Intercommunal conflict in host countries

A case study of the Ethiopian diaspora in Oslo

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UiO :

Abstract

Conflict and war can cause detrimental refugee crises and force many to seek asylum in new host countries. However, when people from both sides of a conflict migrate to the same country, how do they co-exist? And how does emigration affect the levels of tension between them? In order to address these issues, I have conducted in depth semi structured interviews to gather data on the relations between the Eritrean and Ethiopian diaspora in Oslo from an Ethiopian perspective. To my knowledge, there is little to no previous research on this topic which makes this exploratory thesis an important foundation for future research.

In this project I find a complex phenomenon with no simple answer. Emigration from a conflict appears to decrease levels of tension between groups that have previously been in conflict, but it does not remove the tension entirely. Moreover, the communal experience of tension between the Eritrean and Ethiopian community varies as individuals have different experiences from the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, and different relations to the communities in Oslo. However, I find that the levels of tension between the Eritrean and Ethiopian community, and internally in the Ethiopian community in Oslo, is highly dependent on the political situation in Eritrea and Ethiopia.

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1. Introduction

"What is happening in our home country is most important. Sadly, we are couple of thousands of kilometres away of what is happening, but it affects us here as well. One can choose to not be affected, but I cannot choose for others, so one gets dragged into it in a way. (Informant 5)

More and more people migrate to new countries as the world is becoming more connected than ever before. Today, the amount of migrants has more or less doubled in the United States since the 1950s, and more so for other western countries (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). This increase in migration has created a surge in the interest on the topic, especially concerning migration caused by armed conflict and the refugee crises caused by it. For instance, questions on why so many fled during the 2015 refugee crisis and how countries were supposed to address this issue became extremely relevant and shaped the political arena in many countries (NUPI 2015; Kolberg 2015). Especially, since there were over 878 000 refugees that migrated in 2015 and over 3563 people who died on their journey towards Europe (Jumbert 2018).

Due to increased migration, research on diaspora communities or communities that have emigrated from their original homeland has become important as research on this topic can shed light on integration, attitudes on migration and many other social aspects. For instance, how the Chechen diaspora in Norway became sceptical of the Norwegian government through the Norwegian Child Welfare System due to several children were being put into foster families (Sugaipova and Wilhelmsen 2021). On the other hand, diasporas can be crucial to understand peacebuilding as they can help with changing conflict patterns through activities such as sending supplies, lobbying or holding demonstrations to name a few (Horst and Gaas 2009). Somalian organisations in Norway, have for example created projects to improve the education back home in Somalia as education can be a risk decreasing factor in conflict (Horst and Gaas 2009).

However, there is a gap in the research on migration, diasporas and intercommunal relations. The existing research on intercommunal relations focus on relations in the place where the conflict is happening, but there is very little research on intercommunal relations among those who fled to host countries due to armed conflict. Hence, this thesis will address this issue and

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use the realistic group conflict theory as its main theoretical framework. This theory allows the researcher to address intercommunal relations through a group dynamic perspective. Moreover, to add to this framework, the thesis will use elements from long distance nationalism and social identity theory to add context and include other identity factors.

This thesis therefore aims to add to this often-overlooked aspect of communities in conflict and intends to look at the dynamic between two communities that have previously been in conflict in another country before migrating to a host country. More specifically, this paper will look at Ethiopian and Eritrean communities in Oslo and gain knowledge on their relation and how they live in peace after experiencing war, as Oslo encompasses large Ethiopian and Eritrean diasporas with strong diaspora dynamics.

Eritrea and Ethiopia were previously the same country before Eritrean independence in 1993 but experienced a tense border war between 1998-2000 (*BBC News* 2018). This war, in addition to the ongoing conflict in Tigray region of Ethiopia affects Ethiopians and Eritreans alike, but there is little research on how it affects those who live abroad. Both Ethiopia and Eritrea have large diaspora communities in many parts of the world, especially the Eritrean Diaspora who has 25% of its population living abroad (Lyons 2009). This makes the Eritrean and Ethiopian diaspora suitable cases to assess as the diaspora plays an important role for the countries. Moreover, there are many Ethiopians and Eritreans living in Oslo because of the war, making Oslo a good place to start doing research. The findings of this paper can provide information on how much diasporas are affected by conflict in one's home country, how these communities react, and more interestingly see how the two communities co-exist in a new host country. These findings could therefore be paramount for understanding diasporas and how to decrease intercommunal conflicts in migrant communities. The results from this research will hopefully draw attention to the research-gap and inspire future research on the subject. It is important to note that this thesis will be based on the Ethiopian perspective as all the informants were from or had family from Ethiopia. People from Eritrea were contacted as well, but for different reason none were able to participate. Among the six interviewees, five of them were men and one of the informants was raised in Norway.

This thesis asks the question:

Research question: How does emigration affect the levels of tension between communities that have previously been in conflict and are now living together in a new host country?

2. Thesis Structure

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows. The first section will go through previous literature on migration to create context, then briefly touch upon the importance of ethnicity as it is a significant factor for relation building and go through the border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea and the ongoing conflict in Ethiopia (Tigray). Continuing, the paper will present the theoretical models that will guide the analysis. The paper will use three main theoretical models: long distance nationalism, realistic group conflict theory, and social identity theory. These theories will guide the theoretical expectations and the analysis for the thesis. I expect to see less tension with an increased distance from the conflict, less tension among second generation immigrants, but expect to see an increase in tension between communities in a host country with the occurrence of a new conflict in their ancestral country. In the methods section, the paper will go through research design, case study selection, data collection, the interview process, transcription strategy, limitations, and the thematic analysis. The analysis will thus thematically go through the interview findings and be divided into overarching, general and sub themes. The overarching themes that can be seen in all the interviews are tension, relation building, and a focus on the new generation. The findings show that emigrating from a conflict seems to decrease tension between communities that previously have experienced conflict, but it does not remove it entirely. Overall, the amount of tension between groups appears to be highly dependent on the political situation in Eritrea and Ethiopia. The discussion section will then address the findings and will finally conclude and sum up the thesis.

3. Literature review

3.1 Introduction

In order to understand relations between diaspora communities that had previously been in a situation of conflict, it is useful to review research on migration, identity, ethnicity, and conflict. These topics provide valuable context for understanding how these communities co-exist. More and more people are migrating which makes diaspora communities important key factors for migration patterns, integration, and handling of conflicts. The diaspora groups are also highly affected by identity, ethnicity and other group shaping factors which can form relations between diasporas. Thus, this section will provide information on these topics and conclude with a brief summary of the border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the more recent conflict in the Tigray region of Ethiopia.

3.2 Migration

With an increase in people who migrate and/or seek refuge in other countries, the amount of research available has increased. In other words, migration is getting a bigger part in research on transnational arenas and on how migration affect economic, political and cultural actives. According to the IOM world Migration Report 2020, it is estimated that in 2019 the number of international migrants were 272 million globally, more than 51 million more than in 2010 (IOM 2020). However, many are often forced to flee or travel to other countries. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated in 2017 that 71 million are displaced due to an increase in natural disasters, conflicts and human rights violations in recent years (Schein et al. 2019). Interestingly, 5,2 million refugees and migrants travelled to Europe in 2016 alone ('Refugee Crisis in Europe: Aid, Statistics and News | USA for UNHCR' 2022), with 49 713 refugees being accepted in Norway in 2020 (The World Bank 2020).

As of 2021, there are approximately 17 097 Eritreans and 3 287 Ethiopians in Norway. Moreover, there is data supporting that people from Ethiopia emigrated to Norway as early as 1977 and maybe even earlier (SSB 2021). The Eritrean community was relatively new in Norway, but the Ethiopian community had lived in Norway for a longer period.

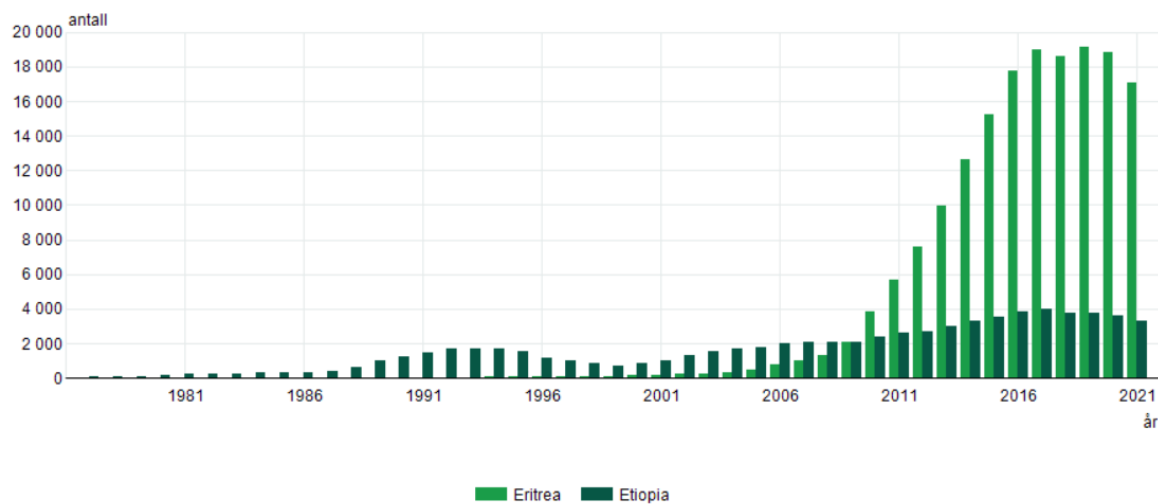05196: Befolkning, etter statsborgerskap og år. Personer.

Figure 3.1 Population growth (SSB 2021)

According to Collier and Hoeffler, migration can be seen as an investment. The longer the migration distance the higher the investment to travel is needed. These investment costs tend to be high, but already established migrant communities can decrease the investment cost in form of different types of support. In other words, diaspora groups tend to lower the threshold for migration. To quote Collier and Hoeffler "migration builds diasporas, and diasporas ease subsequent migration" (Collier and Hoeffler 2018). They also find that cultural distance and diaspora have a positive interaction and might also affect parts of the integration process. With increased distance culture differences most likely also increase, which in turn might make it easier for people to stick to the diaspora as it is more familiar.

As diasporas communities have grown across the world and in their respective host countries, the communities have laid their foundation in the political sphere. Diasporas are important actors in discussions about the economy and political policies. However, the impact of diaspora groups in their home countries have been under heavy discussion as the perspectives move from diasporas being a security risk to being important actors in peacebuilding (Galipo 2011). Hence, theories on the importance of diasporas have been seen dualistic in its nature.

According to Vermeulen, diasporas tend to settle into new environment and integrate into mainstream society. However, this does not mean that the diasporas reject its connections to its culture and home country. Vermeulen argues that there is partial social assimilation where there is a strong connection to both homeland and the diaspora (Vermeulen 2010). This partial

assimilation can further underline the idea that many people from the diaspora maintain connected and support to their country of origin, especially in times of conflict. Some take the form of direct activities such as material support, lobbying or institutional support, while other assist through indirect means such as mediation. For instance, there have been cases of funding from the Eritrean diasporas in the Netherlands that have gone towards the support of the opposition in Eritrea (Horst and Gaas 2009).

Research on diasporas and its relation to peace and conflict have both shown that it can decrease and increase conflict in their home country (Galipo 2011). Consequently, it is difficult to draw generalisable findings, but previous discoveries might provide an indication on different factors that are present in the cases of diaspora peacebuilding and conflict. For instance, during the civil war in Somaliland from 1994-1996 there were Somalilanders in diasporas who helped in resolving the conflict. This help consisted of investment in local reconciliation and there was a collaboration between the diasporas and the local communities. The diasporas and communities hosted conferences and workshops around the country to create cooperation between warring factions to achieve a ceasefire, create dialogue and spread knowledge on conflict resolution (Galipo 2011). On the other hand, Hall and Kostic argues that that civil wars and diaspora activity are correlated to an increase in armed conflict, especially in conflict generated diasporas (Hall and Kostic 2009). The assumption is that marginalisation and exclusion in the host country tend to foster grievances and making the diaspora more connected to their home country, and are therefore less willing to compromise (Hall and Kostic 2009). In other words, there is a connection between lower levels of integration among diasporas and encouragement of armed conflict (Anderson, 1992) (Hall and Kostic 2009).

Diasporas can provide support to opposition parties and political actors in their home country, either through economic funding or participation through other activities. Some of these activities can be through criminal networks to support opposition groups with for instance weapons. This can for example be seen in the case of the Irish diaspora in the US that supported the IRA back home. However, not all diaspora support is through illegal means and can often create a path to peaceful conflict management. In the same case with the Irish diaspora, the community shifted its stance to support the peace process in Northern Ireland (Orjuela 2008). Moreover, due to the technological advancement in media, diaspora plays an important role in

influencing ideas about the conflict and conflict resolution. Groups that view the conflict at a distant might use their stability to view the conflict from an outside perspective granting the people from the diaspora new tools to help solving conflict back home and between communities. In addition, it is argued that diasporas that experience democratic structures can be a powerful tool to incentivise democratisation back home (Orjuela 2008). In the case of Eritrean diasporas, many gain knowledges about politics and conflict back home through the internet, for instance through independent news forum website www.dehai.org. It is through websites such as this one Eritreans can express themselves politically and use the internet to arrange demonstrations, funding events and so on (Bernal 2006).

In a study on Balkan diasporas, Hall and Kostic argues that socio-cultural integration does not affect reconciliatory attitudes of the diasporas. But, they find that structural integration tend to increase reconciliatory attitudes, through citizenship, language, education and labour market (Hall and Kostic 2009). Structural integration differentiates itself with socio-cultural integration as structural integrations is defined as "social positioning" such as level of education and position in the labour market, while socio-cultural integration refers to more informal social contacts and norms (Hall and Kostic 2009). Generally, individuals with higher structural integrity convey less social distancing to other groups from their home country, are less ethnocentric, and more open towards other cultures. In other words, people are more likely to recognise past sufferings from other groups, be more forgiving and more open to co-exist with groups that have previously been in conflict with the presence of higher structural integration (Hall and Kostic 2009).

This supports the idea that tension can decrease in a host country and affect intercommunal conflict between communities. Migration by itself from a conflict might not be sufficient to remove tension, but it seems it might be correlated with the possibility to obtain education, citizenship, language courses and so on that are correlated with reconciliatory attitudes. In the case of the Eritrean and Ethiopian diaspora in Oslo, tension might in fact have decreased. There has also been some previous research on community size and origin of communities in relation to tolerance where Wilson argues that there is a stronger correlation between urbanism, migration and tolerance than previously led to believe. Wilson argues that Urbanism is not only determined by the size of a community but also by individuals experience with life in

communities. Wilson's findings show that the strongest positive effect of migration on tolerance is associated with migration to larger communities, implying the importance of exposure to social heterogeneity. Hence, migration to communities of various sizes can affect tolerance between communities (Wilson 1991). Consequently, addressing group dynamics between communities in host countries that have experienced war can add interesting findings that can supplement research on reconciliatory attitudes and tolerance. Especially, as adding to the research on migration and diasporas can prove valuable discoveries for policy making.

3.3 Ethnicity

Ethnicity and identity are complex topics but important in the discussion on diasporas and migration as they are vital for group dynamics and individual behaviours. According to Barbera, political participation in a person's ancestral country when living in a host country is highly affected by identity and the desire to belong (Barbera 2015). Identities can be shaped by our surroundings and the people around us, affect the way people behave, which group a person belongs to, and the way the person interacts with other groups (Barbera 2015). One factor that can shape this identity is ethnicity. Ethnicity can be an important part of one's identity as it can provide a sense of belonging, a deeper connection to people with similar ethnicity and pride in cultural heritage. However, ethnicity can also be used to cause division, break identities, and cause polarisation in conflicts (Esteban, Mayoral, and Ray 2012).

The issue of identity is a constant one that is always developing, especially for people living in diasporas as the communities contains various identities. Many struggles with wanting to maintain their connection to their home country but also wish to adapt to the new host country (Bernal 2006). This can create struggles with integration and identity in relation to the host country, but also between similar diasporas. For instance, there have been cases of prejudgment of Eritrean Muslims due to the assumption that Eritrean Muslims have a close relation to the Arab world (Mohammad 2021). Hence, division between similar groups due to differences in identities can cause tension, but can also be influenced by external actors.

Ethnic political power is often divided disproportionately between groups which can improve the position of some and worsen the situation for others. This political division between groups

based on ethnicity can create conflict as it forces group dynamics. Bargaining and discussions between communities happens on a regular basis as groups have different interests and needs. However, this does not mean that ethnic conflict between the groups will occur, but the option of violent conflict is dependent on "entrepreneurs" that push and pressure conflict based on ethnic identities. These entrepreneurs could be governments and other politically active groups that would benefit of an ethnic division (Barak 2002). For instance, politicalised ethnicity forced numerous Serbs who identified as multi-ethnic to choose a specific ethnic group in face of civil war (Calhoun 1993). However, ethnicity is normally not the reason for conflict, but as seen in conflicts in Africa, it is used as a political tool to gain voters, power or support in a conflict (Aapenguo 2010). On the other hand, most of the ethnic groups in Africa live peacefully with each other through interethnic collaboration (Aapenguo 2010). Thus, political agendas play an important role in ethnic tension.

For the Eritrean communities in Oslo the relevance of ethnicity has changed over time and has now become more important for identity and is shaping the communities (Mohammad 2021). According to Mohammad, ethnicity was not as important as national identity due to a strong Eritrean identity, but has now gained more traction and is causing division in the Eritrean diaspora (Mohammad 2021). If these splits in communities can happen between Eritrean ethnic groups, there is a possibility that the identities Ethiopian diaspora might have changed as well.

3.4 The Eritrea-Ethiopia Border war

Wars can increase refugee flows and possibly cause persisting tensions between diasporas, a topic about which we don't yet know very much about. To obtain more knowledge on the effect of migration on diaspora relations, this thesis will focus on the Ethiopian-Eritrean diaspora relations in Oslo. Hence, as background, this section provides an overview of the armed conflicts in Eritrea and Ethiopia, and their impacts on the two countries.

In 1998 the relation between Eritrea and Ethiopia was deteriorating after the Eritrean independence in 1993 (*BBC News* 2018). Conflict erupted over access to Eritrean ports, what currency to use, and over the demarcated border. Negotiations did not end in a compromise and in May 1998 Eritrean forces attacked a disputed border town of Badme (Lyons 2009).

The conflict continued without any fruitful negotiations, but in 2000 there was a ceasefire agreement signed in Algiers with states from the Africa Union as witnesses (Lyons 2009). The Algiers agreement stated that the border should follow previous colonial borders, and there was a ceasefire, but the peace agreement did not permanently stop the border conflict. The Ethiopia-Eritrea Boundary Commission (EEBC) stated in 2002 that the town of Badme was on Eritrean territory while other territory claimed by Eritrea was on Ethiopian Territory, and divided the territory thereafter to each Country (Lyons 2009).

Fast forward to 2008, the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea was as tense as it had been since the ceasefire that "ended" the war. The EEBC was shut down in 2007 and the United Nations peacekeeping mission was terminated late 2008 (Lyons 2009). This led to Eritrean troops reoccupying the security zone previously patrolled by the UN peacekeepers, and Ethiopia maintaining its control over territory given to it by the EEBC, in addition to Badme (Lyons 2009).

Ethiopia stated that their claim of Badme was a reaction to allegedly unprovoked armed attacks, advancing troops and material that Eritrea moved across the de facto boundary. Moreover, Ethiopia claimed that Eritrea did not only attack Ethiopian military but also civilians causing mass casualties. Consequently, Eritrea was blamed for using shelling, mines, rape and abduction as weapons. (Murphy 2016) Since the UN left and the EEBC was shut down, there have been some unverifiable incidents of fighting between Ethiopia and Eritrea. For instance, in 2010 when Eritrea accused Ethiopia of crossing the border, but all accusations have been denied. (Uppsala Conflict Data Program 2020).

The two countries maintained tense relations which peaked in 2016 when Ethiopia threatened to take military action which led to a two day battle with significant casualties on both sides (Uppsala Conflict Data Program 2020). Then, in 2018 Ethiopia got a new prime minister and new reforms took place. This meant that Ethiopia now agreed to the 2002 border agreement it had previously rejected. Eritrea and Ethiopia signed a peace treaty in 2018 and Ethiopia agreed to withdraw from the disputed territory (Uppsala Conflict Data Program 2020).
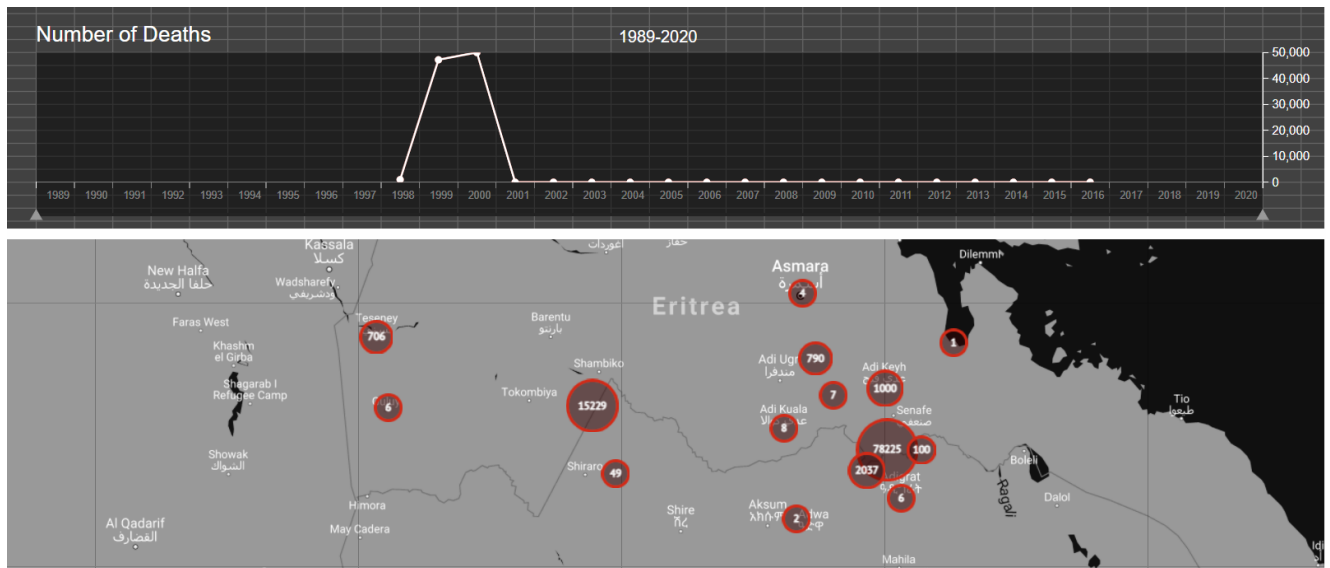
Figure 3.2 Map of casualties (Uppsala Conflict Data Program 2020)

The escalation of the border conflict and the attack on Badme ended with thousands of casualties on both sides due to brutal trench warfare, and violence forced thousands of villagers on both sides to flee as the military escalation continued ('HRW World Report 1999: Ethiopia' 1999). In march 2000 the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea estimated that over 370 000 Eritreans and 350 000 Ethiopians had been affected by the war.

Both Eritrea and Ethiopia accused each other of maltreatment of their citizens, and Eritrea denied expelling Ethiopians from its territory, but it is reported that around 6 600 Ethiopians had willingly returned to Ethiopia ('HRW World Report 1999: Ethiopia' 1999). Likewise, Ethiopian authorities were accused of forcing people of Eritrean origin out of the country and it is estimated that around 30 000 people were deported ('HRW World Report 1999: Ethiopia' 1999). To paraphrase the HRW world report, the Ethiopian government had stated that the 550 000 Eritreans living in Ethiopia could stay but that Eritrean political and community organisations had to leave the country in fear of them supporting Eritrea. This led to deportations and acts by the Ethiopian government that violated the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other human right treaties Ethiopia had signed'('HRW World Report 1999: Ethiopia' 1999).

Moreover, the crisis had become even worse due to severe drought in Ethiopia which created a food crisis that affected 8 million people ('UNMEE: United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and

Eritrea - Background' 2008). In 2008 the United Nations estimated that 10 million people or 12% of the Ethiopian population needed food assistance due to little rain, high food prices, conflict and inflation that reached 40% in 2008 (Lyons 2009).

3.5 Conflict in Tigray

From political disagreement to fear of genocide, the Tigray region and people have received a lot of attention after prolonged intense fighting. Ethiopia consists of 10 regions where all have their own regional autonomy with the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) leading the government until 2018 (CNN 2021). After 2018, Abiy Ahmed came to power and tried to change the ruling coalition from four parties into one party in an attempt to reduce political repression and tension surrounding an ethnic minority holding power in the country. However, the TPLF rejected the offer to join the new party as they felt threatened by the new policies ('The Conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray Region: What to Know' 2021). Tension increased even further when TPLF decided to have regional parliamentary elections in September 2020, which Abiy Ahmed called an illegal election (CNN 2021).

Figure 3.3 Map of Ethiopia ('The Conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray Region: What to Know' 2021)

November 2020, Abiy ordered a military attack against the TPLF after he accused the TPLF of attacking a federal army camp. The TPLF denied all responsibilities and accused Abiy of creating a pretext for invasion ('From PM Sending Troops to Tigray to TPLF Taking Mekelle: Timeline' 2021). From prolonged shelling and armed combat, tens of thousands have fled into Sudan, and in March 2021 Abiy admitted that Eritrean troops also had joined the fight against the TPLF. With the conflict still going on today in 2022, Tigray is in an humanitarian crisis with intense fighting and lack of food as Tigray is locked away from outside intervention and aid (Davies 2022)

To sum up, the prolonged border war between Eritrea and Ethiopia caused a humanitarian crisis on both sides with thousands of casualties, both military and civilian. The war touched over 700 000 Eritreans and Ethiopians and caused many to flee the country. With peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2016, the relation between Eritreans and Ethiopians have improved. However, with intense fighting in the Tigray region in Ethiopia, tension has again risen as armed conflict affects politics, ethnicity and the relation to Eritrea. To address how this context affect the Ethiopian and Eritrean relation in Oslo, this thesis will go through theoretical models on group dynamics, identity and country relations

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4. Theoretical models

4.1 Introduction

The thesis is exploratory and will develop expectations based on three theoretical models to guide the analysis in chapter 6. The theory section is divided into long distance nationalism, realistic group conflict theory and social identity theory, but will mainly focus on realistic group conflict theory as the main theoretical model. Long distance nationalism and social identity theory will therefore supplement the realistic group conflict theory. The first section will discuss long distance nationalism or in other words, how a person's connection to a country can affect the individual's perspective and actions in a host country. The second section will then talk about realistic group conflict theory on how in and out group relations affect group behaviour. Finally, the third section will address social identity theory and how group behaviour is connected to identity and how our social interactions form who we are. These three sections will lay the foundations for examining the findings.

4.2 Long-distance nationalism

Group behaviour and interaction can be divided into categories of in and out groups. An in-group is a group an individual strongly identify with, while out-group is a group the person does not identify with. What differentiates these group can be as simple as language or nationality but can have a crucial effect on group mentality and relations (Giles and Giles 2013). A factor that may affect the tension between the in and out groups is long distance nationalism. The diaspora might not only be represented a common identity but also a connection to people's home country and government. This thesis will use Nina Glick Schiller's definition of long-distance nationalism where it is defined as: "a set of identity claims and practices that connect people living in various geographical locations to a specific territory that they see as their ancestral home." (Schiller Glick 2005).

Long-distance nationalism can come in many forms from voting, demonstrations, fighting, or peace promotion, but overall is based on having a close connection to the person's ancestral state. This means that a long distant nationalist can be living in any host country but experience a deeper connection to one's ancestral country. Long-distance nationalism can be divided into

four main categories: anticolonialism, separatism, regime change, and participation (Schiller Glick 2005). These categories of long-distance nationalism are all related and can often mix but the general factor is how all categories are dependent on the relation to the ancestral country and encompass people of all generations and citizenships. For this thesis participation based long distance nationalism is the most relevant.

To briefly give an indicator of the other categories, anticolonialism category relates back to the hardships of colonialism but as there are few colonies today this category is not common to see. On the other hand, the separatist approach strives to create an independent state within the already existing country (Schiller Glick 2005). For instance, how Eritrea became independent from Ethiopia and with the assistance from Eritrean's living in the United States and Europe through military and political campaigns (Schiller Glick 2005). The regime change approach as the name implies promote regime change and is more focused on changing the political system, the individual leader or party, rather than changing the state itself. For instance, how people from the Philippines who lived abroad helped with ending the dictatorship in 1986 (Schiller Glick 2005).

Finally, participation based long-distance nationalism is where people who have emigrated to a new host country also participate politically in their ancestral country. Either from being members of political parties, paying tax, lobbying or voting to name a few (Schiller Glick 2005). This type of long-distance nationalism is common and can be seen in most countries. Many countries also incentives these activities as they are beneficial for the state. For instance, Eritreans pay taxes to receive birth and marriage certificates, the right to buy land, operate business or get exit visas for elderly relatives (Hirt 2015). More importantly, it gives people access to extension of passports which affect about 100 000 Eritrean workers in the middle east that need valid documents and permits (Hirt 2015). Eritrea tries to keep its diasporas close with national identity cards, taxation and financial support, as a large part of its population live abroad. This means that people who travel from the ancestral country that do not support the government might indirectly support the state through keeping a connection to their home country. For instance, during the 1998-2000 war the diaspora gave a lot of support to the Eritrean government as it was perceived that Ethiopia was a threat to Eritrea's independence (Hirt 2015).

The symbolic importance of territory and national identity have only become more important as diasporas are experiencing increased contact with their ancestral home (Adamson and Demetriou 2007). An example of this is the Greek Cypriots living outside Cyprus. According to Adamson and Demetriou, people of Cypriot origin and the future generations of Cypriot emigrants are considered nationals and are an integral part of Cyprus (Adamson and Demetriou 2007). This in turn favours diaspora communities and gives them certain privileges. For instance: overseas Greek-Cypriots during the 1990s who wanted to return to Cyprus got rent refund for a year and the opportunity to import duty free goods (Adamson and Demetriou 2007) In the case of Cyprus, the government has managed to influence and mobilise migrants in diasporas through what Adamson and Demetriou calls a "deterritorialized version of national identity" (Adamson and Demetriou 2007).

Hence, do we observe similar patterns among the Ethiopian diaspora community and what effect has the Ethiopian government on the tension between the diasporas in Oslo? While moving away from a conflict where the government is involved might create opposition groups in a new host country there might also be groups that support the government. Consequently, according to a research project by Laache, the Ethiopian diaspora in Oslo consist of both. His research finds that there are pro Ethiopian governmental groups as well as opposition groups in Oslo where both groups try to work against each other. Hence, it seems that the Ethiopian government, and possibly the Eritrean government, can in fact affect relations between diasporas (Laache 2017). The theory of long-distance nationalism suggests that the connection between the diaspora and the ancestral country do matter for relations, and what is happening in Ethiopia and Eritrea affects the relations between the Ethiopian and Eritrean communities in Norway. With the intent of taking a closer look on the relation between the Ethiopian and Eritrean community, long-distance nationalism will supplement the realistic group conflict theory.

4.3 Realistic group conflict theory

A theory that has often been used to explained tension between groups and/or communities is the realistic group conflict theory. This theory is based on the idea that another group's gain is

another group's loss and is a zero-sum game (Brief et al. 2005). This perception of threat by another community or group can cause hate towards the outgroup, increase stereotyping and in group solidarity ((Brief et al. 2005).

Figure 4.1 represents the realistic group conflict theory cycle and lays the foundation for the interpretation of realistic group conflict theory for this paper. I created this figure based on theory from Brief and Jackson's work (Brief et al. 2005; Jackson 1993).

With groups with conflicting opinions tension can arise, but it is not sufficient to cause conflict as there are opportunities for peaceful debates. However, if the possibility for peaceful discussions disappears due to fear, war or other negative experiences with an out-group, hostility can increase. Living in a space where conflict exist might decrease opportunities to communicate and have peaceful discord, thus creating a poor foundation to promote peace. Conflict in this sense could be a war zone, conflict over territory, but it can also be any environment that promotes conflict and hatred. This paper expects to observe less conflict in Oslo as both Eritreans and Ethiopians have migrated from a conflict zone to a more peaceful environment which provides better opportunities relation building. This is also based on the idea from an experiment by Sherif which will be explained further in depth further down in this section. In this experiment, group relations improved as a cooperative environment was introduced compared to a competitive one (Jackson 1993).

In a conflict-oriented environment without the opportunity for peaceful discussions, one group can see a win from the other group as a loss. This fixed zero-sum game can increase tension as mutual group improvement is seen as impossible. Consequently, this increases hostility which strengthens the group dynamics and identity which makes cooperation difficult as this further pushes a us vs them mentality. Moreover, those who are against this mentality often are pushed out of the group and seen as an outsider.
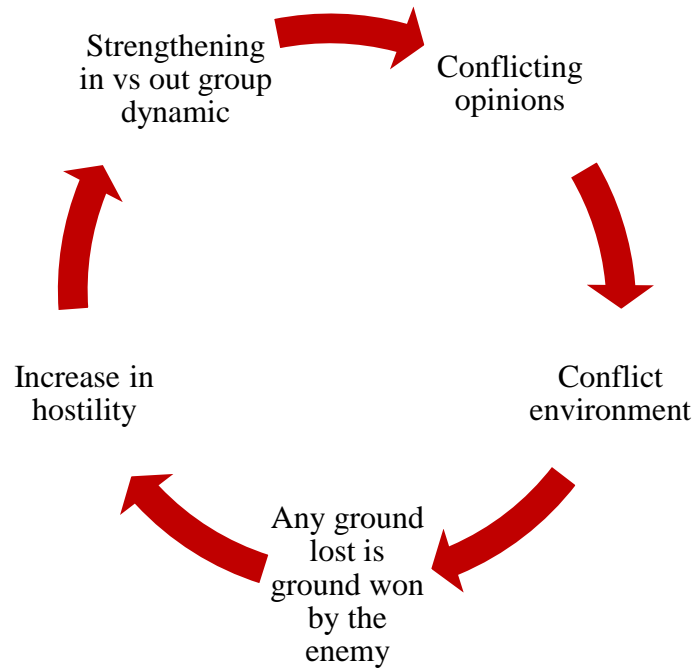
Figure 4.1 Realistic group conflict cycle

Realistic group conflict theory can be seen in analyses on attitudes towards race and minorities. For example, how a study by Giles and Buckner found that the percentage of African Americans in a community were positively correlated with the support of David Duke in the 1990 US senate campaign in Louisiana. Duke was involved in the Ku Klux Klan and other extremist groups (Brief et al. 2005). This suggested that an increase in diversification in the community were seen by some as a threat to the white part of the community, and that a ground gained by others was ground lost to them.

Moreover, in an experiment by Sherif in 1955, that has been used as the foundation for Realistic Group Conflict theory, Sherif tested group hostility at a summer camp for kids. The kids were a homogenous group of boys from the age of 11-12 and the kids had no previous friendships between each other. The kids spent two weeks at a summer camp where the researchers discovered that the boys spontaneously created ingroup interactions with different norms and social expectations. The groups were friendly, but hostility between the groups grew as they engaged in competitive activities where a win for one group meant loss for the other. The group that did best in sports competitions were rewarded while the other one was not. Sherif found that the competition started off as friendly, but hostility grew more and more.

Not only did it grow between the groups but when one of the in-group kids tried to reduce conflict through talking to the other group, he was cast out of the group for being a traitor. In other words, affiliation with the other group was heavily punished. After several failed attempts at reducing conflict, more cooperative activities were introduced where teamwork was a necessity. For instance, where the kids had to work together to pull a broken food truck. These types of forced cooperative activities decreased group hostility. This hostility didn't go straight away but gradually decreased over time through making the groups work together. Sherif found that the boys were less focused on groups when making friendships after making the groups cooperate more (Jackson 1993).

In the case of Ethiopians and Eritreans in Oslo I expect to observe less conflict due to an increase in physical distance from a conflict environment as the perceived threat of the other group is expected to diminish. Thus, making the in group out group threat less prominent. With distance from the conflict, more peace promotion and better communication opportunities should decrease the tension between the communities.

4.4 Social identity theory

Social identity theory is a theory based on common group identity and reflects this identity based on the comparison with other groups (Brief et al. 2005). For instance, through ideology or appearance (Huddy 2001). Social identity theory has been important in researching group dynamics as in sheds light on group favouritism and address aspects on group conflicts, social norms and factors that cause categorisation (Huddy 2001). Hence, this theory can provide more in-depth information what categorises groups and how it affects group dynamics.

As Huddy summarises, several studies on the topic found that categorisations as simple as eye colour could be enough to create certain groupings and push away those who do not share the same categorisation (Huddy 2001). This type of social classification is widespread, but it can take on many forms and shapes and is dependent on the in-group identity and outgroup orientation. An in-group identity can for instance be seen as outgroup hate and produce

favouritism. However, a strong ingroup identity is not sufficient by itself to create outgroup hate but seems to be a necessary condition (Brief et al. 2005).

Consequently, other factors were needed to push for out-group hate. One possible external factor can be categorical salience, where there is an aspect of the identity that creates a larger focus on differences. According to a study by Mcguire, Child and Fujioka, children in families with more members of the opposite gender, the children were more likely to mention their gender when describing themselves (Huddy 2001). The difference in identity seem to become more important and a larger focus on what is different might end with creating a in versus out group dynamic even though there are many other similarities between the groups. Then again, this is a simplistic way to view group identities as identities change over time and the identity you are born with does not necessarily fit the identity you have today. In other words, gender and ethnicity, or other identifying aspects might change or become more or less important as one grows up. Properly assessing what groups people together is difficult as identities develop and change over time. Consequently, this thesis expects to see variation in group behaviours and relation building in the different generations of Ethiopians and Eritreans in Oslo, as identity might have changed and affected group affiliation. In other words, with no war experience, influenced by Norwegian social norms and culture, second generation identity is expected to be different from the previous generation. The connection to national identity and ethnic identity is thus expected to differ and affect group interactions.

Identity may increase the support for your own group, provide a strong connection and identity to your community. This support or hatred against out-groups might in turn affect people who are not connected to the in-group simply based on the persons ethnicity, political opinion or religion (Shamir and Sagiv-Schifter 2006). A previous study from 1984 by Turner, Hogg, and smith, on chosen identities showed that choosing groups and not being forced into one increased self-esteem and cohesion. In their test, the contestants could choose to be part of one of two teams competing in a problem-solving task. The group that won showed higher self-esteem and cohesion when they were put in a group, however the group that lost the test but were able to choose their group also showed high self-esteem and cohesion as well. This led to the conclusion that there is a stronger group commitment when the group is chosen by the members and not chosen for them (Huddy 2001). Hence, I expect to see weaker group

commitment among communities where ethnical group identities is forced. Conflict may be both a factor for why people would voluntarily become member of a group, but also be a push factor for involuntarily affiliation. In terms of ethnic conflict, ethnicity can force people into certain groups based on identities that does not represent them. Hence, not being able to choose the group and weakening group cohesion.

4.5 Summary and theoretical expectations

To sum up, all these theories are relevant for researching group behaviours and how groups co-exist. Long-distance nationalism is paramount to understand how the connection to an ancestral country can affect behaviours in host countries, and encompasses certain identity aspects and norms that connect people living abroad to their ancestral country (Schiller Glick 2005). For instance, through voting, paying tax or being politically active. The relation between the ancestral country and diaspora varies, but can be influenced by the home country's government through political agendas and other benefits provided by the state. Political tension in the ancestral country can therefore affect the tension in a host country as diasporas have connections to their home country. Thus, affecting group dynamics and be the reason for conflicting opinions.

The realistic group conflict theory looks at how these conflicting opinions can escalate and affect group behaviour. The theory is based on an us vs them mentality in a zero-sum game and is presented in this paper by my understanding of the realistic group conflict cycle. In this sequence, a conflict environment is crucial for escalation in conflict. Hence, with physical distance from the conflict, conflict is expected to decrease. However, if a conflict environment is present, this can lead to an increase in hostility and strengthening of in vs out group dynamics. To further look at how the different groups are categorised and how identity affects the group dynamics, this thesis adds aspects from social identity theory. This theory can shed light on how identity can push people into certain groups that are in conflict and affect the cohesion among them.

The first theoretical expectation is based on the realistic group conflict theory as a conflict environment is presumed to cause more tension between groups. Hence, physical distance from

a conflict environment will lead to a decrease in tension as there are better opportunities for cooperation and relation building.

Theoretical expectation 1: Emigrating away from a conflict decreases tension between groups.

Secondly, this paper expects to see less tension among second generation immigrants based on aspects from social identity theory, as the opportunity to form new identities and different experiences is expected to have a positive effect on group dynamics. This paper defines a second-generation immigrant as individuals that have been raised in Norway and does not focus on place of birth but rather upbringing. Moreover, this paper will refer to second generation immigrants as the new generation.

Theoretical expectation 2: Second generation immigrants will experience less tension.

Although I generally expect less tension between second-generation immigrants, new developments in the ancestral countries can create new tensions. This expectation is based on a combination of all the theories. With a new conflict, opposing opinions in a new conflict environment can cause increased tension according to the realistic group conflict theory. Likewise, forced group affiliation through ethnicity based on social identity theory can cause us vs them mentalities and be shaped by the political situation in Eritrea and Ethiopia. Hence, also be affected by long-distance nationalism. It is therefore interesting to see how the new generation that might have experienced less conflict, could now experience more tension due to new arising conflicts in their ancestral country.

Theoretical expectation 3: A new conflict in the home country will increase tension between groups that live in a host country

5. Method

5.1 Introduction

This section of the thesis will go through the research process and present the methods this paper will use to test the research question. The overreaching goal is to look at a specific case and gather data on how migration and tension affect people living in Oslo. Moreover, if there any other factors that might affect the tension between them.

Research question: How does emigration affect the levels of tension between communities that have previously been in conflict and are now living together in a new host country?

5.2 Research design

This paper will use a qualitative method of analysis to go more in depth and will be a small N study. More precisely, this paper will be a case study of the Ethiopian community in Oslo to see how the Ethiopian and Eritrean communities co-exist in with their history with each other. To my knowledge, there is no previous research on relations between groups coming from a setting with armed conflict that now live together in a host country, and this study will therefore be exploratory. Furthermore, the thesis is based on qualitative interviews in order to get in depth information on what it is like to live in a host country with people who previously have been seen as the enemy. Even a small number of interviewees is insightful to shed a first light on this dynamic as there is little research on the topic. To present the findings this project will use thick description to interpret the discoveries within the fitting context, observing social interactions and providing relevant context (Ponterotto 2006).

5.3 Case study

A case study can be described as the in-depth study of a case with focus on gathering information on an event, process or individual (VanWynsberghe and Khan 2007). To quote Yin (2003) "a case study design should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant

to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context" (Baxter and Jack 2015).

A qualitative approach is suitable as this study looks at how emigration affects the levels of tension between communities that have previously been in conflict and are now living together in a new host country. Moreover, the findings cannot be manipulated as I cannot affect the communities' previous experiences. Finally, the context for the research question is highly relevant as there are large Ethiopian and Eritrean communities in Oslo which can provide insight on intercommunal relations in a host country.

Furthermore, this thesis will be an exploratory case study as the purpose of this thesis is to identify relevant questions and lay the foundation for future research on intercommunal relations in host countries (Yin 2014). Exploratory research can address complex phenomenon and will aim to expand on existing knowledge and hopefully be the starting point for future research on the topic. Hence, his thesis will look at how emigration affects the intercommunal relations among groups that have experienced armed conflict.

A common criticism of case studies is the lack of generalisability and that the research is highly dependent on context. Like predictions, generalizations have been recognized as contextual (VanWynsberghe and Khan 2007). However, it is because of this contextual layer that makes case studies very important as they deep dive into complex questions where a single factor cannot explain the entire situation. In addition, with enough case studies it is possible to compare different scenarios and context and provide relevant information as comparing prior research can improve generalisation (VanWynsberghe and Khan 2007).

So why Ethiopian and Eritrean communities in Oslo? To find a suitable case I used an information-oriented selection to extract as much valuable information from a small sample in a single case. Thus, the case is chosen based on the observation expectations (Flyvbjerg 2006). Furthermore, due to the pandemic it is difficult to travel abroad and look at case studies elsewhere. This limitation created an opportunity to look at a case in my hometown and hopefully shed light on an under-researched topic. Secondly, there are many large Eritrean and

Ethiopian communities in Oslo with strong diaspora dynamics. Thus, making it a suitable place to start. Thirdly, Ethiopia and Eritrea have experienced a war of independence, a border war and Ethiopia is currently experiencing a conflict in its Tigray region. This makes the Eritrean-Ethiopian relation an important case to study as what is happening in Ethiopia and Eritrea today can affect the people that live in Oslo. Thus, it is a good example of two countries that have been at war where both sides of the conflict have fled the war and are now living together in a new host country. This allows me to trace the impact of changing developments on the ground and is well-suited for examining different aspects of the theoretical framework.

5.4 Data collection

The project and data collection plan has been approved by NSD and the data is collected through one-on-one interviews. All informants consented to being part of the project through an electronical signed consent form with Bank-ID verification. The informants have been reached out to through Ethiopian and Eritrean associations, friends and social media. However, I used snowball sampling to find most of the interviewees. I gave all interviewees an information sheet in Norwegian, and English were needed (please see appendix) where the process and aim of the interview was clearly stated. The information sheet also clearly stated the informants' rights and how the data would be collected and used. During the interviews the informants were again informed about their rights and what the project is about. The interviews would then be recorded through UIO's encrypted Dictaphone app, and were conducted in both English and Norwegian.

Though, I have reached out to several associations from both Ethiopia and Eritrea, the interviewees are all from Ethiopia. Those from Eritrea that I was in contact with did either not reply or said they did not wish to join. Thus, the project will be presented from an Ethiopian perspective. Moreover, five of the six informants were men and only one of the six informants was raised in Oslo. These limitations will further be addressed in the limitation section. As a side note, some informants have later wished to opt out or not replied after agreeing to participate. Those who did not want to participate opted out before any data was collected. It is also interesting to note that the reason for some people to not participate was the lack of connection to the Eritrean and/or Ethiopian communities in Oslo.

5.5 Data storage

The interviews touched upon issues such as migration, conflict, group relations and philosophical beliefs. Thus, the data being collected is classified as red data based on UIO's data classification. This means that the audio recordings and all other data must be encrypted and safely secured. To safely store data, I used Nettskjema Dictaphone which is an encrypted audio recorder app approved by UIO. The data was recorded cryptically and sent to "Tjenester for Sensitive Data" (TSD) where the data is stored in a virtual Machine (VM), which only I have access to through a two-step verification login. The data is never stored on a private computer or outside TSD. In addition, the consent forms were sent out digitally through nettskjema. Nettskjema provides a login opportunity with bank ID and is stored in TSD as well. TSD is certified to store highly sensitive data.

5.6 Interviews

For this case study I conducted interviews to gather detailed and in-depth information about Ethiopian perspectives on tension between Ethiopians and Eritreans in Oslo. Due to the Covid 19 pandemic certain obstacles were to be expected and an adaptive approach was needed which combined face-to-face interviews as well as the option for digital meetings. In the end, all interviews were face-to-face interviews, and the interviews were held in both English and Norwegian. In addition, all interviewees were presented with the opportunity to have the interview at the University of Oslo. Nevertheless, three of the interviews were conducted in a private seminar room at the University of Oslo, while the remaining three were conducted at the University of Oslo library, one of the informant's offices and a café. These locations were chosen in collaboration with the interviewees.

The interviews were one-on-one interviews which made it easier to lead the conversation towards the subject of interest and stay on track with the intended scope. Secondly, and more importantly, these types of interviews lay the foundation for honest replies that might be difficult to speak about in group interviews. This can especially be the case on subjects that touch upon conflict, personal believes and experiences, and other topics that are seen as taboo.

Therefore, individual interviews generally creates a safe zone compared to other forms of interviewing (Brinkmann 2013).

For this project I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews as it lays between structured and unstructured and is well known structure in qualitative interviewing (Brinkmann 2013). The interview structure is used for getting descriptions from the perspectives of the informant to assess specific phenomena (Brinkmann 2013). Because of its ability to both gather in depth information outside of standardised questions with the structure to maintain the scope of this case study, semi-structured interviews were most suitable for this project. With this semi structure I used the interview guide as a starting point for the interview and as a guide throughout the process. However, due to the personal nature of the interview many of the respondents naturally answered several of the questions in the guide in one answer. Thus, the English and Norwegian interview guides were used at guides and developed gradually with the interviews based on the experience from interviews themselves. Moreover, all interviewees seemed to appreciate being able to talk about these issues in a neutral and professional setting.

5.7 Ethical considerations

The topics of migration and conflict are sensitive issues and knowing what types of questions to ask is paramount. The questions need to consider the response it will most likely receive. The questions aimed to be opened ended and not ask specifically about the conflict in Eritrea and Ethiopia but focus on their relation in Oslo. Thus, avoiding topics that the interviewee might find extra sensitive. However, open ended questions give the interviewees the possibility to talk about more sensitive topics as well, but within the boundaries the informant is comfortable with.

The interviews touch upon many sensitive topics, thus all interviewees received the option to cancel the interview if they felt it became too personal and that they only needed to answer the questions they were comfortable with. All informants were told before and after the interview about the possibility to opt out from the interview without any repercussions at any time if they wish to do so.

5.8 Limitations

Interviews can give detailed information about a population and shed light on opinions and social behaviour. However, it is not easy to do correctly or efficiently. To quote Brinkmann:

> "the process of studying humans by the use of interviewing is analogous to fish wanting to study water. Fish surely "know" what water is in a practical, embodied sense, but it can be a great challenge to see and understand the obvious, that with which we are so familiar"(Brinkmann 2013).

Due to time constraint and the nature of the subject; it was difficult to find informants that wanted to share their experiences. More specifically, all the informants had family from or were from Ethiopia, which gave valuable insight on the Ethiopian perspective and the relation between Eritreans and Ethiopians. However, it cannot give insight on the Eritrean perspective. Furthermore, as this paper looks at generational differences, more of the informants that were raised in Norway should have been interviewed to get a wider range of perspectives. However, due to only one of the several individuals who were raised in Norway agreed to join this project, this thesis struggles with few representatives from the new generation. In addition, the thesis would have benefited from a more gender balanced group of informants to obtain a larger perspective on communal relations.

Another possible limitation is language difficulties. Five of the six interviews were held in Norwegian, and one was held in English. The language used was decided by assumption of preferences and by what I thought would avoid misunderstanding. Overall, language did not present itself as an issue, but differences in slang, sentence building and accent might have affected my interpretation and/or understanding of the informants' statements. Furthermore, translating the interviews from Norwegian to English brings with the risk of not properly addressing the interviewees statements correctly. To reduce the risk of misunderstanding, the interviews were translated to English after the initial analysis to not lose the core ideas from the interviewees. To conclude, new research with a bigger scope and more interviewees from both Ethiopia and Eritrea from all ages and genders are recommended in future research.

1.1 Transcription and strategy

The interviews have all been face-to-face due to the nature of the questions. The response from the informant can vary drastically dependent on the dynamic between the interviewer and interviewee. Body language, atmosphere, and setting are aspects that is easier to notice in a face-to-face interview than a digital one. These aspects become especially important as the questions were personal in nature on a subject that can be tough to talk about. However, body language and other aspects can get lost in translation, either through cultural differences or in not fully encompassing the knowledge obtained in the transcript. For instance, how we look and act are easily forgotten when what is left is just the transcript (Brinkmann 2013). Hence, notes were taken during the interview about the atmosphere and body language as well as other remarks. In the transcription process I have noted the tone of the informant as to more accurately represent their opinion. Moreover, I have tried to maintain a true to life transcription of the interviews without changing sentence building or slang, as this can push my perspectives onto their statements. However, to protect the identity of the informants I have anonymised details that can lead to their identification.

5.9 Thematic analysis

In the analysis I used a thematic method to examine the data. A thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data, which minimally organizes and describes the data set in detail" (Braun and Clarke 2006). The thematic approach is well suited for this thesis as the data covers many themes such as conflict, group relations and ethnicity. The method is not constrained to a specific theoretical framework and can therefore be used for complex subjects (Braun and Clarke 2006). For instance, it can help observing individual experiences and their perspectives, but also how these experiences affect society. This thesis will use Braun and Clark's thematic analysis model to analyse the findings, and contains 6 phases for creating a good thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2012).

The first step to thematic analysis is familiarising oneself with the data, in this case, reading through the transcriptions and literature on the plausible themes presented in the data. Through writing down initial thoughts, questions and themes the researcher will get a deeper understanding of the topic and make it easier to structure and analyse the data. Consequently,

I have listened to the interview recordings several times and taken notes besides the transcription itself asking myself questions that are recommended by Braun and Clark, such as how does the participants make sense of their experience (Braun and Clarke 2012).

The second step is to generate initial codes or key points the interviewees talked about during the interviews and get an overall sense of what the interviewees had to say. The interviewees touched upon many topics so initial mind maps were created to identify the overlying key codes. Among the main topics the informants mentioned the importance of a common language, politics, exile, ethnicity, religion and generational differences to name a few. Table 5.1 provides an example of what this coding process looked like with certain key elements are highlighted in each transcript. The transcript is coded in the language the interview was conducted in to maintain the core ideas of the informants.

Table 5.1 Example of thematic findings

Interviews	Codes	Themes
P:Do you experience any tension between Ethiopians and Eritreans? I:" i begynnelsen var jeg litt skeptisk til eritrere som støttet regjeringen i eritrea, for de tilhører plf og jeg ble litt skeptisk kanskje de hater meg fordi jeg er fra etiopia eller noe sånt. Men på grunn av felles språk gjør oss til å treffe hverandre på forskjellige måter jeg traff mange gjennom en religiøs veldedighets orginisasjon, gjennom dem så traff jeg mange fra eritrea. I nord i kirka traff jeg mange fra eritrea. jeg opplevde det den krigen gjør verden, den mest forferdelige krigen i afrika den gangen men her, ikke bare jeg, men vi hadde god kontakt, bedre kontakt enn, var mange som var som var overrasket." (informant 1)	Scepticism Fear of hatred Common language as unifier Common religion The brutality of war Surprised by the good relations between Eritrean and Ethiopians	Fear and hatred Language Religion Relation building

The third step is finding themes based on the codes and gathering core ideas that can be seen throughout the observations (Nowell et al. 2017). To capture the themes from the interviews I added the "themes" column to the initial coding table in table 5.1 to build upon previous findings. In this process I used the codes to find an overarching theme and general themes. The fourth step in this process is reviewing the potential themes, comparing them to the code and do quality checks. This part consisted of systematising the overarching, general and sub themes and organising them in a structured way. To do this, this paper followed Clark and Braun's check list (Braun and Clarke 2012).
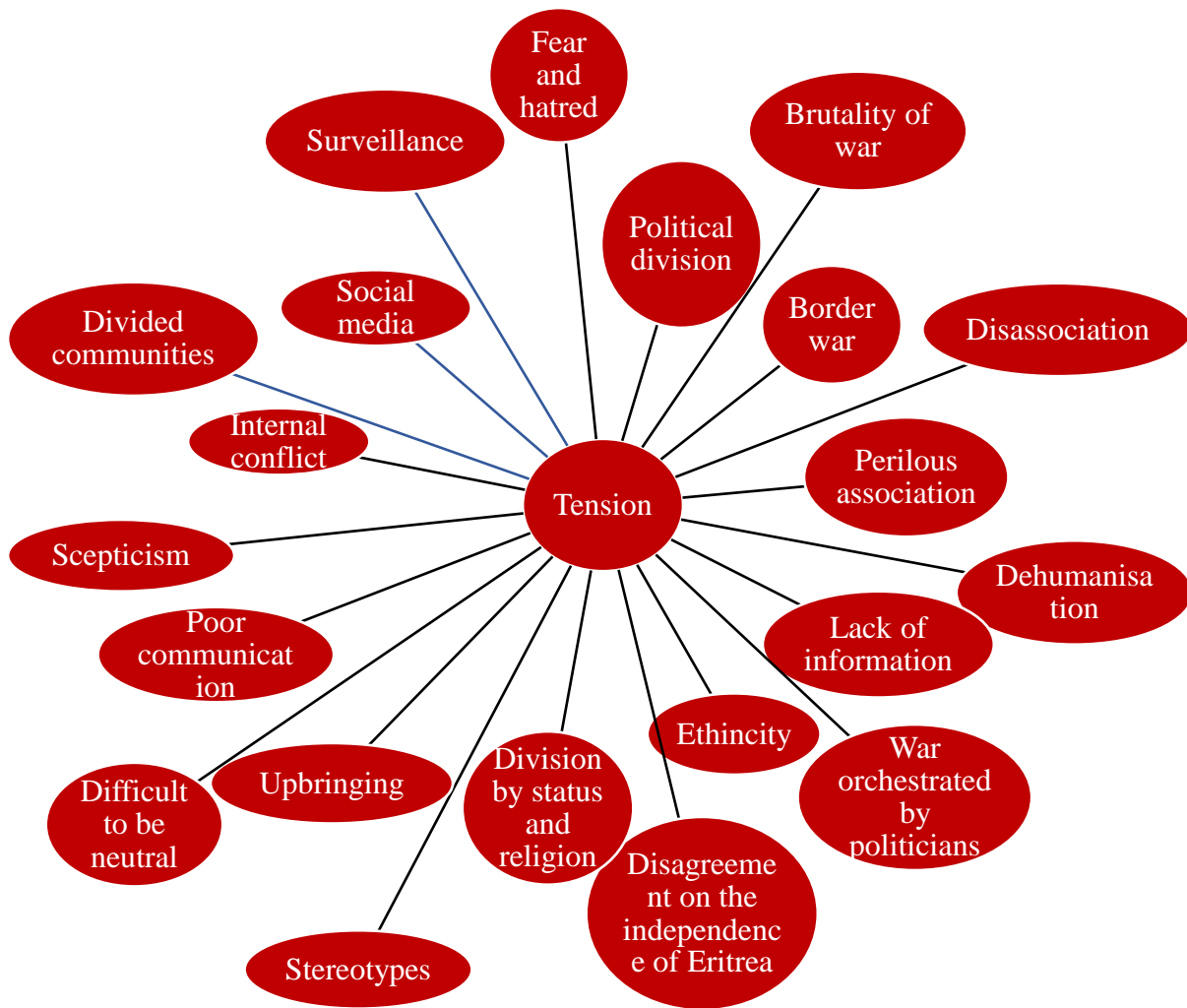
Figure 5.1 Tension mind map

The next step was to properly define and name the overarching, general and sub themes, making sure they do not overlap and become repetitive. In this process I created more nuanced mind maps as shown in Figure 5.1 to group them correctly. In the final process the writing and analysis were interconnected and happened simultaneously (Braun and Clarke 2012).

6. Analysis

6.1 Introduction

This section will present the main findings from the interviews and be the foundation of the discussion in chapter 7. I analysed the data from a realistic group conflict perspective with supplements from long-distance nationalism and social identity theory. The analysis will try to answer and shed light on how emigration affect the levels of tension between communities that have previously been in conflict and are now living together in a new host country.

The analysis chapter is divided into overarching themes and general themes, and is sorted and quality controlled according to Clark and Braun's guide (Braun and Clarke 2012). To test if the themes were actual themes, I went through all of the interview codes and made a list of reoccurring codes and to see how they fit together. In the end I found three main overarching themes: tension, relation building, and a new generation.

With the main overarching themes in place, I quality tested all overarching themes to see if they could tell me something useful about the data and my research question. The research question is related to conflict and the relation between groups that have previously experienced conflict with each other. Hence, tension is highly relevant because without tension there would be no conflict. Secondly, relation building or lack thereof can tell us something about how people cooperate and relate to each other after a common experience of conflict. Finally, the perspectives of the generations that did not grow up with the conflict, but live in the aftermath of it is highly relevant for learning more about the decrease or increase of tension over time.

Furthermore, as a part of this process it was important to find the boundaries to each overarching theme. Mind maps as seen in figure 5.1 were created to divide codes that were relevant for the different overarching themes. The mind map was then used to group these overarching themes into themes and sub-themes. However, it is interesting to note that most themes and sub-themes are related to each other to some extent, and all overarching themes, themes and sub-themes together portray larger findings than the overarching themes would do by themselves. To prevent overlap between themes I have conducted quality checks and

revaluated the clustering of the themes and codes. The following sections is the result of this process.

UiO :

6.2 Interview findings
6.2.1 Overarching theme 1: Tension
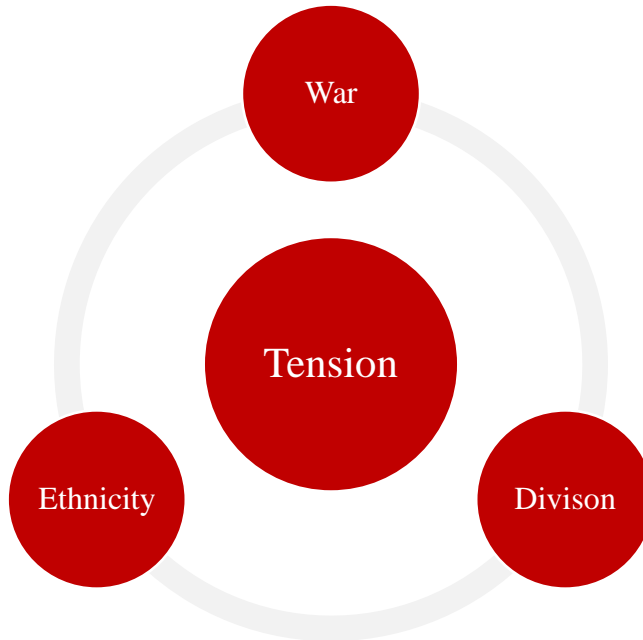
Figure 6.1 Tension, overarching theme, and themes

Table 6.1 Tension, themes and sub-themes

War
- Disagreement on the independence of Eritrea
- Brutality of war
- Dehumanisation
- Border war
- War orchestrated by politicians
- Surveillance

Ethnicity
- Internal conflict
- difficult to be neutral
- ethnicity as a political tool

Division and informantion problems
- Perilous association
- Political division
- Scepticism
- Fear and hatred
- Divided communities
- Social media
- Communication problems

Throughout the interviews one of the overarching themes was the aspect of tension in different forms, more specifically tension through, ethnicity, division and war. This section will go through each of these themes and discuss their sub-themes. Nevertheless, all the themes are interconnected and related to each other.

6.2.1.1   Theme 1: War

Some important key events for why there has and still is tension between people from Ethiopia and Eritrea, and internally in the Ethiopian community, is the border war between Eritrea and Ethiopia. However, the independence of Eritrea, and the recent conflict in Tigray are also important factors for disagreements and tension between the communities.

The independence of Eritrea is a controversial topic for many as there are disagreements on why Eritrea became independent and if it is independent at all. All the informants explained how they viewed Eritreans as their brothers and sisters, or at least used to. Moreover, with all the similarities between Ethiopians and Eritreans, some of the informants found it difficult to understand why Eritrea wanted independence. The independence of Eritrea as a state is widely accepted but there are still people in the Ethiopian communities who disagrees or do not see why Ethiopia and Eritrea needed to split.

> "Even though we have a good relation and friendship relation there are many who do not acknowledge Eritrea as a state and they only see it as a part of Ethiopia…This type of behaviour offends many from Eritrea, I see that they do not like it and that they wish to be recognised as a state and a country." (informant 3)

This can cause discussions or disagreements as there are conflicting opinions on Eritrea's independence, but also because the independence affected the perceived identity of both Eritreans and Ethiopians. With the independence, there came a new independent identity that is in conflict with the previous identity that encompass both Eritreans and Ethiopians. From the perspective of social identity theory, these splits in identity from one to two countries can indeed affect group dynamics and form group behaviours. One respondent expressed futility

of being politically correct as no matter what one does it is perceived the wrong way. Moreover, how it is difficult to understand why Eritrea wanted independence as both Ethiopians and Eritreans suffered under the communist regime and that it should not in itself be enough to want to become an independent country.

> "It is a bit difficult to understand because we think that it should not be a reason to detach oneself from family and blood brothers, so it is a bit emotional charged discussions that occurs once in a while" (informant 3)

Even though there are some disagreements on whether Eritrea should be independent, most of the informants expressed a deep wish of having or wanting closer relations with people from Eritrea as they see each other as brothers and sisters. This can be seen even after the independence as both Eritreans and Ethiopians were friends and neighbours living peacefully. However, when the border war broke out tension started to grow and people who were friends suddenly were forced to take sides and/or take a political stance no matter what you wanted.

> "Before the war my friends were from Eritrea, my neighbour, you never think it means anything else than just neighbours, but suddenly after the independence or split, it was still peaceful…but suddenly there was a war, so you start to think okay he's on that side, suddenly I am on this side even though I do not wish to." (informant 5)

The conflict environment and the forced us vs them mentality can have made it tough for Ethiopians and Eritreans to avoid increased conflict as many were forced to join the army and fight which made it difficult to talk with friends you had before as people had suddenly become your enemy. This forced group dynamic can have increased hatred, tension and further pushed in vs out group dynamics. Standing up to this forced grouping is difficult and punishment for disobedience can have made it problematic to decrease conflict.

> "the politics divide people, and when the war started and you had to join it became quite serious, so it was difficult to talk about that it was your friend on the other side, it is my neighbour on the other side. What is the point? What do I win by this? Either way it is just loss loss, so it was difficult to say it out loud." (informant 5)

Being forced to take sides and fighting people who were previously friends and family created fear and hatred as the border war became brutal as first world war tactics and trench warfare were common. Many of the informants shared their experiences and horrors connected to the war, and how these experiences have affected them and affect them in their day-to-day life. Experiencing traumatic events might make it difficult to reconcile and increase tension between Eritreans and Ethiopians alike. War forces people to do unimageable things to each other and experience atrocities. "I experienced the most horrible war in Africa at that time" (informant 1).

The Eritrean and Ethiopian people did not want a border war but were forced into it through political pressure. After the war, several of the informants have expressed a relief when migrating to Norway because when they spoke to Eritreans and Ethiopians, they realised neither of them wanted the border war. This has made it easier to decrease the tension and discuss how politics and politicians formed the conflict. In other words, it seems that the diaspora communities provided a sort of forum for exchange that would not be possible in Ethiopia or Eritrea.

> "It was never the peoples war; it was the politicians. So that is what have made it easier when they suddenly say it is peace, so you see that people never had a conflict between each other in Oslo." (informant 5)

To be able to experience that neither party wanted war had been a relief for many especially due to the portrayal of the other side that were pushed by a political agenda. As a part of this political war, one of the informants emphasised how the politicians were occupied with dehumanising the enemy and tried to create further division. People did not wish to fight as many had good relations with each other and viewed both Eritreans and Ethiopians as a family. "The politicians were occupied with creating an enemy of the other group or dehumanise the other group, it was my friends on the other side." (informant 5)

The independence of Eritrea and the border war had a deep impact on both Eritreans and Ethiopians. Today, the border war still affects people in Oslo and the Eritrean and Ethiopian communities as there are disagreements on the conflict. However, it is no longer constant but occasional disagreements. Interestingly, in line with the first theoretical expectations, time and distance in peace times appear to decrease the amount of tension. In relation to the expectations of realistic group conflict theory with removal from a conflict environment group dynamics have improved. However, in times of increased conflict in Ethiopia tension increased in the Ethiopian communities. Thus, it appears that the relations in Oslo is dependent on what is happening in Ethiopia and Eritrea as hinted at in theoretical expectation 3. Individuals' connection to their ancestral home might therefore be an important factor for group behaviour and nationalism. "it is seasonal or it is occasional, like in 2000-2001 there was a border war so that affect much of the community" (informant 6)

Another interesting observation was the surveillance from Ethiopia but more prominently Eritrean government in Norway. In the aftermath of the war of independence and border war, the influence and reach of both Eritrean and Ethiopian government grew abroad. With governmental meddling in diaspora communities, tension can continue to increase as political agendas are pushed overseas. How far the Eritrean and Ethiopian governmental control can reach is debatable, but what is happening politically in Ethiopia and Eritrea is important for relations in Oslo. Moreover, there is a fear of being persecuted as there might be spies and surveillance from the Eritrean government.

> "…the governments are making things more difficult. The Ethiopian government as well to be honest…but the biggest problem, no offense, is the Eritrean government. It is very controlling…They control those who have applied for asylum, and might send spies. (informant 1)

6.2.1.2   Theme 2: Ethnicity

On the other hand, the informants that were interviewed stated that in general, relations between Ethiopians and Eritreans were decent in Oslo even though there could be some minor disagreements. However, all informants emphasised how fragmentation inside of the Ethiopian community and ethnicity was seen as a bigger problem. The war of independence and border war seemed less relevant as Eritrea and Ethiopia have solved these issues.

Consequently, with increased tension around the debate of the federal system in Ethiopia, and an increase in violent confrontations in Tigray, Ethiopia sees itself in a humanitarian crisis and brink of civil war. This crisis is dividing the Ethiopian community and causing internal division amongst Ethiopians, but on the other hand it has opened for more cooperation with the Eritrean community. "As of today, we Ethiopians are fragmented. Very very fragmented, more so than the fragmentation with Eritreans. As of today, it is easier for me to join an Eritrean community when the situation changed (War in Tigray). (informant 3)

In this new conflict, ethnicity has become the focus and the collective identity of Ethiopian community seems to crumble. Ethiopia is divided into 10 regions, and these now experience more division as ethnicity is used as a political tool in the conflict in Tigray and has become a major part of the conflict itself. This directly affects the Ethiopian community and the Ethiopian associations, as they were previously gathered through a national identity but are now divided by ethnicity. The associations were not meant to be political but has become divided between ethnic groups and political opinion as different associations have different opinions on the conflict in Tigray and the Ethiopian government. Remarkably, the relation between Eritrea and Ethiopia appear to be decent.

> "In Ethiopia, previously we were under an Ethiopian umbrella, people from Tigray, Oromo, Amhara, and Gurage, and all the others that was under this umbrella. All this has been destroyed after the new government arrived. Oromo has their own, Tigray has their own, and other Ethiopians have their own. And among Ethiopians as well, those who support the regime back home now and those that are against the regime in Ethiopia, so we are fragmented. So, it has destroyed our relationship with each other, but in relation to Eritrea it is okay." (informant 3)

Many of the informants mentioned how ethnicity and the use of ethnicity as a political tool has created more tension and division, but that many are also against the use of ethnicity. Several of the informants expressed how they saw how ethnicity divided people and how it affected them negatively and therefore wanted to decrease its presence. Nevertheless, it is difficult to escape and ethnicity and ethnic politics affects people whether you want it to or not. Not only does this affect the communities, but it also pushes an agenda on the new generation as ethnicity is becoming more important in regards of identity and political stance.

> "Yes, what I can say is that there are people from Amhara that say no this is not good we need to think as Ethiopia, this (ethnicity) has not done us any good. It (ethnicity) is a joke, but now I believe we are affected by being from Amhara (informant 1) (edited for clarity)

Consequently, all informants expressed a wish to find people with a neutral perspective to talk and discuss with, but explained how it is difficult to find people who are willing to talk and not take sides. Being neutral is very difficult in a conflict where the side you are one is chosen for you by where you were born and ancestral background. However, if you try not to choose sides or take the opposite side, social punishments might occur. This has caused division in the Ethiopian communities and created difficulties due to perceptions about political opinions. "I feel like I have not managed to find someone that have managed to be neutral, who one can naturally get a connection with (takes a deep breath)." (informant 2)

Due to the conflict in Tigray, ethnicity has become more important than before, but it is used less for forming identities and more as a political tool to divide people. People from different ethnic backgrounds, or even without any specific background are now put against each other where your ethnicity indirectly signify your political stance. This creates tension as people are forced to pick a side, or assume you have chosen a side because of your ethnicity. With the expectations from social identity theory and research done by Turner, Hogg, and smith (see chapter 4.3) this forced identity and grouping can cause more tension and poor group dynamics. Hence, underlining the theoretical expectation of increased tension in a host country due to new conflict in the ancestral country

> "Yes, it has become more important than before, but is has become a tool for division, that is my opinion. It has become more important to divide people, not because it is so important that I belong to an ethnic group…Identity is important, but it is not used for identity, it is used destructively (informant 5)

6.2.1.3 Theme 3: Division and information problems

Due to the history and political tension between Ethiopians and Eritreans many choose to not talk to each other and stay away from one another. By being part of specific communities or not being part of communities can affect where you stand in a in vs outgroup dynamic. Thus,

being friends with the "wrong" people can be seen as not acceptable and be shunned. Moreover, being neutral can create separation as well as there is a pressure to be part of a bigger group. Then again, there are also many other factors that causes division. For instance, not having a high enough status, education or even having the right papers to stay in Norway. This makes it difficult to properly identify what is the main cause of the division, but it sheds light on a complex situation with strong in vs out group dynamics.

"If you are an asylum seeker, or do not have the papers you need, there are not many who would invest in a friendship with you, you become alone…The division that is happening in Ethiopia you can see here as well, so if you have different ethnical groups and try to be neutral, you can ble excluded because you do not belong to a bigger group, so this creates separation." (informant 5) (edited for clarity)

Past experiences can also make it extremely painful to meet people who were against you in the war, thus making it more appealing to stay away from each other. This can either lead to more division in the communities where members stay away from each other, create subgroups or make people stay away from the Eritrean and Ethiopian communities in general because it is difficult improve relations with those who you fought against. In addition, several of the individuals asked to participate in this project did not want to participate due to lack of connection to Eritrean and/or Ethiopian communities. "It is difficult to meet people from Eritrea on the streets, it has been very very very painful." (informant 4)

With two previous conflicts and an ongoing one in Tigray, scepticism grows. The importance of history and the division of Eritrea and Ethiopia still affects people in Oslo today as the independence of Eritrea and the border war marked a change in having the same identity to being different. The border war has created a deep hatred, or at least scepticism and a perception that there is hatred. This scepticism and hatred still linger today and can be seen through day-to-day conversations and the way it is perceived people are taught about what happened in Eritrea and Ethiopia. Nevertheless, several of the informants also mentioned how relations have improved and that the relation is better than it has been before. Thus, painting a complex picture.

"I was a bit sceptical towards people from Eritrea that supports the government in Eritrea because they are PLF, and I became sceptical and thought, maybe they hate me because I am from Ethiopia or something like that" (informant 1)

This scepticism also extends to those outside of the communities as rumours as passed on, even though the rumours have turned out to not be true.

I don't have any knowledge of any tension, but I know it is bit like, we need to be careful during demonstrations, because people have been stressed over that other might come and disturb the demonstration but is has not happened." (informant 2)

When asked questions on the perceived relation between Eritreans and Ethiopians the respondents provided with varying responses. Three of the respondent's stated relations were good, but others mentioned how it could be better and how there were certain aspects that created poor relations. Overall, all informants expressed in different forms how fear and hatred increased with each new conflict or conflict escalation. "It is very bad. The reason is our war history, first the war about independence and after that it was less tense, but then one more time during the 90-2000 war. It renewed the hatred." (informant 4)

Even with the new generation that did not experience the conflict directly there seem to be fear, hatred, and perceptions of each other that persists through the generations. Especially with the new conflict in Tigray. Tension therefore seems to continue to the new generation affect the upbringing and perceptions of Eritreans and Ethiopians in Oslo. As a side note, new research on the Eritrean perspective would add valuable insight on perceptions of Ethiopians

"…I have grown up with Eritreans being brothers and sisters, we speak the same language, we are the same people even though we are two countries it is fine, history is history, but then we have to move on. But what I have experienced with Eritreans is the opposite, they grow up with, I don't know if I can call it hatred, but at least a certain scepticism against people, specifically from Tigray (informant 2)

This renewed hatred seems to also be present in the conflict in Tigray and affects the Eritrean and Ethiopian communities and their effort to try to create a fellowship. While one informant

stated that the willingness to create a community feeling is there, it is difficult to achieve and that they have not achieved it yet. "There are things that could become better. There is a lack of a community feeling, we wish to experience a togetherness, but we cannot quite achieve it" (informant 5)

An example of this, is instead of gathering as one in a collective Ethiopian community, many are split between different ethnicities and churches. Religion which can be a unifier can also increase tension and division as there can be little communication between the religious communities. "People are now organised in different organisations they are not mixing much, so the Ethiopians have their own church and communities and social." (informant 6)

One informant voiced how he thought the Ethiopian community would be sceptical of him because of where he is from, and how it caused tension. Interestingly, he expressed that there were good relations, but because of the conflict in Tigray the community had split and made him lose many friends.

> "I am from Tigray so I thought they would be sceptical when I came to the Ethiopian community. I tried my best but it ended (claps his hands together) in a catastrophe. Now we are no more, we have different churches, it is not like before. I had good contact (with people) which is now destroyed. I have lost many friends who suddenly changed because of the situation back home." (informant 1) (edited for clarity)

Generally, the associations do not discuss politics, but because of the Tigray conflict the association one of the informants was a part of had to split and create specific associations for the specific ethnic groups. This is a real-life example of how a conflict that happens far away can have direct impact on communities in Oslo and the associations connected to the communities.

> "They became angry and started to, well, to fight and argue, not me but others from the associations…They had to create a new Tigray association. Oromo also have its own association…If you visit an Ethiopian association today, 100% of them are from Amhara and none of them are from Oromia. There are no one from Tigray." (informant 1)

In addition, discussing the war and the conflict in Tigray is often received with harsh criticism if you do not support the correct side. Moreover, being critical is not accepted and can lead to exclusion from groups or social media. Those who try to speak up are branded as traitors, and arguing that not all Eritreans or Ethiopia want war is difficult as the us versus them mentality is strong.

> "I started to think logically, but if I say it out loud, a person from Tigray will not listen to me. They say you are an Eritrean spy, especially the young become nervous and angry. So, we have problems among ourselves. On Twitter I started to discuss and talk critically, but they threw me out of the system and told me you are not from Tigray, you are Eritrean…the people from Tigray will not listen, the hatred is so strong ("informant 4). (edited for clarity)

Poor commination is also a major issue. The hatred causes people to not listen to critical opinions and accuse people of not supporting the ingroup. Social media plays an important role in information accessibility but also what content is presented to the public. Moreover, what is viewed as allowed in certain feeds. This in turn promotes poor communication and can decrease the willingness to talk openly about the border war, conflict in Tigray and other sensitive subjects. When asked if the respondents felt there were a willingness to talk to each other about the conflicts and the relation between Eritreans and Ethiopians, the answers varied drastically.

> "No, no, no, there is no space." (informant 4)

> "Yes, I think so, but it is dependent on how involved people are. I have felt it is much easier to talk about it if the other person is neutral as I feel I am, in relation to politics and ethnicity and so on" (informant 5)

> "Yes very much, you know, I can only say what I perceive, because I am a pastor and my community is very positive religious people… if you ask another person they might not agree, but for me, what I see is very encouraging." (informant 6) (edited for clarity)

The amount communication between Eritreans and Ethiopians, and internally in the Ethiopian community varies drastically. Some seem to avoid talking to each other and find it difficult to

create space, while others feel that there is space or at least the possibility for space to talk. If a person has been heavily involved in a conflict it can make it more difficult to open up and discuss and share information. Then again, some communities are more open than others and have positive experiences with communication.

Social media is an important platform to discuss the conflict in Tigray but is also affected by group behaviour and us versus them mentalities. Moreover, information or lack thereof has created problems for decreasing tension between Ethiopians and Eritreans. Especially during the border war when there were few opportunities for communication. When asked if it was easier or more difficult to discuss the conflict in Ethiopia than it is to talk about today in Oslo, an informant expressed how difficult it was to know what the other people thought. Not knowing what the conflicting party think about the conflict increased tension, but when it became possible to discuss what happened the respondent realised they had the same opinions on the border war and that neither wanted war.

> "There was little communication with the other side so you do not know what they think, but when we talk about it today when we have met them again and talked about it they have the same opinion on the other side" (informant 5)

6.2.1.4   Summary

To sum up, the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia stretches far back and is still present in Oslo. Discussions and disagreements on identity and politics occur, but there is also a longing for better relation between Ethiopians and Eritreans. The border war has forced an us versus them mentality seen in the that still lingers today as many were forces to take sides during the border war. However, having distance from the conflict and being in diaspora communities have provided a sort of forum for exchange that could not be possible in Ethiopia. These observations are in line with the first theoretical expectation.

Consequently, the relation between Ethiopians and Eritreans in Oslo appears to have improved to some extent, but the informants portray varying experiences. Overall, due to peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea, cooperation between Eritreans and Ethiopians in Oslo appears to have

increased, and the focus for the Ethiopian community has changed towards the conflict in Tigray. Due to this conflict, fragmentation in the Ethiopian diaspora has become more important for the Ethiopian communities and might even have improved the relation with Eritreans as both fight against the war in Tigray. Then again, Ethnicity has become more significant than before as where you stand on the conflict in Tigray is assumed by ethnicity and is further used to divide people. According to social identity theory, ethnicity can be a crucial factor for group affiliation and dynamics which can affect possibilities for neutral discussions. Hence, it can increase the chance of future conflict as the third theoretical expectation indicates.

In addition, as divisions in the communities' increase, a stronger in versus out group dynamic can be seen. Even being friends with the "wrong" people might be shunned by others. This mixed with fear, hatred and scepticism also make many choose to stay away from each other and distance themselves from the communities. This contradicts the first theoretical expectation that tension decrease with distance, as there is still a strong tension between the communities. Nevertheless, the tension seems not to be constant but to be related with the appearance of new conflicts or re-escalations. Moreover, social media has made a large impact on the information flow and works as major platform for communication and discussions on all conflicts, especially the conflict in Tigray in recent times. However, the quality of communication and information flow can vary drastically and lead to very different experiences on the willingness to talk about sensitive topics.

6.2.2 Overarching theme 2: Relation building
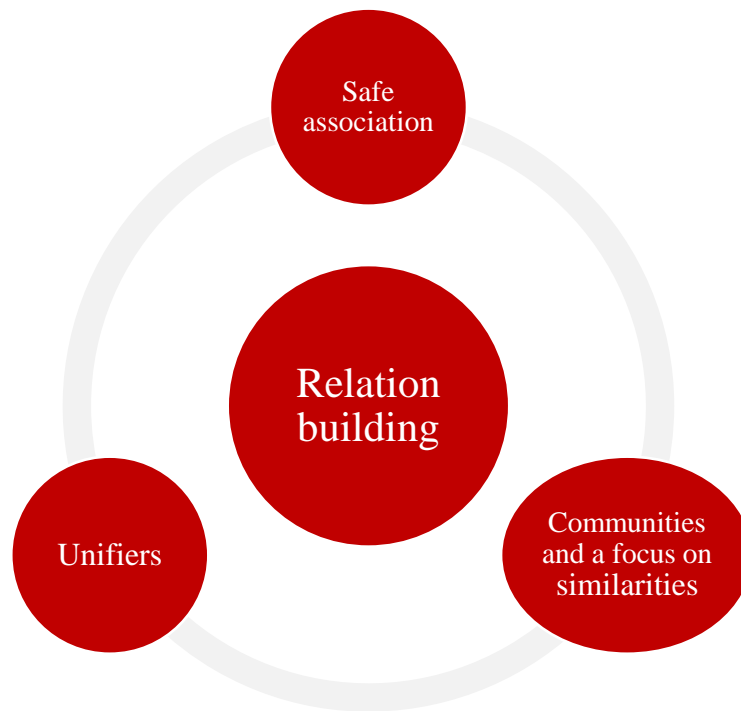
Figure 6.2 Relation building, overarching themes and themes

Table 6.2 Relation building, themes and sub-themes

Safe association
•Peace
•A wish for improvement
•Safe association
•Neutrality
•Democracy

Unifiers
•Language
•Nationalism
•Religion
•Exile

Communities and a focus on similarities
•A focus on similarities
•Common Culture
•Common goals
•Peaceful discussions
•Communities

In contrast with the tension among Eritreans and Ethiopians, relation building is also an important overarching theme from the interviews. Although the informants expressed the

presence of tension, they also stated that tension have to some extent decreased and that there is a wish for better relations. Thus, this section will look at some of the most important themes and sub-themes of relation building.

6.2.2.1   Theme 1: Safe association

An important aspect for relation building is the presence of peace and the opportunity to not fear for one's life. With constant fear of persecution and death it is difficult to improve relations, especially with the people you are fighting against. Consequently, two of the informants expressed how lucky they were for being able to get away from the conflict and be able to stay in Norway, as both had feared for their lives. This reflection on peace and war, can also be crucial in the development for better relations, as it can give valuable insight on the brutality of war and how important it is to live peacefully together.

> "In the beginning I thought, I can finally live-in peace, and I was so lucky that time because most people got rejected but I was able to stay."(informant 1)

> "I am so lucky to have ended up here in Norway, had I been in Ethiopia I would most likely have been killed as many others, those who protested against the regime" (informant 3)

Overall, there seem to be a wish to improve relations and build a better future. Furthermore, that relations have improved already, and people are trying to work together and support each other with everything from birthdays to funerals. While the communities are split there are also closeness, with people bonding together. The communities and associations are therefore important actors in the relation building between Eritreans and Ethiopians, and maybe even more so among Ethiopians themselves.

> "Emotional charged discussions can occur once in a while. But honestly, it does not play a big role for our friendship, we stand together for birthday celebrations, we stand together for weddings." (informant 3)

With peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia it has become easier and safer to have a connection with the Eritrean community. Whereas it was difficult before, if not impossible, to have a connection to the Eritrean communities due to the ongoing border war, the peace agreement made it safer to have relations with the Eritrean community. This can change come from a change in group mentalities and less focus on the border war which makes room for better communication.

> "I feel I have a connection to both groups…so now as it is more peaceful between Eritrea and Ethiopia it is safer to say I feel a connection to the Eritrean community as well, but only for 3-4 years ago when there was still a conflict, I would not have said it was safe, because you never know what the other group feel and say." (informant 5)

With less focus on the border war, it is easier to distance oneself from the conflict and take a more neutral stance. Neutrality is difficult to find but has also become a sought-after trait, especially with the developments in Tigray. Hence, neutrality is a crucial part of relation building as neutrality can improve peaceful discussions and pave way for better communication. While it can be difficult to find people who do not take sides informants underlined the importance to find people who are neutral to be able to discuss sensitive topics and find a peaceful solution.

> "What we need the most are those who do not take sides, but help us for instance with gathering and asking what you think? Is it possible with all the ethnicities to live in peace? Because today's rhetoric tells us that we cannot live in peace together". (informant 3)

Another factor that affects relation building is the democratic institutions we have in Norway. The interviews did not go in depth into this topic, but democracy and the importance of the Norwegian government were brought up by three different informants. The interviewees expressed gratitude of the democracy and the ability to express free speech, but also how. many struggles with using the tools available in a democracy and do not use the system to have peaceful discussions. One of the informants were also more pessimistic about how people had not absorbed the democratic values and did not use them to live peacefully.

"I am not talking only about people from Eritrea and Ethiopia that are living in Norway, it is like a rock in a river that never gets wet. We have not absorbed anything of democracy, and how we see and read, how we are in a society where people can have different political opinions and have peaceful discussions. This we have not learned yet." (informant 1)

Furthermore, two of the informants voiced how the Norwegian state could both facilitate peace but also create more tension. Hence, playing a large role in the relation building. This begs the questions, if the Norwegian government should take sides, provide arenas for discussions and how the government influence conflict management. However, this is outside the scope of this thesis.

" What could the Norwegian government have done to facilitate?...Norway could for instance contribute through financing peace negotiations, but it is important to note that sometimes the Norwegian government also have caused separation." (informant 6) (edited for clarity)

6.2.2.2   Theme 2: Unifiers

In contrast with many factors that increases tension there are also many factors that decrease tension and support better relation building. The most mentioned unifying factor in the interviews was having a common language that created opportunities for better relations and opened up for easier communication. According to one informant, the fear and scepticism when traveling to Norway and meeting people from Eritrea and Ethiopia disappeared as they were able to communicate and relate to each other because of a common language. Thus, distance from the conflict and a common language created the possibilities for better communication.

"Because of a common language, we were able to meet each other in different ways, I met many through a religious organisation, through them I met many people from Eritrea…we had a good connection, better than, many were surprised" (informant 1)

When speaking the same language, it is also easier to discuss more complicated subjects such as politics, ideologies and issues on ethnic division and nationalism. Interestingly, nationalism was also pointed out as a unifier as it can create a larger and more inclusive group identity rather than, for instance, dividing Ethiopia into several smaller ethnic groups. Especially, with

ethnic division connected to the conflict in Tigray. This also affects the Eritrean Ethiopian relation as Eritrean troops have been seen in Ethiopia.

> "The Eritreans have gone in and fought against TPLF so the relation is not that good. But generally, the way I see it, nationalist Ethiopians and nationalist Eritreans are really good friends (chuckles), it is strange, it is very interesting!" (informant 3)

Additionally, experiencing living in exile were emphasised by one of the informants as being an eye opener that changed his perspective and made him think about why there was a war. With distance from the war and the time and possibility to reflect, the war seemed more unnecessary which could make it easier to strive for more peaceful and better relation building. This new perspective can remove the rules of a zero-sum game where any ground lost is ground won by the enemy, as neither won anything from the war and that Eritreans and Ethiopian does not need to be enemies.

> "Being in exile, has taught us both (Eritreans and Ethiopians) that we are the losers of this unnecessary war back home. One just wakes up and question, what was actually the purpose with killing each other?" (informant 3) (edited for clarity)

In search for better relation building and living in peace, many have looked for solutions in religion and religious communities. Even though there are several different churches and division in the communities, religion or the Christian associations were presented as an important unifier between people from Eritrea and Ethiopia. A common religion can unite people through a shared belief and provide common goal outside politics, in addition to a sense of belonging. Thus, create a new group identity that does not have an in versus out group dynamic. "There are some that stand beside their government, but as a Christian I don't have to be part of a government but part of the one kingdom of god" (informant 6)(edited for clarity)

Likewise, it seems that religion can also help with reducing the importance of ethnicity as it provides mutual unifier in God. In other words, that the idea of ethnicity becomes less important because God sees everyone as equal and that it can bring people together with similar beliefs.

"In most cases Eritreans and Ethiopians, we go together to church, but there is also Eritrean and Ethiopian church which also share the same, so the people do not see ethnicity they see Christ as a unifier" (informant 6)

6.2.2.3   Theme 3: Communities and a focus on similarities

In contrast with three of the other informants, one respondent expressed how even with disagreements there still seem to be a strong community feeling that gathers people. If this strong community feeling is specifically to one part of the Ethiopian community or an ethnic group is debatable, but it seems that there are communities with good relations to each other. Hence, communities are an important sub-theme for both tension and relation building as the communities can affect both overarching themes. "We argue a little but then we go back to our regular life about partying together, celebrating new year's together, so the community feeling is very very strong" (informant 3)

Although there is tension due to the border war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, one informant expressed how it does not ruin friendships. In contrast, another informant explained how it has destroyed friendships, which shows that people have different experiences and with varying levels of tension and relation building. This again questions the first theoretical expectations as there are varying opinions on the amount of tension between the communities. "Discussions about supporting the Eritrean government or the Ethiopian from the Eritrean side can occur. So, we can maybe discuss, but it does not destroy our relation to each other." (informant 3)

Then again, there have also been instances where Ethiopians and Eritreans were standing together against the conflict in Tigray. Having a common goal can therefore be an important factor for improving relations between communities.

"We have had demonstrations last time against the war in Tigray, Ethiopia, and Eritreans were in the same demonstration as us, in the same street, together, two different flags but a common goal. 20 years ago, we were on the street opposite each other and had demonstrations against demonstrations. It is not because of things that happen here but because of things that happen back home. (informant 5)

As mentioned in the previous section, who it is easier to have good relations with seem to be affected by the political situation back home. This idea is further supported by another informant that state that the communities do not matter that much due to the split among the communities and that it is what is happening back home that is the most important. Hence, it seems that what affects the relation building the most is the peace or conflict in Ethiopia and Eritrea. This appear to support the third theoretical expectation that if there is conflict back home, this is correlate with the tension in Oslo.

> "So the most important thing is what is happening there, there has not been big changes that have created a sense of fellowship her, we have different churches, different congregations, and languages." (informant 5) (edited for clarity)

On the other hand, with everything that is going on in Ethiopia and Eritrea there seem to be a larger focus on similarities between Ethiopians and Eritreans. One informant explained how he felt he could start his life with a clean slate when migrating to Norway. How it did not matter what have happened before and that he realised that Eritreans and Ethiopian had much more in common than what divided them.

> "When I came to Norway and ended up in an asylum reception centre I had already started getting relations with other Ethiopians and Eritreans. To the extent where it is erased who we are you know? All of the political conflict back home become meaningless straight away, so we became friends or countrymen…We have much more in common than that divides us, that is my experience." (informant 3)

This can be seen through many of the same cultural aspects Ethiopia and Eritrea share, and how this common culture brings people together and creates a sense of fellowship. To paraphrase informant 3, Ethiopians and Eritreans arrange sleepovers, play Ethiopian and Eritrean music and dance together, and overall find friendships in a shared culture.

6.2.2.4   Summary

To sum up, although there is still tension between Eritreans and Ethiopians in Oslo, there is a desire for better relations and peace. With peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia it is now

perceived safer to associate with each other, and communities and associations are therefore important factors in forming relationships. In contrast with how aspects of social identity theory and long-distance nationalism have been seen as factors of increased tension, they can also improve group relations. For example, neutrality and other unifying factors are a crucial element in relation building as it builds peaceful discussions. Among these other unifying factors, common language was explained as one of the strongest unifiers between Ethiopians and Eritreans as it made it easier to communicate, relate and have discussions. In these discussions nationalism is also seen as important factors for better relation as it comes as a response to the increase of ethnic politics. Moreover, religion seem to reduce the importance of ethnicity. Hence, common identity factors and ideology appear to improve group dynamics and create larger collectives. Overall, there seem to be support for the first theoretical expectation of a decrease in tension with distance from the conflict. However, the findings also show a more complex phenomenon with varying experiences from person to person as tension is still present.

In contrast with the main theme in the tension section, there were two informants that argued that the Ethiopian community feeling is strong and more important than before. Then again, how much the border war has affected Ethiopians and Eritreans is debatable as informants have expressed how the relationship is both good and bad, and thus seem to be a rather complex situation. A possible answer to why the informants have given conflicting answers might be that the relations between Ethiopians and Eritreans, and internally in the Ethiopian community is highly dependent on the political situation back in Ethiopia and personal experiences. This would also be in line with the expectations from long-distance nationalism and open for increased tension in Oslo as conflict in Ethiopia is escalating.

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6.2.3 Overarching theme 3: A new generation
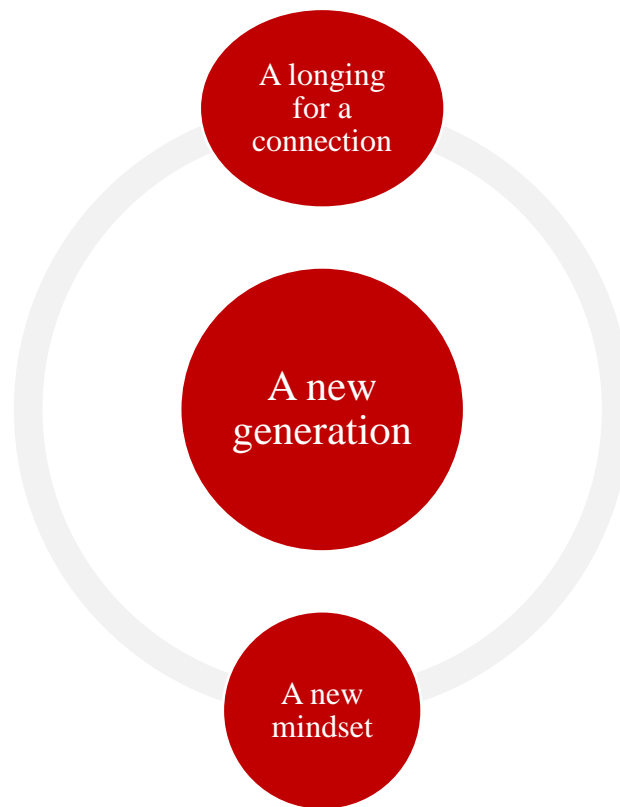
Figure 6.3 A new generation, overarching theme and themes

Table 6.3 A new generation, themes and sub-themes

A longing for a connection

- Good relations between ethnic groups
- Ethnicity
- Neutrality
- Upbringing
- Failed relation building
- Habesha

A new mindset

- New conflict, new interests
- Less interest in Eritrean and Ethiopian politics
- Less connection with communities
- Upbringing and education
- Restructure of the communities
- Positive impact on associations

The final overarching theme is the new generation and how those who grow up in Norway live in the aftermath of a conflict and how this affects them. This is an important overarching theme as both aspects of tension and relation building differ among the new generation compared to those who migrated from the conflict itself. Although division and ethnicity are themes that can be seen in the tension and relation building section, it is important to address it in this section as well. To properly assess the results of the relation building and how the Ethiopian community co-exist with the Eritrean community it is paramount to include this time perspective. Furthermore, since there is a lot of data that is directly connected to the new generation it is easier to structure it in an independent section.

Before diving into the third overarching theme, it is crucial restate some limitations and overall observations. Five of the six informants that were interviewed grew up in Ethiopia while one interviewee grew up in Norway. The informants that grew up in Ethiopia portray an optimistic view of the new generation that were raised in Norway, but interestingly the one informant who grew up in Norway present a more sceptical view. With only one informant from the new generation future research with more interviewees is advised to see the broader picture. However, even one informant can give invaluable insight as this is a topic that is often overlooked. Moreover, the absence of informants that grew up in Oslo provide an interesting finding in itself, which will be discussed later in this section.

6.2.3.1   Theme 1: Longing for a connection

Overall, it appears the new generation manages to do what the previous generation are longing for and in some instances have not yet achieved. The new generation seem to have better relations to each other, care less about ethnic groups and are more organised in associations. All of the informants that emigrated from Ethiopia shared the belief that the new generation that are growing up in Norway have a good future ahead of them and that the border war does not affect them in the same way as it did to those who experienced it. Hence, this supports the second theoretical expectation that the second-generation immigrants are experiencing less tension. However, one informant was sceptical of how the new generations perspective would develop. With the ongoing conflict in Tigray a new conflict might affect the relations the new generation have with each other.

"The young generation live together and have good friendships cross ethnic groups. So, the young generation has a very good future, but I don't know when they grow up and start to look at the world. They might change their perspective and morals, but today the young generation forgive us for the Ethiopian Eritrean war 20 years ago. So the young generation are not affected by the war, they are actually good friends." (informant 3)

Nevertheless, the new generation that have not experienced the conflict seem to not care that much about ethnicity and have created a bigger community that is not based on ethnicity. Ethnicity, at least from the perspectives of the interviewees that travelled from Ethiopia, seemed to mean less for the new generation. People are becoming friends across of ethnicities and nationalities, and a broader fellowship is created, such as identifying as "east African". This is in stark contrast with division in the Ethiopian community presented earlier.

"Ofc, we have good relationship because our children are becoming friends and have more intercultural fellowship. People start to think as east African not as Ethiopian, Eritrean, Somalian, or something. People have a bigger vision to see that the area is not big to divide in 5-6, so there is something positive emerging which is very positive right now, that they are thinking regionally not just locally." (informant 6) (edited for clarity)

Then again, with the war in Tigray the focus has shifted more towards ethnicity instead of nationality. Where many from the new generation have no experience or personal relation to the border war or its aftermath, the conflict in Tigray might drag young people into a conflict due to their ancestral background and ideology. In other words, in line with the third theoretical expectation, the new generations might face more challenges related to ethnicity in the future.

"I grew up with being a proud Ethiopian, I always had Ethiopian flags and we talked about Ethiopia as a country (pauses and fells a tear)…We grew up as Ethiopians even though it has been important for us or my parents to be able to speak Tigrinya, but then it is about: that is where you are from, it is your ethnicity." (informant 2)

With the growing conflict in Tigray and the rise of ethnic tension among those affected by what is happening in Ethiopia, being neutral seems to be really strong desire for the new generation. The aspect of neutrality can be seen in all overarching themes and is still highly relevant for

the development of the new generation. Especially if people are to stop inheriting fear and ethnic hatred from the previous generations.

> "One has to see bit further than just ethnicity, country, and rather think about the whole human being and think about how we want to live in peace. And if we don't, we will continue to inherit the hatred to the next generation, and the generation after that. " (informant 2)

As an important part of hindering inheriting hatred, creating a good upbringing is paramount. While those who grew up in Norway did not experience the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, there are those who are brought up with certain notions about people from Eritrea and Ethiopia. Preconceptions can be dangerous as misrepresentation can more easily occur and create more tension than there needs to be. The theoretical expectation of less tension among the new generation might not be completely true as the tension can be passed on to the next generation. This notion also underlines how, even though the Border war is over, the tension the previous generation experienced have to some extent passed on to the new generation.

> "We never grew up with people from Eritrea are like this, people from Ethiopia are like this, but I know that there are many in many environments that are raised to think one thing or the other" (informant 2)

One informant also expressed her fear of how kids from Eritrea might be taught that Eritrea is the way it is today because of the people in Tigray. This fear and shock of possible accusation can again increase tension as misperceptions can cause misunderstandings.

> "And then I feel they raise their kids teaching them Eritrea is the way it is because of Ethiopia, because of Tigray, because of the people from Tigray…It comes as a shock for the people from Tigray, because they have seen Eritreans as brothers and sisters and it is them who go around and slaughter down the streets, and it will of course create hatred the other way. (informant 2) (edited for clarity)

As a response to this fear, the same informant explained how she experience a dilemma of how to raise her kids and how it might be better to not have any connections with people from Eritrea. Then again, the informant seemed conflicted on this topic, but explained how her experience with Eritreans had affected her and how she feared it could affect her kids.

"Instead of us growing up with, "I am going to raise my kids with everyone are born the same and so on", I have to think, okay, I do not really want my kids to have Eritrean friends. Is this what I am thinking? Do They have to be careful not to be hurt in the future?...maybe one does not need to be friends with Eritreans if there is a hatred towards us. Why should I then turn the other cheek? There is a limit how many times you can let things pass before you start to think I need to stop this because I am only treated poorly" (informant 2) (edited for clarity)

Being treated poorly forms the perception of both Eritreans and Ethiopians, and in contrasts with what the five other informants that migrated from Ethiopia and Eritrea have stated, the relation between those who were raised in Norway is not always good. The informant that grew up in Norway continues to express her sadness over how Eritreans and Ethiopians are not good friends and how people tend to stick to their own, even though there is a desire to create friendships. The remembrance of the border war, or the scepticism connected to it seem to persist and still be present. Thus, contradicting both theoretical expectation one and two.

"Eritreans and Ethiopians are not so good friends to be honest. And people have a tendency to keep to their own, and after the war in 98-2000 between Eritrea and Ethiopia the division has increased, so that's the foundation, and one tries to create a friendship but then it doesn't work because you realise it is not possible."(informant 2)

Moreover, how assumptions and perceptions about Ethiopians and Eritreans continue to spread and forms how people look and behave around each other. This might make people more incentivised to stick to their own all though there are common unifiers among Eritreans and Ethiopians such as language.

"One has an assumption of who Eritreans are and who the Ethiopians are, who those from Tigray are. We speak the same language, but nevertheless do not manage to find the tone because there is something (takes a small pause)" (informant 2)

Interestingly, a contrast can be seen between the different generations, as the new generation have grown up with distance to the border war and have a different relation to the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

> "They did not experience the tension which was during the freedom war when there was fighting with Ethiopia, this new generation does not have the experience. Maybe the old generation who have participated in the war, maybe they lost someone, or were affected by the division and segregation, but now the new generation does not have that except reading it or seeing it in the film, so they are not that affected, so it seems that they are getting closer than ever." (informant 6)

In contrast with the perspectives of the interviewee that was raised in Norway, there is generally a perspective of a greater fellowship among the new generations. For instance, one informant mentioned how there is a new term, Habesha, that is becoming more popular. A term that encompasses a larger identity of both Eritreans and Ethiopians. Hence, being positive about the direction the new generations are taking.

> "There is a new term called Habesha is emerging, before the Habesha was given by the Arabs to the Ethiopians... all the people are not only Ethiopians, Somali and so on. But later on, the trend was to be divided into small areas, but not there this trend Habesha. So when they introduce each other they do not ask are you from Ethiopia or Eritrea, but are you Habesha? Knowing the answer might be either, maybe you are Ethiopian or Eritrean, it does not matter if you are Ethiopian or Eritrea, they understand you like one nation. (informant 6)

6.2.3.1 Theme 2 A new mindset

A new conflict in Tigray also means a new interest. It seems like the young generation that did not experience the conflict in Eritrea and Ethiopia have less interest in the border war and so on, but with an increase in conflict in Tigray more people are becoming politically active. As there is a new conflict more people are learning more about their background and are affect by the ethnical based politics. Overall, the conflict in Tigray seem to create a new interest among the new generations. Tension among the new generation can therefore vary as it is uncertain how much the conflict in Tigray affects new generation.

> "I mean, Ethiopia is a massive country with many different languages and different ethnic groups, and I don't speak any other language than Tigrinya. So I have a connection to people from Tigray, but only now (due to the war in Tigray), but not Ethiopian communities in general and so on." (informant 2)

Then again, there is a perception that the young generation seem to have less interest in what is happening in Ethiopia. The conflict is far away from Norway, the political conflict might be difficult to understand as it is very different from political disputes in Norway and that it is painful to learn about what is happening in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

> "I believe the young generation is a bit different than us adults, firstly there are many that does not have any interest in having knowledge of the political situation in our home country. They know it is painful and it is too difficult to understand for those who grow up here. And they also think that it is very stupid and very primitive based on the civilised politics they know and see here in Norway (informant 3)

This idea is supported by the informant who grew up in Norway as she explains how it is first now she has thought about what is happening in Ethiopia, and that she never really asked her parents about their experiences from the war.

> "I moved to Norway with my parents, but it is first now one thinks about, because what is happening down there in Ethiopia now, that one starts to think why and stuff like that…I have never really sat down with my mom and dad to be honest, and now when I think about it, now I think I should before something happens to them, I need to know my whole story if you get what I mean?" (informant 2)

Interestingly, the young generation also seem to have in general less contact with the Eritrean and Ethiopian communities. Three of the people I asked to interview that were raised in Norway said they did not want to participate because they did not have any connections to the communities and felt they did not have anything to contribute with. Even though, I stated that this perception on the communities and lack of connection is very interesting and valuable for the research. Nevertheless, the one informant that grew up in Oslo expressed the same notion of not having a strong connection to the communities. "I don't have contact with the Eritrean community and I don't have any contact with the Ethiopian community either." (informant 2)

In contrast, those from the new generation that grew up in Norway and are participating in the communities are said to have a positive impact on the communities. Where the communities before were more chaotic and less organised, today the communities seem to be more structured and be able to have peaceful discussions.

> "I believe it is positive because…there was a time where we gathered and did nothing but argue but now there is a system, and they follow rules and are organised, tidy in a way. So, for example now we follow the associations resolutions. They are very strict, and education is paramount.…It is a big difference, and it is positive." (informant 1)

Overall, there seem to be a common idea that the second generation is improving the associations. When asked what could be done to improve the community two of the informant mentioned how the new generation are already implementing many of the possible tools for better relation building, and that the new generations are having a positive impact on the associations.

> "I can only speak about the Tigrayan first and second generations. There is a big difference, for instance…now they are leading the associations, those who have grown up in Norway. The associations have changed, the way they speak it makes me really happy. There is a big difference between us who grew up there (back home). We think totally different than those who grew up here." (informant 1)

> "To make seminars, webinars, get togethers, discussing sessions, mixing events, which makes you share your cultural heritage, songs, speech, discussing bilateral issues. They are doing it and I think that is very encouraging, for 20 years it was not possible but now we can see they are easily mixing." (informant 6)

6.2.3.2 Summary

To sum up, the new generation seem to manage what the previous generation have struggled with. Several of the informants share the belief that the new generation have better relations, care less about ethnicity and have less interest in the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The new generation are becoming friends across ethnicities and nationalities and have created a broader identity such as "east African" instead of focusing on ethnicity. Then again, there is a fear of the new generation inheriting hatred from those who have experienced the war and how the conflict in Tigray might drag people into conflict. One informant that was raised in Oslo expressed how she had a dilemma with how she would raise her kids as her bad experiences with Eritreans affected point of view. Moreover, she expressed a sadness of how Eritreans and Ethiopians did not get along. This comes as a stark contrast to those who experienced the border

war that generally stated that the new generation had better relations than before. Overall, there seem to be a difference in perceptions on the relation building among those who grew up in Norway and be arguments both for and against all theoretical expectations.

7. Discussion

Research question: How does emigration affect the levels of tension between communities that have previously been in conflict and are now living together in a new host country?

This section will use the observations from the analysis and address the findings and theoretical expectations previously mentioned in this paper. Overall, distance from a conflict is, according to the observations, positively correlated with decreasing tension between people who have been in conflict with each other. Moreover, it creates new possibilities and gives people a clean slate to form a new peaceful life. Nevertheless, tension appear still to be present but less than in Ethiopia and Eritrea. This tension can be seen through discussions on the conflict, and distancing between Eritreans and Ethiopians in Oslo. Then again, findings from on the interviews paint a complex picture which highly encourages future research.

Emigrating from conflict

Emigrating from a conflict creates new opportunites for reconciliation, and a peaceful environment creates possibilities for new relation building.

The conflict back home still affects relations in the new host country.

The new generation

The new generation have not experienced the war and have often less knowledge about the conflict itself.

Because the conflict is less important, the relation building is less affect by previous preconvieved notions.

However, new conflicts makes the new generation more politically active.

Conflict and relation building

Previous conflicts between Eritreans and Ethiopians become less important and produce better relations as both communitites are together against a new conflict in Tigray.

Many cooperate and work against the use of ethnicity as a politicial tool.

Figure 7.1 Overview

How much emigrating away from a conflict decreases tension between groups is difficult to assess as the finding from the interviews present a mixed result. The findings present better

relations between Ethiopian and Eritreans but also a tense environment where cooperation and discussion is difficult to achieve. For instance, when asked if there is a willingness to talk about the conflict and the tension between the communities the interviewees provided varying results.

"No, no, no, there is no space." (informant 4)

"Yes, I think so, but it is dependent on how involved people are. I have felt it is much easier to talk about it if the other person is neutral as I feel I am, in relation to politics and ethnicity and so on" (informant 5)

"Yes very much, you know, I can only say what I perceive, because I am a pastor and my community is very positive religious people… if you ask another person they might not agree, but for me, what I see is very encouraging." (informant 6) (edited for clarity)

Nevertheless, distancing oneself from a conflict appear to be correlated to a decrease in tension although distance have not removed all existing tension. Due to distance from the conflict, it has become easier to talk to each other as informant 5 and 6 hint at, as there are opportunities for better relations even though it might be difficult to achieve. Moreover, the findings show that distance in combination with diaspora communities have provided an arena for communication that would not be possible in Ethiopia. Then again, there are still strong in vs out group dynamics that linger from the war that can be seen in Oslo. Being neutral and trying to communicate with the opposite group is difficult as it is severely punished by the in group. "If you have a relation to different ethnical groups and try to be neutral, you can be excluded because you do not belong to a bigger group, so this creates separation." (informant 5) (edited for clarity)

On the other hand, the new generation appear to be handling the aftermath of the border war better than the first generation supporting the second theoretical expectation. The reason for this can vary and is definitely an interesting topic for new research, but based on the interviews, distance to the conflict, education and better associations were argued to be important factors. The new generation seem to care less about ethnicity, creating broader group identities and have a positive effect on the Ethiopian associations. "The young generation live together and

have good friendships cross ethnic groups. So, the young generation has a very good future" (informant 3). With peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea after the border war, the relation between Ethiopians and Eritreans appears to have improved, but internal fragmentation and ethnicity is dividing the Ethiopian community. With the conflict in Tigray, ethnicity has become deeply connected to political opinion and perceived perceptions on the war.

Overall, those who have experienced the border war have expressed a positive attitude towards the new generation and how they are building better relations. However, one informant was also sceptical how the conflict in Tigray might drag the new generations into conflict. For instance, the one informant that was raised in Oslo expressed how there still is tension based on the war history between Eritreans and Ethiopians and how the conflict in Tigray seem to increase tension and create division and focus on ethnicity among the Ethiopian community. This comes as a stark contrast to the other informants and shed light on how the second generation also experience tension and how tension can be passed on through the generations or flare up with new conflict.

"One has to see bit further than just ethnicity, country, and rather think about the whole human being and think about how we want to live in peace. And if we don't, we will continue to inherit the hatred to the next generation, and the generation after that. " (informant 2)

According to several of the informants, ethnicity has become politicised and is used in a way to gather support and/or divide people. In the Ethiopian community this has created a massive division. On the other hand, the new generation seems to be critical to this approach and look for a neutral and less divisive perspective. While the new generations are creating larger group identities such as east African or Habesha, the new generation has not escaped the identity conflict completely. The new generation grow up with less connection to the border war but experience the social pressure from it. With the conflict in Tigray and an increased focus on ethnicity, the larger collective identity might be divided and cause more political tension. This can make participation long distance nationalism more divisive as ethnicity and identity is combined with politics, making creating a tense political division. The political situation in Ethiopia might therefore affect relations in Oslo even more as political opinions and activism is directly connected to ethnicity and the conflict surrounding the topic. Moreover, as ethnicity

is connected to politics, many of those who participate or want to participate politically in Ethiopia are forced to take sides with certain ethnic groups. In addition, people might also suffer social punishment from both in and out groups due to not identifying with them.

An important factor for the amount of tension appears to be connected to the conflicts and political situation in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Hence, what happens in one's ancestral country is crucial for relation building. With the continuation of conflict in the home country tension appear to increase between groups that live in a host country. The border war was crucial to the relation between the communities as tension increased in 1998-2000 and have been present ever since. Then again, with the peace agreement in 2018 relations improved in Oslo and the communities went from demonstrating against each other to demonstrating together to end the war in Tigray.

The findings show that what happens in Eritrea and Ethiopia is highly relevant for the tension or lack thereof in Oslo. Hence, supporting the third theoretical expectation. With increased tension in Tigray, internal conflict in the Ethiopian community is rising. "What is happening in our home country is most important. Sadly, we are couple of thousands of kilometres away of what is happening, but it affects us here as well." (Informant 5). According to the interviews, relations with the Eritrean communities have improved and it is hinted at that it is because of the end of the border war and a common goal of ending the conflict in Tigray. This contradicts the expectation of increased tension with new conflicts as it appears that relations between the Eritrean and Ethiopian community have improved. Nevertheless, the conflict in Tigray is not mainly against Eritrea which might affect how the communities are perceived.

> "We Ethiopians are fragmented. Very very fragmented, more so than the fragmentation with Eritreans. As of today, it is easier for me to join an Eritrean community when the situation changed (War in Tigray)." (informant 3).

Overall, among all generations living in Oslo there is varying amounts of tension. With an increase of ethnical division and conflicting opinions there appears to be a visible division and an in vs out group dynamic in the Ethiopian community. Although the conflict environment is removed in Oslo with better tools for communication, peaceful discussions and relation

building, there still is tension. Nevertheless, how comparable this tension between the Ethiopian community in Ethiopia compared to Oslo is debatable and would need future research. Still, with the ethnic division in the Ethiopian community the us vs them mentality appears to be present as ethnicity forms group identities, political opinions and forces people to take sides. Moreover, if people express affiliation with the out group or neither of the groups, this can cause punishment from the in group as it is seen as betrayal. On the other hand, some aspects of relation building have improved and there are positive group dynamics.

The case and the findings from this study can also highlight some limitations but also usefulness of the theories. Realistic group conflict theory has been useful to describe group dynamics as it encompasses many factors of group tension. Us vs them group dynamics, conflict environments and an increase in hostility can be seen in the Ethiopian community and in their experience with the Eritrean community. This theory is therefore relevant for group dynamic studies, but suffers from some limitations. The theory is very simplistic and can only partly explain the phenomenon of intercommunal tension in host countries. The theory does not address group dynamics outside of a zero-sum game and how relation building and other unifying factors can improve relations. Moreover, it does not address how groups are made outside of conflicting opinions in a conflict environment. Thus, social identity theory a has been most crucial to add insight in group identity and how identity can affect in vs out group dynamics. Especially, with the observations of new group development among the new generation. In addition, long-distance nationalism has been vital in understanding intercommunal relation in a host country as the original conflict is or was present in the ancestral country. Country relation and connection is therefore paramount for understanding how group relations are affected from abroad.

So, what does this imply for research on diasporas, migration and armed conflict? More research is needed as the topics only grow in complexity and depth. Diasporas have been described as important for both increasing armed conflict but also for peacebuilding. Adding to this literature, I find that conflict resolution in the ancestral country could be detrimental for better group relations in host countries. This means that more efforts to resolve conflicts abroad can help domestic conflicts as well. Moreover, the use of ethnicity in politics and how people

are raised are also important aspects that not only are affected internally in a host country but dependent on connections to the ancestral country.

8. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to explore intercommunal conflict in a host country and look at how emigration affect tension between diasporas. To my knowledge, there is little to no previous research on this topic and therefore a motivational factor for writing this thesis. Due to the lack of previous information, this thesis tries to lay the foundation for future research on a topic that can affect integration policies, foreign relations and peace negotiations to name a few.

Hence, the thesis is exploratory and have looked at the Ethiopian and Eritrean diasporas in Oslo but is presented from an Ethiopian perspective. Ethiopia and Eritrea were chosen as a case due to the border war between them that caused many to seek refuge in other countries. To assess the Ethiopian and Eritrean diaspora relation this study chose to focus on the communities in Oslo as the city contains large Ethiopian and Eritrean diasporas. This project uses a realistic group conflict theory with aspects from long distance nationalism and social identity theory to analyse the findings. The theories provide a lens on group behaviour and dynamics, in addition to shedding light on the connection between diaspora community and the ancestral country.

The observations from this thesis suggest that emigration has an effect on the levels of tension between communities that have previously been in conflict and are now living together in a new host country. Although, how much emigration affects the levels of tension is debatable, it appears to be correlated with a decrease in tension compared to the levels of tension in Ethiopia. However, it is paramount to note that the interviews portray a complex phenomenon with varying results. Overall, tension still exists in Oslo between the Eritrean and Ethiopian diaspora, and many choose to distance oneself from each other. Then again, there is less tension than in Ethiopia and there are also instances of better relation building than before. The findings show that what is most important for the relation between Ethiopians and Eritreans in Oslo is the situation back in Ethiopia and Eritrea. With peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia there is more peace in Oslo. On the flip side, with increasing conflict in the Tigray region in Ethiopia, there is increasing levels of tension internally in the Ethiopian community. Ethnicity also appears to have become more important than before as ethnical politics and conflict is at the core of the conflict in Tigray. Hence, there is an internal division in the Ethiopian community as political opinions is perceived to be connected to ethnicity and affect group behaviours.

Interestingly, the relation between Eritreans and Ethiopians has seemed to improve as both communities work together to end the war in Ethiopia. Finally, the new generation of Norwegians with Ethiopian and Eritrean descent appears to be less affected by the border war and have better relations with each other. However, with the conflict in Tigray many might be dragged into conflict.

8.1 For future research

With little previous research on migration and inter-communal conflict in host countries, future research is highly recommended. This thesis has tried to shed light on this subject and is one of the first to address this issue. For future research I suggest looking at governmental influence on conflicts and diasporas, taking a closer look on intercommunal relations in other host countries, and looking at the Eritrean perspective as this thesis has only focused on the Ethiopian perspective. Likewise, expanding research on the new generations of people with Eritrean and Ethiopian descent could provide valuable information on aspects of upbringing in a post conflict setting, integration and peace building. Comparative case studies, larger in-depth case studies and more quantitative research is also recommended as they can provide valuable detailed insight and generalisable findings. Not only on intercommunal relations, but also within diasporas, conflict, foreign governmental influence in host countries and peace building to name a few.

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9.1 Appendix I (Information letters)

Information Letter (English)

Overview:

The project aims to look at how emigration affects the relationship between people who have experienced conflict. More Specifically, this project will look at how it is to have migrated from Ethiopia and/or Eritrea and live in Oslo, in addition to examining the relation between Ethiopian and Eritrean communities in Oslo.

The project is created in relation to a Master thesis at the University of Oslo. All data and other information will only be used for this project.

We would appreciate if you would like to participate in this research program and share your thoughts on the beforementioned topic.

To be able to participate you have to:

- Be over 18 years old.
- Have moved from Ethiopia or Eritrea, or have family from either country.
- Live in Oslo or close proximity to Oslo.

What does participation entail for you?

As part of this project, you will participate in a 30–60-minute interview. The interview will be a "one to one" interview and take place at the University of Oslo. The interview will be audio recorded but all information will be anonymised. The interview will discuss the following topics:

- What is it like to live in Oslo?
- How does your experiences from your home country affect your day-to-day life in relation to Ethiopian and/or Eritrean communities?
- How do you perceive the relation between Ethiopian and Eritrean communities in Oslo?
- How do you wish it should be in the future?

Consent:

It is voluntarily to be a part of this project and this information sheet is not binding. If you wish to participate you will be able to sign an e-document confirming that you would like to participate in this research project. You can whenever you want to opt out of the project without any negative consequences. You do not need to provide any information on why you do not wish to be part of the project. All data will be deleted if you choose to not be a part of the project.

If you are interested in participating in this project or if you have any other questions, feel free to contact me on petertro@student.sv.uio.no.

Best regards Peter Trondalen.

Information Letter (Norwegian)

Formål

Formålet med prosjektet er å finne ut om emigrasjon påvirker forholdet mellom mennesker som har vært påvirket av konflikt. Mer spesifikt så ønsker prosjektet å se på hvordan å ha reist fra en konflikt påvirker mennesker i Oslo.

Målet med prosjektet er å tilegne seg mer kunnskap om hvordan det er å ha flyttet fra Etiopia og Eritrea og bo i Oslo, samt å se på hvordan relasjonen mellom Eritreiske og Etiopiske miljøer er i Oslo i dag.

Prosjektet er lansert i forbindelse med en mastergradsoppgave ved universitetet i Oslo. Opplysninger og data knyttet til dette prosjektet skal KUN brukes til dette forskningsprosjektet.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Universitet i Oslo er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Vi spør deg om å delta da vi håper du har lyst til å dele dine tanker og erfaringer om ovennevnte tema.

Forespørsel om intervju ble stilt på bakgrunn av disse kriterier:

- Du er bosatt i Oslo
- Du er over 18 år.
- Har flyttet fra Etiopia eller Eritrea til Oslo, eller har familie som har flyttet fra Etiopia/Eritrea.

Hvis du føler at disse kriteriene ikke er representative for deg eller du ikke ønsker å delta så kan du se bort ifra dette informasjonsskrivet.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Prosjektet innebærer å være med på et intervju på om lag 30-60 minutter. Intervjuet vil være et «en til en» intervju og holdes enten på Universitet i Oslo eller der det er mest praktisk for deg

som blir intervjuet. Intervjuet vil KUN bli tatt opp via lydopptak og skriftlige notater, og all informasjon vil bli anonymisert. Intervjuet kommer til å omhandle følgende temaer

- Hvordan er det å leve i Oslo i dag?
- Hvordan påvirker erfaringer fra hjemlandet hverdagen din i dag?
- Hvordan oppleves relasjonen mellom Eritreiske og Etiopiske miljøer i Oslo i dag?
- Hvis du ikke har tilknytning til miljøene i Oslo, hva skyldes dette?
- Hvordan ønsker du at det skal bli i fremtiden?

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet, og dette informasjonsskrivet er kun for å informere og er ikke bindende. Hvis du ønsker å delta, vil du få muligheten til å signere et samtykke der du bekrefter at du ønsker å delta. Du kan når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Ved prosjektslutt vil data bli slettet. Hvis du er interessert i å delta i prosjektet eller har flere spørsmål, vennligst kontakt Peter Trondalen på mail: petertro@student.sv.uio.no.

9.2 Appendix II (Electronic consent form)

Samtykkeskjema for forskningsprosjekt

Obligatoriske felter er merket med stjerne *

Formål
Formålet med prosjektet er å finne ut om emigrasjon påvirker forholdet mellom mennesker som har vært påvirket av konflikt. Mer spesifikt så ønsker prosjektet å
 å tilegne seg mer kunnskap om hvordan det er å ha flyttet fra Etiopia og Eritrea og bo i Oslo, samt å se på hvordan relasjonen mellom Eritreiske og Etiopiske miljøer er i Oslo i dag.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?
Prosjektet innebærer å være med på et intervju på om lag 45-60 minutter i februar 2022. Intervjuet vil være et «en til en» intervju og holdes enten på Universitet i Oslo eller der det er mest praktisk for deg som blir intervjuet. Intervjuet vil KUN bli tatt opp via lydopptak og skriftlige notater, og all informasjon vil bli anonymisert. Intervjuet kommer til å omhandle følgende temaer:

- Hvordan er det å leve i Oslo i dag?
  Hvordan påvirker erfaringer fra hjemlandet hverdagen din i dag i møte med miljøer fra
- Eritrea/Etiopia?
- Hvordan oppleves relasjonen mellom Eritreiske og Etiopiske miljøer i Oslo i dag?
- Hvordan ønsker du det skal bli i fremtiden?

Det er frivillig å delta
Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Du kan når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?
Ved prosjektslutt vil all data bli slettet.

Dine rettigheter
Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke opplysninger vi behandler om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene
- å få rettet opplysninger om deg som er feil eller misvisende
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger

Har du flere spørsmål?
Hvis du har flere spørsmål kan du ta kontakt med Peter Trondalen gjennom petertro@student.sv.uio.no

Ditt fødselsnummer *

E-postadresse

Samtykker du til deltagelse i prosjektet?

- ○ Ja
- ○ Nei / jeg ønsker ikke å være med i dette prosjektet

Samtykker du til at intervjuet vil bli tatt opp med båndopptaker?

- ○ Ja
- ○ Nei / jeg ønsker ikke å være med i dette prosjektet

> ⓘ Dette elementet vises kun dersom alternativet «Nei / jeg ønsker ikke å være med i dette prosjektet» er valgt i spørsmålet «Samtykker du til deltagelse i prosjektet?»

Dersom du ikke ønsker å bli med i prosjektet og ikke har samtykket tidligere, kan du lukke din nettleser.

Om du har samtykket tildligere og ønsker å trekke tilbake ditt samtykke, må du signere dette skjema på nytt med BANKID hos Postens signeringstjeneste.

For å gi et signert samtykke, blir du videresendt til Postens signeringstjeneste. Her får du lese gjennom samtykket på nytt og kan signere dette digitalt med BANKID.

Etter signering blir det sendt en kopi av samtykket til digitale postkasse. Dette kan ta opptil 1 døgn.

For å endre dette samtykket, kan du logge inn i samtykkeportalen:
https://consent-portal.tsd.usit.no

9.3 Appendix III (Interview guides)

Interview guide (English)
1. Can you tell me a bit about your background?
2. Where do you feel a sense of belonging?
3. How do you experience living in Oslo?
4. When did you move to Norway from Ethiopia or Eritrea?
5. What is your connection to Ethiopia or Eritrea?
6. This might be a difficult question to answer but can you tell me a bit about why you and/or your family moved from Ethiopia or Eritrea?
7. Do you have any connections to the Ethiopian and/or Eritrean communities in Oslo?
8. Are there something with this communities you apricate/do not appreciate?
9. If you do not have a connection what is the reason?
10. How does your connection to Ethiopia or Eritrea affect your day to day life?
11. Do you experience tension between Ethiopians and Eritreans in Oslo?
12. Do you experience tension between Ethiopians and Eritrean communities in Oslo?
13. Is there something with the other communities you find it difficult to understand or accept?
14. Do you feel that there is a difference in the way the newer generation thinks about being from Ethiopia or Eritrea in Oslo?
15. Would you say ethnicity is important for what communities you might be a part of in Oslo?
16. Do you have any other comments, thoughts?

17. Are there other factors that you think are important for the relation between people from Ethiopia and Eritrea in Oslo?

18. If you were to summarise 3 things we have talked about that you think are important, what would it be?

19. How was it to talk about these topics?

Interview guide (Norwegian)
1. Kan du si litt om bakgrunnen din?
2. Hvordan opplever du det å bo i Oslo i dag?
3. Når flyttet du til Norge/Oslo fra Etiopia eller Eritrea?
4. Hva er din tilknytning til Etiopia/Eritrea?
5. kanskje dette er litt vanskelig spørsmål, men kan du si litt om bakgrunnen for at du og eller din familie flyttet fra Et/er?
6. Har du tilknytning til Eritreiske miljøer i Oslo?
a. Hva er det med dette miljøet du setter pris på? Eksempler?
b. Er det noe du ikke liker? Eksempler?
c. Hvis nei, er det en grunn til at du ikke har noen tilknytning til dette miljøet?
7. Har du tilknytning til Etiopiske miljøer i Oslo?
a. Hva er det med dette miljøet du setter pris på? Eksempler?
b. Er det noe du ikke liker? Eksempler?
c. Er det en grunn for at du ikke har noen tilknytning til dette miljøet?
8. Føler du spenninger mellom Etiopere og Eritrere i dag?
9. Hvordan opplever du at din tilknytning til et/er påvirket hverdagen din i dag?
10. Hvordan har din tilknytning til et/er påvirket hverdagen din i dag i møte med miljøer fra Eritrea/Etiopia?
11. Føler du spenninger mellom Etiopere og Eritrere i dag?
12. Oppleves det spenninger mellom Eritreiske og Etiopiske miljøer i Oslo i dag? Eller innad i eget miljø?
a. Hvis ja, Har du noen eksempler? Hvordan føler du disse håndteres av miljøene?

b. Hvis nei, hva skyldes dette?

13. Føler du at det er en villighet til å tillate hverandre å utrykke ulike meninger på tvers av gruppene? Eller innad i ditt miljø?

14. Hvordan blir ulike meninger mellom gruppene tatt imot? Eller hvordan blir det tatt imot innad i gruppen?

15. Er det noe med den andre miljøene du synes er vanskelig å forstå eller å forholde deg til her og nå? Eller innad i eget miljø?

16. Føles det forskjellig fra da du bodde i et/er?

17. Er det noe som er vanskelig å akseptere med den andre gruppen? Eller innad i eget miljø?

a. Har du noen tanker om hvorfor?

18. Er det noe som har blitt lettere å akseptere, forholde seg til i nå enn det var tidligere?

a. Har du noen tanker om hvorfor?

19. Føler du at de forskjellige generasjonene tenker forskjellig om det å være fra Etiopia og Eritrea i Oslo?

20. Vil du si at Etnisitet er viktig for tilhørighet for hvilke grupper og foreninger man er i?

21. Hvordan ønsker du at relasjonen mellom de Etiopiske og Eritreiske miljøene skal bli i fremtiden?

22. Andre tanker kommentarer?

23. Er det andre viktige moment som du tenker er viktig for relasjonen mellom folk fra Eritrea og Etiopia i oslo?

24. Hvis du skulle trekke ut tre ting som du mener er det viktigste vi har snakket om, hva ville det vært?

25. Hvordan syns du det var å prate om disse temaene?