in the country of origin and the subsequent experiences of the conflict related traumas and sufferings leads to the formation of Diasporic identity and affects group solidarity as well as the intergroup divisions among Diasporas. Initially I chose the topic because of its importance to the migration scholarship in general and the Diaspora in particular. After I delve in to it and read the literature regarding the overall study

of Diasporas, I become more interested in the study of the Diasporas. Although, I still believe the current study could contribute to the study of Diasporas by providing some insight about the impact of home conflict in reshaping Diasporic identity and intergroup relations especially after years of migration it has some limitation. Hence, further study could still focuses on how home land conflict affects Daispora but at group level of analysis. Besides, further study could focus on how similar dynamics manifest in other conflict affected Diasporas. It is also worthy to investigate the host country's response to the Diaspora mobilization and inter-group tensions and its effect on their mobilization regarding the conflict back at home.

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Appendix I: Interview Guide

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Ezra

1. How do you currently identify yourself as a Diaspora? Tigrian or Ethiopian?
2. Do you think that the Tigray war affects your identity as Diaspora? Why and How?
3. How do you see your relationship with other Ethiopian Diaspora community before and after the Tigray war?
4. Do you still have friends from other ethnic group of Ethiopian Diasporas?
5. Is there any change in your relationship with other Ethiopian Diaspora community after the war? If your answer is **yes**, why?
6. Do you currently participate in social gatherings with other Ethiopian Diasporas? If no why?
7. How do you see your participation in:
 - ✓ Festivals organized by Ethiopian Diasporas
 - ✓ Ethiopian Diaspora based organizations and associations in Germany or The Netherlands after the war? If your participation is changed after the war, why?
8. Do you participate in religious activities of Ethiopian Diaspora communities? If your answer is **No**, why?
9. Are you still interested in Ethiopian home politics? If no why?
10. How do you think the impact of the war on:
 - ✓ Tigrian Diasporas,
 - ✓ Ethiopian Diasporas,
 - ✓ The home nation, and
 - ✓ The host nation? How?
11. Do you have any idea that you would like to add at the end

Appendix II

List of names of the Research Interviewees

No	Pseud Name	Age	Place	Date and Time of Interview	
1	Micheale	28	The Hague, The Netherlands	26/08/2024	10:00-10:50
2	Zenebe	31	The Hague, The Netherlands	26/08/2024	5:00-6:00
3	Leake	32	Delft, The Netherlands	27/08/2024	9:30-10:15
4	Abrehet	26	Delft, The Netherlands	29/08/2024	10:15-11:45
5	Gebrehiwot	39	Leiden, The Netherlands	30/08/2024	5:00-6:00
6	Tewodros	34	Leiden, The Netherlands	30/08/2024	9:00-10:00
7	Almaz	36	Hamburg, Germany	03/09/2024	1:00-1:45
8	Hadush	29	Hamburg, Germany	03/09/2024	2:00-3:00
9	Berhanu	32	Hamburg, Germany	03/09/2024	3:15-4:00
10	Lemlem	27	Hamburg, Germany	03/09/2024	5:00-6:00
11	kibrom	31	Bremen, Germany	04/09/2024	9:00-9:55
12	Awet	35	Bremen, Germany	04/09/2024	10:30-11:15
13	Angesom	25	Oldenburg, Germany	04/09/2024	2:00-3:00
14	Tesfu	28	Oldenburg, Germany	02/09/2024	11:00-11:55
15	Yonas	31	Oldenburg, Germany	02/09/2024	9:00-10:15